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The Asian studies parade: archival, biographical, institutional and post-colonial approaches

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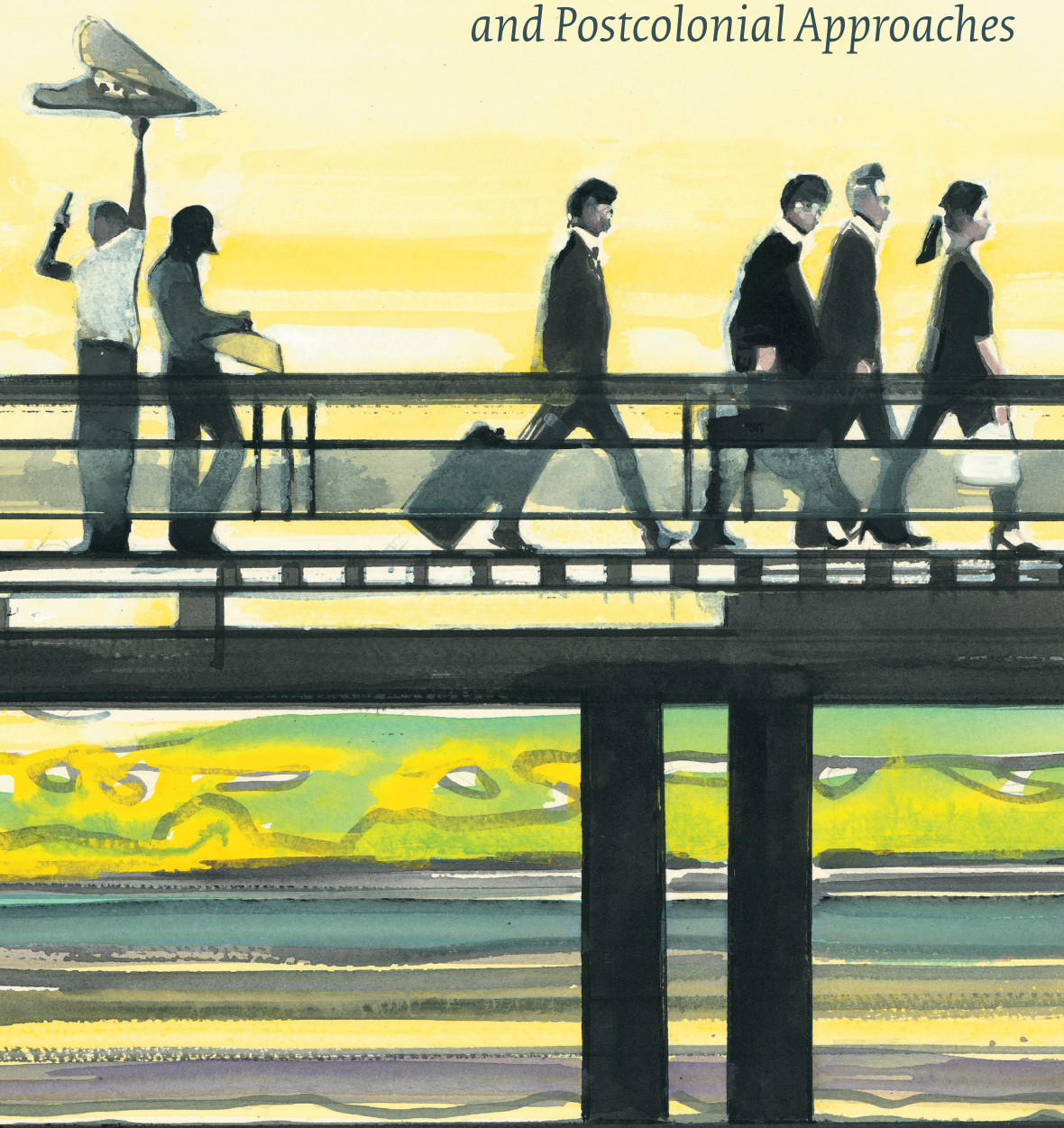
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PAUL VAN DER VELDE

The Asian Studies Parade

Archival, Biographical, Institutional and Postcolonial Approaches



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The Asian Studies Parade

THE ASIAN STUDIES PARADE

Archival, Biographical, Institutional and Post-Colonial Approaches

by

Paul van der Velde

Edited by Alex McKay

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Dedicated to my co-authors and to all (former) colleagues at the International Institute for Asian Scholars (IIAS), in particular the ICAS Team and to all (New) Asia Scholars, my friends and family, especially my wife Marianne Perdaen who shows me the way.

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List of Abbrevations

AAS	Association for Asian Studies
A-Asia	Association of Asian Studies in Africa
ABAC	APEC Business Advisory Council
AEBF	Asia-Europe Business Forum
AIE	Association International Africaine
ANZG	Archief Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap (Archive Dutch Missionary Society)
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
ARP	ASEM Research Platform
ASAA	Asian Studies Association of Australia
ASAIHL	Association of Southeast Asian Institutions of Higher Learning
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASEF	Asia-Europe Foundation
ASEM	Asia-Europe Meeting
ASEMUS	Asia-Europe Network of Museums
ATMA	Institute of The Malay World and Civilization
ATS	Archief Teylers Stichting (Teylers' Foundation Archives)
AU	African Union
AUAP	Association of Universities in Asia and the Pacific
AUN	ASEAN University Network
AUP	Amsterdam University Press
CATS	Centre for Asian and Transcultural Studies
CBMs	Confidence Building Measures
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CMU	Chiang Mai University
CNU	Chungnam University
CNWS	Center for Non-Western Studies
CSEAS	Center of Southeast Asian Studies
CTC	Central Trust of China
DCC	Daejon Convention Center
DDSPP	Deshima Diaries Source Publication Project
EAAS	European Alliance for Asian Studies
EAS	East Asia Summit
EC	European Commission
EDAS	European Database for Asian Studies

EFTA	European Free Trade Association
EIAS	European Institute for Asian Studies
EPC	European Policy Centre
ERA	European Research Area
ERDF	European Rapid Deployment Force
ESF	European Science Foundation
ESF-AC	European Science Foundation Asia Committee
EU	European Union
EUforAsia	Europe-Asia Policy Forum
FEALAC	Forum for East Asia-Latin America Co-operation
FP6	Sixth Framework Program
FPDA	Five Power Defence Arrangements
FTAs	Free Trade Agreements
GASE	Guide to Asian Studies in Europe
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GIGA	German Institute of Global and Area Studies
GIS	Global Information Society
GIS Asie	Groupement d'intérêt scientifique Études asiatiques (French Academic Network for Asian Studies)
GSM	Global System for Mobile Communications
IAFOR	International Academic Forum
IBP	ICAS Book Prize
ICAS	International Convention of Asia Scholars
ICAS-Sec	ICAS Secretariat
ICCA	International Congress and Convention Association
ICMI	Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Se-Indonesia (The Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals Association)
IFES	Institute of Far Eastern Studies
IFRI	Institute Français des Relations Internationales (French Institute for International Relations)
IGEER	Institute for the History of the European Expansion and its Reaction
IIAS	International Institute for Asian Studies
IKON	The Institute of Occidental Studies
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INALCO	Institute National des Langues et Civilizations Orientales (French National Institute of Oriental Languages and Civilisations)
IOR	Indian Ocean Rim
IPAP	Investment Promotion Asia Plan
ISEAS	Institute of Southeast Asian Studies

JCIE	Japan Centre for International Exchanges
KITLV	Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal,- Land- en Volkenkunde (Royal Institute of Languages and Anthropology
KLCC	Kuala Lumpur Convention Centre
KMA	Koninklijke Militaire Academie (Royal Military Academy)
KNAG	Koninklijk Nederlands Aardrijkskundig Genootschap (Royal Dutch Geographical Society)
KSU	Kyoto Seika University
LIAS	Leiden Institute for Area Studies
LIPI	Indonesian Institute of Sciences
MERCOSUR	Mercado Común del Sur (Southern Common Market)
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NBG	Nederlandsch Bijbel Genootschap (Netherlands Bible Society)
NCU	National Chengchi University
NFJ	Archief van de Nederlandse factorij in Japan (Archives of the Dutch Factory in Japan)
NGO	Non Government Organization
NIAS	Nordic Institute of Asian Studies
NPO	Non-Profit Organizations
NUS	National University of Singapore
NZG	Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap (Dutch Missionary Society)
PEARL	Programme for Europe-Asia Research Linkages
RCSD	Regional Center for Social Science and Sustainable Development
RGP	Rijksgeschiedkundige Publicatiën (National Historical Publications)
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation
SAGW	Schweizerische Akademie für Geistes-und Sozialwissenschaften (Swiss Academy for Humanities and Social Sciences)
SARS	Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome
SASS	Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences
SEPHIS	South-South Exchange Program for Research on the History of Development
SIIA	Singapore Institute for International Affairs.
SNUAC	Seoul National University Asia Center
SOMTI	Senior Officials Meeting on Trade and Development
TAG	Tijdschrift van het Aardrijkskundig Genootschap (Periodical of the Geographic Society)
TABD	Transatlantic Business Dialogues
TFAP	Trade Facilitation Action Plan
UA	University of Adelaide

UKM	Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (National University of Malaysia)
UM	University of Macao
UMAP	University Mobility in Asia and the Pacific
UMTS	Universal Mobile Telecommunications System
UN	United Nations
UNU	United Nations University
US	United States
VOC	Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (United Dutch East India Company)
WTO	World Trade Organization

PREFACE

The Asian Studies Parade

The title of this edited volume or anthology of articles (co)written by Paul van der Velde, *The Asian Studies Parade*, derives its inspiration from the parade in which all 2500 participants of ICAS 11 (2019) in Leiden walked through the city in the direction of the translucent church where the official opening was taking place. It was a colourful parade consisting of academicians, practitioners and artists in the field of Asian Studies from all over the world and highlighted Leiden as a legitimate global centre of knowledge on and with Asia, not least due to Paul's efforts as ICAS pioneer and Secretary.

The volume consists of seven chapters which mirror Paul's fields of interest, the range of which can be gleaned from the subtitle of this book: *Archival, Biographical, Institutional and Post-Colonial Approaches*. In editing the thirty articles it was unavoidable that some of the articles overlap. Needless to say, the articles stretching over a period of forty years also reflect the state of science at the time they were written. A third of the articles are published for the first time in English, with Paul, just as with all non-native speakers of English, spending a lot of time on the translation of articles into the academic lingua franca.

Although as a historian Paul has delved into archives all over the world, the archival aspect of *The Asian Studies Parade* mainly refers to the first chapter of this book, "Deshima, mon amour". For a period of five years Paul was virtually resident on this island in Nagasaki Bay, which has recently been reconstructed in its original form as the home of the United Dutch East India Company (VOC) factory. Paul participated in the Deshima Diaries Source Publication Project (DDSPP) which consists of translations of the marginalia of the diaries kept by the chiefs of the Dutch factory in Deshima during the period from 1641 to 1853. This VOC archive includes some 35,000 handwritten diary pages and Paul summarised and indexed 20,000 pages covering the years 1700-1780. As a source editor, one is bound to unearth a lot of new material but at the same time one has to refrain from picking all the cherries. The ones Paul did pick relate primarily to the eighteenth century spread of Dutch (Western) learning or *rangaku* in Japan, knowledge which laid the basis for the rapid industrial development of Japan during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

During the time he worked on Japan, Paul was a researcher at the Institute for the European Expansion and Its Reaction (IGEER) at Leiden University which was a beehive of researchers from all over the world studying modern imperialism.

All articles in Chapter 2 "The Colonial Clash" stem from that period. Paul's partial background in Sinology and his study in Taipei explains why one of the first articles he wrote is on the Dutch colonial war in Taiwan in the seventeenth century, which he clearly distinguishes from what he labels the "emporial war". Western colonial empire building only speeded up in the nineteenth century but because the Dutch possessions were not in Africa where the scramble for that continent among the other colonial powers took place, the Netherlands was absent from the hot debate on empire-building that occurred in historical circles at the end of the twentieth century. Both in a review article on that topic in general and on the Royal Dutch Geographical Society in particular, Paul demonstrates that from the outbreak of the Aceh War in 1873 there was an increasingly imperialist mood in the Netherlands. This only gathered force when imperialism really became globalised as both the United States and Japan joined the race at the end of the nineteenth century in Asia, threatening the position of the Netherlands East Indies. Together with his colleague Jaap de Moor, Paul also edited the complete works of the anti-colonialist and travel writer Jacob Haafner and his important treatise against missionaries and missionary societies. Haafner fitted into a tradition of writers who were highly critical of the behavior of Westerners overseas.

Paul's attraction to biography as an historical genre becomes evident from Chapter 3 "The Biographical Embrace". "Who is afraid of the Historical Biography?" is a non-sensical question in the English language realm but the Netherlands, for various reasons, never had a vibrant tradition of historical biography. Paul helped found the Historical Biographical Committee which actively stimulated historical biography writing at the end of the previous century and it has now become the most popular historical genre in the Netherlands. Paul's dissertation was a biography of the Asian and African scholar P.J. Veth, who was a populariser of Indonesia and Indonesian Studies in the Netherlands in the nineteenth century. Thus the Archipelago very much became part of Dutch identity at the end of that century exemplified in the saying "Indies lost, disastrous cost". But because he was a universal scholar rather than a specialist, Veth was completely forgotten in the subsequent specialist era. Nevertheless, Leiden University honoured his contributions to science and named a building after him in 1996 where until the beginning of this century Asian and African Studies were housed, reflecting the broad field of Veth's interest. In the previous chapter, Haafner's anti-colonial stance was highlighted. In the article "The World According to Jacob Haafner" which is based on Paul's biography *Life under the Palms: The Sublime World of Jacob Haafner* (2020), Haafner's at that time quite revolutionary worldview comes to the fore. Paul's interest in colonial settings and art history is further reflected in the article "The Painter Willem Imandt Revisted: A European Painter in Indonesia", which is

based on Paul's monograph on Imandt. We may note that they both stem from the same village on the Belgian border.

Chapter 4 "The Post-Colonial Meeting of Asia and Europe" and Chapter 5 "The Eurasian Space" pertain to Asian Studies developments in the period 1995 to 2010. After decolonisation, interest in relations between Asia and Europe was minimal. A marked upsurge in interest on this topic then became noticeable as awareness grew, both in Asia and Europe, of the necessity for improving relations between the two continents. The International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) was very much involved in the so-called Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) process. Drawn from the author's co-authored articles on this issue, the development of this process becomes clear. It emphasises the point that it is vitally important to strengthen this process not only for its own sake but also in order to create a strong and stable global, triangular relationship for the 21st century in which Asia, the United States, and Europe form the pillars. The interest in this relationship waned in the second decade of this century but recent developments in the political sphere have brought this issue once more center stage.

The next two chapters "Asian Studies for the 21st century" and "The International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS)" zoom in on Asian Studies per se and span the period from 1993 until now. Globalisation was the buzz-word in the 1990s and from the first year of its creation in 1993, the IIAS was a promoter of the internationalization of Asian Studies. The IIAS's periodical *The Newsletter* quickly established itself as a well-read communication channel in the fragmented field of Asian Studies. Many new initiatives were taken by IIAS and the ones Paul was most involved in were ICAS and the multilingual ICAS Book Prize (IBP), which is now in its tenth edition. Paul was co-instrumental in facilitating a dynamic network of what he labelled "New Asia Scholars", those who share a transregional, multi-disciplinary and multilingual approach to Asian Studies. This approach lies at the heart of IIAS, ICAS and its book prize. In the closing article of this book, Paul looks back on forty years of publishing during which he has been responsible for several ground-breaking academic series. The love of books is certainly a thing we have shared during our long association and therefore it was my great pleasure to edit this collection of articles which sheds light on the continuing Asian Studies Parade.

Alex McKay, editor

CHAPTER 1

Deshima, mon Amour

The Publishing of the Marginalia of the Deshima Diaries

The Deshima Diaries Source Publication Project (DDSPP) aims at a translation into English of the marginalia of part of the diaries which the personnel of the VOC (Dutch East India Company) kept during their stay in Japan from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, 1641-1820.

Original source: Velde, Paul van der. 1990. "Deshima, mon Amour: the Publishing of the Marginalia of the Deshima Diaries, 1641-1820". *Japanese Studies*, edited by Yu-Ying Brown. 102-112. London: British Library. Occasional Papers 11.

The moving in June 1641 of the Dutch factory from Hirado, where it had been established in 1609, to Nagasaki must be seen as the logical outcome of an internal policy which had for over forty years strenghened the power of the Tokugawa Shogunate (1600-1868). In the course of its implementation, the relatively independent *daimyos* [feudal lords] had been stripped of virtually all their powers by such measures as: alternate attendance (*sankin kötai*) at court in Edo; military service; and a veiled tax in the form of required gifts to the Shogun. In 1635, the influence of the big overseas merchants had been reduced by the establishment of a state monopoly on foreign trade while at the same time Japanese were forbidden to leave the country. Furthermore, those foreign nations which were seen as a threat to the power of the Shogun, mainly because of their missionary activities, were banned from the country: the Spanish in 1624 and the Portuguese in 1639 (Fairbank, Reischauer, Craig 1973: 408-410).

Deshima within the Framework of the *Sakoku* ("closed-door") Policy

Why then were the Dutch allowed to stay? In the first place the Dutch had, throughout their time in Japan, proved very loyal to the Shogun. The most telling example was their naval support of the Shogunal forces in the suppression of the Christian-inspired Shimabara revolt in 1638. In the second place the Dutch refrained from missionary activities and proved very flexible on religious matters. When in August 1641 the governor of Nagasaki promulgated a series of restrictive measures concerning the stay of the Dutch in Japan, the reaction of the Dutch chief, M. le Maire, to the

prohibition on religious practice, was indicative. He told his fellow Dutchmen that it was a harsh measure, but in view of the Company's interests which were at stake they had no other choice than to obey the orders of the governor. Furthermore, he advised his subordinates to serve their God in their own manner (Heeres 1907: 357). With this combination of flexibility and loyalty the Dutch managed to secure for themselves a chink within the framework of the closed door.

Until 1853 all the news about the Western world and, vice versa, all information about Japan was sluiced through the tiny fan-shaped artificial island called Deshima (Seichi 1976, Valentijn 1726, Kaempfer 1729). As such, Deshima was regarded as a regular quarter of Nagasaki and so was under the control of a quartermaster. Nagasaki itself was one of the five big cities directly controlled by the central government. It was represented by two governors, who alternately resided in Edo and Nagasaki. A similarity can be noted with the Dutch chiefs of Deshima. Since they were only allowed to stay one year at a time on Deshima, two frequently alternated. While the one was chief of the factory the other kept a seat on the Council of Justice in Batavia (Jakarta), the headquarters of the VOC in the Far East. The chief, who always held the rank of merchant within the VOC hierarchy, had a limited jurisdiction over the Dutchmen and slaves who resided on the island. In their contact with the authorities in Nagasaki, the Dutch were wholly dependent on Japanese interpreters who formed a guild counting some 150 members. Apart from their Japanese women companions, the Dutch had informal contacts with a host of retainers such as cooks, servants and gatekeepers who were all on the pay-roll of the Company (Vos 1971). Thus many people in Nagasaki were dependent on the Company for their livelihood (Nachod 1897: 421).

The yearly routine at the factory was determined by the arrival of the ships from Jakarta (Batavia) in the middle of August. During the following trading season the Dutch sold their imports, which consisted of linen cloth from India, silk fabrics from China, and spices, while they bought copper, camphor and minor quantities of lacquer ware and porcelain from the Japanese. The ships left with the north monsoon for Batavia by the end of October. From November till February preparations were made for the court journey to Edo by the chief, the surgeon and the two other Dutch officials.

During this journey the chief was given equal rank to a minor *daimyo* and was treated accordingly. After the chief had been received in audience by the Shogun, the train returned to Nagasaki. Upon their return at the end of May the factory was gradually put in readiness for the arrival of the ships in August. The diaries bear testimony to this yearly routine.

The diaries kept by the chiefs average 300 pages, including the diary kept by the deputy while the chief was on the court-journey. Much space in the diaries is, of course, devoted to trade matters but fortunately events on the island and

elsewhere in the country receive a lot of attention too. The diaries were originally meant as reference works for the chiefs themselves. Furthermore, a copy was sent to Batavia and then to the headquarters of the VOC in Amsterdam. These are kept in the National Archive in The Hague. After forty-odd years, the diaries had grown into an imposing body of 12,000 pages. Therefore, it was decided in 1673 that the marginalia adjoining the original text should be copied in a separate list. From that year onward this list preceded the diaries as a table of contents which considerably facilitated the finding of the information the chiefs were looking for. These tables of contents, together with the diaries which are almost complete from 1627 until 1860 should be viewed as the keys to the rest of the archives of the Dutch factory in Japan.

The Archives of the Dutch Factory in Japan: Source Publications

The papers of the former Dutch factory in Japan cover a shelf-length of more than forty metres. This archival deposit, the only complete one that remains of all VOC factories in Asia, consists of the greater part of resolutions by the council of the factory, correspondence with Batavia and other VOC factories, account books, notary acts and, of course, the diaries kept by the chiefs and deputies, which alone run to 35,000 pages of text.

Although these series are arranged in chronological order neither indices nor alphabetical registers exist. However, there is an inventory with an English introduction which enumerates the series mentioned above and to which dates have been added (Roessingh 1964). No wonder that most historians have been overwhelmed by the amount of material and by the inaccessibility of the archives. Nevertheless, determined scholars such as the German historian O. Nachod, the Dutch scholar J. Feenstra Kuiper, and the British historian C. R. Boxer have, not without success, tried their hand at it. Their books have become classics in the field of the history of Dutch-Japanese relations (Nachod 1897, Feenstra Kuiper 1921, Boxer 1950). They have clearly demonstrated how the Dutch played a crucial role in the transmission of Western technology and medical science to Japan during the *Sakoku* period.

One need not be surprised to find that from the outset Japanese historians have shown a keen interest in this rich collection of material which could shed a different light on their history (Blussé 1979). However the scientific interest only dates from the late nineteenth century when the reform of the educational system in 1885-86 by Mori Arinori was implemented. The basic tenets of this reform were academic freedom and a critical rationalistic approach to the subject matter. In respect to history, it paved the way for a break from the traditional Confucian approach. The appointment of the German historian L. Riess at the newly established department of history at Tokyo University in 1887, meant a reorientation

of Japanese historiography based on the teachings of Riess's teacher, L. Ranke. In his historiographical approach, which he based on extensive archival research, Ranke stressed the primacy of foreign policy as the determinant of national policy. While studying the *Sakoku* period Riess realised that it was absolutely necessary to copy the archives of the Dutch factory in Japan. The agreement which he negotiated with the Dutch State Archives in 1890 to copy documents held in The Hague pertaining to Japan did not materialise. Nevertheless, three years later he was able to copy some material from the archives (Numata Jirö 1971: 264-87). In 1899, one of Riess's students, Mikami Sanji, was appointed chief of the *Dai Nippon shiryö* (Chronological sourcebooks on Japanese history) source publication project. He created the opportunity for yet another student of Riess, Murakami Naojirö, to do archival research in Europe for a period of three years. Needless to say, he spent most of his time copying documents from the archives of the Dutch factory in The Hague. Then, for the next twenty years there was no follow-up.

In 1922 Mikami Sanji, by then one of the directors of the Shiryö Hensanjo (The Historiographical Institute) of the University of Tokyo, proposed a long term project to the imperial government which aimed at the copying of all foreign source material pertaining to Japan. In 1922 an agreement was reached with the Dutch State Archives in The Hague to hand-copy all the diaries of the Dutch factory in Japan. From 1923 until the outbreak of the Second World War, fifty diaries were copied by Japanese scholars of whom Iwao Seiichi and Itazawa Takeo are the best known (Itazawa Takeo, Tokyo 1929: 17-44). On the basis of this field-work Murakami Naojirö has translated the diaries of Deshima from 1641 to 1654 into Japanese (Murakami Naojirö 1965-68). The eight remaining diaries of the Dutch factory in Hirado have been translated into Japanese by Nagazumi Yökö (Nagazumi Yökö 1969-70). In 1974, the Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo set in motion an ambitious project aimed at the integral publication of the Dutch text of the diaries, accompanied by a Japanese translation covering the period 1633 to 1860 (*Oranda shökan-chö nikki* [Diaries kept by the heads of the Dutch factory in Japan] 1974-1984). If this project proceeds at the current pace, then by the end of this millennium two Japanese translations covering the period 1633-54 will be available: the translation of Murakami and Nagazumi on the one hand and the translation of the Historiographical Institute on the other. Another Japanese project which should be mentioned is that of the Nichi-Ran Köshöshi Kenkyiikai (Society of Historical Research for Dutch-Japanese Intercourse) which, under the leadership of Iwao Seiichi, has produced a stencil edition of the diaries covering the years 1800-57 (Iwao Seiichi 1953-1967). The transcription is correct but lacks both annotation and indices.

Although the Japanese source publications have their weak points, the endeavours of both individuals and institutes in Japan are quite impressive, certainly when one compares them to the activities of the Dutch. Notwithstanding the fact

that several publications of source materials about the history of the VOC have been published by the Rijksgeschiedkundige Commissie (The National Historical Commission) in its prestigious series Rijksgeschiedkundige Publicatiën (RGP National Historical Publications), so far little has appeared about Japan.

However, one Dutch initiative should be mentioned. In 1943 the archivist of the Royal Institute of Tropical Research, G. K. Steinmetz, proposed to copy and annotate certain archival sources of the Dutch factory in Japan. A.N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta and H.A. Daendels who were assigned to this project made extracts from diaries, memoranda, resolutions and correspondence of the 1620-40 period. At the same time, they added glossaries and indices of personal names and subject matter. The intention to publish their work in the series of the National Historical Commission failed to materialise for various reasons. The result of their endeavours, about 4000 typed pages, now rests unpublished in the first section of the State Archives (Aanwinsten 1965 / 1.2).

In 1964, M. Roessingh published a complete inventory of the Deshima archives. While he was working his way through the diaries, he conceived the idea of the publication of the marginalia of the Deshima diaries from 1680 to 1860. A colleague of his, Dr. M. van Opstall and the Leiden-trained sinologist-historian Dr. L. Blussé formed with him a triumvirate to carry out this task (Van Opstall 1986). Thanks to a large subsidy by the Isaac Alfred Ailion Foundation, the project was started in 1985. In addition, the Fukutake foundation of Japan also subsidised the project.

The Deshima Diaries Source Publication Project in Progress

As mentioned earlier, the marginalia of the original text were copied and added as a separate list to each of the diaries from 1673 onwards. Since the diaries were originally reference books for the chiefs of the factory, the tables of contents functioned as primitive indices. It appeared to the originators of this project that these succinct tables of contents could likewise provide today's historian with important information for his or her research. Therefore they drew the conclusion that research in the archives would be considerably encouraged and facilitated if these tables alone were published in an English translation supplemented by a personal name index, a ship's index, a subject index and a glossary of unfamiliar Dutch words. This was in view of the fact that it was in the first place meant as a research tool for *Rangaku* scholars, and historians of foreign trade.

Within this frame two volumes so far have been published by T. Vermeulen, who worked on the project from late 1984 to the end of 1987 (Vermeulen 1984-87). In the introductions to both volumes (1680-90 and 1690-1700) the author explains his working method to the reader. Vermeulen has steadfastly kept very close to the text of the

tables of contents although sometimes “Redundant information such as recurring place names during the court journey have been omitted and sometimes additional information has been added for reasons of clarity” (Vermeulen 1987: 3-5).

In the preface to every diary, Vermeulen reveals something about the main events which occurred during that year. These half-page introductions are preceded by the archival number, the year, and the names of the chief and his deputy. The latter kept a diary of what happened in Deshima during the absence of the chief. This means that every diary covers fifteen instead of twelve months. Because the diary kept in the chief’s absence lacks marginalia, Vermeulen has condensed the contents of this part of the diary to a couple of lines which have been placed between asterisks. The marginalia have been arranged chronologically according to their folio number in the original text. Three indices complete the text. The index on subjects refers to the table of contents but the indices on ships’ names and personal names are based on the integral text of the diary. Both Japanese and Dutch names are given according to the traditional Dutch spelling. The personal names index provides short biographical information on the persons in question as far as this could be gleaned from the integral text. Underlined terms and expressions in the text have been collected and explained in a glossary. The publication of the first two volumes has had positive reactions both from *Rangaku* scholars and from Japanologists. The fact that the first volume is now in its second printing proves that this project fills a basic need. However, many suggestions for improvement have also been made.

Major shortcomings were singled out: the absence of the dates of the journal in the margin; the somewhat inconsistent use of the present and past tense; the obscure meaning of some of the entries in the text; the frequency of underlined Dutch words; and the absence of characters of the Japanese names. To meet this critique, the following improvements will be made in future volumes. As of volume three, the date of every entry will be added in the margin. Many readers felt the absence of the exact date gave them no foothold in time. The marginalia constantly use different tenses. Since this is rather confusing, from the fourth volume the past tense will be consistently used. While the publication was originally just seen as a research aid for archival use, it has now been realised that many historians who have no ready access to the Archives in The Hague, actually use it as a source calendar.

Another suggestion for improvement concerns the clarification of obscure entries such as “reasons why”, “the story concerning X”, and “thoughts about the subject”. Even the most inventive historian is unable to fathom the meaning of these sentences. Therefore, it has been recognised that these kinds of expressions should be clarified. Hence as of volume four the “reasons why” will be summarised, “the story about X” will be explained and the “thoughts about the subject” will be expressed. Because more information has been added, the typographical nature of the text has gained a

more paragraph-like appearance. As the clarity of the text increases, the number of underlined Dutch words can be cut down. For this reason, the large glossaries which have been added to volumes one and two can be cut down in the following volumes. In any case, the glossary provided so far is virtually complete. Due to the cyclical and repetitive nature of the diaries it is improbable that many new unfamiliar Dutch words will surface. Only a few Dutch and Japanese words will be retained, this when difficult to translate or simply when they add a touch of local flavour to the text.

The frequent use of underlined words results from the working method of my predecessor who translated the marginalia from the table of contents. I soon discovered that by translating the marginalia which adjoin the original text instead, the underlined words denoted for the most part the roles of people who are explicitly named in the text such as *gouverneur* (governor), *tolk* (interpreter), *gecommitteerden* (delegates). Replacing the functions with the personal names has the advantage of significantly reducing the number of underlined words and at the same time increases the familiarity of the readers with the persons who figure in the diaries. I should also remark that I have added marginalia to the text of the diary kept by the deputy during the absence of the chief, because to leave this part out would mean to skip a lot of relevant information.

Even though the procedure outlined increases the workload, I nevertheless hope to increase the publication output from one to three volumes a year. Another helpful suggestion was that characters be added to Dutch spellings of Japanese names. As a temporary measure, from volume three, the personal names index will be split into a Dutch and Japanese index. Japanese members of the Japan-Netherlands Institute in Tokyo have agreed to make such a list in the future. Minor changes which relate mostly to the layout of the text will be described in the introduction to volume four, available in January 1989 (Van der Velde 1989). With these improvements, we hope to meet the most important criticisms while at the same time keeping the project in motion. Of course, we do not foster dreams of attaining as wide a readership as J. Clavell did with his novel *Shogun*. Nevertheless one of the originators of the Deshima project, the late Marius Roessingh once said that: “The nature of the diaries as source evokes the traits of a classical play by its unity of time, place and action”. As a newcomer in the Deshima project, I can only subscribe to his point of view.

The Closed Door Ajar?

Due to their loyal attitude towards the Japanese central government and their flexibility in religious matters, the Dutch were able to secure a place on the periphery of a society which was otherwise closed to Westerners. The archives of the Dutch

factory in Nagasaki, especially the diaries, are a unique eye-witness to the so-called *Sakoku* period in Japanese history which lasted from 1641 to 1853. At the end of the nineteenth century Japanese historians, under the influence of Ranke's teachings, realised the primary importance of these archives for the study of this period. All publications of the archival resources in question were initiated and executed by them. Until recently, Dutch interest in this archive remained low. However, in 1984 the DDSPP was set in motion. With the translation into English of the marginalia of the diaries kept by the chiefs in Deshima from 1680-1860, we hope to make up for years of neglect, and facilitate the access to what is one of the only foreign sources on Japan in the closed door period.

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Dutch Class: The Dutch Language as a Vehicle to Western Science

The precondition for the flowering of Dutch learning (Rangaku) was a thorough understanding of the Dutch language by Japanese scientists. In this article, the beginnings of the Dutch language instruction on a regular basis in the last quarter of the eighteenth century are unveiled. The Japanese historian N. Jiro has pointed out that during the Tanuma Era: "The economic developments and the Bakufu's effort to cope with them resulted in an increased study of applied sciences and technology, a trend that had already started at the end of Yoshimune's reign" (Numato Jiro 1992: 52).

Original source: Velde, Paul van der. 1996. "Dutch Class. The Dutch Language as a Vehicle to Western Science". *Shipping, Factories and Colonization,* edited by Everaert, J and Parmetier, L. 301-305. Brussel: Koninklijke Academie voor Overzeese Wetenschappen en Wetenschappelijk Comité voor Maritieme Geschiedenis.

ABC

Because this study of the applied sciences was based largely on Dutch learning, it has a distinctive linguistic component. Only through the use of the Dutch language could the scientists gain direct access to Western technology, otherwise it came only indirectly via the Japanese translators working on Deshima. Up until the 1770s only a few translators had attained a level of proficiency in the Dutch language which could guarantee a successful transference of Western science. Most famous among them was Immamura Gen'emon Eisei (1681-1736) whom I consider, not only linguistically speaking, to be the founding father of *Rangaku*. He wrote a book on equestrianism (1736) on the basis of his intensive contact with the horse master H.G. Keijserling and he played a key role in the translation of wide-ranging questions of the Shoguns on topics such as law, botany, geography and military weapons (Van der Velde 1993 / 1995). The Dutch language had never been taught in a classroom at Deshima. Some interpreters did receive individual instruction from VOC servants, mostly physicians. Therefore, only interpreters with a talent for languages, such as Imamura, could attain a high level of fluency and comprehension.

However, most interpreters had only a vague notion of the Dutch language. The lack of knowledge was noted over and over again by Dutch chiefs in their diaries. Nevertheless, Japanese scholars wanting to gain access to Western science were dependent on the few interpreters who had mastered Dutch. With the increase of interest in the applied sciences, the need for direct access to the Dutch language became self-evident. Scholars must have welcomed the news that the interpreter

Sensabro (Nishi Zensabūrō) had taken the initiative in compiling a dictionary. The list of Dutch-Japanese words compiled by Immura in the later years of his life must have come in handy for Zensabūrō. In the 1767 diary of the Dutch chief H.C. Kastens, it is noted on July 13th, that: "Sensabro has not visited our island in months. Neither has he left his house. He says he is ill and no longer fit to act as an interpreter. All other interpreters say that he is feigning his illness and are making jokes about him. They say that he is compiling a Dutch-Japanese dictionary and will tender his resignation. It seems that he is quite wealthy" (Van der Velde 1994: 1767/112-3). Nishi Zensabūrō was working from P. Marin's *Nederduitsch en Fransch Woordenboek* (Dutch-French Dictionary) but he only reached the letter B. It would be another thirty years before a Dutch-Japanese dictionary was printed in Nagasaki which would facilitate the independent study of Western science by Japanese scholars.

The First Language Instructors

In 1777 an important development occurred which was bound to increase the language proficiency of the interpreters, some of whom would become scholars themselves. Imamura Daijūrō, one of the interpreters, told the Dutch chief A.W. Feith that the apprentice-interpreters had received permission to stay on the island for a couple of days a month, so that they could be taught Dutch by VOC assistants in the house of the *ottonas* (guardians who controlled access to the island). Feith objected on the grounds that he could not do without them in view of the pressure of company business, although he must have been aware of the great advantages that the increased language skills of the interpreters would bring.

Imamura Daijūrō's fellow interpreter, Gisabro, tried to counter Feith's objections, suggesting that it would be better if the apprentice interpreters were taught Dutch in the houses of the VOC assistants because there were many objects of Dutch origin at hand (Van der Velde 1994: 1778/4). He also told Feith that the edict forbidding the apprentice-interpreters from coming to Deshima, which had been issued in 1774, would soon be revoked. This must have happened before 4 December 1777. Because on that very day they assembled for the first time in the house of the *ottonas* to attend lectures in Dutch. By this time, Feith must have given in to the Japanese demands either under pressure or of his own accord. The assembly marked the beginning of Dutch language instruction for the interpreters on a regular basis (Van der Velde 1994: 1778/7). The diary does not state who taught the first lesson, but it must have been one of the following four persons whom Feith had assigned to the job: A.M. Groenenberg, J. van Vlissingen, F.W. Schindeler or D. Moyer. These four assistants can be considered the first Dutch language instructors in Japan (Van der Velde 1994: 1779/23). So far little is known about their background apart from the

fact that Schindeler assisted the famous physician C. P. Thunberg, who spent the year 1778 on Deshima, collecting herbs in the vicinity of Nagasaki.

Nature and Frequency of the Lessons

According to the diary, language instruction was continued on 13 February 1778. Other entries in the 1778 diary mention instruction on February 17, 21, 25 and 28; on March 3, 7, and 23; on April 22, 28; on May 27, 28, 29; on June 7, 11, 15, 19, and 23. On 19 February a language examination took place at the governor's residence but, to the amazement of the Dutch, they were not allowed to be present (Van der Velde 1994: 1778/41). If this situation persisted later on remains uncertain, but it seems that at that time the examinations remained a prerogative of the interpreters themselves. As to the nature of the language instruction, one can assume that it was partly teaching by demonstration either by showing objects of everyday use and other objects on Deshima or from engravings in books. We can infer this from the remark made by Imamura Daijūrō who as mentioned above, thought it would be better to teach in the houses of the Dutch where many objects were at hand. Into this category one can also place the use of illustrated alphabet lists which seem to have been available in Japan (Van der Velde 1994: 1778/43).

We also have a written source about the nature of the language instruction. It is a statement by Van Groenenberg, one of the language instructors, which is included in Feith's diary (Van der Velde 1994: 1778/78-9). From this statement, it becomes clear that the Japanese had to write letters and make translations which were corrected by Van Groenenberg. The latter wrote the statement on the order of Feith, who had put him under house arrest after he had refused to copy Feith's diary (Van der Velde 1994: 1778/75). Van Groenenberg bluntly told Feith that he had more important things to do than copying the latter's diary. These more important matters referred to his teaching Dutch to the interpreters and he told Feith to have someone else do the dull and boring work (Van der Velde 1994: 1778/82). It was clear that Van Groenenberg derived a degree of self-confidence and status from his profession as a language instructor. He remained under house arrest for 31 days and was released on 25 May. Four days later the lessons were postponed so that, according to Feith, the assistants could occupy themselves with Company business. The interpreter Kozaemon protested the suspension of the lessons. Feith gave in and the lessons were continued in June according to his diary (Van der Velde 1994: 1778/92). Probably, the lessons were suspended during the trading season lasting from August till October because that was really a busy time on the island.

According to the diary kept by the chief Isaac Titsingh (who arrived 15 July 1779), the language instructions recommenced on 30 January 1780. On 28 February

they were suspended once more during the so-called *Stille Tijd* (Quiet Season) when the chief was undertaking the yearly court journey to Tokyo because it had caused trouble in the preceding year. Here we see a telling example of the nature of a society which was ruled by precedents. It is obvious that during this period the assistants had virtually nothing to do (Van der Velde 1994: 1778/31). The last entry on language instruction in Titsingh's diary is dated 11 July when he and the interpreters agreed that language instruction should take place at a frequency of eight times a month (Van der Velde 1994: 1778/94).Whether the language instruction was continued during the trading season and the Quiet Season remains unclear. Therefore, it is safe to assume that the interpreters received instruction between sixty to a hundred times a year. Unfortunately, nowhere is there any indication of how many hours the sessions lasted.

The Impact of Dutch Language Instruction

In his statement, Van Groenenberg remarked that the lessons considerably improved the interpreters' mastery of the Dutch language (Van der Velde 1994: 1778/78). This improvement in the mastery of both spoken and written Dutch certainly made day-to-day communication easier and must have stimulated mutual understanding between the Japanese and the Dutch. This is exemplified by Isaac Titsingh, who even engaged in correspondence with Japanese scientists in Dutch (Lequin 1990). Although it never became an official policy, an open attitude towards the West was entertained by a lot of influential Japanese during the Tanuma Era. There were even plans to send 150 Japanese to Batavia to learn the craft of seagoing ships. The improved mastery of the Dutch language (which would remain the language used by Japanese diplomats until 1890) also laid the foundation for *rangaku* to become a scientific movement from the 1780s onwards. Gradually Japanese scholars became acquainted with Western thought and equally importantly technology, which would pave the way for Japan to make a relatively easy transition from an agrarian society to an industrial power at the end of the nineteenth century.

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The Zealander Jan van der Cruijsse's "Japanese" Diary (1736-37)

In this article an idea is given of the daily life on the island of Deshima in Nagasaki Bay and the court journey to Tokyo by the Dutch chief Jan van der Cruijsse. It is based on the diary kept by him from October 1736 to October 1737.

Original source: Velde, Paul van der. 2000. "Jan van der Cruijsse (1700-1738). Het Japanse dagboek van een Fliplander". *Zeeuws Tijdschrift* 50-3. 18-23. This article is translated by Rosemary Robson-McKillop. I am grateful to the archivists S.F.M. Plantinga, J.P.B. Zuurdeeg and H. Uil for their useful comments.

From 1641 to 1853, Deshima, the Japanese trading-post in Nagasaki Bay, was the point of contact where Dutchmen and Japanese could meet each other. Until the dissolution of the VOC (Dutch East India Company) in 1799, the men-in-charge were senior merchants in the VOC hierarchy. A number of them, including Daniël Six, Isaac van Schinne, Hendrik van Buytenheim, Nicholaas Johan van Hoorn and Gideon Boudaen, were born and bred in Zealand. From time to time they are still mentioned sporadically in studies, however one will seek in vain in historical studies for our Zealander, Jan van der Cruijsse. This is precisely the reason I feel prompted to present a short sketch of his life and cite extracts from the Diary which he kept on Deshima from October 1736 to October 1737. Before I commence, I shall sketch the historical background to Japanese-Dutch relations and life on Deshima.

In Japanese-Dutch relations, the period 1641-1853 can be roughly divided up into two periods: 1641-1715 when trade dominated the picture and the period 1715-1853 when the transference of scientific knowledge began to play an ever-increasing role. The diary Van der Cruijsse kept between 1736-1737 was written in a period in which scientific knowledge and its accoutrements were unequivocally beginning to steal the limelight. This was during the reign of Shogun Yoshimune who paradoxically was responsible for the trade restrictions proclaimed in 1715 and the lifting of the ban on the importation of Western books. Hence, it is also the period which heralds the beginning of Dutch Studies or *rangaku*, although these only really took off at the end of this century. This burgeoning transfer of knowledge would prove to be of inestimable value in the transformation of Japan from a feudal state to industrial power in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Daily Life on Deshima

Deshima, that tiny, fan-shaped, artificial island in Nagasaki Harbour, was the VOC conduit through which a reciprocal stream of Western and Japanese knowledge flowed. It was connected to Nagasaki by a heavily guarded bridge. The dwellings and warehouses of the VOC employees were strung out along its only thoroughfare, Cross Street. Nagasaki was one of five cities in Japan which fell under the direct authority of the Shogun. It was under the authority of two governors, who changed places with each other every year. One resided in Tokyo, the other in Nagasaki. The VOC paralleled this dyadic administrative structure by having two chief merchants change places with each other on an annual basis. The Dutch chief invariably held the rank of merchant in the VOC hierarchy and exercised a limited jurisdiction over the ten to twenty Dutchman and twenty to thirty slaves on Deshima. The latter came from what were to become the Netherlands East Indies and India and spoke Malay, Portuguese or one of the Indian languages. They sported colourful names like Cupido van Bengalen (Cupid from Bengal). The slaves usually spoke Dutch or one of its dialects and, even when they pronounced it with a strong Strasbourg accent, they were consistently disparagingly referred to by the Japanese as "Mountain Dutch" (*Berghollanders*). In a nutshell, Deshima was a multi-cultural, multi-lingual island in the closed Japanese empire.

In their contacts with the Japanese, the Dutch were largely dependent on one interpreters' guild which consisted of 150 people. Membership was hereditary. The interpreters had their own house on Deshima, close to the water-gate through which the goods were brought ashore. The guild was divided up into eight ranks, within which the Dutch distinguished four main categories: apprentice interpreter, junior interpreter, interpreter and chief interpreter. The Deshima Diaries clearly reveal that a small group of chief interpreters controlled and manipulated the exchange of information between the Dutch and the Japanese.

Besides these official channels, the Dutch had informal contracts with suppliers and personnel like cooks, servants, guards and so on, all of whom were on the payroll of the VOC. It would not be an exaggeration to say that a portion of the population of Nagasaki was dependent, directly or indirectly, on the VOC. The Dutchmen also enjoyed a more intimate contact with the geishas or "keesjes". Even though they played an enormous role in the daily lives of the VOC employees for whom the fairly free and easy sexual morals in Japan must have been an eye-opener, these ladies rarely appear in the diaries which were kept for official administrative purposes. Only in the private correspondence are we able to catch a glimpse of these ladies of the "Flower and Willow World". Their lucrative earnings afforded these "housewives" of the Dutchmen an influential position in the society of Nagasaki and elsewhere in Japan. This was also because the profession they exercised was

completely respectable in Japanese society. The network of these ladies, whose children often had piercing blue eyes, is one of the topics which is still awaiting in-depth research.

The annual routine of the trading-post was determined by the arrival of the ships in the middle of August. The months of September and October were dominated by active commercial dealings when the goods imported, such as sugar and cotton, were traded for copper and camphor. The ships sailed at the end of October. The month of February was taken up with preparations for the court journey to Tokyo which the Dutch chief was obliged to make each year. The journey usually lasted three months, from the middle of February to the end of May. The chief was received in audience by the Shogun and he distributed the mandatory gifts to the former and to other high-ranking officials. During its time in Tokyo, the delegation was visited by all sorts of Japanese scientists who deluged its members with questions. During the chief's absence, he was replaced on Deshima by the second-in-command of the trading-post, who used the time to take care of repairs to the warehouses and lighters. The time between the return of the chief and the arrival of the ships in August was known as the "Quiet Season" and that says it all. This was the world in which Van der Cruijsse made his debut in August 1728, after having already worked in Batavia, the Asian headquarters of the VOC, for ten years.

From St Philipsland to Batavia

Jan van der Cruijsse was born in St Philipsland in Zealand around 1700. Because the baptismal register of this village for the years 1659-1780 was burned in 1940, we shall never be able to establish exactly when he was born. Jan was the son of Johannes van der Cruijsse who was the Dutch Reformed minister in St Philipsland from 1695 until his death in 1711. After the death of his first wife in 1697, he remarried Margaretha Dibbets, who like himself was a native of Middelburg. From the scant data available, it would seem the minister was not a poor man as he owned several houses in St Philipsland and a farm in its environs. In 1717, Jan sold this on behalf of his mother. He will also certainly not have done too badly out of this deal. What enticed him to the East is shrouded in the mists of history but I think it was more a sense of adventure than the lure of money.

At the beginning of November 1717, he sailed for the Indies on the ship the *'t Raethuis van Vlissingen* as a midshipman in the service of the Zealand Chamber of the VOC. He arrived in Batavia in the middle of July 1718. Until he left to take up his appointment on Deshima, Jan worked as a clerk in the VOC office there. Very little is known about this period of his life. He probably led the dreary life of a clerk who had little else to do but produce copies of the host of reports and letters which the

VOC generated. By whom and why he was appointed to Nagasaki is just as much a mystery. Perhaps he had been lured by the stories which were told about this closed kingdom and he also very probably enjoyed Zealand patronage.

The Tower of Zierikzee

At the beginning of May 1728, Jan left for Deshima on board the *Reijersbroek*. As they made landfall, the sailors will no doubt have pointed out to him the mountain in the bay which closely resembled the Tower of Zierikzee, the 62-metre-high tower of the former church of St Livinus in that Zealand city. After an eventful voyage, they dropped anchor off the Papenburg (a hilly island at the entrance to Nagasaki Bay) on 23 July 1728. On 25 July they were granted permission to disembark and Van der Cruijsse moved into his quarters on Cross Street, the only street on Deshima. Jan arrived in Japan at a time when this country had been hit by an economic crisis. This manifested itself in famines and numerous arson attacks perpetrated by discontented farmers and labourers. In the absence of weapons which were the monopoly of the samurai class, arson was their only means to make their voices heard. These fires were recorded in the diaries by the Dutch chiefs. A closer study of the number of fires noted in this source could lead to an indicator of the social unrest in Japan during the period in which the country was closed off from the world.

Despite or perhaps because of this crisis, the period which Jan spent on Deshima saw a big leap forward in interest in Rangaku (Dutch Knowledge). This upsurge is largely attributed to Shogun Yosimune, who had even appointed a special person to gather this knowledge and make it accessible. This person was Imamura Gen'emon with whom Jan must have had regular dealings. He met Gen'emon in Tokyo during his first court journey in 1729 when the latter was serving there as interpreter for the German horse-master J.G. Keijser. The fact that Jan had been allowed to make this journey was a sign that his career was certainly going in the right direction and, in 1735, he was indeed appointed chief. However, he had to be patient for a year as the ship on which he was sailing to Japan ran aground off Canton. After various vicissitudes, he arrived in Batavia in June just before the ships were about to depart for Nagasaki. He arrived on Deshima as the newly elected chief on 11 August and on 24 October was officially installed as his successor by his predecessor Bernardus Coop à Groen. This is the day on which his diary entries begin. Below is a small anthology from what is, for the sake of convenience, called his diary. In fact, it was called *dagregister* or journal containing notes on events which was primarily used as a reference work by the chiefs.

Diary Kept by Jan van der Cruijsse 1736-1737

1736, *October* (Days in brackets) [26] The Shogun wants the following items: one Persian stallion, a Dutchman who is expert in compiling almanacs as Kyūdayū wants to master this skill, gold and silver curios, 10,000 catties of premium steel, two small telescopes, 25 paintings depicting flowers, birds and landscapes, eight turkeys, 10 crystal bottles, 80 rice-birds, six big telescopes, two small ivory spy-glasses, engraved multifaceted glass, 150 pairs of spectacles, three rosemary bushes, three surgical cylinders, four catties of red ochre pens and 200 toothpicks.

November [1] The two junks hauled into mid-stream have been loaded and the Chinese are taking their idols aboard. [6] At night we heard cannon shots from which we concluded that the ships had left. In the morning we saw that the ships had sailed. [9] I told Hachizaemon that the physician Hendrik van Haaster and the calendar-expert Dirk van Horbag would join me on my trip to Edo. I asked him if the watchmaker, Anthonij Kluijt, and the musicians were also to join us on our trip. If so, clothes would have to be made for the musicians because they walk around stark naked. Hachizaemon said that there was still a possibility that Kluijt might go to Edo, but the musicians will certainly have to remain here. I talked to him about the extra presents. I assured him that they were not given because we felt obliged to do so and added that, during the 138 years of our trade with Japan, we had never done anything which might damage relations. [16] On behalf of Hachizaemon, who is ill, Chūjirö asked for butter and smoked meat which has been given to him. [27] On behalf of Sakuiemon, Gohei told me that the biggest horse has to be taken to Sakuieimon's residence because it will be sent to Edo. [30] I asked Chūjirö to invite the porcelain-makers and the lacquer-workers to come on to our island.

December [12] Namura Gohei told me that Hizen, the mayor of Nagasaki, will leave for Osaka tomorrow to find out whether he can buy more copper. Every day there are rumours about the low production and rising prices of copper. I replied that there is no shortage of copper but that there is not enough money to pay the labourers. [13] Gohei told me that if Hizen turns out to be successful, we shall receive more copper. However, if the mission fails, we shall have to pay more for the copper to the detriment of the Company. Furthermore, Gohei told me that the wages had gone up and that the miners had to dig deeper to reach the copper deposits. [15] A fire broke out five streets from our island. Gohei told me that six small houses had been destroyed in the blaze. [22] On behalf of Sakueimon, Gohei asked for medicine which is intended for the Shogun. I told him that we could not give him the full amount. He replied that it would do. [24] We were told that, in view of the many fires breaking out in town, we should be vigilant that no fire broke out on our island. [27] Hail and snow. It is freezing.

1737, *January* [1] I have been congratulated upon the occasion of New Year by my compatriots and the Japanese servants, who gave me presents. I thanked them and we partied until the evening. They were delighted with the treat. It seems as if we are friends rather than enemies. [16] On behalf of Hizen, Hachizaemon told me that, among the additional presents, two clocks and the blood corals will be acceptable to the court. However, Kluijt does not have to come to Edo. I replied it would be necessary to take Kluijt along; on the one hand, should something happen to the clocks, which is not unlikely, he can repair them, and, on the other hand, because Your Lordships have ordered it. [17] Hachizaemon told me that, apart from the two clocks and the blood corals, two of the four hunting dogs, named Hannibal and Veetje, will be sent to Edo in advance at the expense of the Shogun. [23] Since he had not been given permission to visit our island, Van Haaster had to examine the patient just outside the land gate. Van Haaster thinks he can cure him. He is not a leper. He has boils and his blood is infected. Van Haaster told me that Hachizaemon told him not to tell the patient that he can cure him, since this would cause the interpreters a lot of trouble if that were not the case.

February [1] Japanese New Year. I conveyed my congratulations upon the occasion to Hizen. [2] He conveyed his thanks. Hizen has asked the interpreters about my health and if I were ready for the court journey. The interpreters have given an affirmative reply. Several Japanese have congratulated me upon the New Year. One of the interpreters told me that Brasman will replace Hachizaemon, who is ill at present, as an escort. This is an unfortunate development since Brasman is an incompetent, rude, stubborn and malicious interpreter. Especially when he is drunk. [5] The presents and other goods have been packed. [6] Our luggage consists of 12 *nagamochi* and 36 trunks. [7] The lacquer-workers paid me a visit. I have ordered 96 pieces amounting to 1,211 *taels* or 4,241 guilders. [8] We went to the residence of Hizen. I asked that he intercede at court on our behalf and offer us his protection, which he promised. I wished him a prosperous term of government this year. [10] I tried to order porcelain, but I did not place the order because the prices turned out to be 150 percent higher than those Your Lordships had in mind. [13] Gohei told me that the Persian stallion had arrived safely in Edo. I have handed the keys of the warehouses and a memorandum to Van Poot and told the other Dutchmen to obey Van Poot during my absence.

Court Journey [14] After I had taken receipt of 600 *kobans*, we left Deshima. My cook reported that our meat had been stolen by the coolies. [20] Arrival in Shimoneski. [21] The governor paid me a visit. We visited several temples.

March [4] Arrival in Oskaka. The landlord picked us up in his pleasure barges which were decked out with Dutch flags. [6] We have delivered our presents to the governor. A Japanese told me that the new *kobans* had not yet been put into circulation and that foreign piece-goods fetched low prices. I put out a contract to

hire 113 coolies and 53 horses at last year's prices. [8] Departure from Osaka. Arrival in Miyako. [12] Departure from Miyako. [22] The retinue of the lord of Odawarra passed by. We saw many soldiers and 20 horses. [24] Arrival in Edo. [25] The secretaries of the commissioners of foreigners welcomed us. Kyūdayū paid us a visit. He asked various questions about the book on herbs by Rembertus Dodonaeus (Dodanaeus, famous botanist and writer of the *Cruydt-boek*, a well-known treatise on herbs first published in 1554). Around 11 o'clock in the evening he departed. [28] We went to the castle. We proceeded to the antechamber where we had to wait for three hours. I paid my respects. Thereupon we delivered presents to the senior and junior councillors. [29] After our coolies had sobered up, we delivered our presents to the commissioners of the temples and the governor of Edo. [30] On behalf of several gentleman, Brasman asked for saffron, theriac and four bottles of Spanish wine. [31] Kyūdayū asked many questions about lunar and solar eclipses. Van Horbag, who is experienced in these matters, has replied to Kyūdayū's satisfaction.

April [3] Farewell audience. The orders have been read to me. I received 50 gowns and permission to leave. [5] The Shogunal physician, accompanied by several students, paid us a visit and he talked about medicine with Van Haaster. Late in the evening, I was asked to order the following items from Batavia. 1. Scarlet paint for dying cloth, including an explanation of how to apply it. 2. Roots, bulbs or seeds of saffron. 3. Flax and linen. 4. A book about herbs with drawings of the herbs and explanation of their properties. 5. A book about all known animals with illustrations and also the description of the temperament of the animals. I replied that it was impossible to obtain the first three items mentioned. However, items four and five can be ordered. A physician of a lord has talked about diseases and the healing power of herbs with Van Haaster. We were asked several questions: 1. Are there rats in Holland? Reply: Affirmative. 2. If we had seen angels in the Mountains. Reply: No. 3. Does it snow in Holland and is it as cold as in Japan? Reply: Affirmative. 4. Are there dragons in Holland? While asking this they showed us the head, skin and paws of an iguana. Reply: No. [8] Departure from Edo. [21] Arrival in Miyako. I received a letter from Van Poot, stating that a fire has raged on the Chinese island. It destroyed 43 houses and 11 provisions warehouses. [22] I urged the lacquer-workers to produce high quality lacquer-ware. [25] Arrival in Oska. On our way we visited several temples. [28] We paid a visit to the city garden, the temples and the copper and silver refineries. [30] Departure from Osaka.

May [12] Arrival in Shimoneseki. [13] Departure from Shimoneseki. [19] Arrival on Deshima. The journey has taken 95 days. Van Poot returned the keys of the warehouses and his diary which did not contain anything noteworthy. [27] The lord of Hirado has arrived in Nagasaki. He paid us a visit. I welcomed him at the land gate. He was accompanied by a large retinue. I showed him around the island and ordered two of my compatriots to play billiards. He examined the paintings in my

office and the animals in formaldehyde. [30] Kizaemon, accompanied by the first servant of the lord of Hirado, gave me a present consisting of two bales of sake and a square box containing smoked stone bass. I conveyed my thanks for the present.

June [3] Kizaemon told me that the aged emperor has died. We have to observe a mourning period of five days. A lot of money will be spent on his funeral. [17] We went to the residence of Hizen where I paid my respects. Hizen has given permission to inspect the sampans and to pay a visit to Nagasaki. [26] I have put out a contract for the repair of our buildings amounting to 230 *taels* or 805 guilders. [27] I have put out a contract for the repair of the sampans. [28] Gohei told me that the clocks had arrived in Edo on the first of June. The Shogun derives great pleasure from the clocks. [3] I drew up a muster roll of the Company's servants.

July [1-6] Nothing noteworthy has happened. [8] One of the concubines of the crown prince has given birth to a son, called Takechiyo. One of the servants has picked up the brown horse which will be sent to Edo in the near future. [21] Gieske has finished repairing our buildings. [29] Tokuzaemon has been appointed junior interpreter. He has proved to be an interpreter who serves our interests well.

Arrival of the *Enchuijsen* and the *Abbekerk*

August [10] Two ships have been sighted off the coast. I sent a deputation to the ships to pick up the Company's papers. [11] A ship has anchored off the Papenberg. While sailing past Deshima, the interpreter Joske shouted that Visscher and Van Rhee had arrived. The flagship has anchored off the Papenberg. I sent a deputation to that ship. Upon its return, the deputation reported that the *Enchuijsen* and the *Abbekerk* had arrived. The ships left Batavia on the 17th of June and have run into three severe storms. Yesterday the skipper of the *Abbekerk*, Isaac de Valk, died. The ships have been allowed to anchor off Deshima. I notified Visscher of this in a letter and, very late in the afternoon, the ships anchored off Deshima. We have picked up Visscher, Van Rhee and the other friends. The value of the cargo of the ships amounts to 480,891 guilders. I have communicated the news of the world to the interpreters. [12] The presents have been unloaded and have been taken to the residence of Sakuiemon. The two stallions have been shown to Hizen, who was very pleased with these animals. During a meeting of the council, we read the Company's papers and I have presented notices of promotion to several compatriots. They are very grateful for their promotions. [15] The interpreters told me that three new guard-houses will be built on Deshima. Furthermore, a fence will be erected around the bleaching field alongside the Lelie and the Doorn warehouses. In addition, one guardsman from Nagasaki will guard the island during the night, while vessels will cruise in the bay guarding the fence of our island facing on to the bay. It is clear that the Japanese are seeking to increase our isolation. [18] While we were gathered in Van Rhee's room, Van Haaster entered saying that H. Kruger, who is vomiting blood, will not see the morning. We went to the room of Kruger where

we found that he was very weak. He has appointed Visscher and Van Rhee executers of his last will. [19] Around six o'clock in the morning Kruger died. We informed Hizen about the death of Kruger who has been buried at Inasa in the presence of four compatriots. [27] I have mustered the *Abbekerk* and I have proclaimed the regulations. The coolies have begun unloading the ship.

September [2] One thousand chests of copper have been shipped to the *Abbekerk*. [3] I have mustered the *Enchuijsen* and I have proclaimed the regulations. A large amount of sappan wood has been unloaded. [6] The ray-skins have been sorted out. The presents destined for Sakuiemon and Hizen have been delivered. Ten blankets have been given to Van Poot who will distribute them among the sick. [9] Kizaemon told me that the lord of Hizen has arrived in Nagasaki accompanied by a big retinue. He made a tour of the island after which he went to the *Abbekerk*. [17] The merchandise has been unpacked. The musicians and the carriage and its appurtenances have to remain here. [30] *Matsuiri* (temple festival). We were forced to please the governor and interpreters by attending the *matsuiri*.

October [7] The interpreters announced that we were allowed to sell goods amounting to 708,162 guilders and that we are obliged to buy 70,188 catties of camphor from Satsuma. [8] We have delivered our presents to the authorities in Nagasaki. Thereupon we enjoyed ourselves in the city. Copper has been shipped to both ships. [12] The *Abbekerk* has sailed for the Papenburg. [13] I have installed Visscher as my successor. I pray for a safe voyage to Batavia.

A Monument for Van der Cruijsse?

Hence Jan van der Cruijsse left for Batavia in the certainty that, the following year, he would again return to Deshima as chief. This was not to be. After the ships, the *Enchuijsen* and the *Schellagh*, arrived in Nagasaki on 21 August 1738, Visscher noted in his diary: "That the Honourable Van der Cruijsse left Batavia on the *Enchuijsen* to take up his position of chief for the second time, however he died off Poele Thijmaon and was buried on that island." This is Pulau Tioman off the east coast of Malaysia. In the ship's log of *'t Raethuijs van Vlissingen*, I discovered another note stating that Messrs Van Dishoeck in Domburg (Zealand) should be asked if Van der Cruijsse had any children or other family members still living, but the result of this enquiry also remains a blank. However, the clerk who made this note thought that Van der Cruijsse had made his will in Japan on 29 June, 1738, and had died there. As we know from Visscher's entry, he died on his way there and therefore cannot have had his will drawn up on Deshima. There are still plenty of unanswered questions hovering around our Zealander. More in depth research might provide enough material to justify a short biography of him. If Johannis de Rijke, the engineer who

worked in Japan where he was held in high regard in the nineteenth century, will soon have two monuments in Colijnsplaat, at least one should be managed in St Philipsland for Van der Cruijsse. This would be a way to create an interesting route for Japanese tourists to visit the birthplaces of and monuments to Zealanders who have been important to Japan.

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The Man Who Paved the Way: The Interpreter Imamura Gen'emon Eisei (1671-1737) as the Founder of Dutch Studies

The Dutch trading-post on Deshima, in Nagasaki Bay is a prime example of a place where a reciprocal dialogue between two cultures commenced, not only with a view to establishing profitable trading relations but also to begin a meaningful cultural and scientific exchange. The interpreter Imamura Gen'emon Eisei is a man who personified this dialogue. As a young man he played an instrumental role in the transference of Eastern to Western culture and later, as an adult, he played a pivotal role in the transference of the Western to Eastern culture. The principal theme of this article is his role in the development of Dutch Studies or Rangaku, which will be examined in six phases. Before writing about his personal role in this phenomenon, we begin with a sketch of the place where this transference of knowledge happened.

Original source: Velde, Paul van der. 2011. "De Beschikker en bezorger van alles. De tolk Imamura Gen'emon Eisei (1671-1737) als inspirator van de achttiende-eeuwse Hollandkunde (*rangaku*)". *Het Verre Gezicht. Politieke en culturele relaties tussen Nederland en Azië, Afrika en Amerika. Opstellen aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. Leonard Blussé,* edited by Lindblad, J. Thomas and Schrikker, Alicia. Franeker: Uitgeverij Van Wijnen. 218-233. It was translated by Rosemary Robson-McKillop who was also responsible for the correction of all marginalia of the Deshima Diaries Source Publications Project.

The Window on Two Worlds Opened

Gen'emon's whole life was structured by Deshima. From 1641 to 1853, Deshima was a window on the world: for Japan a revelation of the West and for the Dutch an education about Japan. All the information about the outside world reached Japan via this tiny island and, albeit much less, some knowledge about Japan did trickle out to the outside world. In 1634 it had been put at the disposal of the Portuguese but in 1639 they were banned from Japan. The island was connected to the mainland by a heavily guarded bridge, the Holland Bridge. The houses of the employees of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) were aligned along its only street. From the point of view of the Japanese authorities, Deshima was considered a regular quarter of Nagasaki and fell under the control of a mayor (*otona*). Like Tokyo, Kyoto, Osaka and Sakai, Nagasaki was one of the five cities which fell under the direct control of the Shogun (central government) (*gokasho*). Each of these cities was administered by two magistrates (governors / *bugyō*) who took turns to reside alternately in their own city or in Tokyo. Its unique position meant that a third bugyō was appointed in Nagasaki in 1668. "(…) to permit closer attention to [be paid] to the arrival of

foreigners and to ensure the safety of this world-renowned harbour". [Sloane Manuscripts 3060, f. 210v.]

The Dutch administration closely resembled that of the Japanese. Hence, the Dutch chiefs could also spend only one year on Deshima. When they returned to Batavia (the VOC headquarters in Asia), they served a term on the Judicial Council before returning to Deshima for the second or third tour of duty. Whereas the governor-general (the VOC top-man in Asia) can be compared to the Shogun, the equivalent of the Japanese emperor was the Stadtholder (the hereditary governor of the Netherlands, a member of the House of Orange) and the Heren XVII (the Seventeen Gentlemen, or the Board of Governors of the VOC) in the Republic. The chief invariably held the rank of chief merchant in the VOC hierarchy and his jurisdiction was confined to the ten to fifteen Dutchmen and the twenty to thirty Malay- or Portuguese speaking slaves who lived on Deshima. For their official contacts with the authorities in Nagasaki, the Dutch were forced to rely completely on the Japanese Interpreters guild which consisted of 150 persons. Membership of the guild was hereditary. The interpreters had their own house on Deshima, close to the Watergate. The guild was subdivided into eight ranks. The VOC employees distinguished only four: apprentice interpreter, junior interpreter, interpreter and senior interpreter. The senior interpreters controlled the flow of information between the Dutch and Japanese authorities.

Besides these official contacts, the Dutch maintained informal relationships with a whole range of servants such as cooks, domestic personnel, gate-keepers and so forth, who were all on the VOC payroll. The Dutchmen also enjoyed close relationships with their Japanese "housewives" or "keesjes" who are never mentioned in the official correspondence of the VOC authorities. Only in private correspondence do we sometimes catch a glimpse of these women of the "Flower and Willow World". But it is no exaggeration to claim that a very large proportion of the population of Nagasaki was dependent on Deshima, either directly, or indirectly. The Chinese, who also maintained a trading-post in Nagasaki, likewise provided many Japanese with employment.

The annual routine of the trading-post was determined by the arrival of two or three ships from Batavia around the middle of August. During the subsequent trading season, the Dutch sold their imported commodities such as linen and cotton cloth from India, silk piece-goods from China and spices from Indonesia. Their principal purchases from the Japanese consisted of copper, camphor and small amounts of lacquer-work and porcelain. At the end of October, the ships returned to Batavia on the northern monsoon. This was the time when neighbouring *daimyos* (feudal lords) and the magistrates of Nagasaki came to visit Deshima where they examined the cabinet of curiosities containing creatures preserved in formaldehyde. They would also often go on board the ships. The sailing of the ships

ushered in the quiet period, which was used to make preparations for the court journey to Tokyo which the chief was obliged to undertake each year to present gifts to the Shogun.

His travelling companions included the doctor, two merchants, a Japanese interpreter and a throng of bearers. For the period of this journey, which took three months, the chief was given the rank of *daimyo* and he was treated as such. Both on the outward journey as on the way back to Deshima the caravan spent a few days in Osaka where orders were placed for lacquer-work and porcelain. They also spent several days in Kyoto and, on the outward journey, they were presented with a travel pass permitting them to travel along the famous Tōkaidō (Eastern Sea Route). On the return journey they visited some of the renowned temples of Kyoto (Bodaert-Bailey: 1991). During the time they spent in Tokyo, the company lodged in what was known as the Nagasaki Inn where the Dutch could be visited by the court physicians and students, albeit under strict supervision. The high point of the whole exercise was the audience with the Shogun which would often take hours. Once this was over the caravan returned to Nagasaki.

In the absence of the chief, the second-in-charge supervised the repair of the buildings on Deshima. After the chief had returned in May, everything was made ready for the arrival of the ships in August. In the literature, Deshima is portrayed as a prison but I think this gives a wrong impression which was perpetuated by the employees and by later historians. Instead, certainly for the Dutch VOC employees, it was more like an earthly paradise. They could spend almost the entire year living a carefree existence wallowing in incredible luxury. In comparison to the Netherlands, there was an abundance of everything: food, pleasurable leisure activities (billiards, flying kites), drugs (opium) and sex.

The free sexual morals in Japan must have come as a shock to the upright, pious Dutchmen, but nothing was easier to become accustomed to than your own Japanese mistress who very quickly initiated you into sensual delights. They also taught you to take a bath every day and they massaged you whenever you so desired. A smallish number of employees immersed themselves in the Japanese language and culture. The prevailing image of Deshima as a prison where the Dutch were mostly driven out of their minds by boredom can, as far as I am concerned, be consigned to the waste-paper basket of history. I would like to replace this image with a picture of Deshima as an earthly paradise on which the VOC employees lacked for nothing and enjoyed a wonderful time. This was equally true of the large majority of interpreters for whom this multi-cultural island must have been a breath of fresh air. Anybody who reads the diaries of the chiefs and their assistants realises that there was a strong bond between the interpreters and the VOC personnel. This was expressed in a shared sense of humour, a quintessential characteristic of reciprocal understanding.

Among the many items they noted in these diaries, the chiefs reported information about Deshima and Japan to the Board of the VOC. By some small miracle, these have all been preserved and they are a rich source of information about what was happening in Nagasaki and in Japan. The prime importance of the Deshima Diaries Source Publication Project, in part initiated by Leonard Blussé, lies in the fact that this unique Western source about Japan in this period will be made completely accessible to researchers and other interested parties through the indexing and translation of the more than 200 volumes (Blussé: 1992 / Van der Velde 1990).

Gen'emon Makes His Bow

"However, fortune presented me with another opportunity and an instrument in the shape of a learned young man, thanks to whom I could achieve my aims and gather a rich harvest of knowledge (…) He had to seek out significant information about the state of the country, the government, the court, religion and the history of past ages, family affairs as well as daily events. There was not a book I endeavoured to see, which he did not obtain for me and explain and translate the passages indicated" (Kaempfer: 1727).

With these words the botanist and VOC physician Engelbert Kaempfer expressed his belated gratitude to his Japanese assistant who, during the time he had been posted on Deshima, 1691-1692, had supplied him with the information on which his book *The History of Japan* (1727) was based. Until well into the twentieth century, this book not only influenced Western perceptions of Japan, it can even be said to have determined them to a large degree. It is therefore no surprise that specialists have long sought to find the identity of this assistant. The diaries have proved to be the key through which the identification of Gen'emon could be made.

On 22 September, 1695, Gen'emon and two other Japanese employees took exams in Dutch in the presence of the Chief Merchant Hendrik Dijkman and the physician Matthijs Raquet, to whom Gen'emon was assigned as a servant (NFJ 108 (1695), 290). The exam was held at the request of the Nagasaki magistrates. The result would actually have little real impact on who would eventually be appointed because other factors, such as ties of friendship and family, played a greater role. According to the Deshima Diaries, Gen'emon was a scion of an interpreter family. His grandfather, Imamura Shirobei, had been an interpreter for the Dutch when their trading-post was still located on Hirado (an island off the north-west coast of Kyushu). His father, Imamura Ichizaemon, moved to Nagasaki in 1641 when the Dutch were forced to move to this city (Imamura: 1942). His son, Gen'emon, was born there in 1671 and Ichizaemon retired in 1694. In view of the fact that the

profession of interpreter was hereditary, we should not be surprised that his son followed in his footsteps a year later.

Four days after the exam, clad in ceremonial robes, Gen'emon called on Dijkman to pay his respects and inform him that he had been appointed assistant/junior interpreter. Dijkman describes him in the following terms: "[…] in the Low German language, he is so proficient that none of the other interpreters can match him, having since his youth served here at the counting-house as the servant of the chief surgeon." The final part of this sentence provides us with irrefutable proof that he was Kaempfer's assistant. (NFJ 108 (1695), 290). This entry in the diaries has been overlooked by scholars such as Numato Jirō and even Imamura Akistune, who had searched the diaries for traces of his ancestors, but had failed to register it (Jirō: 1966). Often important information about people or events can be found in places where one would not necessarily expect to find them.

Additional proof that Gen'emon was Kaempfer's assistant is provided by the fact that he sold Kaempfer many books from the library of the wealthy mayor (*otona*) Yoshikawa Gibuimon at high prices. The Sloane Collection in the British Library contains a number of different books with Gibuimon's name stamped in them (Sloane Manuscripts). During the time he spent in Japan, Kaempfer had enjoyed a reputation as a good doctor but, after he left, he became best known in Japan as the founder of the science of artillery, which became known as Kaempferian artillery science (Jirō: 1966, 33). This is a fine example of historical invention because the man himself knew nothing about it. What is true is that, shortly after his departure, thanks to Gen'emon's efforts, the manuscript about the science of artillery began to circulate there and this is the reason that Kaempfer is associated with it.

Gen'emon not only supplied Kaempfer with Japanese maps, books and drawings but, because he could read and copy Dutch books, he also introduced his fellow countrymen to Western knowledge. The copying of texts and the subsequent circulation of the copies was a ubiquitous way of disseminating knowledge in Japan. Nevertheless, it is never linked to transference of European knowledge at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century. In this context, a number of "rediscovered" manuscripts from the archives of the Dutch trading-post in Japan deserve our closer inspection.

Right on Target

The archive of the Dutch trading-post (or factory) in Japan contains manuscripts which are remarkable for a wide variety of reasons (NFJ 650). The compiler of the inventory, M.P.H. Roessingh, dated them to around 1695 and attributed them to a Japanese interpreter whose identity he did not specify (Roessingh: 1964, 11).

In fact, he gives no explanation for either the dating or for the attribution. The manuscripts are all written in Dutch in the same hand and deal with such topics as the production of white cloth which could be dyed and descriptions of whaling and the artillery. The fourth manuscript, which will be dealt with in greater detail here, bears the title "Bosscieterij Konst" (Science of Artillery), first volume and contains 132 pages. This manuscript is a copy of the second edition of *Korte en bondige verhandeling der Bosscieterij Konst als mede hoe men een constapel examineren moet* (Brief and Succinct Treatise on the Science of Artillery and How a Gunner Should Be Examined) (Von Zedlitz: 1662). The author, Frederick von Zedlitz, was a non-commissioned officer in the army of Willem Hendrik of Nassau. The Library of Leiden University is home to the only surviving copy of the first edition in the Netherlands. This means that it can be compared with the handwritten copy of the second edition and it does not take very long to determine that this part of the text of the copy does not deviate from that in the first edition.

The manuscript is written on good quality, handmade lined Japanese paper. As it is impossible to write on this sort of paper using a metal nib or a quill without immediately damaging its structure, the conclusion has to be that not just this manuscript but also the other three were written with a brush. Because I had never seen a manuscript like it, I sought contact with a specialist in Japanese books. He confirmed that the manuscript was indeed handwritten and added that he had also never seen anything else like it. Taking into account the level of control which would be needed to achieve such brush-work, the Dutch have to be excluded as possible authors. This brings us closer to identifying the as yet unknown but certainly Japanese copyist. Besides a thorough knowledge of Dutch, he must have had lengthy experience in writing in the language because, otherwise, he would never have been able to accomplish such brush-work. This could only be one person: Gen'emon.

A closer examination of the manuscript reveals that some letters of the alphabet show a strong similarity to the symbols used in the *katagana* syllabary, including the "t", the abbreviation of the word "het". In this fashion the *katagana* syllabary could have provided a bridge for the interpreters, by which they could learn to write Dutch. When the copyists made errors in their writing, they used *gofu*, a good masking material (rather like Tipp-ex) which could be written over. The few corrections there are have mostly to do with double "ls" which have been corrected to double "rs" (it is a well-known fact that Japanese have difficulty pronouncing "r"). The drawings in the copy of *Bosscieterij Konst* also deserve special attention. The fact that the copyist used shading in his illustrations indicates that the copy has been made by a literary man rather than by a professional illustrator, because the latter would have used variegation and resorted to *sumi* (a sort of gum) instead of *gofu*.

When these facts are associated with the important ban on Western books, this and the other manuscripts just mentioned offer a clear indication of how Western

knowledge was disseminated throughout Japan. When all is said and done, it was much easier to smuggle loose pieces of Japanese paper rather than whole books out of Deshima. Proof that this sort of smuggling actually happened is provided by the pagination of the Bosscieterij manuscript which, in contrast to the text, is written in Japanese. This made it possible for Japanese bookbinders who had no Dutch to piece a book together. One of the places where this could have taken place was in Gibuimon's library.

Gen'emon visited him frequently and it was at his house that he met one of his nieces. Gibuiemon, who had tutored him in the intricacies of commerce, saw in the intelligent young man an eligible suitor for his niece. He was able to contrive with the governor for Gen'emon to be promoted to the rank of interpreter on 24 July, 1696 (NFJ 110 (1696), 145). Although the majority of the assistant/junior-interpreters never ever attained the well-paid job of interpreter, Gen'emon succeeded in acquiring the coveted position within one year, a meteoric career rise. His new job paved the way for him to supplement his income in all sorts of ways. His star continued to rise because, on 8 January, 1697, he achieved yet another promotion when he was appointed junior rapporteur interpreter. Another interpreter who would achieve almost the same importance as Gen'emon, Namura Hachizaemon, was appointed senior rapporteur interpreter (*nenban tsūji*). As established earlier, these rapporteur interpreters played a key role in the communication between the Dutch and the magistrates in Nagasaki. They reported directly to the mayor and the governor and took it in turns to escort the chief on the annual court journey to Tokyo. At any rate, Dijkman was delighted with their appointments. He described them both as good-tempered, pleasant company as well as remarking that their mastery of Dutch was unsurpassed (NFJ (1696), 78). It is therefore no surprise that the marriage between Gen'emon and Gibuiemon's niece was settled in March 1697 (NFJ 110 (1696, 307-338 / NFJ 111 (1697), 221).

The Pioneers of Dutch Studies

Although Gen'emon is considered the founder of Dutch Studies and his activities in this period marked the first phase, in this same period there were other pioneers alive who were important to the second phase, which ushered in a deeper immersion accomplished by the interaction between two Japanese and two Europeans. The latter two were Giovanni Batista Sidotti (1668-1714), an Italian priest who landed in Japan uninvited in 1708 bearing a papal command to convert the Japanese to the one true religion, and Cornelis Lardijn, who was chief on Deshima in the years 1711-1712 and 1713-1714. The Japanese actors were Arai Hakuseki (1657-1725), councillor to Shoguns Ienobu and Ietsugu and a famous Confucian scholar who wrote



Figure 1. *Plegtigheid der Vertreedinge van het Krucifix, enz. te Nagasaki in Japan* (Trampling upon the Crucifix, etcetera), c. 1770. Engraving, 18 × 12.5 cm. Collection Vortex. Photo Cindy Bakker.

various books about the West. These works were based on information he had obtained from Sidotti and Lardijn through the translations of the other Japanese actor, Gen'emon. According to the scholar of Japanese Grant K. Goodman "[…] the interpreting had to be extremely scholarly and detailed [and] it is obvious that were it not for Imamura Eisei, the writings of Arai Hakuseki and the important effects they produced might never have occurred" (Goodman: 1986, 46).

The diaries give a clear picture of the interaction between the various actors. On 2 September, 1707, Gen'emon was appointed chief rapporteur interpreter. He was the first to interrogate Sidotti after his arrival in Nagasaki on 18 December, 1708. Gen'emon was quickly aware that Sidotti was a priest, a conclusion easily drawn from the many Christian accoutrements which he carried with him. The authorities in Nagasaki were alarmed by the sudden appearance of a Roman Catholic priest bearing his concomitant symbols like the Cross, which had been forbidden in Japan for seventy years on pain of death. As a precaution, the governor of Nagasaki had the interpreters swear a blood oath that they would not allow themselves to be converted by the priest. The ceremony known as *fumi-e* (trampling on the crucifix) had to be observed every year by the people of Nagasaki.

As matters stood, Fatsizemon and Gen'emon were actually the only two people who might have been tempted; Gen'emon in particular as he was the one who had to interrogate Sidotti, with occasional help from the Dutch. Gen'emon was ordered to write a report, destined to be sent to Tokyo, about the answers Sidotti had given to the governor's questions. The Shogunal government decided that Sidotti should be brought to Tokyo in person. Considering the strict laws banning Roman Catholicism, this was a remarkable decision. In fact, if these had been strictly adhered to Sidotti should have been executed on the spot, which is certainly what would have happened a decade earlier. However, Sidotti's arrival coincided with the illness and death of Shogun Tsunayoshi and the rise of Hakuseki as councillor to his successor, Ienobu. Probably, as a consequence of having read Gen'emon's report, Hakuseki decided to have Sidotti brought to Tokyo because he was interested in meeting him. Gen'emon was commanded to escort Sidotti to Tokyo. Before his departure, the chief, Hermanus Menssingh, impressed upon him that he had to be careful with the answers to the questions about religion because he feared that careless answers might endanger Japanese-Dutch relations (NJF 121 (1710), 5). Gen'emon promised him that he would go out of his way not to awaken any suspicions that he might be a crypto-Roman Catholic.

All this meant that Gen'emon was caught up in a delicate mission fraught with danger. He and Sidotti left together on 25 October, 1709, stealthily under the cloak of night, in the hope of escaping the attention of the people of Nagasaki (NFJ 121 (1710), 54). They arrived in Tokyo on 1 December and Sidotti was immediately jailed in the prison for Christians (*yakshiki*) which had stood empty for seventy years (in 1714

Sidotti would meet his end there in a gruesome manner after being locked up in an incredibly small cage in which he could not move an inch). Hakuseki questioned him there with the assistance of Gen'emon. He remained in Tokyo for two months. It was in this period that Hakuseki must have collected the bulk of the material which he would later work into his *Seiyō kibun* (1715), a manuscript which contains some critical views about Christendom. On his journey home, Gen'emon met Menssingh in Osaka on 3 March, 1710, and informed him about the conversations between Hakuseki and Sidotti (NFJ 121 (1710), 5).

That Hakuseki's interest was not confined to religion can be deduced from his meetings with Lardijn. In November 1710, the bookkeeper Jacob Nentwig completed a Japanese map of the world by adding the names of the countries and cities at the request of the governor of Nagasaki (NFJ 122 (1711), 8). Not long afterwards, the governor visited Deshima accompanied by a student of cartography and, according to the chief, N.J. van Hoorn, the student asked all sorts of "stupid" questions about a fifth continent, as if four were not enough in his opinion! (NFJ 122 (1711), 8). The world map was forwarded to Tokyo as a present for the Shogun. Now Hakuseki really had the bit between his teeth and, when Lardijn was escorted to Tokyo by Gen'emon in 1712, he poured forth a stream of questions about cartography, geography and Dutch paintings. The information which Hakuseki extracted from Lardijn found its way into a new manuscript, Sairan Igen, the first scientifically based book about the geography of the world in Japanese. More information found a place in his manuscripts On Dutch Matters (Oranda Kiji) and Description of the Natural Features of Holland (Oranda Fudoki). Although these only appeared in print at the end of the Tokugawa period, they were initially eagerly devoured in manuscript form, stimulating the further development of Dutch Studies.

At the request of Hakuseki, Gen'emon also transcribed a list of 300 Dutch words in the *katagana* syllabary. Japanese interest in Dutch books about botany, medicine and military science was almost certainly larger in this period than has hitherto been thought; the manuscripts just mentioned are proof of this. Hakuseki was in the position to legitimate the study of the West and he must have stimulated other scholars to follow the path of Rangaku. Hakuseki's interest encompassed everything to do with the Dutch and the Netherlands and also unquestionably medicine as, for instance, he allowed his son's stiff knee to be examined by the physician Willem Wagemans whom he asked if the problem could be cured. Wagemans diagnosed the problem and prescribed medicine for it (NFJ 123 (1712), 128-139). In 1716 he again showed his faith in the healing properties of Dutch medicine when he used a prescription from the Dutch physician for an ailment from which he was suffering (NFJ 126 (1716), 117).

Whereas before 1715 the emphasis in Dutch-Japanese relations had been on commerce, the accent now shifted in the direction to the transference of Western

knowledge. On the one hand, Shogun Yoshimune clung onto the tight restrictions on the export of raw materials (copper) brought in by Hakuseki in 1715 and the concomitant striving to achieve autarky. On the other, Yoshimune also shared Hakuseki's interest in Europe. Hakuseki set the tone in this new phase of Japanese-Dutch relations and, with the lifting of the ban on the importation of Western books in 1720, Yoshimune changed the official policy which ushered in the third phase of Dutch Studies (Van der Velde: 1990, ii).

Dutch Equestrianism or Oranda Bajutsu-sho

In 1719, the chief, Joan Aouwer, described Gen'emon as "the man who takes care of everything" (NFJ 129 (1719), 79). Thereafter, Gen'emon was definitely seen by both the Dutch and the Japanese as the irreplaceable intermediary between the two countries. From this time, he is invariably referred to in the diaries as Vadertje Ginnemon (Little Father Gen'emon). His status was raised to even greater heights by Yoshimune's interest in Rangaku. The Shogun sent a number of scholars to Nagasaki to study a whole gamut of wide-ranging aspects of Western knowledge. The Dutch sources devote great attention to Inomate Sosietje, very probably the son of the interpreter Inomate Denbei, as well as to Mukai Gensei and Fukami Kyūdayū. The last mentioned spent the years 1722 to 1727 in Nagasaki and, during this time, on Yoshimune's behalf, he asked the Dutch chiefs about an enormous range of subjects. His questions were about practical matters such as agriculture, animal husbandry, architecture, fire-engines, foodstuffs, forestry and navigation as well as covering more theoretical realms such as astronomy, the calendar, geography, geometry, legislation, mathematics, religion and state institutions. The barrage of questions launched by Kyūdayū, who was an intelligent man according to Chief Merchant De Hartog, must have made huge demands on Gen'emon's time (NFJ 136 (1726), 51).

After his return to Tokyo, Kyūdayū was appointed Shogunal librarian (*gosho-motsu bugyō*). He would play a big role in the dissemination of Dutch Studies and until his death in 1773 continued to ask questions of any Dutchmen who happened to visit Tokyo. Notwithstanding the expansion of Dutch knowledge during the reign of Yoshimune, the first Japanese manuscripts on such theoretical subjects as linguistics and mathematics would only see the light of day at the end of the eighteenth century.

Nevertheless, on a less theoretical subject like equestrianism and horse-breeding there was a successful transfer of knowledge in what can be categorised as the fourth phase of Dutch Studies in which Gen'emon, just as in the first, played a central role. The driving force behind this phase was the horse-lover Yoshimune. On 19 May, 1725, Gen'emon was appointed Shogunal messenger (*goyō kata*), for

which he was given an extra emolument of 500 taels over and above his usual salary (NFJ 135 (1725), 144). His appointment as Shogunal messenger coincided with the first shipment of Persian horses to Japan on 23 July, 1725. These horses were accompanied by the German horse-master J.G. de Keijser (1796-1736) (NFJ 129 (1719), 157-158). Yoshimune was extremely impressed by the horses and, in 1727, he sent the Shogunal horse-master, Matazaemon, to Nagasaki. He remained there two years learning about Western equestrianism from Keijser in a specially constructed riding-school. Gen'emon translated all the questions Matazaemon asked Keijser, who joined his Japanese colleague when he left to return to Tokyo in 1729.

Around this time, Gen'emon was arrested for a short while on charges of corruption. The chief, Pieter Boockestein, wrote that were it not for the fact he was the Shogunal messenger, he would have been banned, the fate which befell the rest of his accomplices (NJF 139 (1729), 66-67). Boockestein signed a petition addressed to the governor of Nagasaki pleading for Gen'emon's release. We cannot say whether this had any real influence but the fact remains that Gen'emon was released a few days later. His status as a pivotal figure, who was virtually indispensable, in the relationship between Japan and the Netherlands was perhaps the principal reason that he got off so relatively lightly.

Gen'emon was ordered to accompany Keijser and Matazaemon to Tokyo and he told Boockstein that he was afraid that he would not return from the journey alive (NFJ 129 (1729), 381-381). Despite his forebodings, he did survive his long stay from October 1729 to April 1730. During this time, he was ordered to write a report recording all the knowledge he had acquired about equestrianism and equine medicine. He took the opportunity to work it into a translation from the book by Pieter Almanus van Coer Toevlught of Heylsame, *Remedien voor alderhande Siektens en Accidenten die de Paerden Soude kunnen overkoomen* (Recourse or Healing Remedies for All Kinds of Sicknesses and Accidents Which Might Befall Horses) (1688) which Keijser had brought to Japan (Katsuyama, 1993, 253-257).

Therefore, the report is the first proven successful attempt to transfer Western knowledge, in this case about equestrianism and related matters, because after its appearance horse-breeding techniques in Japan improved out of sight (Seiichi: 1990). In 1736 his book about Dutch equestrianism (*Oranda Bajutsu-sho*), an expanded version of his 1729 manuscript, appeared. This can be seen as the apotheosis of the career of a man who, in his youth as Kaempfer's assistant, had played a great part in the transfer of knowledge about Japan and in his later years as a man who was pivotal as the founder and mediator of Dutch Studies.

After his death in 1736, nobody could fill the gap he left behind. Thereafter the chiefs constantly complained about the deficiencies shown by the interpreters in their mastery of Dutch. The interpreter Chūjirō, who was in Tokyo with Gen'emon and Keijser, wished that he could have had just a little of Gen'emon's knowledge

今村源右衛門英生

P・G・E・I・J・ファン・デル・フェルデ

1736年9月22日（元文元年8月18日）、長崎のオランダ商館長ベルナルドゥス・コープ・ア・フルーン Bernardus Coop à Groenは商館日記にこう記した。「将軍御用方大通詞源右衛門、本日死去」。この短文の裏に、日蘭の文化交流の最も重要な担い手の1人であった男の生涯が隠れている。今村源右衛門英生（1671-1736）は阿蘭陀通詞の家に生まれた。幼少の時から出島に出入りし、そこで初めてオランダ語を耳にして、まもなく読み書きの両方を身につけた。1690（元禄3）年から1692（元禄5）年まで出島在勤の医師エンゲルベルト・ケンペル Engelbert Kaempfer も、源右衛門が助手となったときにその能力を認めた。源右衛門は、後に2世紀以上にわたり日本に関する基本文献となるケンペルの『日本誌』の資料収集に、貴重な役を果たしたのである。

源右衛門は見る見るうちに大通詞の地位に上り詰め、西洋における日本像の形成のみならず、日本に西洋を紹介する上でも重要な役割を果たした。政治家の新井白石が、1708（宝永5）年に日本に潜入したイエズス会のイタリア人シドッティ Giovanni Battista Sidotti を尋問した際や、1712（正徳2）年にオランダ商館長ラルデイン Cornelis Lardijn から聴取した際にも、源右衛門は特別に通訳を務めた。白石はその会話を元に、19世紀まで日本人の西洋像に影響を持ったオランダと西洋に関する2著『西洋紀聞』『采覧異言』を著した。

1725（享保10）年、将軍吉宗は源右衛門を御用方に起用し、彼の特異な地位は公に認められた。吉宗は西洋の知識に非常に興味を持っており、とりわけ馬術に関心があった。そのため源右衛門は、1726年から1735（享保20）年に吉宗のもとに幾度か滞在したドイツ人馬術師ケイゼル Johan Georg Keijser(ling)のために通訳をすることになった。そのころまでにはオランダ人は彼を“源右衛門親父”と呼ぶようになっていたが、彼は西洋馬術に関する書『西説伯楽必携』をまとめた業績で、蘭学の祖の1人に位置づけられている。

原子爆弾の災禍を免れた源右衛門の墓所は、18世紀における日蘭の知識の伝播における彼の数多くの功績を歴史的に認めたもので、両国の史跡とされるにふさわしいものであろう。



今村源右衛門英生肖像（今村英明氏提供）

Figure 2. Summary of this article in Japanese. Source: Japanese Edition of *Bridging the Divide. 400 Years The Netherlands-Japan*. 2000. Edited by Blussé, Leonard, Remmelink, Willem and Smits Ivo. Hotei Publishing. Photo Cindy Bakker.

(NFJ 145 (1735), 203). His passing ushered in a fifth, fairly passive phase in Dutch Studies in which Kyūdayū, who was referred to earlier, carried the torch and also formed a bridge to the sixth period in which the knowledge acquired about Dutch Studies in all fields was expanded. The interpreters played barely any role in this. When Gen'emon died on 22 September, 1736, the incumbent chief, Bernardus Coop à Groen, confined himself to the business-like statement: "Also today the Imperial messenger Ginnemon died" (NFJ 146 (1736), 166). Not the most eloquent eulogy.

Rangaku's New Time Sequence

In his book *Rangaku no sō Imamura Eisei*, which was published in 1942, Akutisna Imamura, a direct descendant of Gen'emon, proposed that his ancestor should be considered the founder of Dutch Studies (Imamura: 1942). He based his claim on the family records at his disposal and on research in the diaries. This proposition has never generated much response because the commencement of the "real" Dutch Studies has always been placed in the second half of the eighteenth century and what had preceded this was regarded as trivial (Jiro 1992: 52).

In this article, I advocate a more nuanced view of Dutch Studies. I put their initial period at the end of the seventeenth century and argue that Gen'emon should be acknowledged as their founder. Later came a phase in which he acquired a powerful ally in the advisor to the Shoguns Ienobu and Ietsugu, the scholar Arai Hakuseki, who systematically collected knowledge about the West which he committed to paper in a number of extremely influential manuscripts. The third phase was that in which Shogun Yoshimune gave his blessing to Dutch Studies and partially lifted the ban on the importation of Western books in 1720. He also sent Japanese scholars to Deshima to acquaint themselves with all aspects of Western knowledge. During the fourth phase, Yoshimune focused on equestrianism and horse-breeding, initiating the first concrete transference of Western knowledge, producing better-bred horses in Japan and a publication about Dutch equestrianism by Little Father Gen'emon, which appeared first in manuscript form in 1729 and was only published in the year of his death 1736. The phase which followed, the fifth, can be classified as a passive time in which little was done with Dutch Studies. It was only after 1770 that Dutch lessons were given to Japanese scholars on Deshima and work was begun on a Japanese-Dutch dictionary, marking the beginning of the sixth phase (Van der Velde 1996: 301-5). Gen'emon's wordlist containing 300 entries, compiled sixty years earlier, provided the basis. It is safe to say that, without Gen'emon's profound interest in Western knowledge and without his flawless mastery of the Dutch language, the history of Dutch Studies would have had a completely different complexion.

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Janis Reijnhout (1816-1870) laid to rest in the Dutch cemetery in Nagasaki with a Dutch-Japanese inscription

From 1641 to 1853 Deshima, the Dutch trading-post in Nagasaki Bay, was the place at which trade between the United Dutch East India Company (VOC), and later the Dutch government, and Japan converged. The first period, roughly up to 1700, was its heyday. As time passed, the importance of trade began to recede and the emphasis shifted towards greater attention being paid to the transference of Western science and knowledge, referred to as rangaku (Dutch sciences) in Japanese. This knowledge formed the foundation which allowed Japan to develop into an industrial power much more quickly than other Asian nations and, by the end of the nineteenth century, allowed it to take its place on an equal footing with Western powers. Both periods are graphically illustrated in the Deshima Diaries (Deshima Dagregisters) compiled by the heads of the trading-post on Deshima. In their entirety they cover over 35,000 pages and a complete set is preserved in the National Archive in The Hague.

Original source: Velde, Paul van der. 2000. "Janis Reijnhout (1816-1870). Goesenaar vrijt zich een grafsteen". *Zeeuws Tijdschrift* 50-3. 26-28. Translated by Rosemary Robson-McKillop.

From 1987 up to the present, on the initiative of and under the guidance of Leonard Blussé, these texts have been made completely accessible and provided with an English summary and indexes on the contents by Ton Vermeulen, Cynthia Viallé and the present writer. They tell a fascinating story and are the only foreign source about Japan in the *Sakaku* or "closed door" period (1633-1853) when the Tokugawa Shogunate closed Japan off from the outside world. The British writer David Mitchell has made adroit use of these sources to produce the thrilling novel *The Thousand Autumns of Jacob de Zoet*. Nobody should be surprised that the book abounds in historical inaccuracies, after all this is more of an advantage than a disadvantage in fiction.

Cross Street

After 1853, the year of the so-called opening of Japan by the Americans, which, contrary to general opinion, only occurred because the Japanese actually wanted it with the Dutch playing a big role behind the scenes facilitating it, all Western powers gained entry to Japan and legations were established in Osaka. The Dutch remained on Deshima until 1859, after which their post was demoted to a consulate and the Dutch legation also departed to Osaka. Thereafter Deshima suffered an era of decline and in 1899 the remaining extra-territorial rights were rescinded,

although a Dutch consulate was maintained there until 1940. This foreign "alien" presence in Nagasaki has never failed to excite the curiosity of the Japanese.

For decades the city of Nagasaki has been endeavouring to restore Deshima as close as possible to its original state. The project is now pretty much complete and has become a real tourist attraction. The majority of the visitors are from Japan, and combine it with an excursion to the neighbouring theme park "Huis ten Bosch", in which a selection of Dutch buildings, like the tower of Utrecht cathedral, have been replicated. When Kees Slager, my wife Marianne Perdaen and I visited Deshima in connection with the VPRO radio programme "The Honourable Company" in 1995, this was still an ambition waiting to be realised (https://itunes.apple.com/nl/podcast/het-spoor-terug-de-loffelijcke-compagnie). Then the circumference of the small fan-shaped island (about as big as Dam Square in Amsterdam) was outlined with rough iron nails and apartment blocks covered the site of the living quarters and warehouses of the VOC.

In 2017 it once more became possible to stroll through Deshima's only street (although there was also a side-alley about two-thirds of the way along this street) and to imagine oneself transported back in time. It was only later I realised that, from a bird's eye perspective (from the surrounding hills), this formed a cross, once the most hated symbol in Japan. Once a year the inhabitants of Nagasaki were obliged to participate in the "trampling on the crucifix" (fumi-e) ceremony. By forcing them to do so, the authorities thought they would be able to identify adherents of the Roman Catholic faith whom they believed would never dare to stand on this most holy of symbols. In this they were disappointed because a forgiving God was prepared to turn a blind eye to this transgression.

The Dutch Cemetery at Inasa

There are more reminders of the Dutch presence in Nagasaki. The VPRO team went into the hills around Nagasaki with a guide and it was not long before we found ourselves standing at the entrance to the Hollandsche Begraafplaats (Dutch cemetery) in the Inasa quarter. Most of the forty or so small tombstones are heavily weathered and their inscriptions are barely legible. However, the inscription on one headstone in the shelter of the cemetery wall turns out to have survived the rigours of time remarkably well. It is that of the man from the town of Goes in the province of Zeeland, Janis Reijnhout. Our emotions upon seeing this ultimate sign of life were all the more intense by the consciousness that his grave, cynically enough, had even survived the atom bomb attack on Nagasaki on 9 August, 1945.

The cemetery was located on the "good" side of the hill. The inscription is perfectly legible: "Here lies James Reijnhoud born in Goes in Zeeland 1816 died in Nagasaki 24 January 1870". After returning from our trip, I made my way to the



Figure 3. Japanese inscription on the tombstone of Janis Reijnhout at the Dutch cemetery in Nagasaki. Photo Cindy Bakker. In translation the Japanese text reads as follows: "Set up by Yatsuhashi from the Ofujiya (a Nagasaki brothel) in the third year of the Meiji reign, the Year of the Horse, the second month, the thirteenth day (13 February 1870)".

municipal archives in Goes. From the register of births, I discovered that "James Reinhoud" was born on 19 December 1816 at one o'clock in the morning as the son of twenty-two-year-old Jan Reijnhout and the four-year older Pieternella Tiessen. Jan's occupation is noted as "deck-hand". He gave his son the name Janis (therefore neither James, Janus or Janes). Although this was the sum total of what I could find out about the Reijnhouts in Goes, there must be more to be discovered about Janis in the Dutch Consular Archives.

Erected by Yatsuhashi

These archives revealed that Janis Reijnhout was a chip off the old block. In 1863 he arrived in Nagasaki on the bark *F. van Dambenoy* as a sail maker. He was then forty-seven years old. As far as it has been possible to discover, this was his first visit to Japan. Reinhout's job on Deshima is variously described as constable or guard. There were also a couple of years in which he was unemployed and, in this period, he regularly acted as witness for the Dutch notary at the signing of Dutch official documents. It is not very likely that much more about Reijnhout and his life on Deshima will ever be found but, perhaps, there is still material about him lurking in the archive of the Ministry for the Colonies in the National Archive in The Hague or indeed in Japanese archives.

We can also discover more about him by studying his tombstone. Extremely intriguing and actually unique is the rather inconspicuous Japanese inscription on the left side of Reijnhout's stone. Translated it reads: "Set up by Yatsuhashi from the Ofujiya (a Nagasaki brothel) in the third year of the Meiji reign, the Year of

the Horse, the second month, the thirteenth day", (the equivalent to 13 February 1870 in the Western calendar). Obviously, Yatsuhashi wasted no time because the grey stone headstone was raised just three weeks after Janis's death. The historian Brian Burke-Gaffney, who worked in the international affairs section of the city of Nagasaki in the 1990s and was put in charge of research into the local tombstones of foreigners, sent me his written explanation of this unique occurrence: "Nothing is known about his [Reijnhout's] relationship with the woman [Yatsuhashi] who erected his gravestone. Yatsuhashi was a courtesan who worked in the brothel Ofujiya. As you know, virtually all intimate contact between European men and Japanese women at this time took place in or through the auspices of brothels. My guess is that Reijnhout was one of Yatsuhahsi's regular patrons and that he gave her his savings when he died. This is not a very romantic interpretation, but I think it is the most realistic" (Archive Vortex. Correspondence Deshima). These are the words of Burke-Gaffney, a Briton who did not consider the erection of a tombstone for a Dutchman by Yatsuhashi in any way exceptional, even though there is no other known example of a Dutch-Japanese inscription on a headstone.

Through Japan in the Time Machine

The same cannot be said for the Dutch writer and essayist Rudy Kousbroek who devoted one whole page to our man from Goes in his *In de tijdmachine door Japan. De hofreis van het jaar 2000* [Through Japan in a Time Machine: The Court Journey of the Year 2000] (Kousbroek 2002: 69). Hans Keller devoted quite a bit of time to the stone in his documentary of the same name (Nederlands Instituut voor Beeld en Geluid/ Dutch Institute for Image and Sound). Apparently Kousbroek had wondered what lurked behind the Japanese inscription during an earlier court journey he had made in 1972. "Was Janes (Janis/PvdV) such a passionate lover and Yatsuhashi so much in love with him, that she raised a monument to him when he died?" (Kousbroek 2002: 69). Kousbroek speculated that perhaps Reijnhout had succumbed in the brothel while making love and hence the brothel felt an obligation to pay for his gravestone. That our man from Zeeland passed away in Ofujiya is a pure figment of the imagination. The owner of the brothel would not have felt obliged to erect headstones for loyal patrons. Furthermore, in that period it was not usual to erect a headstone for everyone who died; certainly not for the foreign clients of Japanese pimps. Quite the opposite in fact, they were the preserve of the rich and powerful. Hundreds of Dutch sailors died within sight of Deshima in the more than two hundred years in which the Dutch trading-station was up and running, but one must search in vain for their tombstones. They were either unceremoniously buried in the ground or dumped overboard.

Nagasaki Express

Kousbroek gathered more information about Reijnhout in the course of his 2000 court journey. He extracted an article from the *Nagasaki Express* in which it was reported that "Mr. Reijnhout, the Deshima Constable" had fallen off a cliff (*Nagasaki Express*: 29 January 1870). The Dutch businessman J.J. van der Pol, who was living on Deshima around the same time as Reijnhout, noted under this miscellaneous piece of information – printed in the margins of the newspaper – that Reijnhout had not toppled off a cliff. He castigated the journalist of the *Nagasaki Express* saying that he could easily have found out about the true cause of Reijnhout's death, which he claimed was common knowledge. After all, Deshima was a small village.

However, Van der Pol neglected to mention the true cause in the margin, giving Kousbroek the opportunity to come up with an inimitable reason. "Was this (the remark by Van der Pol/PvdV) an – unsuccessful – attempt to save the honor of Janus [sic] Reijnhout, to give him his real name? If this is true, is the hypothesis of a death by passion in Yatsuashi's arms the correct one?" (Kousbroek 2002: 69). In my opinion it is not an attempt, successful or unsuccessful, by Van der Pol to preserve Reijnhout's honor. It was simply a reproof addressed to the *Nagasaki Express* journalist. Nor is it proof of Kousbroek's hypothesis of Reijnhout's death by passion in the arms of Yatsuhashi.

Hence, we have to leave the speculative domain of the essayist and turn to the sober reality of the Dutch Consular Archive in which the cause of death is recorded on a notarial certificate. "On the twenty-fifth of January 1870 [not the 24th as engraved on the tombstone/PvdV] around four o'clock in the afternoon on Deshima died Janis Reijnhout as the result of concussion occasioned by a fall. His profession, place of birth, age and parents, married or unmarried unknown to those present" (National Archive). It seems highly probable that Janus had fallen and made an unfortunate landing. From later documents of the Dutch Legation in Japan to the Foreign Ministry we can find out more, namely that: "Your Excellency will be graciously pleased to discover from the documents that the little which was left by the deceased (Reijnhout) has been designated to defray his funeral expenses and the settling of a few debts, leaving nothing for any beneficiaries" (National Archive, Notarial deeds).

Piercing Blue Eyes

This allows us to draw the conclusion that it was not the pimps of the Ofujia brothel who paid for his funeral but Reijnhout himself. It is no longer possible to discover whether he owed the brothel money. If this was in fact the case, it will have been

settled. It is certain that Yatsuhashi did pay for the tombstone – whether or not with money which she had received from Janis – because not everybody can have an inscription engraved on a tombstone and the implication is that she and Janis enjoyed a close bond. In other words, Reijnhout was more to Yatsuhashi than a client. As did so many other Dutchmen before him, during his time on Deshima he had a steady girlfriend, referred to in the *Deshima Dagregisters* as *huisvrouw* (housewife) which had more of less the same meaning as spouse. This makes her inscription on the tombstone much more understandable. Whether she would be buried beside him or not, she wanted it to be absolutely clear that she belonged to Janis and vice versa.

Perhaps the fact she had the name of her place of employment (the Ofujiya brothel) carved on it might seem surprising to a Western way of thinking but this would be making a wrong assumption. The profession of courtesan was (and is) an honorable one in Japan. Because of their relatively high incomes since the advent of the Dutch presence on Deshima, these housewives had grown into an influential group in Nagasaki society. Through their intimate relationship, via their *pillow talk*, they will have acquired some knowledge of the Dutch language which will have exerted influence on the dissemination of Western knowledge in Japan. The influence of these ladies, who often bore children with piercing blue eyes, offers a promising challenge to undertake far more in-depth research. Although no one has yet accepted this, it will be sure to yield fascinating results. Because the Dutch cemetery was declared a historical landmark in the 1990s, the names of the Japanese housewife and her sail maker from Goes will remain united on his tombstone for eternity. Hence, this gravestone can be seen as a silent witness of the love which Janis and Yatsuhashi cherished for each other and a unique monument to the intimate relations between Japan and the Netherlands during the last four hundred years.

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CHAPTER 2

The Colonial Clash

Colonial War and Emporial War on Taiwan in the Seventeenth Century

Colonial war has never been popular with colonial historians although film directors have found inspiration in it, as for example in movies such as *Gunga Din*, *Khartoum* and *Captain from Castile*. The Leiden professor H.L. Wesseling, however, has recently brought this important subject back to the study-rooms of colonial historians. In his article "Colonial Wars and Armed Peace 1870-1914: a Reconnaissance", later elucidated upon in a lecture in March 1986 held for the staff-members of the Centre for the History of European Expansion and its Reaction (IGEER), he ventured some hypotheses about the nature of nineteenth century colonial war. In this article on the Dutch colonial era in Taiwan (1624-1662) I tried to make use of these hypotheses. However, I soon discovered that some of Wesseling's hypotheses did not seem to apply to seventeenth century Dutch colonial history. As a result I set out to broaden and to refine these. I hope that this will prove useful for other colonial historians who want to enter the terra practically incognita of seventeenth century colonial war.

Original source: Velde, Paul van der. 1986. "Koloniale oorlog en oorlog om kolonie. Het boekjaar 1641-1642 van het comptoir Formosa", The Hague. Unpublished article translated by Rosemary Robson-McKillop.

Between Intimidation and Conquest of the Souls

According to Wesseling, colonial war is by definition a war of conquest which has as its goal the subjugation of the local population and the permanent occupation of their territory. In some instances, the coloniser was confronted with highly organised societies that had clear-cut centers of power. In others the coloniser was confronted with loosely organised societies that had no identifiable centers of power. Wesseling asserted that the most highly developed societies were the ones easiest to conquer. Its structures could very smoothly be given a colonial superstructure. When there were no such structures, the coloniser had to invent one which would always be looked upon by the colonised as a *fremdkörper*.

The main feature of the colonial war as such was the limited deployment of European troops which did not prove an obstacle for the European powers to be ever-victorious. This is mainly attributed to the superior Western technology

and to the superior military-political organisation which incorporated a better discipline, strategy and tactics. The indigenous population had as advantages over the Europeans their greater numbers, their physical constitution and a better knowledge of the terrain.

In waging this colonial war Wesseling further distinguishes between two variants. On the one hand there was the intimidation variant, also labelled the "English School" (Calwell 1906). On the other, the "Conquest of the souls" variant, or the "French School" (Marle 1944). As I remarked earlier, Wesseling's lecture specifically addressed itself to the nineteenth century variety of imperialism, quite natural because he is a specialist of French (African) colonial history. With the exception of one lecture all the other lectures in this series on colonial war dealt with the nineteenth century. Only the lecture by Leonard Blussé entitled, "Waves against the Chinese Wall: Skirmishes between Westerners and Chinese on the Coast of China in the Seventeenth and Nineteenth Century", discussed some of the different sorts of conflicts involving the Dutch during the seventeenth century (Blussé 1984).

How, I asked myself, could this under-representation of the seventeenth century colonial war be accounted for? Easy accessibility of source-materials alone could not account for the strong representation of lectures on colonial wars in the nineteenth century. Then, was there no colonial war in the seventeenth century? Were there no colonies in the seventeenth century? When I put these questions into perspective, the seventeenth and nineteenth century drifted apart as though they were two very different continents. The word "imperialism" simply could not be applied to the Western expansion of the seventeenth century. Therefore I propose to use the word "Emporialism" for this period of Western expansion, and this because none of these wars were primarily waged to subjugate and colonise a territory or a people. Instead, they were simply designed to gain control over a valuable trading city or region which they could connect to similar places around the globe.

This period of "Emporialism" commenced with the exploits of the Iberian powers and lasted deep into the eighteenth century. It was characterised by an ephemeral contact with the "other" world, wherein only the outer rims were touched by the Westerners. On these rims they founded small emporia that were linked up with other emporia which for the first time in world history encompassed the entire globe. From the seventeenth century onwards, the Iberian powers were challenged by a vigorous modern state: the Dutch Republic, which itself was by nature emporial in character. The primary emporium, Amsterdam, was the main seat of the directorate of the United Dutch East India Company (VOC). From its foundation in 1602 it waged an emporial war against the Iberian powers since it was not a colonial war but a battle for trading centers (Singer and Small 1972: passim).

The sea-battles between the VOC and China over the Pescadores (1622-1624) and over Amoy (1630-1632) with the later Lord Protector of the Chinese coasts can be

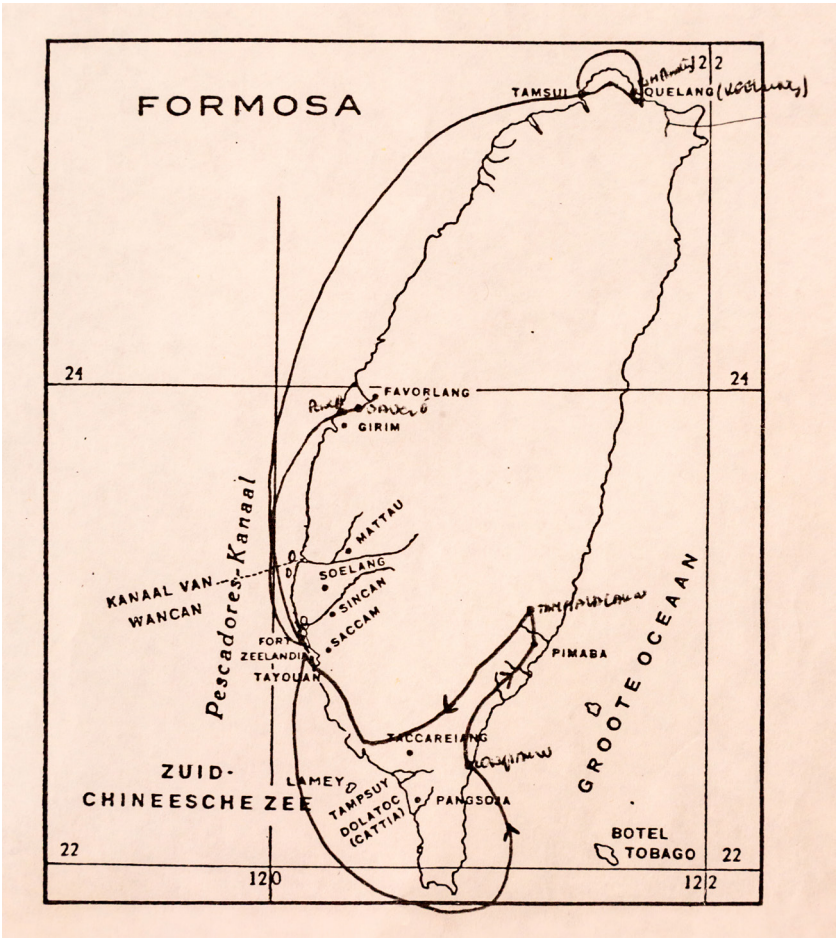


Figure 4. Map of Taiwan in the 17th century. Photo Cindy Bakker.

seen as outbursts of emporial war. These skirmishes between the Dutch and the Chinese were however over-shadowed by the emporial war raging between the VOC and the Iberian powers. By 1640 the VOC had dealt the Iberian powers heavy blows in the Far Eastern theatre (Parry 1967: 249). Before 1640 the emporial war was fought over the control of the spice trade. In the 1640s its locus shifted towards the control over Chinese trade (Glamann 1981: 57).

The VOC-emporium on Formosa, founded in 1624 near present day Tainan, had since the 1630s been successful in capturing an increasing share of the trade between China and Japan. It should be noted that from 1639 onwards, the VOC was

the only Western power that, along with the Chinese, was allowed to trade with Japan. The Dutch emporium on Taiwan preceded the Spanish one in the north in Keelung by two years. While the Spanish sphere of influence was confined to a small area around their fort, the Dutch sphere of influence reached over the whole south-west of the island by 1640. The probability of an outbreak of emporial war on the island was thus inherent.

On the other hand, Formosa also illustrated what in a limited sense might be compared to the colonial or extra-systemic war; a war of a state against a tribal community that was not connected to the international system (Singer and Small: 1972, passim). This variety of conflict, so typical of Wesseling's nineteenth century, was introduced to Formosa with the VOC expedition against Mattau in 1630. This exploratory article will limit itself to the fiscal year 1641-1642 that ran from October 1, 1641 to September 30, 1642. Based on an inventory of the conflicts on the island in this period, I will describe the conqueror's tactics, the troop-composition, the type of terrain and the costs and profits of colonial war. At the same time Wesseling's hypotheses about nineteenth century colonial war will be tested in an emporial seventeenth century setting. As far as emporial war is concerned, I will only briefly address the motives for the VOC's attack on Keelung in 1642.

To Convert Deer for their Skins

The expeditions to Davolé and Vavorlangh and Tammalacauw in the years 1641 to 1642 which I will treat later on in this article were not the first expeditions the VOC undertook on Formosa. In fact these expeditions initiated the second phase of the expansion process on Formosa which was mainly aimed at the north-west and south-east of the island. The first phase of expansion was directed at the south-west of the island. The location of the fort Zeelandia on a sand-bank off the coast of Formosa accentuated the emporial transit-character of the settlement. The main goal of it was to increase the share in the lucrative trade between China and Japan. As far as the indigenous Austro-Melanesian population was concerned, they were left alone or were presented with small gifts to keep them at bay.

The VOC direction was not in the least interested in territorial expansion at this stage. The protagonists of territorial expansion (pacification) were Calvinist ministers for whom Formosa promised to be an excellent field for their proselytising activities (Blussé 1984). There was however another side to their interest. Ministers in many cases were, just as all other VOC-employees, engaged in private trade. In the eyes of the ministers Formosa was an excellent place for agriculture and chase. At that time Formosa had an abundant stock of deer which explains a proverb current at that time: "To convert deer for their skins!". The ministers had to come

up with these arguments for expansion since the VOC was not founded to spread the word but to reap the benefits.

The ministers G. Candidius and R. Junius are particularly associated with the expansion on Formosa. After Candidius's arrival on Formosa in 1627 among the retinue of the newly appointed governor Pieter Nuyts, Candidius settled down in the village Sincan which lay opposite Zeelandia on the mainland of Formosa (Ginsel 1931). After a while he came to grips with the Sincanese language and gained insight into the habits of the Sincanese and became in that way, just as Junius later on, a connoisseur of Formosan tribal society (Candidius 1903: 9-25). As such they can be labelled as proto-anthropologists. Based on his experiences Candidius concluded that the conversion of the inhabitants would only be possible if the VOC would expand its authority over the Formosan coastal area: " (…) mission work could only be carried out with administrative backing" (Blussé 1984: 170). At first his requests were denied by the authorities in Fort Zeelandia.

A change in the initial anti-expansionist attitude of the VOC was brought about when on July 13, 1629, a Dutch search party, on the look-out for Chinese smugglers, was ambushed and annihilated by inhabitants of Mattau. Sixty soldiers were killed and only Nuyts managed to escape with his life. The Mattaunese also destroyed or robbed the VOC possessions in Sincan. The prestige the VOC enjoyed under the inhabitants of Sincan thanks to the arduous labour of Candidius was destroyed overnight. The Sincanese found out that the presence of a white man in their midst didn't shield them from the attacks of other villages, a prospect Candidius had dangled before their eyes. This so-called inter-village violence was a central feature in Formosan society because of the socio-religious connotations attached to it (Blussé 1984: 170).

The villages on Formosa were almost completely autarkic. Everything which happened outside of their village belonged to chaos. The nature of this society excluded therefore, an endogenous generated central power system. The knowledge about and the predictions about the chaos were, in these matrilineal societies, concentrated in the hands of priestesses. The so-called *Inebs* were fixed days on which the men could measure themselves with the evil powers of chaos. Most of the time this boiled down to a head-hunting expedition to a neighbouring village or a satellite-village. Within this framework of inter-village violence a head or heads wrestled from the tentacles of chaos was seen as a mark of courage. Probably Candidius soon realised that the power of the *Inebs* was the key to power over the society. To break their power and replace them, Candidius was dependent on the military might of the VOC.

After strong pressure was put on the new governor H. Putmans by the ministers, he hesitantly decided to mount a punitive expedition against Mattau. Because of a lack of knowledge of the environment Putmans did not succeed in reaching Mattau.

Instead of Mattau he plundered Bacloangh, a satellite-village of Mattau. This expedition formed the matrix for the troops make-up of all future expeditions. It consisted of Dutch soldiers and local auxiliary troops that acted as shock-troops (in the case of the expedition against Mattau, Sincanese were employed). Their share in the loot mainly consisted of the hunted heads of the adversaries: "It was nothing less than a head hunting expedition under the auspices of the Company" (Blussé 1984: 174). The VOC as director of the ritual inter-village violence not only restored its own prestige but also that of Candidius even to such a degree that the village converted en masse to the "true belief". On the strength of his spiritual authority over the Sincanese, Candidius was also accorded political power over them. This divine guidance coupled with worldly authority was an exceptional executive element in the VOC administration that would last on Formosa until 1651 when alongside the ministers so-called "Politieken" (policy officers) were appointed.

Because of his militant Calvinistic schooling Candidius was well equipped to replace the *Inebs*. It was he who expelled the evil spirits of chaos and replaced them, in the eyes of the indigenous peoples, with a god who protected everybody and everything. At the same time however, it was a god of wrath of whom Candidius was the sole representative on earth. The *Inebs* were unduly banished. The frequency of the outbursts of wrath of this god was decided by the governor who gave "his" ministers orders to amass indigenous troops for the occasion. When they were gathered Candidius would start an inspiring *veldpreek* (battle sermon) which must have been a very strange happening indeed (Ginsel 1931: 114).

Whether "through his Christian inspired punitive expeditions" *colonial war* (my italics; PvdV) was introduced to the Formosan countryside, sounds somewhat exaggerated since decisions about expeditions were always taken by the governor (Blussé 1984: 175). But that Candidius contributed to a change in attitude of the VOC towards a more expansionistic attitude cannot be denied. Also he enabled the VOC to operate more effectively because, by using indigenous scouts, Candidius significantly increased the knowledge of the geography of the lowlands of Formosa. Anyway, the tandem VOC-Minister succeeded by exploiting the inter-village violence to subdue the south-west of Formosa by 1636. Other "God sent allies", in the form of contagious diseases, facilitated their job since by 1635 these invisible viral allies had wiped out fifty percent of the indigenous population.

After 1636, four years of consolidation followed wherein the ministers amongst others occupied themselves with the administration of souls. At the same time a new phenomenon could be noted on the island. From 1635 an increasing number of Chinese farmers on the run from the war devastating their country, migrated from mainland China to the island. By 1640 a thriving agricultural community had come into being that produced sugar for the world market and rice for the local and Chinese market. These agricultural interests gave further impetus to the

expansionist attitude of the VOC because the income derived from the colony was in the form of all kinds of taxes of which the poll tax was the most important (incidentally collected by the ministers), and was soon to surpass the income derived from trade. The first phase of the expansion was administratively crowned by the establishment of the *landdag* (general meeting) for the south-west of Formosa in 1641. On this *landdag*, which was held once a year, the indigenous heads came to pledge loyalty and submission to the governor. Thereby the VOC acted as a kind of arbiter in disputes between the villages. Stabilisation of the lowlands could, however, only be brought about by subduing the northern part too. The expedition to Davolé and Vavorlangh heralded the second phase of the pacification of Formosa.

The Expedition to Davolé and Vavorlangh, 1641-1642

Davolé and Vavorlangh were located north of the already pacified territory (Van der Chijs 1887: 98-101). Junius who had his base in Mattau was tolerably well informed about the situation in this not yet pacified part of Formosa. Amongst other things Junius had warned the governor P. Traudenius that the tribesmen of Vavorlangh would not tolerate any penetration of their territory by foreign hunters (Ginsel 1931: 118). Therefore Junius was not in the least surprised about the murder of three Dutchmen who were hunting in the vicinity of Vavorlangh. This murder caused Traudenius to organise a punitive expedition. On the 24th of December 1641 he went thither on sampans at the head of a force consisting of 400 Dutch soldiers and sailors and 300 Chinese, Quinamese and Jambynese coolies. They landed the same day on the coast near Ponca. Here the main body of the force was joined by Junius heading 1400 auxiliary troops.

With this considerably expanded expeditionary force they attacked Davolé on the 25th of November. This village, consisting of 150 houses and 400 paddy-barns, was put to ashes. Thirty villagers were killed in action. This was however not the only loss the Vavorlanghnese suffered. By cutting their fruit-trees the Dutch struck a heavy blow to their means of existence. Meanwhile, the auxiliary troops got in a row over the distribution of the booty: the thirty hunted heads. Hereupon, Traudenius decided to dispatch 1,200 of them home. With the remaining 200 and the main body of his force he attacked Vavorlangh on the 27th of November. Vavorlangh with its 400 houses, 1600 paddy-barns and 4-5,000 inhabitants, was one of the biggest on Formosa. As a sign of good-will 30 houses were spared destruction. Traudenius demanded the immediate release of the three Dutch heads. If this was not carried out forthwith the whole village would be destroyed (Colenbrander 1900: 101). On his return to Fort Zeelandia on the 2nd of December (with the 3 heads) he remarked laconically that: “Bij d’omleggende dorpen en volckeren een grooten schrick (was) gemaeckt”. (“We

scared the hell out of them".) No mention was made of casualties during this punitive expedition. Intimidation however, undeniably preceded the conquering of the souls.

The configuration of the grounds of the south-eastern part of Formosa, where Tammalacauw was situated, differs altogether from that of the lowlands of Formosa. It is mountainous with a dense over-growth. The knowledge of these grounds was practically nil. Up until that time this part of Formosa had only attracted some gold-seekers; the heralds of Western culture par excellence. The murder of one of them, M. Wesseling, by inhabitants of Tammalacauw caused the bellicose Traudenius to organise another punitive expedition. The expeditionary force consisted of 225 Dutch soldiers, 110 Chinese and 18 Jambynese coolies. On 11 January the expedition left on 3 junks and a pilot boat for the other side of the island. The real purpose of the expedition was to find the goldmines that were rumored to be there (Colenbrander 1900: 146-9).

The next day the fleet arrived at the eastern side of the island. After landing, they continued their way through mountainous terrain and on the 22nd of January they arrived in Pimaba. Just as in all the other villages they had passed, they were greeted with friendliness by the Pimabanese (Blussé and Roessingh 1984). By putting some pressure on the village headman, Traudenius secured a fair amount of auxiliary troops. The Tammalacauwnese however, seemed to be prepared for the attack because the avant-garde of the force was ambushed. It was to no avail for the Tammalacauwnese. Musket fire killed 27 of them and an unknown number were wounded. The Tammalacauwnese warriors thereupon retreated behind the bamboo fortifications of their village, that was strategically located on the top of a hill. After fierce combat the whole village was put to ashes. In the treaty thereafter concluded, the Tammalacauwnese were forbidden to rebuild their village and later on were reallocated to the Pimaba area. On the Dutch side 2 soldiers were reported killed and 5 wounded.

From Pimaba the expedition headed north with the conviction that the goldmines were there. When their search proved to be in vain, Traudenius decided to return to Zeelandia overland. On the 7th of February the expedition was attacked by ferocious mountain tribes but 100 musket shots worked miracles: "40 (inlanders) met ronde gatties int lijff gequetst becomen hadden sulcx niet begrijpen conden, waer 't selve van daen gecomen was" ("40 indegenes were shot. They could not understand where the round holes in their bodies had come from") (Colenbrander 1900: 148). These piercing culture-shocks proved to be lethal for those touched by it. After a hazardous journey the force reached Zeelandia on 23rd of February. The attention given to the pacification of this not easily accessible far corner of Formosa temporarily waned under the influence of the preparations for the attack on the Spanish stronghold in the north.

The *Armada of the East* and the Conquering of Keelung in 1642

When the Spaniards planted their flag on Formosa on May 11, 1626 they realised an intention they had been cherishing for more than 40 years (Verhoeven 1930: 46-76). The strategic position of Formosa, north of Manila, near China and Japan, had not escaped their attention (ARA: 4866). When in 1624 the VOC settled down on Formosa the Spanish, in order to counter the influence of the Dutch, thought it necessary to have their own fortification on the island. In 1627 the Spanish even equipped a considerable fleet to chase the Dutch from the island. The fleet never reached Zeelandia because most of the ships sank during a violent storm (Verhoeven 1930: 67). As such it could be labelled the *Armada of the East*.

In 1629 the Spaniards expanded their sphere of influence by building a fort in Tamsui on the Formosan coast south-west of Keelung. The dramatic decline in the trade volume of their Asiatic trade forced the Spaniards to remove their settlement in Tamsui in 1635 and to reduce their military force from four to one company of soldiers (Parry: 249). The Spanish governor, G. Portillo, recognised the increasing threat posed by the VOC. His request to enforce the garrison was not honoured by the Spanish government in Manila. This attitude of the Spanish government was quite understandable in view of the mounting tension among the Chinese population of Manila which would eventually erupt in a mass-insurrection of the Chinese in 1640 which the Spaniards could scarcely suppress (Van der Velde: 1982). It became clear that the Spanish had both militarily and financially overreached themselves with their settlement on Formosa.

Plans for the conquest of the Spanish fort in Keelung had been circulating in VOC circles for some time. In 1640 the first concrete steps were taken to reach that goal. That year captain M. Gerritsen-Vries went on a reconnaissance trip around the north of the island on two yachts manned by 70 Dutchmen and 50 Chinese. Swept by typhoons, he was forced to return to Zeelandia where he arrived on the 24th of December. This reconnaissance trip produced no results (Van der Chijs 1887: 116-17). The following year the captain J. van Linga sailed to Keelung with a fleet of two yachts, one flute ship and one pilot-boat (Colenbrander: 59-61). Van Linga carried a letter from Traudenius for Portillo, wherein the former demanded the surrender of the Spanish fort (Valentijn 1726: 72-73).

After Van Linga had handed over the letter, he reinforced Traudenius's demand by a bombardment of Kimpanlij, a village within easy reach of the Spanish fort. Portillo was not impressed and utterly rejected the demand of Traudenius (Valentijn 1726: 72-73). Thereupon Van Linga sailed away because he judged his force too weak to be able to launch a successful attack on the Spanish fort. On his way back to Zeelandia he landed in Tamsui and solemnly put this area under the jurisdiction

of the VOC (Colenbrander 1900: 61). In October 1641, indigenes from Tamsui came to Zeelandia for an official submission ceremony.

In order to conquer Keelung an expeditionary force the same size as those mentioned in the introduction in relation to China, which on average consisted of 10 yachts manned by 1,000 soldiers, was split in two. The first part headed by Captain H. Haroussee left Zeelandia on August 18, 1642 with a force which was labelled in his instructions a considerable one (Leupe 1859: 27). It consisted of 369 soldiers, 222 sailors, 48 Chinese, 30 Quinamese and eight slaves. They were shipped on five yachts, two junks, six sampans and a big pilot-boat. The second force was headed by Major J. Lamotius, who a year earlier had played a crucial role in the conquest of Malacca from the Portuguese. The deployment of Lamotius proved amongst other factors that the VOC attached great importance to the good outcome of the expedition. Lamotius headed 161 soldiers and 162 sailors (Leupe 1859: 92-93). He would leave in September for Keelung. In all, 11 big ships and 1,000 men were deployed in this expedition.

The main goal of Haroussee's expedition was the conquest of the Spanish fort "La Sanctissima Trinidade" (Verhoeven 1930: 46-76). Chinese spies in Manila had informed Zeelandia earlier that, apart from two Chinese ships manned by 15 Spaniards and 60 Chinese, no reinforcements were sent to Keelung (Leupe 1859: 78). When the fleet sailed by Tamsui, a small force headed by Lieutenant T. Pedel, who was known in the area, went to command the indigenes to fulfil their duties as stipulated in the agreement with the VOC. These duties consisted of sending food and auxiliary troops to Keelung. After the fleet had arrived for the roadstead of Keelung it was fired at by batteries of the redoubt and the fort. The yacht *Waterhondt* was hit but only slightly damaged.

The bombardment could not prevent the troops from landing. But they were shot at by the Spaniards from a hill opposite the redoubt. Nevertheless, the Dutch made their way uphill. The Spaniards believed that by planting crosses they could stop the apostates but the holy symbols were no match for the Dutch and they started installing a battery. The battery was ready to shoot on the 24th of August. One hundred canon shots were enough to blow a hole in the redoubt. On inspection the redoubt was found empty. The Spaniards had withdrawn in time to "La Sanctissima Trinidade". Meanwhile 1,000 natives of Tamsui had arrived, without however, the promised refreshments. Haroussee decided not to employ them in battle since their bows and arrows were no match for the brick walls of the fort (Leupe 1859: 79). The presence of the indigenes couldn't escape the attention of the Spaniards on whom the psychological pressure was in this manner mounted.

In a letter of the 24th of August to Portillo, Haroussee demanded an unconditional surrender. If this were not obeyed nobody would be spared. After two days of negotiating, the governor surrendered. Next to 100 Spaniards, 150 Panpagerans (Philippine auxiliary troops) and 250 Chinese along with slaves were found in the

fort. Later on they would be evacuated to Batavia and from there they would be returned to Manila with the exception of Portillo who went elsewhere. The loss of Formosa was a blow to Spain, for it afforded the Dutch Republic an excellent base of operations just north of Luzon. Moreover, Formosa lay strategically in the path of the junks coming to Manila from Amoy and Nagasaki (Zaide 1951: 264). This base would indeed play a key role in the resupplying of the Dutch blockade fleets of Manila in the years 1644 to 1648. The conquest of the fort, an imposing structure with 38 canons, would further facilitate the pacification of Formosa.

Scorched Earth Tactics

On the 8th of September 1642, Lamotius left with four yachts for Keelung where they arrived five days later (NA: 1053**).** In his instructions for Lamotius, Traudenius assumed that upon his arrival in Keelung the fort would have already been conquered. This assessment proved to be correct. Therefore Lamotius could immediately pursue the main goal of his expedition: the discovery of the gold-mines that were rumored to be south of Keelung in the neighborhood of Tamsui (Leupe 1859: 94). The skipper S. Cornelisz was sent on a scouting expedition to the alleged gold river the "Danube", southeast of Keelung. His mission however, did not produce the hoped for results.

Closely related to the discovery of the gold-mines was the subjugation of the indigenes in the surroundings of Tamsui so that they would not present an obstacle for future exploitation of the goldmines. In his instruction Lamotius was told how to proceed with this subjugation. He had to wrought as much damage as possible. That is to say; to capture the indigenes dead or alive; to ruin their crops and houses; in short to inflict as much damage as possible because this godless crowd had to be governed in a harsh manner (Leupe 1859: 95). This summarises very poignantly the VOC's rule of thumb for the "pacification" of the indigenous population of Formosa.

Before Lamotius started out in the direction of Tamsui on the 24th of September, word of the coming expedition had spread to the surrounding area, which resulted in the subjugation of 14 villages to the enlightened rule of the VOC. The expeditionary force consisted of 378 soldiers, 61 sailors and 89 auxiliary troops, in all 528 men. The "road", however, made hard going. Therefore Lamotius decided to return to Keelung where he arrived on the first of October one day after the fiscal year 1641-1642 had ended. Only later on in October would Lamotius find a better route and succeed in subjugating the whole area in the surroundings of Tamsui. However, the supposed gold mines were never found.

The costs and profits specified per expedition can, as a result of the lack of relevant data, never be properly assessed. Only in the financial year 1641-1642 does the factory give us some very global information. In that financial year the factory recorded a loss

of 61,315 guilders (Coolhaas 1964: 176). On the one hand this was due to the many expeditions. On the other hand it had to be attributed to the stagnation in the supply of precious metals from Japan since 1640. The next financial year of the Formosa factory would show a profit of 196,003 guilders (Coolhaas 1964: 176). At the end of the forties, Formosa would become one of the most profitable factories of the VOC thanks to the income derived from a wide variety of taxes imposed on the swelling Chinese population.

The gold-mines would never be found but the Japanese were very much taken in by the conquest of the "popish" fort by the Dutch so that from 1643 a regular flow of precious metals from Japan to Formosa was guaranteed (ARA, 1140). Of the VOC settlement in Keelung, the chronicler F. Valentijn would three-quarters of a century later remark that in regard to trade we had nothing but the disadvantages of the settlement (Valentijn 1726: 73). The importance of the settlement should, however, be attributed to the strategic value within the bigger framework of the emporial war. In relation to the colonial war, Keelung meant a second bridge-head for the pacification of Formosa that in combination with Zeelandia in the south made a pincer movement possible. This movement would bring about the complete subjugation of the lowlands of Formosa by 1645. The second phase of expansion on Formosa was administratively crowned by the foundation of a *landdag* for the north in 1646.

This administrative configuration was later continued by the Chinese Ming loyalist Coxinga, whose Family ruled the island from 1662 to 1683 when Formosa became an official part of the Chinese empire and as such was the first and last Chinese overseas colony. The indigenes cherished the paper remainders of the Dutch presence deep into the eighteenth century and while I was on Taiwan in the years 1984 to 1985, a song was still current with one of the mountain tribes in the south that bewailed the departure of a Dutch father who had failed his indigenous wife and children.

Conclusion

That colonial war was, also in its emporial setting, a continuous process of warfare is confirmed by this study. In the span of time dealt with, no less than 3 expeditions in the framework of colonial war were held. Initially however, the VOC saw their settlement on the rim of Formosa as an emporium *tout court*. As a result of the pressure from the ministers who stressed the agricultural potential of Formosa, the VOC took a more expansionistic stance after the incident in which 60 Dutch soldiers were killed (the murder of Dutchmen was to be the immediate cause of two of the three expeditions). The manipulation of the inter-village violence by the tandem VOC-ministers resulted in the subjugation of the south-west of the island by 1636. In combining their spiritual and worldly power, the VOC put the administration of the conquered territory in the hands of the ministers. The foundation of the *landdag*

in 1641 formalised the occupation of the territory and marked the beginning of the second phase of expansion.

From the second phase we can gain amongst other information, a good insight into the troops composition. On average, 300-400 Dutch soldiers, 1,000 indigenous auxiliary troops and 200 Chinese coolies were deployed. The expeditions as such unfolded as follows: The Dutch soldiers and Chinese coolies were transported overseas to a point on the coast closest to the goal of the expedition. After landing, a rendezvous with the auxiliary troops took place (if not they were press-ganged later on). They acted as shock-troops in the attack on the village that had to be subjugated. The limited deployment of European troops was therefore only made possible by the massive deployment of indigenous auxiliary troops who bore the brunt of the battle. In general, this battle was short and intensive. Hereby the musket acted as a kind of magic stick rather than as a weapon deciding the outcome of the battle. Neither technological superiority nor superior tactics, unless one considers "go at it" as a superior tactic, played a decisive role in winning the colonial war.

The number of casualties resulting from these engagements was relatively small. Because the number of casualties is incomplete, history will remain more a matter of recounting than counting in this case. One can only say in general that the number of casualties on the Dutch side was small in comparison to the number of casualties among the indigenes, who fought on both sides. The material damage caused by these expeditions was on the contrary large. By applying scorched earth tactics the economic means of existence of the indigenes were destroyed. The reallocation of villagers to centers of Dutch administration then facilitated control over them. Whether this was typical for the whole expansion process remains a question. However, without doubt the advantages the indigenous population of the lowlands of Formosa had over their Dutch adversaries had by this time been eroded. The Dutch had increased their knowledge of the ground considerably and the indigenous population of the lowlands had seen their numbers reduced by 50 per cent. This numerical advantage was further undermined by the increasing number of Chinese (on Formosa there would be an insurrection of the Chinese in 1652) (Van der Velde 1982).

From the aforegoing one can conclude that Wesseling's hypothesis that the highest developed society was the one easiest to conquer, doesn't hold for the emporialist era. On the contrary, only when central power was absent did the Western powers succeed in gaining control over (tribal) societies. China, Japan or mighty kingdoms in Africa for that matter never were at risk of being conquered by Western powers. Besides, the main focus of the Western powers, certainly of the Dutch, was trade not territory. A colony would involve too much administration that in turn would immobilise the working capital. So there had to be strong motives for a colonial policy to be condoned by the VOC-directorate. What then were the motives which could justify the existence of a colony, and concomitant colonial war, in an otherwise emporial world?

The first motive that stands out is the income derived from the colony in the form of a wide variety of taxes that paid for the upkeep of the colony. The expedition to Davolé and Vavorlangh should be seen in the light of a further stabilisation of the fertile lowlands of Formosa. Here an increasing number of Chinese took to farming which resulted in ever higher income from taxes and high profits on sugar sold by the VOC on the world-market. The second motive that stands out was the search for precious metals. The expeditions to Tammalacauw and Tamsui must be seen from this perspective. Because of the stagnation in the supply of precious metals from Japan, the VOC was in want of alternative sources in view of their trade with China. It was during the later expedition that colonial war and emporial war were conjectured for a moment, since the conquest of the Spanish fort was a precondition to approach the gold-mines.

In a broader context, the attack on Keelung fitted with the overall offensive of the VOC against the Iberian powers that had, in the forties, as its main goal the monopolisation of Chinese trade. The combat force which the VOC deployed against Keelung was as big as the forces it deployed in the sea-battles against the Chinese. It consisted of 10 big naval vessels and 1,000 soldiers. In the case of Keelung, 1,000 indigenous auxiliary troops were press-ganged but they were not actively used. The emporial war was of an altogether different nature than the colonial war. The war with the Iberians was a war that strictly obeyed the rules of classical warfare with the difference that it was fought in the Far Eastern theatre. The fall of Keelung increased the VOC pressure on the last Spanish bulwark in the Far East: Manila. The subsequent VOC-blockade fleets of Manila (1644-1648) used Keelung as a port of call. An unexpected consequence of the VOC conquest of Keelung was an increase in the prestige it enjoyed with the Japanese. Therefore, from 1643 onwards there was a steady supply of precious metals from Japan which was much-needed since the hoped-for gold-mines were never found. In the pacification of the lowlands, Keelung was to become a second bridge-head, but Zeelandia would remain the commercial, agricultural and administrative center of the colony until it was captured by the Chinese warlord Coxinga in 1662.

The colonial war and the emporial war seemed to intertwine in the last part of this study. They were however, two completely unrelated phenomena. The emporial war was fought intermittently throughout the emporial era. A colony on the contrary, was an exceptional phenomenon in the emporial era that only occurred under insular circumstances (such as on Formosa) where there was no central power and where the income generated by the colony more than paid for the upkeep of it. Around 1650, many voices were heard in VOC circles calling to relocate its Indian headquarters from Batavia to Zeelandia. That this was considered was a clear indicator of the degree of success of this colony in an otherwise emporialist era.

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From Sabang to Merauke: Dutch Imperialism in the Light of a Blazing Discussion

M. Kuitenbrouwer's doctoral thesis should be seen as a belated attempt to accord the Netherlands a place in modern imperialism. When all is said and done, in the foreign literature about imperialism the Netherlands is conspicuous by its absence. At first glance this seems paradoxical. Wasn't the Netherlands the greatest colonial power after England? However, taking into account the fact that the concept of imperialism is tightly bound up with the idea of the territorial expansion of European powers in Africa in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, on second thoughts, it does seem more plausible. Viewed from this angle, the Netherlands misses the boat because its colonial sphere of influence lay in Asia and, furthermore, on the eve of the scramble for Africa, by signing the Second Sumatra Treaty with the English in 1871, it exchanged its last trading emporium on the coast of West Africa, Elmina, for Dutch supremacy over the whole of Sumatra. Another factor militating against making this claim is that the Netherlands abstained from expansion into other areas beyond its already existing sphere of influence.

Original source: Velde, Paul van der. 1988. "Van Sabang tot Merauke. Het Nederlandse imperialisme in het licht van een oplaaiende discussie", *Theoretische Geschiedenis* 15 (2). 250-254. This is a review of a book and an article: M. Kuitenbrouwer, M. 1985. *Nederland en de opkomst van het moderne imperialisme. Koloniën en buitenlandse politiek,1870-1902*. Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw: and, H.L. Wesseling, 1986. "Bestond er een Nederlands imperialisme?", *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 99: 214-225. This review article was translated by Rosemary Robson-McKillop.

Kuitenbrouwer is not really so concerned about the expansion aspect of modern imperialism, choosing instead to concentrate on the aspect of enlargement of territory: "The striving to *establish formal* or informal political rule over other societies" (Kuitenbrouwer 1985: 229, my italics. PvdV.). The territorial enlargement which occurred within the confines of the Dutch East Indies between 1870 and 1902 is discussed in three chapters. The link between Dutch foreign relations and imperialism is also investigated in these chapters. The general conclusion to be drawn from this is that the Dutch response to the imperialism of others was opportunistic: cautious towards the great powers; hard-hitting towards the smaller players. The consular reports which he has used are an enrichment to our arsenal of knowledge.

These three chapters are preceded by an introductory chapter consisting of two parts. The first is composed of a lucid, albeit condensed, review of the theory of imperialism (Mommsen 1979). In the second part, Kuitenbrouwer examines the Dutch debate about the place of the Netherlands in modern imperialism or rather, the lack of such a place. In the concluding chapter, the findings of the three core chapters are tested against the international and local debate set out in the

introduction. This done, Kuitenbrouwer takes the first step in making comparisons between Dutch imperialism and that of England, Portugal and Belgium. These comparisons deserve to be worked out in more detail and as they stand provide a justification for a study on the same scale as Kuitenbrouwer's dissertation.

Kuitenbrouwer found the similarity between Dutch imperialism and that of other countries in the book *The False Dawn* by R. Betts (Oxford 1976). The central theme of this book is the concept of *contiguity*. Betts uses *contiguity* to describe how the (colonial) powers expanded their spheres of influence from existing positions. This does not mean, as H.L. Wesseling proposes in his criticism of Kuitenbrouwer, that colonial territories were literally adjacent to their mother countries as these positions were expanded with the "finalised" map of Europe in mind. The fact that the regions on the world map did not literally border the mother country was neither here nor there.

Pertinently, where were the borders in Africa before 1880? For the Netherlands, the situation was simple. Already set on the track of inward expansion, there were opportunities aplenty in the Dutch East Indies to indulge in this propensity. There was still a liberal sprinkling of white spaces on the map of areas under Dutch authority and those areas in which influence was already a given still needed to be defended against intruders. Apart from a few small concessions, for instance, in North Borneo, the sphere of influence could be kept intact during the upsurge of modern imperialism. Kuitenbrouwer sees this *contiguity* at work in the process of Dutch expansion in the Dutch East Indies. The Policy of Abstention, which could be translated as a policy of non-intervention in the Outer Provinces, displayed its first cracks after the abolition of the Culture System in 1870. The first wedge in the Abstention Policy was the Aceh Expedition of 1873. This expedition, which failed to deliver the expected victory, would become a suppurating wound on the body of the Abstention Policy and continue to fester until this was also rescinded in 1896. Kuitenbrouwer sees the Aceh Expedition as the first shot across the bows in a process of the expansion of power which would thereafter lie dormant until 1894. This was the year in which the Lombok Expedition set the scene for the new Pacification Policy which was resurrected in 1896. When this state imperialism was given an ethical boost in 1901, the expansion of power gained momentum: preceding this, Kuitenbrouwer also draws attention to a new drive for expansion in the 1880s instigated from *within Dutch society* (my italics. PvdV.). Its objective was South Africa, the country of our kinsfolk (Kuitenbrouwer 1985: 81). Kuitenbrouwer is right when he assigns national, economic and cultural motives a big role in what was going on during this "dormant" period. It is a pity that Kuitenbrouwer has not included the zenith of Dutch imperialism (1902-1908) within the scope of his book (Kuitenbrouwer 1985: 211). It would provide a wonderful example of *contiguity* and *continuity*, if these years were added as an addendum to his dissertation.

The Leiden School

Among the proponents of the "Leiden School" were I. Schöffer, C. Fasseur and H.L. Wessling. Prompted by Kuitenbrouwer's thesis, in a rather extensive "*Korte Verklaring*" (Short Note) (once used by the Dutch powers-that-be in the Dutch East Indies to subjugate indigenous rulers formally to their authority), the last has repudiated Kuitenbrouwer's conclusion that Dutch imperialism did exist. Wesseling does take note of the absence of the Netherlands from the international debate, but fails to draw any conclusions from it. In discussing the expansion of Dutch power, he resorts to the euphemism *invulling* (filling-in, joining up the dots). He argues that this filling-in could be seen happening all over The Dutch East Indies throughout the whole of the nineteenth century. He also admits that it was more forcibly underwritten by the government after 1896. Despite this concession, he dismisses it as a reason to speak of Dutch colonialism (Wesseling 1986: 224).

The second argument Wesseling adopts to refute the existence of Dutch imperialism is of a conceptual nature and concerns the periodisation. An imperialistic period implies a break/rupture whereas, he argues, everything continued as before in the Dutch East Indies. "Every now and again the Netherlands punished a people, 'pacified' an area" (Wesseling 1986: 225). The break which he observed in other European powers was manifested in new motives, new policies and new results (Wesseling 1986: 223). The new motives could be traced back to autonomous driving factors, whether nationalist, economic or cultural. Wesseling argues that, prior to 1896, these apparently did not weigh heavily in the Netherlands. For instance, Schöffer has stated that the nationalist motive only began to play a decisive role after the close of the nineteenth century. To counter this, Kuitenbrouwer indicates the virulent nationalism in the Netherlands in 1880, aroused after Britain had annexed the Boer Republic, which Schutte himself had mentioned earlier. Furthermore, Kuitenbrouwer also draws attention to the activities of the Dutch Geographical Society founded in 1873, among other reasons as a response to the First Aceh Expedition.

However, Kuitenbrouwer lets the chance slip of putting a stronger emphasis on what this Society, whose membership included almost all the Dutch elite, was getting up to as an example of the extremely loaded imperialist tendency before 1896. Against a Darwinist background, nationalist and economic motives fused together in the idea of Greater Netherlands. Although this idea was largely concentrated on the kindred Boers in South Africa, other areas did not escape the purview of the Society, among them the Congo Basin in which the Rotterdam-based *Afrikaanse Handelsmaatschappij* (Africa Trading Company) had established a number of trading posts. In 1877 the Society also established a Dutch branch of the Association Internationale Africaine (AIE), the brainchild of King Leopold II of Belgium. Contrary to what Kuitenbrouwer claims, the Netherlands was not invited

to the Internationale Geographical Congress in Brussels in 1876 (Kuitenbrouwer 1985: 55). However, when it turned out that Leopold II had failed to drum up enough support for his initiative, he approached the president of the Society, P.J. Veth who, after being royally wined and dined in Leopold's palace, founded the Dutch branch of the Association: in reality, a platform to attract the financial means needed to realise Leopold's noble ambitions.

However, despite such distractions, in the 1870s the Dutch East Indies was the heart and soul of the Society. Nationalist and economic motives played a predominant role in the Society-sponsored Sumatra Expedition (1877-1879), which Kuitenbrouwer discusses (Kuitenbrouwer 1985: 75-76). Besides its stated economic goal, looking for an export route to transport the coal from the Ombilin coalfield which had been discovered earlier, this "scientific" expedition also had a political purpose: to collaborate with the authorities to strengthen Dutch power in Jambi. The incumbent Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, J.W. van Lansberge (1874-1881) was a proponent of expanding power. This goal was almost accomplished but, after the premature death of the Minister of Colonies, P.P. van Bosse, also an advocate of expansion, it was torpedoed by his successor, O. van Rees, who supported a Policy of Abstention.

Modern Imperialism

This policy was also doomed to succumb in the 1890s, crumbling under the pressure of the autonomous motives foisted on the government by Dutch society. The slogan: "The Indies lost, disastrous cost", was heard ever more vociferously. The pacification policy, formulated after far-reaching physical and anthropological research, hammered the nails into the coffin of the Policy of Abstention and, in 1901, it was given a thin layer of ethical icing free, gratis and for nothing. The subsequent Pacification Policy did not beat about the bush, as its results unequivocally demonstrate. The Aceh War was done and dusted in 1903 and, by 1910, the *Pax Neerlandica* reigned throughout the whole archipelago. The reason these new motivations were translated into the new policy so late must be sought in the fact that the imperialist wave swept across Asia only at the end of the 1880s and beginning of the 1890s. The additional participation of both Japan and America now imbued imperialism with a global character. In this new global imperialism, the European concept of power began to fade. This obliged the Netherlands to strengthen its position in the Dutch East Indies. By the bye, it is not surprising that, just as the Netherlands, Japan and America are missing from the current imperialism debate, it doesn't make them any less imperialistic.

Up to the present-day, the emphasis has continued to be placed on the first phase of imperialism (1880-1895), and the second phase, that of consolidation

1895-1914, has had to take a back seat. Imperialism began its career as a European phenomenon in Africa in the 1880s. At the end of the 1880s and beginning of the 1890s, it reached Asia where it consolidated itself as a global phenomenon until 1914. In the first phase, that of emergent imperialism, The Netherlands was the odd man out because of its already existing claims. Nevertheless, it was still propelled by the same motivations as the others. In this phase it was successful in maintaining the pretext that the Dutch East Indies could be protected from the "malevolent" outside world by the exercise of sagacious perceptiveness. Pertinently, the fact that the Dutch cultural element in South Africa was imbued with a permanent character can also be traced back to private initiative.

When the consolidation phase of imperialism dawned at the end of the nineteenth century, the Netherlands could stand its ground. Its indignation about the imperialism of others, England in particular, did not stop it from swooping in on *all* of Indonesia. "From Sabang to Merauke" would perhaps never resound with quite the same allure as "From Cairo to Cape Town" but, taking into account the recent results landed by the new pacification policy, it is certainly productive to speak about a Dutch imperialism, even though it is disqualified from this status by a Europe-centric approach which means that in Europe the Netherlands is considered a non-imperialistic country. Despite this European outlook, a quite different view prevails in Asia.

In his evocative book, Kuitenbrouwer has given the first impulse towards building a new theory about the place of the Netherlands in modern imperialism. However, he has not managed to escape the grasp of the "Leiden School" and hence has not succeeded in formulating a new hypothesis.

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From Colonial Lobby to Colonial Hobby: The Royal Dutch Geographical Society and the Dutch East Indies, 1873-1914

With the exception of one article about the history of the Royal Dutch Geographical Society which was written on the occasion of its centennial in 1973, nothing has been written about the society from a historical point of view (Schrader 1974). In my research into Dutch colonial policy during the age of modern imperialism (1870-1914), the Geographical Society has been an important agent. In this article I will try to clarify the attitude of the society towards Dutch colonial policy and also assess its influence on that policy against the background of modern imperialism. First, however, I will evaluate the present-day historical debate about modern imperialism and the place Dutch imperialism occupies within it. I will then discuss the nature of the society and finally provide a brief description of two scientific expeditions which it equipped: the first to Sumatra in the years 1877-79 and the second to New Guinea in the years 1904-05.

Original source: Velde, Paul van der. 1995. “The Royal Dutch Geographical Society and the Dutch East Indies, 1873-1914: from colonial lobby to colonial hobby”, *Geography and Imperialism*, edited by Bell, Morag, Butlin, Robin and Heffernan, Michael. 80-92. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Imperialism Series X.

The Netherlands and Modern Imperialism

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century the appearance of the world changed dramatically under the influence of the industrial and technological revolutions which were fast gaining momentum. Territories which had little or no contact with the world system were indiscriminately incorporated into that system (Wallerstein 1974). In most cases these territories were appended to the metropolitan cores as colonies. The imperialist process was initiated by several European countries in the 1870s, and Japan and the United States joined their ranks in the 1890s. Modern imperialism reached its zenith in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. For some European nations such as Great Britain and France this entailed the extension of already existing colonial possessions. For other countries such as Germany, Belgium, Japan and the United States, which did not yet have colonial possessions, it marked their emergence as imperial powers.

Notwithstanding the decline in its political power since the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Netherlands still possessed the major part of its seventeenth-century possessions overseas. It can be defined as an emporial empire, in contrast with the British empire, which from the mid-eighteenth century was based on territorial power over vast stretches of land. In 1820, effective Dutch control of the Dutch East Indies was limited to a minor part of Java. The rest of the Dutch East

Indies, referred to as the Outer Territories, was only nominally under Dutch control. In fact, the Dutch East Indies were at this stage an ambitious territorial claim which did not mirror global political realities. The Dutch government was perceptive enough not to join in the race for new territories in the 1870s. Nevertheless, from 1830 onwards it had marginally increased Dutch control in the Indies. According to the current historical debate, two periods can be distinguished in this process of the extension of territorial control.

During the first or informal period, from 1830 to 1894, the marginal tightening of control may be attributed to the resident colonial officials, while the government officially observed a policy of non-intervention in the Outer Territories – the so-called "abstention policy" (*onthoudingspolitiek*). The second or formal period, from 1894 to 1914, was initiated by a successful military expedition to Lombok in 1894, which touched a responsive nationalistic chord in the Netherlands (Kuitenbrouwer 1991). In 1896, the formulation of the pacification policy put an end to the abstentionism to which the government had tenaciously adhered for so long. From now on it was the central government which took the initiative in extending its control over the Outer Territories. The pacification policy was made palpable for all in 1901, when ethical arguments were adduced in support of a colonial policy or "mission civilisatrice", which cured the Dutch of their phobia of colonialism which they had nurtured for three-quarters of a century. In 1904 the Aceh war, which had lasted thirty years, was ended and at the close of the age of modern imperialism in 1914, the *Pax Neerlandica* prevailed across the whole archipelago.

This sweeping change in the relationship between mother country and colony was in part effected by the abolition in 1870 of the so-called "*Cultuurstelsel*" of forced crop deliveries which paved the way for a liberalisation of this relationship. Private initiative, no longer hindered by official restrictions, was then free to take root in the archipelago, especially in Java. By contrast, the government was limited in its freedom of action by the Aceh War, which devoured a large part of the Dutch Indies budget. Furthermore, it was impeded from extending its control over the Outer Territories by an international economic crisis, which lasted until 1895.

In spite of, or maybe because of this economic crisis, a strong growth trend can be traced in the number of private enterprises which founded subsidiaries in the Dutch East Indies. The increasing inter-meshing of the economies of the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies and the increasing nationalistic involvement between them – "Indies lost disastrous cost" –brought about the collapse of the abstention policy in the mid-l890s. In short, national and economic motives were the cause of its collapse. At the same time, imperialism was globalised when Japan and the United States started to compete in the imperialist race at the beginning of the 1890s.

It was imperative that the Dutch government strengthen its position in the Dutch East Indies in order to remain a credible coloniser. In the current debate about

modern imperialism, the Netherlands are conspicuously absent (Wesseling 1986). On the face of it, this seems to be a paradox. Did the Dutch not possess an empire whose territorial extent was exceeded only by Britain, Russia and France? The fact that the concept of modern imperialism is strongly related to the expansion of the European powers in the last quarter of the nineteenth century especially in Africa, perhaps helps to explain the absence of the Netherlands from the historical debate. In the Second Sumatra Treaty signed with Great Britain in 1871, it exchanged its last possession in Africa – Elmina on the coast of Ghana – for freedom of action in Sumatra. This was to plunge both countries into costly colonial wars: namely, the Ashanti war and the Aceh war.

As a basis of a reassessment of the Netherlands within the framework of modern imperialism, I propose to divide modern imperialism into two phases: the appropriation phase, 1870-95, during which the great powers occupied vast territories; and the perpetuation phase, 1895-1914, during which the grip on these newly acquired territories was strengthened. The Dutch Geographical Society, which was founded in 1873, has a role in such a reassessment, and it is certainly possible to view the foundation of the society within the framework of the increase of private initiative in the Dutch East Indies.

The Nature of the Royal Dutch Geographical Society

In February 1873 four geography teachers from grammar schools founded a geographical society based on principles in line with the broad-geographical movement in Europe at that time. In their view, the foundation of such a society could stimulate and channel the nascent interest in geography. This awakening interest in geography was not surprising in an age in which "La géographie est devenue la philosophie de la terre" ["geography had become the philosophy of the earth"] (Brunschwig 1960). The increase in geographical knowledge resulting from these explorations would benefit trade, industry, shipping and plans for colonisation. The founders informed like-minded people of their intentions and this resulted in a meeting in the rooms of the Diligentia club in Amsterdam on 2 March 1873.

The meeting was presided over by Professor P. J. Veth who, with the first secretary of the society, C.M. Kan, can be considered the founders of modern scientific geography in the Netherlands. Veth was already well known for his standard works in the field of colonial geography, which at that time included anthropology and ethnography of the Dutch East Indies (Van der Velde 1993). The discussions about the goals of the society during that first meeting centred on the question of whether the society should restrict itself to increasing geographical knowledge or whether it should also engage in disseminating that knowledge. In other words: should

the organisation be of a practical or of a scientific nature? The practical path was chosen unanimously: "Even the semblance of a learned society should be avoided" (TAG 1876: 5). In this manner the society followed the pragmatic tendency which had manifested itself from 1870 onwards in other European geographical societies.

The meeting also decided that education should be a goal of the society but this should not be explicitly stressed. Nevertheless, a lobby launched by the Geographical Society for the founding of the first chair of geography in the Netherlands bore fruit in 1877 when this was established at the University of Amsterdam, which was founded the same year. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, Kan, the first professor of geography, devoted his courses to colonial geography (Van Beurden 1988). Examination of a collection of eighty letters written by Kan to Veth, reveals that all attempts by Kan to theorise were stifled by Veth, who stressed the practical nature which he believed geography should have (BPL 1756). This is why there was not much theorising about geography in the Netherlands until the beginning of the twentieth century. Dutch geographers leaned heavily on theories developed in France and Germany. It may be interesting to note that ten years later, in 1887, the Royal Geographical Society succeeded after much lobbying in establishing a readership in geography at the University of Oxford. In a report of the society drawn up in 1886 it came to the conclusion that: "There is no country that can less afford to dispense with geographical knowledge than England… [yet] there are few countries in which a high order of geographical teaching is so little encouraged. The interests of England are as wide as the world. Her colonies, her commerce, her emigrations, her wars, her missionaries, and her scientific explorers bring her into contact with all parts of the globe, and it is therefore a matter of imperial importance that no reasonable means should be neglected of training her youth in sound geographical knowledge" (Stoddart 1986: 87)

The same strictures could have been applied to the Dutch situation. One of the other questions addressed by the Dutch Society concerned the encouragement of emigration. Only a slight majority was in favour of this policy. The opponents argued that by encouraging emigration the society would be considered one of colonisers. As will be seen, this strong anti-colonisation lobby would decline in less than a year. The foundation meeting of the Geographical Society on 3 June 1873 was attended by forty-four people. In his inaugural address the president, Veth, reviewed the two main goals of the society, which followed naturally from each other: the nationalistic goal of striving for and maintaining ancestral pride; and the dual scientific-economic goal of increasing and propagating geographical knowledge. Drawing his inspiration from Darwinism, Veth rejected the idea that the Netherlands would not be able to survive competition with the big powers. He focused the attention of his audience on the vast colonial heritage of the Netherlands, which, according to him, was respected by every civilised nation.

This colonial heritage – the Dutch East Indies, in particular – offered excellent opportunities for adding to the sum of geographical knowledge. The geographical knowledge thus acquired should then be disseminated in order to increase the possibilities for opening up new trade routes (TAG 1876: 6).

After the inaugural address the board members were chosen. In a commemorative lecture on the occasion of its tenth anniversary, Veth commented on the composition of the board: "That representatives of trade, industry, the army and navy were represented on the board together with teachers of geography … guarantees the interest of science and pragmatism" (TAG 1885: 144). The closing address at the foundation meeting, again given by Veth, dealt with the Aceh war, which had broken out at the end of March 1873. His talk was based on his booklet "Acehnese-Dutch relations" which had been published in May. In this booklet Veth spoke his mind: "It is my conviction that in our struggle with the Acehnese, we represent civilisation and humanity and humanity in the face of barbarism and cruelty … let there be no doubt that we must pursue this just war" (Veth 1873: 132).

During the first months of its existence the society concentrated on Aceh as a future field for research. It petitioned the colonial secretary very energetically and after the first expedition had turned out to be a complete failure, it pressed strongly for a second military expedition to Aceh. The society blamed the failure of the expedition, and previous expeditions to other territories, on a lack of geographical knowledge: "If only we had possessed geographical knowledge of these territories blood and treasures could have been spared" (TAG 1876: 11-12). In this very argument lay a basis for the growing popularity of geographical science, because in coming to terms with their defeat at Sedan at the hands of the Germans, for example, France had also blamed its defeat on the lack of geographical knowledge of its officers.

The interests of the society were by no means limited to the Dutch East Indies but extended to other parts of the world (Van der Velde 1986). The Polar region, the Congo River and southern Africa also enjoyed the attention of the society. A predominantly nationalist motive accounted for its interest in the North Pole. The society was under the impression that Spitsbergen (Svalbard) was still a Dutch possession. This is understandable in view of the fact that before the Berlin Conference of 1885, actual occupation of territory was not a precondition of ownership. An acknowledged claim sufficed. The economic motive concentrated on reviving the once flourishing whaling industry. The society's interest in the Congo River was also governed by an economic motive. The Rotterdam-based *Afrikaanse Handelsvereeniging* (African Trade Society) had a large network of trading posts along the Congo River which comprised a sort of informal empire. The society's interest can also be explained from a strategic point of view, since the territory bordered colonial possessions of other countries in southern Africa.

The society's special interest in southern Africa was dictated by national sentiments due to kinship with the southern African Boers. The society viewed the Boers as the torchbearers of national Dutch vitality, in which their brethren in the Netherlands were completely deficient. In the view of the society, southern Africa with its enormous economic potential was the ideal region for Dutch emigration. Would this be the opportunity to create a Dutch-speaking cultural and economic empire, an opportunity which it had missed in the seventeenth century?

Leaving aside the pan-Dutch dream which continued to linger in the background, it transpired that the society's other ideas met with wide response in upper-class bourgeois circles, which is borne out by the number of such persons who became members of the society. Prince Hendrik, nicknamed "the Seafarer", gave his support by becoming patron of the society. He expected good results for trade and industry from the society. This royal support was made evident when in 1888 the society was granted the right to call itself the Royal Dutch Geographical Society. In the space of three years the Geographical Society had become an effective colonial lobby, which bore overt witness to its imperialist nature. Equipping a scientific expedition to the land of economic promise, Sumatra, was a concrete expression of this nature.

The Sumatra Expedition (1877-79)

The economic goal of this expedition – the discovery of a transportation route for the coal of the Ombilin Field, which had been discovered in the 1860s – was inextricably interwoven with the underlying political goal: expansion of effective control in that part of Sumatra through which the society expected to find a transportation route. This area was controlled by Sultan Taha, who had been driven out of Palembang in 1858 and had sworn to kill every Dutchman who tried to set foot on his territory. Anyone with knowledge of the political conditions prevailing in Sumatra should have been aware of the risks the expedition members were running. Furthermore, in the past it had frequently been the case that the murder of a Dutchman by indigenes had given impetus for military expeditions which had sometimes led to expansion of effective control.

Since the majority of the Dutch in the Dutch East Indies were opposed to this kind of provocation, they also opposed the scientific expedition of the society because they viewed it as a veiled attempt to extend control over Sumatra in an amoral way. "It is evident that this private expedition … will have to be backed up by a military expedition … but in extending our control moral means should prevail over military violence" (*Java Bode* 1877: 16 August). Although under pressure from Governor-General J.W. van Lansberge, the Council of the Dutch East Indies

had decided to fund the expedition, but it was opposed to the extension of effective control in the Outer Territories, as were the government of the interior and the army. Their fear of creating a second Aceh was deep rooted because of its possible military and financial consequences.

Notwithstanding the support of the Governor-General, the provincial government and the navy, their room for manoeuvre was limited by the non-cooperation of the aforementioned branches of government. Van Lansberge was quite clear about what was at stake: "The expedition will not only enhance our scientific knowledge but will also increase our political influence in the heartland of Sumatra. In the course of time it can eliminate the distrust of the natives for the Europeans and give them the correct view" (Colonies 1876: Letter of Van Lansberge to Van Goltstein, 24 June).

In the Netherlands the expedition received much support from influential members of the society. Also, by partly funding the expedition the Dutch parliament backed the society's initiative. More significant still was the support of the two colonial secretaries involved in the planning and execution stages of the expedition. Nevertheless, both secretaries, W. van Goltstein and F. Alting Mees, continued to reiterate in a somewhat hypocritical way that the private character of the expedition should be maintained at all times. However, they were fully aware that the so-called private character of the expedition meant little in an environment in which every white man was looked upon as a representative of Dutch authority. Therefore one can draw the conclusion that Dutch colonial secretaries were prepared to run the risk of a military expedition.

Disregarding staunch opposition in the Dutch East Indies, Van Lansberge planned to create an incident on the basis of a tried and tested recipe. After the first attempt by the expedition members to penetrate into Jambi had failed because one of the vessels of Sultan Taha, the Roja of Singuntur, had blocked the way, the Governor-General gratefully accepted the "proposal" of the Governor of Palembang, A. Pruys van der Hoeven. The latter proposed sending a gunboat up the Batang Hari River to a rendez-vous where he would await the arrival of the expedition members. Citing one of the provincial officials, Van Canne: "If Pruys van der Hoeven succeeds in steaming up river, I think the malevolent Roja of Siguntur will back down" (KNAG 1878: Letter of Van Canne to Van Hasselt, 2 March). This hope remained unfulfilled because the Roja managed to stop the expedition members for a second time. They failed to reach the rendez-vous and the Governor of Palembang was forced to return to Palembang due to a fall in the water level of the river. Neither did the showing of the flag have the desired intimidating effect, since the gunboat was spotted by only a few indigenes. In the absence of a direct confrontation between the Governor and the Sultan, no incident occurred which would have warranted the launching of a military expedition. An attempt later that year by expedition members to penetrate the Limun territory was doomed to

failure due to a lack of military support which, it turned out, was a precondition to any successful attempt to penetrate the heartland of Sumatra. The telegram from the leader of the expedition to the president of the organising committee in the Netherlands, Veth, bears testimony to the failure of the expedition. "Armed people-stop-forced us-stop-leave Limoen-stop-travel Djambi impossible-stop-ask instructions-stop" (KNAG 1878: Telegram of Van Haseelt to Veth, 22 July).

The unrest created by the expedition in Sumatra (and Java) inspired the third colonial secretary involved – Van Bosse (a wealthy sugar plantation owner) – to let the expedition die a natural death. In his opinion the extension of effective control should be accomplished gradually by provincial officials. "I think it would be an advantage if our provincial officials are able to act when they think the time is ripe and that their actions should no longer be complicated by the peregrinations of the scientific expedition of the Geographical Society" (Colonies: Letter of Van Bosse to Van Lansberge, 2 November 1878). If Van Bosse had lived longer – he died at the beginning of 1879 – the political aim and its concomitant economic goal might eventually have been realised, albeit in a roundabout way.

But Van Bosse's successor, O. van Rees, a repatriated member of the Council of Dutch East Indies, was a staunch supporter of the abstention policy. Van Lansberge, whose tenure was drawing to a close, could not but concede to the point of view of the new colonial secretary. The same was true for the society, whose president attributed the failure of the expedition to the fact that the political conditions in Sumatra had been completely misrepresented by the colonial government. According to him the most important outcome of the expedition was that it had disclosed the true nature of the prevailing political conditions in Sumatra, which he and the society would like to have imagined otherwise (Veth 1881: 8).

The Society in the 1880s and 1890s

The attempts by the society to organise similar expeditions to other parts of the Outer Territories at the beginning of the 1880s, for example to New Guinea at the height of the Berlin Conference, failed due to a lack of support from parliament and the Colonial Ministry. Nevertheless the society funded a one-man expedition by the son of its president to Benguela in southern Africa. It was a complete failure and resulted in the death of Veth's son. In contrast to government circles, the trade and industry sector continued to support the society's expedition plans. At the end of the 1880s, the society succeeded in obtaining support from the government for a one-man expedition to Flores.

A. Wichmann, a geologist, was sent to Flores by the society to verify the rumors about rich tin deposits on that island. The expedition did not bear fruit but

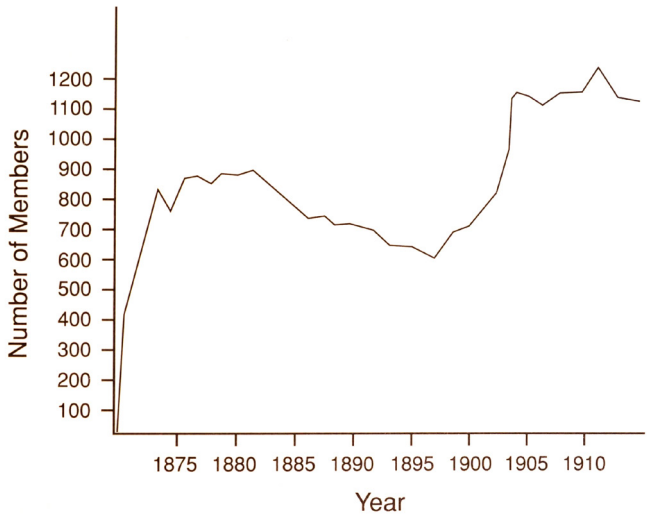


Figure 5. Table Membership Royal Dutch Geographical Society, 1873-1814. Photo Cindy Bakker.

Wichmann's remark that the Kokka tribe had shown itself very friendly towards the Dutch nation began to take on a life of its own. On the basis of Wichmann's remarks, both the Resident of Timor, G. G. de Villeneuve, and the director of the Department of Education and Religion, W. P. Groeneveldt, a future president of the society, were in favour of sending a government expedition to the tribal area of the Kokkas. The mining engineer, R. van Schelle, who was sent to Flores at the end of 1889, barely escaped with his life after his expedition was attacked by the "Dutch-loving" Kokka tribe. This incident provoked a military expedition, which was sent to Flores in May 1890 and resulted in the pacification of the Kokkas. Again, the aspirations of the society had been served in a roundabout manner (Jobse 1980).

The society's pioneering role in promoting an imperialist policy was taken over by the Society for the Advancement of Scientific Research in the Dutch Colonies, founded in 1890. It operated from the Netherlands as well as from the Dutch East Indies, which had obvious advantages. Its many expeditions to the sensitive Borneo region played a crucial role in extending effective control there (Pulle 1940: 22). Meanwhile, the decline in membership of the society which had set in in the middle of the 1880s continued. In these years the society gradually embraced a more scientific course, thus narrowing its support base. At the end of the century the membership had dropped by 30 per cent in comparison to the 1885 figure of nearly one thousand members (see Figure 5).

As mentioned earlier, economic and social interrelations between the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies were multiplying. Thus, pressure on the government to abolish the abstention policy continued to mount: this internal pressure was stepped up by external pressure arising from the participation of Japan and the United States in the imperial race, which forced the Dutch to strengthen their position in the Dutch East Indies: an archipelago that bordered the spheres of influence of both newcomers. Therefore the abstention policy was definitively replaced by the pacification policy. Aceh served as a guinea pig for the implementation of this policy which was vigorously pursued by General J. B. van Heutsz. The strong nationalist upsurge resulting from the outcry of indignation about the imperialism of Great Britain at the outbreak of the Boer War paradoxically cleared the way for an active imperialist policy, which, in 1901, was given the misleading label "ethical".

The South-west New Guinea Expedition (1904-05)

The Society thrived on the surge of nationalism. The new president, J. W. Ijzerman, and the new secretary, A. L. van Hasselt, capitalised on this trend and the membership surpassed the 1885 level, reaching 1,200 members. Due to a financial reorganisation by the Amsterdam banker, A.W. van Eeghen, the Society re-emerged ready for the fray. Its attention now was directed both to east and west. Between 1900 and 1914 it co-sponsored seven expeditions to Surinam. Furthermore it was a ready tool in the hands of the Colonial Secretary, A. F. W. Idenburg, who within the framework of the "ethical" policy, strove to fill the many blank spots on the map of New Guinea (Van der Velde 1983). In choosing between the expedition plans of the Society for the Advancement of Scientific Research in the Colonies and the Geographical Society, the colonial secretary opted for the plan of the latter because it was aimed at a topographical survey of the island. Idenburg gave the expedition military support. Only one socialist protested about the expedition plans when these were brought before parliament, but, apart from this, there was no opposition whatsoever. This was symptomatic of the change in attitude which had taken place in Dutch and Dutch East Indies societies in the space of thirty years.

The expedition was a failure. There were conflicts between the representative of the society and the commander of the troops and the accessibility of the terrain had been over-estimated. Furthermore, the protracted digestion of the meagre results lasted until 1908 when a book about the expedition was published (Rouffaer 1908). This made it clear that the society could not be used as an instrument of policy. On the advice of H. Colijn, a future prime minister, a government team was established which, by the time it was disbanded in 1915, had mapped 80 per cent of New Guinea.

Conclusion

Due to the emphasis in the debate on modern imperialism in its first appropriation phase, historians are still of the opinion that Dutch imperialism did not exist. However, when we take the perpetuation phase into consideration, it becomes clear that the Dutch with their active imperial policy were second to no other imperial power. The pinnacle of Dutch imperialism can be located in the period 1900-1914. The subjugation of the whole archipelago, "From Sabang to Merauke", the Dutch equivalent of the British influence from "the Cape to Cairo", meant that the Dutch had become the fourth largest imperial power. The foundation of the society in 1873 occurred in the initial years of the appropriation period. Within a few years the society became the rallying place for pro-imperialist forces in Dutch society which were nationalistically, culturally and economically motivated. Thus the society metamorphosed into a colonial lobby which denounced the conservative colonial policy of the government. Under the veil of a scientific expedition to Sumatra, it tried to torpedo the government's policy. The conservatives held the upper hand until 1895, when under external and internal pressure which had been building up during the appropriation period, their policy was replaced by an aggressively imperialistic one.

During the latter period, the society helped to lay the foundation for the new imperial policy – the pacification policy which the society wholeheartedly supported during the perpetuation stage. However, its expedition to New Guinea proved to be a political failure. It turned out that the society could not be used as an instrument of policy. The society would resign itself during the last years of imperialism (1914-40) to purely scientific pursuits in an empire which it had helped to found.

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Jacob Haafner's Treatise on the Disastrous Effects of Missionary Activities World-wide

I consider all people, whatever their colour, nation and belief might be, to be my fellow human beings and brothers; whoever believes this just as I do will not take offence, indeed quite the opposite, will be delighted by the fact that I defend and act as spokesperson for the innocent and oppressed Indians (the inhabitants of the Indian subcontinent), and seek to heap infamy on their tyrants (Haafner 1993: 164). This was the creed of Jacob Haafner, author, trader, adventurer and world traveler. After nearly twenty years spent in Asia, his ideas about European society had undergone drastic changes and had given him the opportunity to think long and hard about the behaviour of the Europeans abroad. He had reached the conclusion that their conduct was significantly at odds with the Christian values of European civilisation. Every person who ventured out into the world overseas had just one goal in mind, he wrote: to acquire a fortune, by fair means or foul; always at the expense of the indigenous people.

Original source: Moor, Jaap and Velde, Paul van der. 1994. "Jacob Haafner (1754-1809) en de zending", Jacob Haafner, *Verhandeling over het nut der zendelingen en zendelings-genootschappen. Een kritiek op zending en kolonialisme*. Hilversum: Verloren. 9-28. The biographical section of this article has been removed since in another article in this edited volume (see chapter 3) his biography is highlighted. This article has been translated by Rosemary Robson-McKillop.

His own experiences with the local population during his protracted sojourn in Asia had invariably been good and he had developed an enormous respect for Asians. He admired the indigenous culture and appreciated the people's way of life. In his eyes, it was an anathema that the Asians were considered inferior to Europeans; in fact, he was more inclined to think that the opposite was true. Haafner's oeuvre, five volumes of fascinating traveller's tales and an adaptation of the Indian *Ramayana* epic, are steeped in the conviction that all people are equal, despite their mutual cultural and material differences.

Haafner combined this romantic admiration of other civilisations, and therefore implicitly of cultural pluralism, with the progressive rationalism which characterised intellectual life in Europe at the end of the eighteenth century. This is very eloquently encapsulated in his *Verhandeling over de nut van de Zending en Zendelings-genootschappen* (Treatise on the Benefits of the Protestant Mission and Missionary Societies). [Biographical details of his life can be found in the article "The World According to Jacob Haafner" (see chapter 3) and in the biography *Life under the Palms. The Sublime World of the Anti-colonialist Jacob Haafner* (Van der Velde 2021).

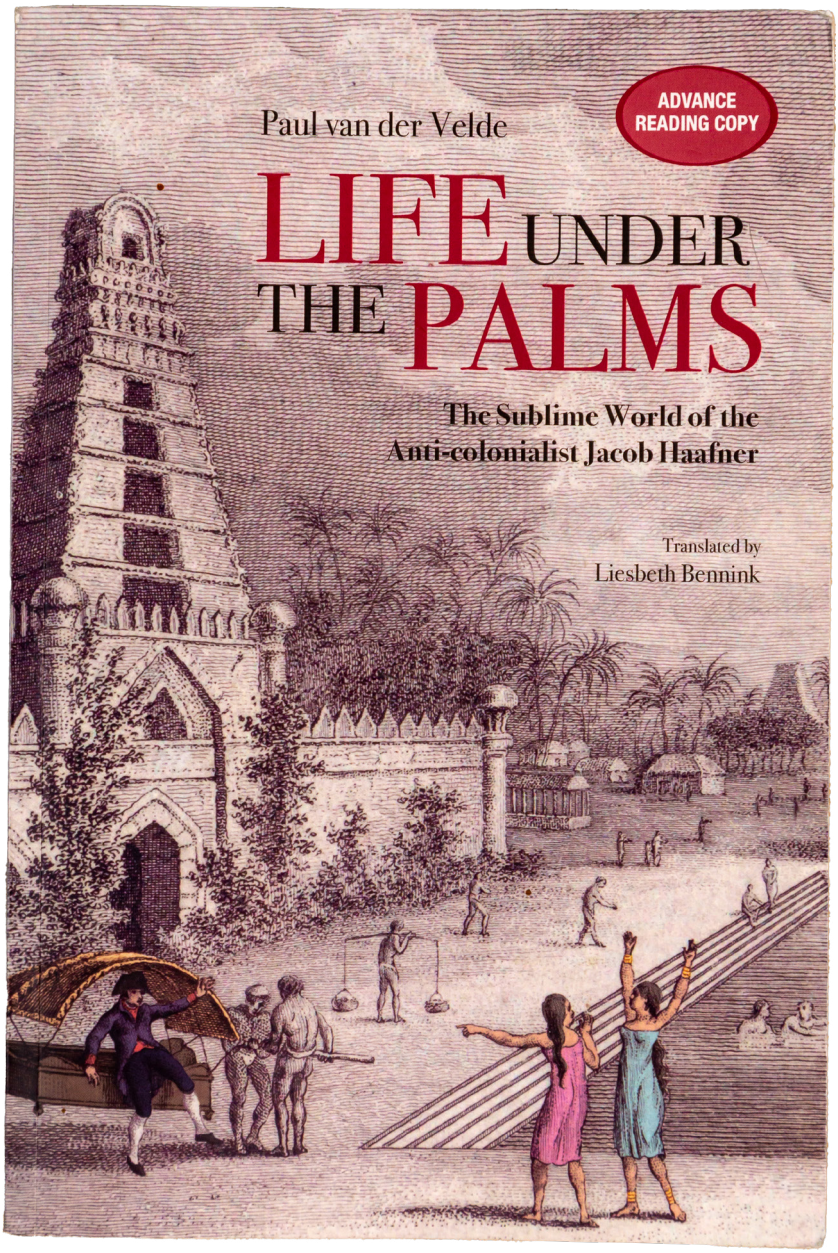


Figure 6. Cover *Life under the Palms. The Sublime World of the Anti-colonialist Jacob Haafner*. Photo Cindy Bakker.

The Competition Set by the Teyler's *Godgeleerd Genootschap*

As the eighteenth century progressed and the influence of the Enlightenment became more dominant, a large number of "learned societies" were founded in various European countries; a trend in which the Netherlands joined with gusto. In 1756, the Haarlem textile magnate Pieter Teyler van der Hulst decided to bequeath his fortune to the advancement of science and religion. After his death in 1778, his bequest led to the setting up of the *Teylers Stichting* (Teyler's Foundation).

The board of the society was principally composed of Mennonites, a group of Dutch dissenters who were barred from almost all the other societies. It was they who were entrusted with Teyler's artistic and scientific legacy. This was assembled as a collection in the Teyler's Museum on the banks of the Spaarne in Haarlem, which was opened in 1784. When this material task had been accomplished, they proceeded to found two learned societies. The goal of the first, the *Teylers Godgeleerd Genootschap* (Teyler's Theological Society), was to encourage the study of the Christian religion through discussion and by sponsoring competitions. The second, the *Tweede Collegie*, pursued the aim of stimulating physics, history and literature. W.M. Mijnhardt claims that, especially in the early years after its foundation, the *Godgeleerd Genootschap* made a valuable contribution to the discussions then being hotly debated in enlightened Christian circles (Mijnhardt 1988: 348). Going by the motto engraved on the Society's gold medal of honor: "True knowledge of Religion flourishes in Freedom", the society was keen to underline that it stood for tolerance and was ready to take up cudgels against any government interference in religious affairs.

On November 25, 1803, *Teylers Godgeleerd Genootschap* set a competition, the result to be announced on April 8, 1805, which bore the title: "What services have Protestant missionaries rendered the propagation of true Christianity in the last two centuries and what, if any, success can be expected of contemporary Missionary Societies in this respect?" (Haafner 1993: 33). The announcement of the competition was printed in all the prominent newspapers and the *Godgeleerd Genootschap* also had the text printed at the *Algemeene Bibliotheek* and in the *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* (a literary and cultural journal). Haafner was a frequent visitor to the famous coffee house "The Bird of Paradise" in Amsterdam where newspapers and journals could be read and perhaps it is there that he found out about the competition.

The subject was extremely topical. The idea of a mission was rapidly gaining ground, especially in Protestant circles. It was a movement inspired by Pietism and Halle, Jacob's birthplace, was its center. The London Missionary Society was founded in England in 1795. Missionary societies were also founded in the Netherlands: in 1787, the Evangelical Brotherhood in Zeist and the *Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap* (NZG/ Dutch Missionary Society) in Rotterdam in 1797. The

journals of the societies provided a platform in which missionaries could vaunt the results of their endeavours. The writings were uplifting reports, written with a view to the home front on which they were dependent for their cash flows. The sad truth is that the badly educated and poorly prepared missionaries achieved very little.

Haafner had observed missionaries at work in South Africa and India and what he had seen made him highly critical of their way of life and of the result of their mission. In view of his straightened financial circumstances and with an eye on the prize offered, consisting of a gold medal, designed by the most famous contemporary medalist, Johan George Holtzheij, or a monetary sum amounting to 400 guilders, it will not have taken him long to decide to commit his opinion of the use of the mission to paper. On 30 November, 1804, Haafner's response arrived at the society (ATS: 1120 / ATS 2: fol. 140-142).

After the three directors and the six board members of the *Godgeleerd Genootschap* had had the opportunity to read the 195-page manuscript, on April 4, 1805, they met to discuss the only submission which had been entered in the competition (ATS 2: fol. 194). The contestants who wished to enter the competition had been asked to submit their monograph using a quotation. The author of the monograph was supposed to mention his chosen quotation again submitted in a sealed envelope, which would also contain his name and address. This envelope would be opened only after a decision had been made about whether or not the prize would be awarded. This was to ensure that the judgement would be as objective as possible.

Haafner the Victor

On 9 April, 1805, the *Haarlemsche Courant* carried the announcement that Jacob Haafner of Amsterdam had won the competition. Shortly before, Haafner had received a letter from the Board of the Society saying: "It is my pleasure, Honorable Sir, to inform you by this that the Directors and Members of the *Godgeleerd Genootschap* of the Teyler's Foundation, gathered this afternoon to judge the monographs on Missionaries submitted and further that the Author of that identified by the quotation from Voltaire, has been awarded the Gold Medal by the members of the society, on condition that he agrees to make some changes in and improvements to his work. When the letter was opened your name was found within it, I therefore have the honor, Honorable Sir, to congratulate you upon it, as I have no doubt that you will comply with the aforesaid condition, to which I await your reply. Furthermore, next Tuesday the *Haarlemsche Courant* will inform the Public of your achievement. Signed Westerkappel Jr., Secretary." On the penultimate page of his manuscript, Haafner had already indicated his willingness to adapt his manuscript according to any instructions which might be given by the

Society: "Should I be so fortunate that my work should earn the approbation of the Honorable Gentlemen, and these same might wish some changes to be made, whether this be discarding some passages or a more extensive explication of some matter or any other changes, I subject myself most willingly to the desires of the Honorable Gentlemen" (ATS 1120: fol. 194).

The manuscript which Haafner submitted contained a scathing assessment of missions, Protestant and Roman Catholic alike. It is therefore understandable that the directors of the Teyler's Foundations would have had more than a few reservations. Despite these, they had decided to award him the Gold Medal of Honour and – after setting a few conditions – to undertake the publication of the manuscript. The author was requested to make the required emendations and additions and, above all, to mention his sources before Teyler's published the manuscript in its prestigious series: *Verhandelingen* (Papers). The directors will have been well aware that, even after these alterations had been made, Haafner's book would burst like a bombshell in missionary circles.

Because the minutes of the *Godgeleerd Genootschap* of this period are no longer extant, we shall never be able to determine precisely what the objections of the directors were but the Foreword which Teyler's Foundation appended to Haafner's monograph does give us some idea of what they might have been: "Despite the many refinements and corrections to the first manuscript he submitted in response to the wishes of the members, a few audacious suppositions and questionable suggestions still remain scattered through it" (Haafner 1994: 32).

What they had really wanted to see was that Haafner: "(…) had thought about the topic with a view to the future rather than from the past, therefore both rationally and historically" (Haafner 1994: 29). That the missions had accomplished nothing in the past did not mean that they would have not been successful in the future. They thought that Haafner's book would be an instructive work for future missionaries, who could learn from the mistakes of the past. They also noted that the monograph had been published after repeated and extensive negotiations and correspondence with the author.

The book was printed in May 1807 and probably published in June or July as Volume XXII of the Papers of the *Teylers Godgeleerd Genootschap*. The print run was 290 copies and the printer was Joh. Enschede and Sons in Haarlem. Although we no longer have the correspondence between the directors and Haafner, we do have a copy of Haafner's original manuscript which has been preserved in the archive of the Teyler's Foundation. This gives us the chance to form an impression of what Haafner discarded and what he added, as well as an insight into which authors he had relied on when writing his work (ATS 1120).

In 1823 an unamended second edition, edited by Haafner's son, Christiaan Mathias, was published by the Amsterdam publisher Johannes van der Heij. In

a letter dated 4 June, 1823, he had asked the permission of the directors of the Teyler's Foundation to republish his father's book. "The exceptional scarcity of this Monograph", he wrote, "which means that it is virtually impossible to purchase a copy, as well as the desire to see the various works of my father in the same format, has emboldened me to request the Honorable Gentlemen to grant me Permission to reprint this Treatise" (ATS 2 C.M. Haafner to the directors 4 June, 1823). The directors granted his request (ATS 3. Minutes of the meeting of the directors, 6 June, 1823).

Investigation into the Usefulness of Missionaries and Missionary Societies

The objections vented by the *Godgeleerd Genootschap* in the foreword to the treatise have been alluded to above. The quotation borrowed from Voltaire under which Haafner submitted his book, *Il est difficile de server un Dieu qu'on ne connait pas, plus difficile encore d'aimer le Dieu de ses Tirans*, sums up the critical content of the work perfectly. In his introduction, he states that his work is principally based on the personal observations he had made during the many years of residence overseas as well as on his reading, by which he meant the works of Voltaire, Montesquieu and Rousseau plus other authors, including Vaillant, Stedman, Frossard, Gage and De Las Casas. Undeniably, the first three mentioned Enlightenment philosophers had exerted an enormous influence on Haafner. One and all, they were critical of European Christian civilisation and strove to draw the attention of the Europeans to the example set by so-called "uncivilised" peoples or "Heathens".

In contrast to the Enlightenment philosophers, Haafner and the other authors wrote on the basis of their own personal experiences of the world beyond Europe. Without exception, they were extremely critical of the behavior of Europeans in the colonial world and championed the cause of the people they oppressed. De Las Casas (1474-1566) was the pioneer of this critical, anti-colonial intellectual tradition. His *Brevisima relación de las destrucción de las Indias* (Brief History of the Destruction of the Indians), drawn from his twenty-five-year residence in Central America, is an emotional indictment of the crimes committed by the conquistadores (De Las Casas 1552). Haafner's feelings of kinship with De Las Casas' ideas are unequivocally revealed when he writes at the end of his monograph: "With Bishop De Las Casas, I declare before God and the whole world that what I have said about the Europeans in the colonies is less than one-thousandth part of what might have been said" (Haafner 1994: 140-141).

Thomas Gage, the author of the book *Reize door de Spaansch West-Indiëen* (Travels through the Spanish West Indies), was also a missionary in the Spanish colonies and, in his book, he was just as scathing about the missionary work of

the various religious orders. Haafner also borrowed heavily from J.G. Stedman who devoted a great deal of attention in his book, *Reize naar Suriname* (Journey to Surinam), to the tortures inflicted on their slaves by the planters and other colonists. The French Protestant theologian Frossard also attacked the cruelty of the Europeans towards the slaves in his book *Zaak der Negerslaven en inwoners van Guinea* (The Question of the Black Slaves and the Inhabitants of Guinea). In his work F. le Vaillant reveals himself as the champion of the Khoi Khoi, the erroneous blanket name for the original inhabitants of South Africa, and was fiercely critical of the inhuman treatment of those people by the Boers. Haafner has certainly earned his place in this line-up of anti-colonial authors.

Getting down to brass tacks, Haafer viewed the whole work of conversion as nothing less than an instrument to force the world open to European ideas and political domination. He was merciless in his criticism of the image touted by the missionaries which misrepresented the Heathens as some sort of monsters. Their sole reason for doing this libel, he argued, was to make upright, God-fearing people dig deeper into their pockets. In fact, the missionaries had no hope of converting people, handicapped as they were by their lack of money, training and knowledge. As far as he was concerned, they would do better to remain in Europe because there was still plenty of work to be done in this area there.

The very special feature of Haafner's book is that, for the first time, it offered a comparative study of the mission worldwide (De Lange 1989: 16-19). He does not confine himself to just one area, but describes the methods employed by the missionaries, and the reactions to their attempts, in such far-flung regions as China, Japan, Tahiti and the Caribbean. The first chapter contains a description of the futile attempts to introduce the Khoi Khoi to the Gospels. Unless accompanied by regular hand-outs of tobacco, very little progress could be made. *Point de tabac, point de Hottentots*, so ran the adage. The reasons that the Khoi Khoi disdained the Christian message were clear: on the one hand, it was tied up with these people's way of life and language and, on the other, it was attributable to the behavior of the missionaries themselves and of the European Christian population of the Cape. The Hottentots are happy with what they have, Haafner stated, and are very attached to their own way of life and traditions. They have no need for another religion. Moreover, their language is so idiosyncratic and difficult that no missionary has ever succeeded in mastering it. This failure would make any successful preaching of the Gospels a virtually impossible feat. Furthermore, Haafner continues, the missionaries themselves are completely inept and unsuited to the task in hand and the Boers, Christian they might claim to be and thus should set a good example, were rotten to the core. In this invective we again see the line of Haafner's reasoning; two points which he would return to time and again: the people have no need for Christendom and the missionaries and the other Europeans in the colony

were so incredibly vicious that they themselves formed the greatest obstacle to the preaching of the Christian doctrine.

The principal theme of the second chapter is the Protestant mission to the African slaves on plantations in the Caribbean area and Surinam. Haafner draws a dismal picture of the plantation owners who mercilessly exploited the slave population and mistreated them. Moreover, they knew little or wished to know less about mission work; and of the indifference of the missionaries to the fate of the slaves which was nothing short of criminal. They never lifted a finger to do anything which might improve the lot of the slaves; on the contrary, they were far more likely to legitimate the cruel regime on the plantations. Haafner draws the same harrowing picture of the Roman Catholic mission to the Indians in South America. The latter were being exterminated on a large scale, he says following De Las Casas, by greedy Europeans with the sword in one hand and the crucifix in the other.

Haafner then turned his attention to Asia, where the situation was very different. The missionaries there, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, were confronted with great empires and self-confident civilisations, in which the Europeans initially could not play master, but instead had to come cap in hand to ask if they might also participate. China and Japan were areas in which European missionaries might potentially achieve something, but this would be a taxing, uphill battle. India was a different matter. Haafner thought that this presented an impossible task. Indian civilisation was older than its European counterpart, he rated Hinduism far higher than he did Christianity and the devotion of the Indians to their traditions and ways of thinking was so strong that missions did not stand a chance. The situation was exacerbated by the fact that the European missionaries who were sent there were, without exception, incompetent, untrained and the majority of them completely unsavory types. Thus spoke Haafner!

He does concede some admiration for the Roman Catholic mission in China and Japan. By directing their attention to the upper echelons of society, by permitting some of the elements of the older religions to survive and because the majority of them were well-educated men, who set about learning the local languages, thereby garnering prestige among the local elites, the Jesuits had succeeded in converting quite a few people. This achievement would be beyond the capabilities of most of the Protestant missionaries, Haafner observed. To make matters worse, they were far more rigorous in demonising the local religions.

Haafner devotes a short chapter to the extremely unsuccessful mission to Tahiti. The Protestant missionaries just could not gain a foothold there. The final chapter of the book took another look at the way Europeans live in Asia. In it Haafner is recounting his own empirical observations and experiences. Christianity did not stand a hope in Hades of succeeding there purely and simply because of the scandalous behaviour of most Europeans, including the missionaries. The acme of

misbehaviour was the way Europeans set to work in India. In view of the fact that they can achieve nothing there without violence, they had resorted to the most debased methods to get what they wanted. Haafner's conclusion was inescapable. What benefit have the missionaries had for the propagation of Christianity? Haafner's answer is unequivocal: none whatsoever! What could be expected in the future? Haafner's answer is again unambiguous: nothing, not as long as colonialism continues to exist and the behaviour of the Europeans did not alter drastically. It was, he says echoing Voltaire, impossible to love the god of his tyrants.

A Shot Across the Bows of the Mission

In a nutshell, Haafner's judgement on the mission was annihilating. Naturally, reactions were not slow to come and in missionary circles his Treatise was not exactly seen as a useful publication, brimming with hints for aspiring missionaries, the consummation perhaps what the *Godgeleerd Genootschap* had devoutly wished. The Treatise, which was published in June or July 1807, was naturally a hot topic of conversation in the Extraordinary Meeting of the Dutch Missionary Society, held from August 11 to 14, 1807, in Rotterdam. The burning question was what could the Society do to mitigate the deeply negative impression it had made or, indeed, if it were possible, to dispose of it once and for all (ANZG 1807: Extraordinary Meeting August 11, 1807, 12-13).

The directors of the NZG decided to empanel an advisory commission to investigate the potential negative effects of Haafner's Treatise on the mission and to refute his allegations. The report, which was submitted on August 14, has not been preserved. Nevertheless, the directors did decide not to react publicly to Haafner's Treatise. The meeting was very pleased with the speech given by G.J. Schacht, a minister from Dordrecht, on August 13. He did not mention Haafner by name but, his speech, published the same year, puts a heavy emphasis on the social benefits of the mission to the Heathen as well as considering the mission the fulfilment of God's promise, and can be taken as one initial reaction to and refutation of Haafner's Treatise (Schacht 1807).

During the closing session on Friday 14 August, J.A. Lotze, a Theology professor from Franeker, advocated setting up a mission in Malabar (Western India) and Coromandel. In an extensive exposition, he extols the social and geographical conditions in Hindustan which, in his opinion, would ensure that a mission to these regions would be a promising enterprise. Strikingly, this was precisely the area in which Haafner had lived and about which he had said so adamantly that the mission would not stand a chance. Lotze's advocacy can be seen as a second reaction to Haafner's Treatise. Whereas Haafner had pointed out the steadfast

devotion of the Hindus to their ancient and deeply rooted religious convictions, Lotze dismissed this out of hand, declaring that Haafner himself had "no really satisfactory knowledge of the Religious System of the Hindustanis" (ANZG 1807: *Handelingen* 14 August). Probably on his return journey to Franeker, on 16 August, 1807, this same Lotze visited the Teyler's Museum. He must have used this opportunity to discuss Haafner's Treatise with the Teyler's Foundation. This was probably an informal meeting as there is no mention of it in the minutes of the Teyler's Foundation (ATS 149).

The directors of the NZG concluded that Haafner had relied too much on his personal experience, without having consulted the most appropriate literature, and consequently they decided that the defense against Haafner's Treatise should be directed principally towards his assertion that the mission to the people to be converted would be a complete waste of time because of the nature and customs of the population whose purpose was to preserve those traditional norms and values (Boneschansker 1987: 165). In the Extraordinary Meeting convened in 1808, Haafner's work once again took centre stage. M. Tydeman presented a list of articles and books compiled by his brother, H.W. Tydeman, containing material which could be used as ammunition to refute Haafner's claims, despite the fact that publications which supported what Haafner had to say had also appeared (Boneschansker 1987: 163).

The Voice of Calvinist Holland

In 1809 at least three publications appeared which can be seen as attempts to repudiate Haafner's Treatise. The first is an anonymous publication entitled: *Verhandeling over het nut, hetwelk de reeds aangaande pogingen, ter voortplanting van he Ware Christendom, onder de onbeschaafde volken, te wege gebragt hebben* (Treatise about the benefits attained by the attempts already made to propagate True Christianity among the uncivilised people: Anonymous 1809). In the introduction the author writes: "It is by no means the purpose of this [pamphlet] to be a refutation of or a diatribe attacking Mr Haafner's prize-winning book; a work, which no matter how easy this might be, is so tedious for this writer as reading would be for the Reader, the which is, moreover, a futile exercise" (Anonymous 1809: 5Q).

Despite his apparent aversion to repudiating Haafner's Treatise, the author could not restrain himself from adding a fourteen-page appendix pointing out Haafner's mistakes (Anonymous 1809: 114-127). He begins by saying that Haafner's contention is based on a mistaken assumption. Haafner's point of departure is to point out the nature, way of thinking and customs of the indigenous people before proceeding to show that attempts to convert them would be futile. His approach,

from the point of view of the other civilisation, is unacceptable because, by so doing, he was putting the non-European civilisation on a par with that of Christian Europe. The anonymous author considers this erroneous. One should begin with the Gospels, in which everything is clearly formulated. Who can be bothered about the customs and ways of thinking of Heathen people who, when all is said and done, will only see the true light after the light of the Gospels has been shed upon them?

Haafner's failure to grasp this vision was seen as a flaw by the author: "A defect which should leave us astounded that such a piece of work could have ever carried off the prize" (Anonymous 1809: 117). Having said this, the author moves on to Haafner's very scant knowledge of the history of the mission and concludes: "And that such a man who is so deplorably ill-informed about the history of the missions, so much the concern of his own country, and who displays the most appalling ignorance, will act as advisor to the Missionary societies" (Anonymous 1809: 118-119). The author also hones in on Haafner's use of what was already a very limited amount of literature. As an example, he mentions Crantz' book *De Historie van Groenland* (The History of Greenland), which Haafner cites carelessly. The anonymous author delivers an even more venomous sneer when he writes: "Surely, it is utter nonsense that a person who boasts of his twenty-three years of residence in India, should pronounce so patronizingly about Greenland" (Anonymous 1809: 121).

A little further on, he accuses Haafner of bad faith; Haafner is accused of having adopted an inimical stance against the expansion of Christianity, as betrayed by his assertion: "They (the missionaries) think it is enough for them to baptize and [thus] Christianize; it matters not what denomination of Christian they happen to be" (Anonymous 1809: 120-121). The anonymous author says that this might indeed be true of the Roman Catholic mission but absolutely incorrect when applied to the Protestant, Dutch mission: "This [assertion] flies in the face of history and irrefutable examples" (Anonymous 1809: 125). He goes on to give a few other examples then sighs, "This is all a waste of breath! Would these same convince Mr Haafner? Would they be enough to convince those to make do with this flawed work and stop, [saying] they have done what they could?" (Anonymous 1809: 124) As far as Anonymous is concerned, the reverse was just as valid: "Luckily, in the view of the friends of Jesus Christ and His Gospel, Mr Haafner's efforts are completely ineffectual" (Anonymous 1809: 126). Their reason is that they see the Gospel as God's power of salvation and refuse to be diverted from the path of righteousness by: "The Philosophical arguments of worldly wisdom and the mocking of the wicked and the presumptuous" (Anonymous 1809: 127).

The second publication which levels criticism at Haafner was written by Rhijnvis Feith (Rhijnvis Feith 1809). In the appendix to his book entitled: *Verhandeling over de verbreiding der Evangelieleer over den aardbodem* (Monograph about the Propagation of the Preaching of the Gospel throughout the Globe), published by

Joh. Allart in Amsterdam, he explores the criticism of the mission voiced by various writers and includes Haafner's Treatise among them (Rheinvis Feith: 1809: 233-239). His chief criticisms of Haafner are that the latter blames the missionaries for the degenerate and un-Christian actions of governments and for his assertion that the Hindus could not be converted. To illustrate his point, Feith cites the Greeks with their impressive civilisation who were eventually converted by the apostles. "I think that this is the great fault in the otherwise in many ways remarkable book by Mr Haafner" (Rheinvis Feith 1809: 255).

In other words, Feith has a more sympathetic opinion of Haafner's work than the above-mentioned anonymous author, because Feith judges that Haafner to be a very talented author, "Whose elegant and entertaining style of writing is more readily recognizable to me than that of anybody else" (Rheinvis Feith 1809: 271). Feith is willing to acknowledge that there is plenty of room for improvement in the conduct of Europeans in colonies, but is also convinced that God would consummate His work. After the appendix, there is also a letter which Feith had received only after he had finished his book, but which he still wanted to share with the reader (Rheinvis Feith 1809: 294-307). Feith gives an extract which concentrates mainly on Haafner's ideas about the very slim chances of converting the Hindus. The writer of the letter remarks: "In my estimation, this man's work contains a great deal of truth, brings many a mistake to light and is astute enough to instil caution in the Directors of the Missionary Society in their selection of missionaries and making plans for apposite regulations to be able to achieve the principal goal of their activities" (Rheinvis Feith 1809: 294).

The writer of the letter utterly dismisses Haafner's conclusion that the mission is a worthless undertaking. He then passes on to Haafner's ideas about the religion of the Hindus. He sees Hinduism as a degenerate form of Christianity and cites Haafner himself who had expressed the opinion that the worship of both the cobra and the lingam (phallus) were ridiculous. Haafner would not enthusiastically declare: "Good, artless, gentle Indian ladies! Pray do continue to worship the Lingam for the wellbeing of your husbands! May He, who knows the innermost secrets of all hearts, accept and answer your prayers to the Lingam, as if they were directed to Himself" (Rheinvis Feith 1809: 297).

Having written this, he quotes Voltaire, who had praised the Vedas so highly "at the expense of our Bible". The letter writer rejects the idea that the book was an original Hindu work, which proclaims the oneness of the Supreme Being. This is yet another divergence from Haafner's attitude of mind. The letter writer was unable to conceive of the fact that the Heathens could have come up with such a pure idea unless they had borrowed it from Europe. After all: "The sciences were taken to India by the Greeks" (Rheinvis Feith 1809: 302). He was convinced that it was patently obvious that many concepts and expressions in the Hindu religious

system had been adopted from the Christians. The problem lay in the fact that the Christian axioms had been corrupted and supplanted by fables. Therefore, it was now high time to propagate the Gospels to the Hindus in their original form. They would be absolutely delighted to be able to imbibe from the "lofty wisdom of the Gospels, which are the source of enlightenment and civilized behaviour" (Rheinvis Feith 1809: 304-305).

"Would not Haafner's praise for the religious system of the Hindus evaporate, or at the very least be, bereft of most of its value? " (Rheinvis Feith 1809: 301). "His Hindu religion has no truck with charity, nor does it teach him altruism or to act humanely" (Rheinvis Feith 1809: 306). It is also obvious according to the letter writer that: "In his endeavours to understand the true condition of the Hindus, Mr Haafner has ignored History. Empirical experience is not a substitute for historical knowledge" (Rheinvis Feith 1809: 303). The fundamental idea presented by Haafner, namely: that of approaching the mission from the perspective of another system of thought, from the point of view of the "Other", was beyond the comprehension of the letter writer and other convinced Christians. The French critic is not very wide of the mark when he says that Haafner was "*un penseur original et profond*".

The third publication in which Haafner is mentioned, albeit briefly, was written by the Reverend Mr J. Weldijk from Gouda. It is in the text of a speech delivered at the Annual General Meeting of the NZG in Rotterdam on 17 August, 1809, entitled "The Readiness to Help Preachers of the Gospel among the Heathen etc.", and was published in Gouda by Wouter Verblauw. It is not an academic publication but a form of a profession of faith. The missionaries do not venture overseas to despoil the people but "to lead them to the glorious freedom of God's children". Haafner had predicted that the colonised people would rebel and fight for their freedom under a great leader. However, this would happen, according to the gentleman, only after they have accepted the Gospel which "Leads the people into realms of civilization" (Weldijk 1809).

Justified Criticism

The board of the Missionary Society never gave a public reaction to Haafner's criticism. In his study, Boneschansker says: "His (Haafner's) criticism was directed at the way of life adopted by Christians abroad and the quality of missionary work" (Boneschansker 1987: 167). Nevertheless, it seems that this criticism was taken on board behind closed doors by the NZG, because it is an unlikely coincidence that, in the Extraordinary Meeting of 1809, it was decided, as Lotze had proposed, to instigate an internal evaluation into all the missionary work which had been carried out up to that period" (Boneschansker 1987: 170). He adds that the NZG did not dare openly

acknowledge that Haafner might have been right about these points, because this could jeopardise support for missionary work. Moreover, he thinks that the NZG accusation levelled at Haafner claiming that he had not consulted enough literature was ill-founded and only partially correct because Haafner had, in fact, cited many sources and quoted from the books he used (Boneschansker 1987: 167).

The first part of the internal enquiry, a historical overview of what the NZG had achieved so far, appeared in 1810; the second part, an attempt to present an as impartial as possible assessment of overseas missionary work, came out in 1812. The third part, which was planned to formulate future missionary endeavours on the basis of the information provided in Parts One and Two, never saw the light of day. The commission was disbanded in 1815. The second part of the report reached the conclusion that, with a few exceptions, missionary work had been pretty much a fiasco. The blame should be sought from the fact that the work had been too fragmented, leading to a superfluity of missionary areas. This had been compounded by insufficient knowledge about these areas, the deplorable state of the recruitment and training of the missionaries, plus the obfuscation of instructions given to missionaries which meant that all too often they went their own way (Boneschansker 1987: 170).

Boneschansker's correct conclusion is that: "Those parts of the report which did appear confirm that J. Haafner's criticism was not unwarranted. The commission, which had studiously avoided an open discussion with Haafner, had certainly taken on board that things had to change" (Boneschansker 1987: 171). The numerous reactions which Haafner's Treatise elicited show that Haafner had confronted the NZG and its supporters with a bleak view of the futility of the mission. Or, as Boneschansker says: "Haafner's criticism hit hardest because his study exposed all too glaringly the weak points in local missionary endeavour" (Boneschansker 1987: 179). It is obvious that Haafner's Treatise has lost none of its topicality. When the word mission is substituted for development aid, it is as perfectly obvious that the wolf is still stalking around in sheep's clothing.

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CHAPTER 3

The Biographical Embrace

Who is Afraid of the Historical Biography?

The art of historical biography in the Netherlands has undergone a renaissance since the beginning of the 21st century after its unpopularity in the 1970s and 1980s. In this introduction to the volume *Aspecten van de historische biografie* (Aspects of the historical biography), edited by Bert Toussaint and Paul van der Velde, the question is raised as to the relationship between the historical and the literary biography while issues around how the lack of first-hand material may shape the historical biography are discussed.

Original source: Velde, Paul van der. 1992. "Wie is er bang voor de historische biografie?", in *Aspecten van de historische biografie*, edited by Toussaint, Bert and Velde, Paul van der. Kok Agora: Kampen; 9-14. This article was translated by Rosemary Robson-McKillop.

No Country for Great Men

Although biographies are as old as historiography itself, the biography has never made much of an impression in the Netherlands. Jan Romein, professor of Dutch History at the University of Amsterdam, attributed this to the domesticised Dutch culture which keeps the individual imprisoned between respectability and coziness, cramping any opportunity to rise above mediocrity (Romein 1946: 62). This atmosphere has produced a virtually ingrained suspicion of biography which, no matter how one looks at it, places the individual center stage. Needless-to-say, this attitude did not produce fertile soil in which the biographical tradition could flourish. In historical circles, at the end of the 1950s the anti-biographical attitude was reinforced by the growing academic approach to history which excluded every form of narrativity, hence of course biography. Heaping coals on this negativity, in the 1960s, progressive intellectuals equated biography with the history of Great Men, which was an anathema to them. By the beginning of the 1970s, it seemed that in the Netherlands the biography, the narrative genre *par excellence*, was dead and buried. "Rather than paying homage to Clio, the historian presents an academic textbook which, as a proof of empirical social research, should be elucidated with tables, maps, calculations and diagrams", the social philosopher Kees Bertels was able to claim in his work *Geschiedenis tussen Struktuur en Evenement* (History between Structure and Events) (Bertels 1973: 23).

Revival of the Biography as a Historical Genre

The socio-empirical research models produced dry-as-dust specialist studies which were read only by a small in-crowd of fellow scholars. However, when the French history of mentalities made its debut at the end of the 1970s, it led to a renewed interest in the behaviour of groups and individuals. Joining forces with the tendencies towards individualisation which was gaining ground at the beginning of the 1980s, this created a new breeding-ground for biography. In a bibliographical study by H. Poeze and M. Ros reviewing biographies between 1988 and 1990, they list no fewer than 262 biographies (Poeze and Ros 1991). After forty years of lying fallow, the theory of biography had once again finally begun to attract some attention. In 1982, H.W. von der Dunk devoted an article to biography and historiography and in 1989, in his historico-theoretical exploration of the biographical element in history, A.A. van den Braembussche gives a handy breakdown of historical biography (Von der Dunk 1982:39/Braembussche 1989:26-60).

J. Fontijn, the biographer of the early twentieth-century Dutch writer Frederik van Eeden, categorises the literary biography as a separate sub-genre of biography (Fontijn 1992: 8). The most salient point in this connection is not so much the question of whether historical biography has the same status; this is indisputable. The more interesting quest is to find an answer to the question of how the aversion to or fear of biography as an historical genre can be eradicated and in what form. At present, the absence of a tradition means that it is best to assume that the biography is an academic genre. This acceptance is crucial when the financing of biographical studies by researchers in universities and other institutions is taken into account.

The point of departure for finding an answer to the question which has just been posed is the requirements for the entries of mini-biographies, a maximum of 2,500 words, set by *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland* (Biographical Dictionary of the Netherlands). “In view of its purpose as a scientific reference work, chronology, clarity, tight-knit structure, empirically based facts and a large dose of objectivity on the part of an unobtrusive author should continue to be the points of departure of the biographical dictionary” (Gabriëls 1992: 50-64). In a historical biography, not all of the stipulations laid down for the entries apply because this sort of biography is an independent academic work not bound by any circumscribed length. A historical biography should unquestionably be based on verifiable facts. When the condition that an author should remain in the background of a biography can be construed as the writer should refrain from entering into a dialogue with his or her subject, we have no difficulty in accepting this requirement. However, there is a great deal to be said for a biography with a clearly defined, loose but not necessarily chronological structure which is based on sub-studies of the life of the person who is the subject of the biography. Because of the absence of a seminal biographical

tradition, this loose structure, given its similarities to regular historical research, could prove to be a stimulus for new biographical research. May this anthology prove to be just the spur needed!

From Theory to Practice

The first three contributions to this collection [*Aspecten van de historische biografie]* are of a theoretical nature and examine the relationship between the historical and the literary biography as well as that between art and historiography. The remaining five contributions are the fruits of biographical research and the book concludes with a *catalogue raisonné* of biographies and biographical studies which have appeared in the last few decades.

In her contribution, Hella S. Haasse makes a comparison between the literary or author's biography and the historical biography. The writer of a literary biography should try to probe the essence of the author through his or her work, attempting to piece together a reconstruction of the motives behind his or her authorship. This identification of the biographer with his or her subject and the intense engagement with his or her oeuvre makes the work of this sort of biographer a complex, exciting affair. In contrast, the principal task of the writer of a historical biography is to investigate the interaction between the individual and the society in which he or she lived; this permits the preservation of some distance between the biographer and the subject. Because Haasse considers the biography a literary genre, the similarity between a literary biography and a historical biography lies in the style set by the language. This choice for a biography is also one of authorship.

Nanda van der Zee shares this view. She does not see any dividing-line between historiography and literature. She blames the idea that this should exist on the fact that modern historians are devoid of any literary ambitions. Moreover, Van der Zee sees biography as a suitable vehicle to accomplish a rapprochement between art and the study of history.

In his article, Jos de Mul also examines the position of historical biography between art and science but adopts a philosophical point of view. The central role in his article is accorded to the German philosopher and historian W. Dilthey, who made an enormous contribution to the development of the modern biography. Dilthey saw the individual as a convergence of social powers to which he or she was not just subject but upon which they could also exert influence. The importance of the individual can be revealed in his or her interrelatedness with his or her contemporary cultural system. The greater the interconnectedness, the greater the chance the biographer has of gaining an insight into the historical social reality in which the subject of the biography lived. De Mul demonstrates that Schleiermacher's

biography, whose aim was total historical reality, was unattainable. Therefore, a less pretentiously set up historical biography has the greatest chance of breaking through the compartmentalisation in historiography.

In his contribution, A.J.C.M. Gabriëls describes the setting up and development of the short biography in the *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*. The biographical dictionary has a long history in the Netherlands. The *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland* by A.J. van der Aa (1852-1878) and the *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* (1911-1937) both spring to mind. The reason Romein gives to explain the absence of a biographical tradition can, with the same justification, be used to explain the rich tradition of biographical dictionaries; it corresponds better to the domesticised Dutch culture. In the *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland,* of which three volumes containing 1,326 entries have already appeared, we come across many descriptions of people whose lives have been less than inspiring. Gabriëls argues that the entries are an excellent starting-point for more far-reaching biographical research.

In his contribution about Albrecht of Bavaria, Count of Holland, Dick E.H. de Boer claims that the almost total lack of ego documents is one of the biggest hurdles with which a biographer working on a personage from the Middle Ages has to contend. The upshot is that, when set in the Middle Ages, the biography assumes the character of a reconstruction of the collective environment. The historical material is organised around the person who forms the theme and is used as a compositional aid to conjure up the collective environment of his or her era.

In his contribution about William of Orange, K.W. Zwart weighs up the various interpretations of the role of William of Orange in the struggle for independence. Zwart certainly believes that "Father of the Fatherland" is not the most appropriate title for someone who had no objection to subjecting the Netherlands to perpetual foreign (French) rule. In his many articles about William of Orange, Zwart sets himself the task of militating against the tendency to idealise the man in recent literature.

In my own contribution, I try to present a picture of P.J. Veth's youth in Dordrecht; the house in the Voorstraat in which he was born stands just a stone's throw from "t Hof" where today's lectures to celebrate the day of historical biography are being given. The limited amount of material which is usually available about the youth of a subject often leads to the fact that one has to limit oneself to no more than a rough sketch of the environment in which the subject lived.

That circumstances and events experienced at a young age can exert a great influence in later life is demonstrated by W. Ottespeer in his contribution about the attitude to prostitution adopted by the cultural philosopher G.J.P.J. Bolland. A Leiden professor as advocate of well-run brothels at the beginning of the twentieth century can be compared to – measured by the amount of moral indignation such a

person evokes – a Leiden professor at the end of the twentieth century advocating *apartheid*.

In the final article in the bundle, Bert Toussaint gives us an idea of how the historical biography has developed over the last few years. Looking at the large number of collective bundles about certain personages, we know that there is no lack of interest either in the people or in biographies. However, so far this interest has not been translated into a proportionate number of biographies. We must wait and see whether the historical biography will emerge as the superior cultural historical genre able to remedy the disasters of integral history, as K. van Berkel hopes (Van Berkel 1986). Specialist research will remain an imperative, but after reading this bundle who could still be daunted by historical biography?

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The Indonesia and Africa Specialist P.J. Veth (1814-1895): Founder of the First Chair of Anthropology in the Netherlands (1877)

Pieter Johannes Veth was the greatest specialist in colonial affairs in the Netherlands during the nineteenth century and a prolific writer on Indonesia. “As far as a positive knowledge of the Netherlands East Indies is concerned (disregarding all political competence) Veth possesses an authority who signifies more than all other specialists put together. Showing proof of conspicuous diligence, he has mastered all the materials specialists have supplied him with. He surpasses everybody else, including myself. He who does not know Professor Veth does not know what knowledge is” (Multatuli 1951 [1872]: 444). Anyone who is even only passingly familiar with the megalomaniac nature of the author of these lines, the “enfant terrible”, Multatuli, pseudonym of Eduard Douwes Dekker (1820-1887), will take his compliment very seriously.

Original source: Velde, Paul van der. 2003. “P.J. Veth Founding Father of Dutch Anthropology”, *Tales from Academia. History of Anthropology in the Netherlands 2,* edited by Vermeulen, Han and Kommers, Jean. 647-672. Saarbrucken: Verlag fur Entwicklungspolitik Saarbrucken GMBH. Nijmegen Studies in Development and Cultural Change 40.

Therefore we must ask ourselves what had Veth done to be praised so excessively by a man who viewed himself as the authority on everything. Had it something to do with the extremely positive review of *Max Havelaar* that Veth had written in the cultural periodical *De Gids* in 1860? This review shot Multatuli, of whom nobody had ever heard of before, to instantaneous stardom. However, at the time Multatuli wrote this, in 1872, he had come to regard Veth as the man who had betrayed him a decade earlier when the latter refused to publish an appeal to the nation he had written to collect money for the impoverished Multatuli. Veth’s refusal ended their short and intense relationship (van der Velde 1995a: 21, 2000: 174-177).

Further corroboration can be sought in the fact that Multatuli was not the only person to regard Veth as the leading authority on Indonesia. There were few people at that time who did not share his opinion, both in the Netherlands and abroad. In 1868, in his book on European Orientalists, the French Asian scholar Gustave Dugat was laudatory about Veth: “P.J. Veth is the European who is best versed in knowledge of the Netherlands Indies: he has studied the Archipelago in all its aspects. Undoubtedly he is the one whose work has to be consulted to form an exact idea of this faraway realm, whether this be geographically, commercially, politically, historically, or from a literary point of view” (Dugat 1868: 107-108). In 1865, closer to home, the gifted linguist H. Neubronner van der Tuuk pointed out that Veth was endowed with the talent for writing in an attractive, lively manner which appealed to the tastes of many readers. “Veth is a man who possesses the

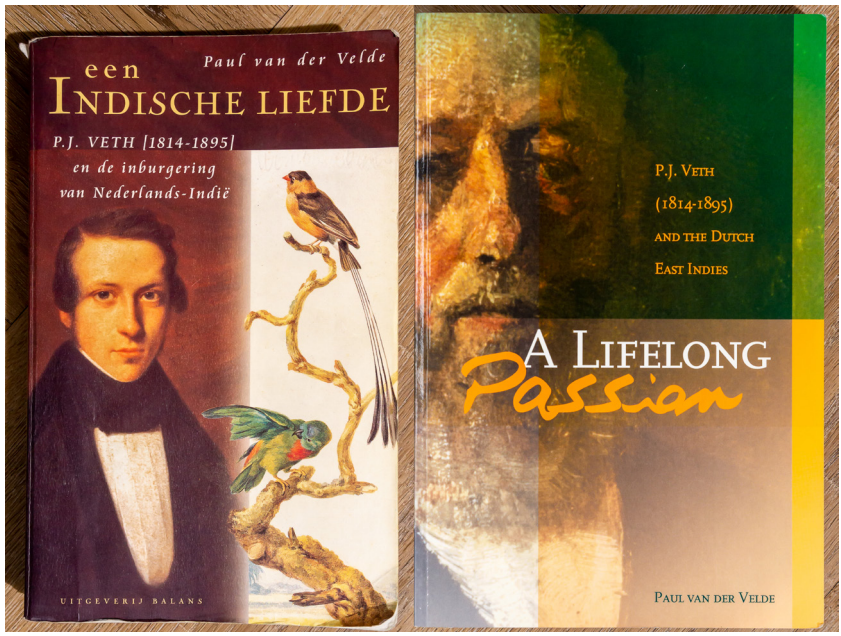


Figure 7. Covers of Dutch and English editions of P.J. Veth's biography. Photo: Cindy Bakker

rare talent to inform a civilised audience about what has recently been done in all kinds of fields of science, usually as dry as dust. Every specialist should be grateful to him" (van der Tuuk 1865: 10). Veth regarded the fact that he was seen as standing head and shoulders above others with mixed feelings. "Owing to the fact that I am regarded as an Indies specialist, I am overburdened with the silliest questions about the Netherlands East Indies. I wish people would leave me alone and just let me do my job" (Veth 1864a: 134-135).

The question of how someone who had never visited the Indies came to be regarded as the foremost specialist on that area is fascinating. If a specialist today were to claim, and certainly if he or she were an anthropologist, that he or she had written a standard work on a region without ever having been there, his or her findings would be treated with the utmost suspicion, not to mention circumspection. This is understandable in the present-day context of a world, which has shrunk to an incredible degree. But in Veth's day, travelling to Indonesia still entailed considerable dangers, which would have been debilitating for Veth who suffered among other ailments from a severe form of asthma (van der Velde 2000: 327). In how far does the interesting thesis put forward by Justin Stagl in his book on the theory of travel apply to Veth that, "Whoever first built a bridge into a particular region,

thereby established for himself a monopoly of access to it and therefore also a monopoly on the disposition of it. He could use it for political, commercial, religious aims and, by describing this region, even for his own cognitive goals. In the latter case he would become the 'leading authority' on that region. Now he only could be dethroned by other authorities contradicting his own and appearing more credible to the public" (Stagl 1995: 204). How then, from a biographical point of view can we explain Veth's status and what were the main influences which affected him? How did Veth go about collecting the data that would enable him to give an authoritative vision of Indonesia in the eyes of his contemporaries? Before addressing these questions, it is essential to gain some insight into Veth's personal and intellectual career, all of which influenced the way he perceived the Netherlands East Indies.

From Theology to Indology

Veth, who was born in 1814, had bourgeois roots in the Protestant section of the entrepreneurial, liberal middle class of Dordrecht, a city in the southwest of Holland with the third busiest harbour in the Netherlands. His father was a scrap iron merchant who sent his son to the French school (*Franse school*), what we would nowadays call a commercial school, founded on the principles of the Enlightenment where such practical subjects as arithmetic, bookkeeping, geography, and modern languages were taught. It was not long before it became apparent that Pieter was a prodigy who could make the transition to the elite grammar school or *gymnasium*, where the curriculum was based on Greek and Latin, with ease. This unique educational background, combining vocational and theoretical training, made Veth an ideal candidate for the universal training given at universities in the beginning of the nineteenth century.

When Veth enrolled at Leiden University in 1832 as a theology student, a study which was supposed to prepare him for the pulpit, the Netherlands was plunged into a national identity crisis, one of the results of the secession of Belgium (1830-39), the effects of which lingered on until the beginning of the 1870s. The gloomy economic outlook did little to dampen the lively cultural atmosphere which prevailed in Leiden, then called the 'city of light'. During the first two years of his study, in which he had to obtain a Bachelor of Arts degree as a prerequisite for beginning his theological studies, Veth was exposed to European Romanticism embodied in such writers as Scott, Byron, and Hugo. His literary patron was Professor Jacob Geel, head of the university library and a typical exponent of the progressive tenets of the Enlightenment. Geel's evocative and ironic literary style made him a refreshing phenomenon in the dull Dutch cultural landscape of the time. Veth would prove an assiduous student because not only did he emulate Geel's literary style in his later

writings, he also internalised Geel's precept that it was the task of the intellectual to express controversial opinions about social problems. Veth's deep-seated love of literature did not pass unnoticed: "He was a fervent admirer of the literatures in the modern European languages and there were few contemporaries at Leiden University who equalled, and certainly did not surpass, his vast knowledge of the products of French, German, and English literatures" (Kern 1895: 609).

Veth's innate linguistic talent also embraced Oriental languages such as Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac, which were compulsory for theology students. His language professors, H.A. Hamaker and H.E. Weijers, advocated a thorough appraisal by textual criticism applied to the Holy Scriptures. This approach was regarded with abundant suspicion by the followers of the prevailing supranaturalist theology, who considered every attack on the historical truth of the holy scriptures to be heterodoxy or, worse, heresy. From his masters Veth inherited this critical, scientific attitude along with a commitment to accuracy. Already more bent on language studies than on theology, Veth showed himself extremely receptive to modern German theology encapsulated in the epoch-making book by D.F. Strauss, The Life of Christ (*Das Leben Jesu*, 1835) in which big question marks were placed over the historicity of the Bible, completely in line with the text-critical method to which Veth adhered. Faced with a dilemma, Veth, who was nearing the completion of his theological studies, decided not to take his finals and did not enter the ministry. Needless to say, this decision was not really welcomed by his immediate family and constituted a grave breach of the social code. This left Veth undaunted. Because of the intercession of Geel and of a factor we all too readily underestimate, coincidence, in 1838 Veth received an offer to become a tutor in English and Malay at the prestigious Royal Military Academy (*Koninklijke Militaire Academie,* KMA) in Breda, where officers for the Netherlands East Indies received their military training (van der Velde 1993a).

Veth became the assistant to Professor P.P. Roorda van Eysinga (1796-1856), head of the colonial section and the godfather of the study of Malay and Javanese in the Netherlands. In contrast to the rest of the country, an optimistic, progressive, and religiously tolerant atmosphere prevailed at the academy and this exerted an undoubted influence on Veth. Although it was never with much pleasure that Veth looked back on his semi-military existence, it was at the same Academy that for the first time he set foot in a field of study in which he would later reign as a sovereign: the geography and ethnography of the Netherlands East Indies. But still the focus of his study was languages. He completed an anthology of English literature (Veth 1840-41) and mastered Javanese and Malay. He received a doctorate *honoris causa* from his alma mater in 1841 for a treatise on an Arabic manuscript dated 856 AD (Veth 1842). Subsequently, he was appointed a professor of Oriental languages at the Franeker Athenaeum. In Franeker he befriended the first Dutch modern theologian J.H. Scholten. Building on

Strauss's ideas, Scholten no longer adhered to the revelatory aspect of Christianity but preferred to emphasise the ethical and civilising values which it represented. This view would profoundly influence Veth's ideas on the relationship between the motherland and the colony (van der Velde 1995b). In 1842, just before the abolition of the Franeker Athenaeum, Veth was appointed a professor of Oriental languages at the Athenaeum Illustre in Amsterdam (later University of Amsterdam), as successor to Taco Roorda who became professor of Oriental languages at the newly established Academy for the training of colonial officials in Delft.

At the beginning of the 1840s, Amsterdam was predominantly conservative in its political outlook. It was the city which thrived on trade with the Netherlands Indies, riding the crest of the Cultivation System (*cultuurstelsel*) of forced crop cultivation by the Indonesians, instigated in 1830, which made the colony increasingly profitable. The liberals were still an insignificant minority but it was in this milieu that Veth would come to play an influential role; a role which he could assume thanks to his standing in Amsterdam society, the fruit of his professorship at the Athenaeum Illustre, which was regarded by the citizens as the temple of Enlightened thought. In 1843 Veth, *ex officio*, became a member of the board of the Netherlands Bible Society (*Nederlandsch Bijbel Genootschap,* NBG) in which capacity, over a period of twenty years, he stimulated translations of the Bible into the languages of the Archipelago as well as the proto-anthropological work carried out by Bible translators such as the earlier mentioned Neubronner van der Tuuk (Groeneboer 2002). Such efforts clearly fitted into the civilising concept of Christianity and gave Veth the opportunity to deepen his linguistic study of the languages of Indonesia. Although his interest in Indonesia was primarily of a linguistic nature, it would soon expand to cover all aspects of Indonesian society and civilisation.

Apart from his obvious interest in Indonesia, the main reason for this shift was that he found out that the study of Oriental languages as such was not his forte. "In this profession I am a mere dilettante", he wrote after R.P.A. Dozy, a bright young scholar of Leiden University, had severely criticised Veth's Franeker inaugural lecture in *De Gids* at the beginning of 1844 (van der Velde 2000: 100). At that time, Veth had just become one of the editors of this critical cultural periodical. It was a sign of Veth's open-mindedness that he did not stifle this criticism and of the openness in all aspects of life for which he strove. He was also the first of a new liberal generation of editors who would turn the journal into the semi-official herald of the liberals. The backward-looking romantic nationalism of the editor-in-chief, E.J. Potgieter, who glorified the Golden Age and the Dutch East India Company (VOC), was replaced by a progressive liberal outlook.

Veth did not react publicly to Dozy's criticism in *De Gids*, choosing to reply in a personal letter in which he denounced Dozy's unconsidered criticism but also defended his scientific working method: "Every book or article which structures

the subject matter better, which points out misconceptions and corrects them, has, if I am not mistaken, the right to exist and to be viewed as a contribution to science although it still leaves a great deal to be investigated which has not yet become clear" (quoted in Van der Velde 2000: 99). All of Veth's later scientific contributions were imbued with this enlightened, encyclopaedic way of practising science in which the comparison of available sources and the adding of new data would convince its practitioners of the progress of knowledge and of science.

One should realise that science at that time was struggling to free itself of the fetters of theology. Together with his more liberal colleagues at the Athenaeum Illustre, Veth fended off an attack by the Reformed synods to get a tighter grip on theological education. In its development, science should not be hindered by theological concepts. Notwithstanding this problem in the relationship between Christianity and science, the former was heavily in debt to the latter: "Science only flourishes in the fields which Christianity has fertilized" (quoted in van der Velde 2000: 115). Veth went on to state that he hoped for an alliance between science and Christianity for the intellectual and moral improvement of all people. This motive should be seen within the context of the Western movement of development then gaining momentum. In this respect, Veth was pointing his countrymen in the direction of the study to which he would devote the rest of his life: "It is in the Netherlands East Indies that one might expect a rich harvest from the co-operation between science and Christianity, where millions under the influence of a mild religion for centuries have remained on a low rung of semi-civilisation, while others have sunken into a hole of animal-like crudeness and ignorance" (Veth 1847: 4). The superiority of Western civilisation, and its potential to influence other less developed societies for the better, lay unequivocally at the base of Veth's concept of the Netherlands East Indies.

Destiny and Identity

In 1846, W.R. van Hoëvell (1812-1879), in his capacity as the director of the Netherlands Indies Bible Society, who since his arrival in the Indies had striven to expand the knowledge of the Archipelago, contacted Veth whom he already knew to be one of the very few learned people in the Netherlands with a genuine interest in the Indies. Van Hoëvell was the founder of the Journal of the Netherlands Indies (*Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*) and in his capacity as president of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences (*Bataviaasch Genootschap voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, founded in 1778) he had seen to it that the monographs (*Verhandelingen*) of that society were published regularly. He shared an enlightened liberal background with Veth. On several occasions he had clashed with the colonial government, in particular with its censors. At the time there was a strict censorship imposed on all information

pertaining to the Netherlands East Indies, which was reminiscent of the complete ban on information which the Dutch East India Company had upheld for two centuries. Needless to say, this censorship stood in the way of a free circulation of knowledge about Indonesia, which consequently was meagre and thin on the ground, to say the least. This situation was not going to change without a major political revolution. Both Veth and van Hoëvell were completely aware of this, but Veth was more cautious in taking political action than van Hoëvell was (van der Velde 1998).

Equally important in this context was that Veth's marriage to Clara Buchler (1845) brought him into close contact with the growing liberal faction intimately related to the circles of the Society for the General Welfare (*Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen*), of which his brother-in-law, P.M.G. van Hees, was president. At the beginning of 1846 the liberal Amstel Society (*Amstel Sociëteit*) was founded, and Veth delivered the inaugural address which can be seen as a quite revolutionary pamphlet in which the members' main plea was for openness in administration and government (von Santen 1979). The society was in close contact with J.R. Thorbecke, the drafter of the new Dutch constitution promulgated at the end of 1848. News about the liberal revolution reached the Indies in May 1848 and van Hoëvell reacted very enthusiastically, in fact too enthusiastically because as a consequence of his alleged subversive activities he was banned from the Indies and had to take the boat home. By then, in their correspondence, he and Veth had developed the main tenets of a liberal colonial policy: openness in colonial affairs, freedom of the press and of speech, and the abolition of the Cultivation System. This policy was a step forward, away from that of the conservatives who saw the Netherlands East Indies predominantly in terms of profit.

Veth's paternalistic vision of Indonesia can be discerned in both the association and in the ethical policies introduced at the end of the nineteenth century. Veth, and in the long run many others who were dissatisfied with the minor role accorded the Netherlands in Europe, came to regard Indonesia as the fulfilment of Dutch destiny and identity. "Its possessions in the East made the Netherlands more important than other European nations with the same number of inhabitants" (Veth 1884: 150). With the liberals in power, a liberal revolution in the Netherlands East Indies seemed to be imminent, but affairs took another turn. It was to be another twenty years before the ties between the motherland and colony were liberalised. Veth would work assiduously towards that goal as a savant, critic, and publicist. Although his name was whispered in connection to the post of Minister of Colonial Affairs he would never become a politician. In a letter to van Hoëvell he described the job of a politician as accursed work (van der Velde 2000: 149).

By 1848 Veth had a clear vision of what the Dutch should do for the Netherlands East Indies: "Dutchmen! Now join hands to repay with moral benefits the enormous debt incurred from all the material goods which have flowed so abundantly from

Indonesia over the past 200 years. In order to familiarise the population of those territories with the benefits of pure religion and Christian civilisation, a thorough knowledge of that population and its institutions and customs is the first and indispensable requirement. Only in this manner will we be able to bring about a moral revolution" (Veth 1849: 4-5). One of the ways to achieve this goal was to improve education in the Indies. In 1850, as president of the afore-mentioned Society for the General Welfare, he pleaded for the foundation of departments of that society in the Indies which could commence their civilising task by founding schools (Veth 1850). These plans came to naught, thwarted by conservative bureaucrats in the Netherlands East Indies.

Veth also pleaded for better education about Indonesia in the Netherlands, convinced that this knowledge should not be a goal in itself but would serve higher purposes. "The knowledge of our possessions in the East Indies should be spread throughout all strata of society so that the Indies is made the main arena of the development of our national forces" (Veth 1852: 546). In this period, more than at any time before, a surge in the collecting of information about Indonesia took place. The lack of educational material was admittedly abysmal, but what was worse was the absence of institutional frameworks which could act as gateways to the knowledge essential for research. Veth was co-founder of the Indies Society (*Indisch Genootschap*, founded in 1854), a political debating club that covered all (former) Dutch colonial possessions, including Surinam.

Only once did Veth write an article about the so-called "West" or Netherlands West Indies in *De Gids*, which was primarily a direct attack on slavery still prevailing there when he wrote the article in 1855 (slavery was abolished in the Netherlands West Indies as late as 1863). He was deeply ashamed of his slave-trading forebears and described their behaviour as the worst national sin imaginable. Veth worked himself into a lather when he lashed out at the hypocrisy of many of his contemporaries. "What kind of person is a Dutchman who values honour so much and shows much compassion for the fate of the unfortunate ones in his native country, while overseas he turns into a shameless barbarian who does not display one smidgeon of humane behaviour" (Veth 1855: 219). Surinam has always been a blind spot in the Dutch national awareness, which is also exemplified by the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology (KITLV, *Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, founded in 1851) which only in the past decades has taken a vivid interest in Surinam (Oostindie 1997). Veth was a founding member of this Institute, which according to his taste was too conservative and therefore he never contributed to any of its now illustrious series such as the Contributions (*Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*).

The first fruits of these efforts to expand knowledge about Indonesia saw the light of day in 1854-56. This was Veth's two-volume book on the Western Division of Borneo (*Borneo's Wester-Afdeeling: Geographisch, Statistisch, Historisch*) in which

he brought together everything then known about that part of the island. The book focuses on geography, flora and fauna, the history of the Dutch colonisation, the local economy, and the customs of the native population. The book has footnotes and a list of references, neither of which was very common in those days. Veth was convinced that verifiability was one of the basic traits of a work of modern science. In the introduction to this book he also accounts for the use of his sources: "The majority of the sources which I have used for my study are flawed because the native sources are based on unverifiable stories, and the stories of European visitors are rife with misconceptions and marred by carelessness and ignorance" (Veth 1854: iv).

Borneo's Western Division was widely acclaimed and had an exemplary effect on other authors who, like Veth, devoted themselves to the dissemination of knowledge about the Netherlands East Indies. In Germany, his work was also regarded as exemplary. The famous German geographer A. Petermann wrote: "Ihnen als den Author eines so bedeutender Werkes über Borneo" ("You are the author of such an important work on Borneo") (van der Velde 2000: 166). The reason why Veth's book was so important was given more than 150 years later by the Dutch anthropologist H.F. Vermeulen: "It is thanks to P.J. Veth that the standard of ethnography of the Netherlands East Indies was raised to an international level. His goal was to apply the theories of Carl Ritter on the interrelationship between land and people to the Indies Archipelago" (Vermeulen 1996: 37). This was also exemplified in the series *Bijdragen tot de kennis van de voornaamste voortbrengselen van Nederlandsch-Indië* (Contributions to the Most Important Crops of the Netherlands East Indies). Vestiges of Veth's vocational training shimmered through in this work (Veth 1860-66). In great detail he described rice, coffee, cotton, and sago with their potential areas of cultivation, expected yields and the like. His works of the early 1860s were already pointing more in the direction of the economic opportunities which the Netherlands East Indies offered.

Veth liked to co-operate with others. This is, for example, testified by a collaborative research project which lasted ten years (1859-69). The outcome of the project was the *Aardrijkskundig en Statistisch Woordenboek van Nederlandsch Indië* (Geographical and Statistical Dictionary of the Netherlands East Indies) to which Veth contributed the parts on Timor and Sumatra (Veth et al. 1861-69). In the introduction to volume four, Veth wrote that the Dictionary was already completely outdated when it appeared and that it would have been better to wait twenty-five years, by which time the situation would have settled down, before starting work on a new edition (Veth 1869: vii-viii). This is what effectively happened because in 1895 the first volume of *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië* (Encyclopaedia of the Netherlands Indies) was published (van der Lith et al. 1894-1905). The first volume was dedicated to Veth. These kinds of books contributed in part to enabling the Dutch Parliament to take effective control of affairs in the Netherlands East Indies

in 1865, before which time it had always been the province of the colonial ministry. It was only then that a policy of openness in colonial affairs could be consummated.

In this respect the publication of *Max Havelaar* by Multatuli (1860) was an epoch-making and timely event. It triggered a political debate in the Netherlands on the redefinition of the relationship with the Netherlands East Indies. Veth, who had to review the book in *De Gids*, must have realised its potential as fuel for the liberal opposition immediately. Veth wrote that he found the book "A powerful protest against the suppression of the Javanese by petty local rulers condoned by the colonial government" (Veth 1860: 64). Multatuli, who is generally regarded as an anti-colonialist, was in fact an advocate of the expansion of Dutch rule at the expense of the local rulers. This was exactly what Veth had in mind as well, only to be thwarted by the conservatives in the Indies and also confounded because the number of civil servants who could accomplish the civilising mission was too small to have any serious impact.

Institutionalising Anthropology

When Thorbecke returned to power in 1862, he immediately addressed two major political problems: educational reforms in the Netherlands and the redefinition of the relationship with the Netherlands East Indies. He appointed Veth secretary of the commission to reform the training programmes of civil servants in the colonial service. Its endeavours resulted in the foundation of the National Institute for Indies Civil Servants (*Rijksinstelling van Onderwijs in Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*) in Leiden (1864-77). In view of the prevailing liberal climate, it is not surprising that Veth, who had acquired a reputation as an expert on issues pertaining to the Netherlands East Indies, was appointed professor at this institute. In his inaugural lecture he summarised what in his view should be the nature and aims of education in linguistics and ethnology of the Netherlands Indies. He saw linguistics with geography and ethnography (*Land- en Volkenkunde*) being synonymous with (anthropo-) geography, which was supposed to be an encyclopaedic study of all that was known about the Netherlands East Indies. He foresaw that this 'encyclopædia' would quickly become outdated under the pressure of scientific specialisation. However, a new encyclopaedia could be compiled on the basis of new, specialist knowledge, and the possibilities were manifold. The aim of the training was to produce competent and humane civil servants whose duty it was, armoured with their knowledge of the native languages and cultures and their own superior Western culture, to lead the local inhabitants towards a better future inspired by the West (Veth 1864b: 21).

In this spirit Veth, as professor at this sub-university institute, trained many civil servants who were being appointed to high administrative positions and in

many instances acted as resource persons for their revered professor. The Indies Institute as such did not prosper as it turned out to be too theoretical to achieve a successful pass rate in the state examinations and Veth could not change that. In addition, a similar institute in Delft, with a more practical bent, was a serious competitor (Fasseur 1993). The National Institute for Indies Civil Servants was abolished in 1877 at the same time that Dutch higher education was reorganised. Veth's chair in anthropology at the Indies Institute was elevated to university level, along with chairs in Malay, Javanese, Islam studies, and *adat* law. This, among other things, laid the basis for the strong position of Asian Studies at the University of Leiden today. Veth's successors were influential anthropologists such as G.A. Wilken, J.J.M. de Groot, J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong, and so forth.

The job at the National Institute for Indies Civil Servants left Veth ample time to devote himself to writing and to devising ways of bringing about a change in the colonial relationship. Veth was often consulted on colonial issues by politicians such as I.D. Fransen van de Putte, who was Minister of Colonial Affairs and Prime-Minister in the late 1860s. When the latter's Cultivation Law (*Cultuurwet*) was defeated in parliament, causing the fall of the second Thorbecke cabinet, Veth lashed out at the opponents of the Cultivation Law, a law which would have meant the end of the Cultivation System by allowing private land rights. The main tenor of Veth's article in *De Gids*, which is permeated by the universal claims of enlightened thought, was that whatever was valid for Europe also held good for the Netherlands Indies. "One has only to evade the communist concepts that we avoid here like the plague, but which we hail in Java as the highest wisdom" (Veth 1866: 317).

It was clear that something should be done to counteract the influence of the conservatives. Van Hoëvell contacted Veth to invite him to be editor-in-chief of van Hoëvell's brainchild, the *Journal for the Netherlands Indies* (*Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië)*. Veth helped to form an editorial staff that consisted of influential liberal politicians, captains of industry, and academics. Veth co-ordinated the attacks on the Cultivation System, with positive results because the Cultivation System was dismantled in 1870 and an Agrarian Law introduced, enabling private ownership of land in the Indies. Veth saw his long struggle rewarded, but this liberalisation was largely confined to Java. Another formidable obstacle in the way of liberalisation —one often overlooked —was the Abstention Policy (*Onthoudingspolitiek*); a policy opposing the expansion of direct colonial rule to the so-called Outer Territories (*Buitengewesten*). This policy was condoned by the British natural historian A.R. Wallace. Nevertheless, Veth popularised his works in the Netherlands. On the threshold of a new era in the relationship with the Netherlands East Indies, almost immediately after its publication in 1869, Veth began to translate Wallace's seminal *The Malay Archipelago* into Dutch (Veth 1870-71).

Wallace, who had been traveling through the Indies Archipelago for more than a decade, wrote a vivid account of his scientific explorations. The appeal of this book, of which the popularity has never waned, was recognised by Veth for whom it must have been a source of inspiration for his own *opus magnum, Java* on which he began work in 1872. In a review of Veth's article on Javanese landscapes that same year, an anonymous reviewer praised the scientific standard and Veth's captivating style of writing. The reviewer also remarked that Indonesia was not only economically, politically, and scientifically speaking of vital importance to the Netherlands, but Dutch art and literature also stood to gain in the Netherlands East Indies beyond the horizon: "Indonesia is a fallow soil for our arts, and even our prosaic language becomes poetical (the article of Veth is proof of this) when used to unveil the beauties of the East to touch those who have been blind for them" (Anon. 1864: 158). The vivacity of Veth's books is in part due to his contacts with colonial circles in Amsterdam. His wife's uncle had been governor of the Java Bank in Batavia and there were many persons in his immediate circle who had been in the Netherlands East Indies, including the editor of *De Gids*, Joh. C. Zimmerman, in whose obituary it is explicitly stated that he added much of the local colour to Veth's works (Quack 1888: 187).

This was by and large Veth's intellectual, cultural, and political background at the time Multatuli wrote the lines used in the introduction to this article. In 1872, Veth had not yet reached the pinnacle of his scientific expertise and social fame. He would use the enormous network he had been building since his Amsterdam days to attack the Abstention Policy with vigour. This should be seen in the wider framework of the emergence of modern imperialism (Kuitenbrouwer 1985). Only after Dutch authority had been established over the so-called Outer Territories would the economic exploitation of these areas be feasible. For this reason, Veth argued that Dutch control should be extended, especially over those regions (Borneo, Sumatra, New Guinea) in which the Dutch position was threatened by other colonial powers. Veth considered the Netherlands powerful enough to maintain itself in the competitive Darwinian world. In Darwinism he recognised precisely the instrument he needed to strengthen his arguments for the extension of Western civilisation by every possible means (Veth 1870: ix).

Science and Empire

At around the same time as the abolition of the Cultivation System produced an upsurge in economic relations between the Netherlands and the Netherlands East Indies, the outbreak of the Aceh War in 1873 led to an intensification in political relations. The failure of the first military campaign to Aceh was seized upon by Veth

(using Multatulian rhetoric) as an opportunity to argue for the extension of colonial authority over the Outer Territories and for the consequent economic exploitation of these areas. In a pamphlet-like booklet on Aceh he wrote: "I am convinced that we are the defenders of civilization and humanity against barbarism and cruelty [...] There can be no doubt that the war should be continued" (Veth 1873: 136). The success of the second campaign at the end of 1873 elicited a surge of nationalism in the Netherlands, the first time in Dutch history that such an outburst was caused by an event in Indonesia. Veth believed that the failure of the first expedition could be attributed to a lack of knowledge about Aceh, an omission which could be repaired by launching scientific expeditions.

The defeat in the first Aceh campaign prompted the foundation of the Royal Dutch Geographical Society (*Koninklijk Nederlands Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, KNAG), of which Veth would remain president until 1884, in July 1873. This foundation should be seen within the framework of a broader European geographical movement, which can be interpreted as the scientific forerunner of modern imperialism (van der Velde 1988). Under Veth's inspired leadership, the society quickly developed into a very influential colonial lobby, consisting of approximately a thousand members in the early 1880s. New discoveries in the field of geography were reported in the periodical, published by the Society. In view of the fact that geography at that time encompassed anthropology, ethnology, geology, botany, and archaeology, periodicals of geographical societies of the last quarter of the nineteenth century are an under-utilised source for researchers in all fields mentioned. The press also gave the activities of the Society a wide coverage, certainly when famous explorers were the speakers at its meetings. By ensuring that explorers were invited as speakers, Veth tried to link the Indies with the romantic cult that had evolved around discoveries and explorers. In 1875, he became chairman of the preparatory committee for a scientific expedition to Sumatra and a nation-wide fundraising drive was initiated.

The Central Sumatra expedition, which lasted from 1877 to 1879, was paid for by the government and by private funds (van der Velde 2000: 235-259). Veth was primarily concerned with the organisation of and the publicity surrounding the expedition. He edited the letters written by the expedition members, which were published in the main newspapers. The expedition was also covered in Italian, French, German, and English geographical periodicals as well as in Dutch popular magazines. The expedition held the Netherlands in its grip throughout its entire duration and, when the leader of the expedition, J. Schouw Santvoort, died, he was instantly elevated to the position of a martyr in the march of civilisation. Under the guise of this scientific expedition, Veth tried to torpedo the Abstention Policy because the expedition inevitably led to political incidents in the quasi-independent states, which it tried to penetrate. However, the colonial government remained

deaf to Veth's call for a military intervention to clear the way for the expedition members, because it was already suffering from imperial overstretch in Aceh.

The expedition succeeded in heightening awareness among the Dutch population for a colonial part of the Netherlands at the other end of the world, of which the destiny was intertwined with that of the motherland. The nine-volume work on the expedition, edited and supervised by Veth, still remains a major source of knowledge for anyone studying Sumatra. It is a multidisciplinary work in which we find contributions by specialists on geography, ethnography, anthropology, geology, and botany (Veth 1881-92). This work is considered to be one of the best illustrated works of nineteenth-century Dutch scientific learning. In 1883 an international colonial exhibition was organised in Amsterdam, which brought the colonies to life for the general public. The exhibition attracted 1.5 million visitors, an unheard of number in those days. The visitors were confronted with all aspects of Netherlands Indies society. The showpiece was a Sumatran village with villagers and all (Bloembergen 2002). The three-volume catalogue of the world exhibition was edited by Veth and gives a clear idea of the degree of political, economic, and cultural intertwining of the Netherlands and the Netherlands East Indies (Veth 1883).

One year earlier, Veth finished his three-volume magnum opus *Java: Geographisch, Ethnographisch, Historisch* (Java: Geographical, Ethnographical and Historical Aspects) consisting of over three thousand pages. It can be viewed as an encyclopaedia of all knowledge then available about Java. In the introduction Veth expressly stated that it was a clear disadvantage that he had never been in the Netherlands East Indies. Ruminating about this kind of book, Stagl has written: "A false ethnography is a holistic depiction of a foreign experienced world which claims to be objective but is not. The author either knows the world he depicts and its intrinsic order far less than he pretends, is far less competent than he makes himself appear, has been there in another capacity than he tells us, or even has not been there at all. In all these cases, the objective knowledge that is lacking is covered up by falsehood. The author behaves insincerely" (Stagl 1995: 204). In my opinion Stagl's contention does not apply to Veth's *Java*. I tend to agree more with the remark the anthropologists de Josselin de Jong and Vermeulen made in a publication on the history of cultural anthropology. "Although from our standpoint Veth's anthropology was an indiscriminate sort of science, he contributed a great deal to the study of the languages, geography, history, and ethnography of the East Indies" (de Josselin de Jong and Vermeulen 1989: 288). Later on Vermeulen added, as already mentioned, that Veth raised the standard of ethnography in the Netherlands to an international level (Vermeulen 1996: 37).

In the introduction to the third volume of *Java*, Veth wrote that his description of Java is an example of an "imaginary journey". Nevertheless, this volume of *Java* was widely used as a travel guide, partly, it has to be admitted, because of the lack

of any other guides. Many researchers have stated that it is a myth that Veth's Java was used as a travel guide but my own copy of *Java* clearly betrays that the previous owner did use it as a travel guide; in the margins he has indicated things which had changed since Veth's imaginary journey. Furthermore, he inserted the day of his visit in the margins. Both as a source of knowledge or as a travel guide the book has been praised, and by those who should know. The famous scholar of Islam, C. Snouck Hurgronje, for example, wrote that to him *Java* was a kind of Bible (de Bruyn 1992: 40). In 1882 Veth was laureate of the prestigious Thorbecke award, founded to stimulate studies in the field of social and political sciences (van der Velde 2000: 260).

Veth's *Java* also engendered a dialogue with the ruler of the Javanese district of Brebes, Raden Mas Adipati Ario Tjondro Negoro, who had especially praised Veth for the second volume of Java because for the first time Indonesian history was treated from an Indonesian perspective rather than from the perspective of the colonial rulers. Veth saw to it that the more than one hundred pages of comment by Adipati Ario Tjondro Negoro were printed as a supplement to the Geographical Journal (*TAG*, *Bijbladen* 9, 1881). "It appears to me that when a Javanese leader lends his assistance to Europeans in their studies of the languages, people, and natural history of his own country, this sheds a favourable light on the relationship between the Dutch rulers and the native aristocracy, and consequently native society", Veth wrote (1881b: 25). This was the forerunner of a greater Dutch identity, which would be developed in the so-called Association Policy at the beginning of the twentieth century in which it was envisaged that in the course of time the Indonesians would be on an equal footing with the Dutch.

Veth had already anticipated that other specialists would come forward to criticise his work. A second edition of his *Java* in four volumes was completed in 1907, twelve years after the project had been initiated (Snelleman & Niermeyer 1896-1907). All then known Indies specialists, practically all of whom had actually been there, including R.D.M. Verbeek, M.J. de Goeje, A.C. Vreede, E. Dubois, A.W.M. van Hasselt, Joh. F. Snelleman, J.F. Niermeyer, G.P. Rouffaer, and C. Snouck Hurgronje contributed. Although their contributions were of a more up-to-date scientific standard, they conspicuously lacked the appeal to the cultivated audience for whom Veth had written so successfully. These were articles for specialists by specialists and therefore the book as a whole lacked the compelling vision of Veth.

From Encyclopaedism to Evolutionism

Although Veth's main focus was on the Netherlands East Indies, he was also interested in Africa and can be considered as the first Africanist in Dutch universities. The holder of the first chair of geography at the University of Amsterdam, C.M.

Kan (1837-1919), speaks in this context of the third phase in Veth's career (Kan 1895: 601). This interest was driven by the nationalism and Greater Holland ideas then prevalent in the Netherlands and to which Veth subscribed. Together with Kan, Veth wrote a bibliography of Dutch literature on Africa in the Netherlands (Veth & Kan 1876). He also published a pamphlet-like work *Onze Transvaalsche broeders (Our Transvaal Brothers,* Veth 1881a), and a biography of his son Daniel that deals in large part with his son's expedition to Mozambique and his untimely death there (Veth & Snelleman 1887). In one of his last articles dealing with the Dutch in Africa (1893), Veth brought his bibliography up-to-date and reflected light-heartedly on ethnology. This accords with an observation that Veth's African studies article was the only nineteenth-century reflection on this field of study by a Dutch anthropologist (Hovens & Triebels 1988: 1).

A part of Veth's article on the Dutch in Africa relates to the book by Hendrik Muller, *Industrie des Cafres du Sud-est de l'Afrique*, which according to Veth was not entitled Ethnologie des Cafres du Sud-est de l'Afrique because it applied only to the 'exterior' ethnology (habitat, clothes, food, and the like). 'Interior' ethnology (religious and law concepts, degree of intellectual development) demands, according to Veth, a very long and intensive study *in situ*. "Mr. Muller sensing that a more thorough ethnological study, such as those of the much lamented Wilken, can only be the fruit of special education and a protracted study spanning many years. Muller understood that a general ethnography of the Kaffer's was beyond his reach" (Veth 1893: 291). At this juncture in time, ethnology had clearly developed into a separate field of study, a development which Veth had not only predicted but also had seen as a logical and necessary step (Veth 1864b: 13-14). In Veth's eyes, Muller's book lacked a comparative evolutionist perspective. It should be stressed that Veth was one of the most active protagonists of Darwinist thinking by translating the seminal article on the physical geography of Indonesia by Wallace into Dutch (Wallace 1865). Therefore we should not be surprised by the fact that at the end of his life he switched from encyclopaedic ethnology to evolutionist ethnology. One year before he died Veth published two books. The first is entitled *Het paard onder de volken van het Maleische ras* (The Horse and the Peoples of the Malay Race) and the second *De leer der signatuur* (The Science of Signature).

Parts of these books had been published in the leading academic journal in the field of ethnography, *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*. In Veth's enthusiastic review of this journal in the *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië,* it becomes clear that his view of ethnography had changed completely. "Ethnography, the description of peoples is, when considering collecting of material practically the newest of all sciences […] Quite recently it has become conscious of its objectives and method […] It is the task of today's and of future ethnologists to gain a general overview of the development of civilization by a comparative study of the material and spiritual

life of all peoples" (Veth 1888: 432). His book on Horses (1894a) still fitted into the encyclopaedic tradition, but this can be explained because he had already finished it in 1886. This article is innovative in another respect, namely that for the first time in Dutch anthropology a domestic animal took centre stage. This was the beginning of a modest tradition in Dutch anthropology in which animals were the main topic of study such as in the studies of J.P. Kleiweg de Zwaan (1915a-b) and A.C. Kruyt (1937).

In contrast to the above-mentioned book, Veth's essay on the science of signature is completely evolutionist in nature. Just like his other learned contemporaries, Veth saw the science of signature as superstitious and unscientific. The science of signature can be summarised as follows. Healing plants can be recognised by certain signs which bear a striking resemblance to the symptoms of the disease they can heal. These signs are called the signatures. A central question in Veth's article is whether this 'science' is the outcome of the natural and universally equal powers of thinking of man. In that case, traces could be detected in less civilised societies like in the Netherlands East Indies. Therefore Veth points out that the study of the spread of this science is very important: "For ethnology, the science so diligently studied with the object of disclosing man to himself, the study of the science of signature, just as the study of all superstitious opinions and foolishnesses, of all aberrations of the human mind, is a very important topic" (Veth 1894b: 8). The German anthropologist and geographer Friedrich Ratzel, with whom Veth was corresponding, gave him the necessary ammunition: "Die Menschheit erscheint zunächst als eine Einheit, in welcher die Verschiedenheiten weit hinter dem Gemeinsamen zurücktreten. Diese Einheit ist in geschichtlicher Zeit gewachsen und strebt noch immer mehr, sie zu vollenden, so dass, wie im antropologisch-ethnograpischen die Einheit des Menschengeslechtes als letztes und hochstes Ziel der Menschheits-Entwickelung erscheint. Die Unterschieden innerhalb dieser Einheit weisen einmal auf früher getrennte Entwickelungen zurück […]" (Ratzel 1882: 470; Buttmann 1977). ("Mankind initially appears as a unity where differences take precedence over commonalities. This unity has grown over time and has the tendency to complete itself so that, as both in the anthropological and ethnographical domain, the unity of mankind is perceived as the highest and ultimate goal of human development. The differences within this unity reveal earlier separate developments.")

In the following quote one can clearly trace the influence of his successor G.A. Wilken (1847-1891), who died prematurely in 1891: "The development of man is inherent to the striving for greater perfection. If we want to understand the still existing survivals, half-forgotten uses of most developed man, then one has to study the least civilized where one still can observe these uses and rituals in their pristine state" (Veth 1894b: 137). While Wilken had purely academic motives, Veth's colonial motives were as important, namely the assimilation of the local population. This completely permeated his thinking about the colonial relationship. Therefore his

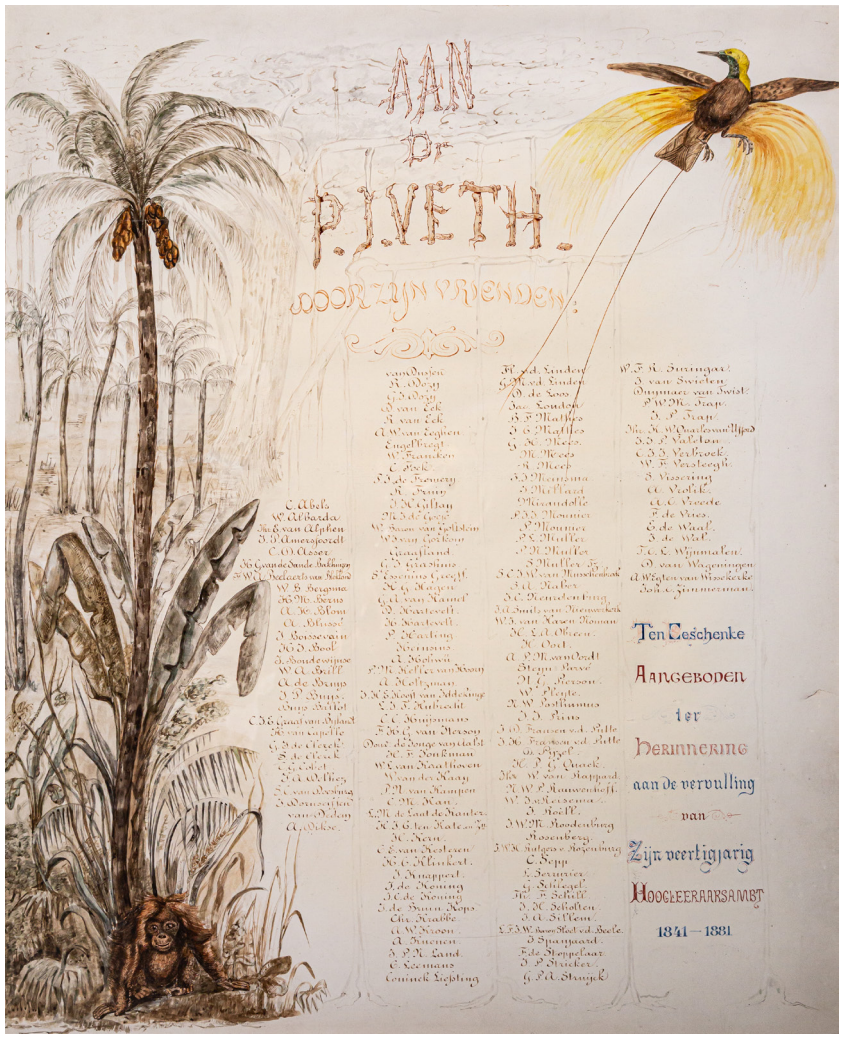


Figure 8. Jan Veth. *Orang utan and bird of paradise*. 1882. Drawing on parchment. 43 × 51cm. Collection Vortex. Photo Cindy Bakker. Gift of Veth's friends to P.J. Veth's on the occasion of his 40 years professorship in 1882.

conclusion comes as no surprise. "We can clearly see traces of the way of thinking, that has lead in the more developed Europeans to a more or less systematic science of signature, and these will probably in closer examination be confirmed" (Veth 1894b: 141). To Veth this certainly applied, never too old to learn.

125 Years of Anthropology in the Netherlands

In his inaugural lecture of 1885, Veth's successor Wilken, hailed his master with fulsome words. "Everybody knows what Veth has meant to this University and for Indology. Who has not heard of his long series of writings in which he laid down the results of his meticulous, sharply honed research. All his works have been examples of unmatched knowledge and consistent diligence and punctiliousness. Who has not read his masterpiece on Java, so vast in its learning, so attractive because of the clarity and liveliness of what he describes, exceedingly enthralling because of the love for his topic, which permeates the author. Not only have the contents of his writings enriched knowledge of the Netherlands East Indies, but his exemplary behaviour has also done a great deal for the dissemination and stimulation of this knowledge. How much has been inspired by his encouragement? How many people enthused by his works have taken up research on the Far East? He has been a true jewel in the crown of the University of Leiden. He held high its prestige, he whose name is known far beyond the borders of the Netherlands" (Wilken 1885: 36-37).

It was understandable that Wilken praised his master, because the latter had worked assiduously to promote his career. In 1884, when Veth was ill and retired to a country retreat, he saw to it that Wilken, a man born in the Netherlands East Indies and with much fieldwork experience, took over his lectures. Furthermore, he saw to it that Wilken received an honorary doctorate, so that nothing stood in the way of him becoming his successor. Nevertheless, there was strong competition for the coveted chair between Wilken and L. Serrurier, the director of the National Museum of Ethnology at Leiden, who had no fieldwork experience whatsoever but plenty of clout. Veth clearly wanted someone with fieldwork experience to succeed him because he had always seen it as a major disadvantage that he never had the opportunity to visit the Netherlands East Indies himself because of ill-health.

Veth retired in 1885 and his advice concerning his successor was honoured because he was succeeded in 1885 by Wilken who died prematurely six years later, but who in the meantime had made a lasting impression on his colleagues. Whereas Veth was largely forgotten by anthropologists and his name faded away into the background, Wilken was incorrectly seen as the founding father of Dutch anthropology instead. It is shameful to admit, but it was the British anthropologist Adam Kuper who had to point out to one of Veth's successors, P.E. Josselin de Jong, that in 1977 it was just a century ago that Veth had founded the first chair of anthropology in the Netherlands. De Josselin de Jong alarmed his senior colleague G.W. Locher in 1978 saying: "As you are probably aware, it was a century ago last year, that P.J. Veth was appointed to the chair of Land-en Volkenkunde van den Indischen Archipel" (Locher 1978: 1). Subsequently, the lecture to commemorate the founding of the chair a hundred years previously was held one year too late.

That Wilken was more famous among anthropologists was because he was the first specialist in the anthropology of Indonesia, while Veth worked for the most part of his life in the encyclopaedic tradition and had never been in the Netherlands East Indies. Veth's broader vision was based on a great variety of Netherlands East Indies and Dutch source material, literature and an extended network of informants. Many people have been to the Netherlands East Indies on behalf of Veth and he used the material they collected to create a compelling vision of the Netherlands East Indies, which stimulated a great many people to take an interest in that part of the world. Nevertheless, he was what we call nowadays "Orientalist" in outlook. The last decade of the twentieth century saw a re-appreciation of his ground-breaking work, and this did not apply in anthropology alone because Veth had a much broader scope.

Although there were other persons who started to build bridges to the Netherlands East Indies at the same time as Veth did, they were far less successful. Veth was regarded as the leading Dutch authority in the field of the Netherlands East Indies. The proof would seem to be that he was not dethroned during his lifetime and, in fact, there was nobody capable of following in his footsteps. He was replaced by specialist demi-gods whose authority was much more narrowly confined. By the time Veth died in 1895, aged eighty, everyone had recognised that nobody could cover the whole field and therefore it was parcelled out.

As a reminder for anthropologists who have spent too much time in the field, I want to conclude this article by remarking that this year (2002) marks the fact that 125 years ago P.J. Veth became the first professor of anthropology at Leiden University!

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The World According to Jacob Haafner (1754-1809): Travel Writer and Anti-colonialist

Jacob Gotfried Haafner (1754-1809) lived in South Africa, Sri Lanka, India and Mauritius for more than 20 years. He wrote five travel accounts about his stay there, in which the colonial environment was not spared his strong criticism. He wrote a comparative essay on the havoc wrought by missionaries and missionary societies worldwide, from which he inferred that missionaries were not needed overseas as "the locals were happy as they were" and, in most cases, were more cultured than these promoters of the so-called "Western civilisation". Haafner was ostracised by his fellow citizens after the publication of this essay because he had dared to consider non-Western people not only as their equals but even as their superiors.

Original source: Velde, Paul van der, 'De wereld volgens Jacob Haafner (1754-1809). Reisverhalenschrijver en antikolonialist.' Originally a lecture re-worked into the current article.

In love with India

However, there was certainly another (lighter) side to his writings. Indeed, his direct, gripping style of writing and his adventurous life made him one of the most popular Dutch writers of the early 19th century. His books remain of interest to this very day. The vivid descriptions of everyday life in the tropics bear testimony to his sharp powers of observation. Haafner was deeply in love with Indian culture. He studied the languages and cultures of the Subcontinent and was delighted when mistaken for an Indian. He is said to have been the first Dutchman with a genuine interest in India and its people and as a result turned into a diehard Anglophobe. "Had I to write the history of the English and their deeds in Asia", Haafner once wrote, "it would be the spitting image of hell". Corruption, plunder, murder, everything seemed to be acceptable in the eyes of that nation. The English did not even hesitate to cause famine in their Asian colonies for love of gain, as will be illustrated later on.

Exiled from his heart's desire and living under the grey skies of Amsterdam around the turn of the 19th century, India's reality became even more present in his writings. He tried to sell his treatises on Indian gods, rites and dancers to an erudite Dutch society; but Dutch scholars were neither interested in them, nor in the drawings of Mamia, his Indian lover, which they regarded as provocative. Fortunately, they have survived the passage of time as gaily coloured and detailed engravings in his books.

The degree to which Haafner was in love with India is also betrayed by the fact that he wanted to publish a journal devoted solely to India! In the Amsterdam of

his day, however, nobody was interested in India; except that is, for the German philosopher A.W. Schlegel who was a teacher in the employ of a rich banking family whom Haafner most probably ran into in the then popular coffee shop "De Paradijsvogel"(Bird of Paradise). Although there is no proof to be found of their encounters I consider it highly likely that Haafner must have inspired Schlegel because there was no other source of knowledge about India available in Amsterdam at that time. Schlegel was to become a leading advocate of Romanticism and the study of India in German-speaking countries.

The Dutch clearly had other things on their minds. The French had conquered the Low Countries and would remain in control until 1813. By that time, Haafner was dead, having published two travel books solely on India, of which his *Travels in a Palanquin* is his keywork. This book, but also his other works, won much acclaim in the early days of Romanticism and were immediately translated into German, French, Danish, Swedish, and English. Haafner wrote his literary work, five extensive travelogues, constituting a sort of autobiography in five parts, in the period between 1795 and 1809, a time in which the Netherlands was a loyal ally to the French and a kingdom under the rule of the French king, Louis Napoleon, brother of the Emperor.

During those years, Haafner lived in poverty; in fact, he was completely down and out, and did everything he possibly could to find work, or to attract the attention of the authorities. Being anti-English could be a useful tool to achieve that aim. He deplored the easy way in which the English had succeeded in capturing the factories of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and territories in Sri Lanka, India and South Africa.

In 1796, aged 42, Haafner applied for a job with the directors of the VOC. He was thinking of a job on the Board of Directors. Wasn't this asking too much? Given his many skills such a high function would do him justice, so he felt. In his letter to the directors he recommended himself as follows: "Diligence, zeal, an intimate knowledge of Dutch, French, German, Portuguese, Hindi, Tamil and English (yes, indeed!) and of bookkeeping; an excellent style of writing, a thorough knowledge of the religions, and trade of India."

These were no insignificant qualities, and what is more, it was true! The directors were less convinced, and his requests were turned down without much ado, leaving him, as he wrote in an angry letter to them, facing "a sad and desperate prospect". And it was a sad and desperate prospect. After many wonderful years spent in Asia as a servant of the VOC, as a private trader and traveller, he now had to live in Amsterdam, a gloomy and miserable city afflicted with a severe economic crisis, and covered by an everlasting, thick, and depressing layer of clouds! A horrible city: "No, in Europe and especially in its northern climes, no one enjoys their life. It is safe to say that their life withers away. In a word, they die without

having ever truly lived". Haafner – this much is clear – suffered from an acute and incurable nostalgia for Asia while living in the northern part of Europe.

Thirty years before, in 1766, as a 12 year old boy, he had departed to Asia for the first time. After a short stay in Amsterdam, he again left for Asia in 1771, now 17 years old, to stay in India almost without interruption until 1787. From 1790, 36 years old, he lived in Amsterdam till his death in 1809; difficult and probably unsatisfactory years, which were spent dreaming of India and writing on his life and adventures there. At first he must have lived in relative prosperity. In India he had collected – in good colonial fashion – a modest fortune by participating in the flourishing diamond trade. After his return to Europe he had, however, made a big mistake (apart from returning of course): he invested his money in French state certificates. After the French Revolution these bonds depreciated with lightning speed, so that Haafner, soon after 1790, had to eke out a meagre livelihood as a shopkeeper selling pipes.

In the next years he moved a number of times from one address to another and life did not get any better. He felt frustrated and misunderstood; he missed having a job, a social position, and he lacked the social status necessary to be included as a member of the scholarly or literary societies in the city, to which he felt himself entitled. Apart from that, he suffered from deteriorating health and was increasingly tormented by angina pectoris, which would ultimately lead to his death. From 1791 onwards, he was responsible for a family with three children. Shortly before his death he married his wife officially; they had been together since 1790.

He probably filled his days visiting coffee houses (does anything ever change in Amsterdam?), meeting people from abroad in the harbour city, and with writing and coming up with new plots for books and journals. He worked on a translation of the Sanskrit Ramayana epic, which was published posthumously by his eldest son in the 1820s, and he prepared the publication of a treatise on the harmful consequences of the Christian missions in the overseas world, which was published in 1807.

Haafner's interest in India, its culture and literature, and his knowledge of the Indian languages, were rather unique; at least in the Netherlands where, at that time, virtually no one shared his concerns. However, his five entertaining travel stories published between 1806 and 1821 – partly during his life, partly posthumously – were what made him truly unique. They describe his many exciting adventures and colourful encounters, situated in India in the declining years of the VOC, in a lively and sparkling style and manner. They belong to the best written Dutch travel stories of the whole emporial era.

The publication of these travelogues made him instantly famous. Now he finally got deserved recognition as an author. The books were translated into German, French, English, Danish and Swedish. In Germany he was praised for giving such good information on the culture and people of India; he was described as "Einen

feinfühlenden Menschenfreund und unparteiischer Beobachter"["A sympathetic philanthropist and an impartial observer"].The French considered him a real intellectual: "Un penseur original et profond, qui a rendu ses idées dans un style aussi brilliant que énergique" ["An original and profound thinker, who presented his ideas in a brilliant and energetic style"]. But the nicest comment undoubtedly came from an English reviewer. In a rare combination of generosity and insult he wrote: "There is an air of sprightliness about Mr. Haafner, which certainly belies the place of his nativity". It had probably escaped the notice of the reviewer that Haafner was not born in Holland, but in Halle in Germany.

Travel Fever

From his early youth, he tells us, he had been deeply affected by a foolish travel fever. "O! the desire for travel is an unhappy, incurable longing that ends not except with life, which is often shortened when one finds it impossible to satisfy this longing owing to age, want, or domestic circumstances. I have been troubled with this desire from my childhood: it torments me even now, and embitters my life. This insatiable curiosity to investigate everything for oneself, and this romantic passion for strange meetings and adventure; in how many dangers have they not plunged me, and what inconveniences and misfortunes have they not caused me; how often have they not brought me unhappiness or deprived me of the happiness I already enjoyed?"

This sounds very serious. But again, he was right. From his early youth he was constantly moving. Born in Halle in Germany in 1754 he soon moved with his parents to Embden in Northern Germany, and a few years later, in 1765, to Amsterdam. His father, Matthias Haafner, enlisted as a ship's surgeon in the service of the VOC. When he departed for Asia in June 1766, he took along his 12 year old son Jacob, who performed all sorts of menial tasks on board. Thus, Jacob undertook the long voyage from Europe to Asia when he was still just a child, leaving his mother and younger siblings behind. "A special coincidence tore me from the arms of my beloved parents and I was thrown into the wider world." It took the ship 6 months to reach South Africa; however, his father fell ill and died shortly before their arrival in Cape Town, which was a fairly large and equally lively VOC settlement, with no less than 19,000 inhabitants. As a semi-orphan Jacob disembarked, not knowing what to do. But soon he was adopted into a family of a high ranking Company servant. He learned a lot, became acquainted with sailing and other navigational skills, and often went out shooting with friends.

But to say that his life was entirely pleasant would be wrong. He became acquainted with the dark side of colonialism and company rule overseas. The

slave population of the Cape was treated mercilessly by the white masters. Slaves were killed and mistreated for even the slightest offence or error. In 1767, Jacob witnessed the public burning of a young slave girl, accused of arson. It deeply impressed him; he could never forget it and time and again he returned to the theme of colonial cruelty in his later work.

But there were also better experiences. On one of his trips in the mountains just outside Cape Town, he met a beautiful Khoikhoi girl. Admittedly, she was rubbed entirely from head-to-toe with fat and soot, which was customary among the Khoikhoi, but that did not diminish her overwhelming beauty. "Instead of the flat nose and pronounced jaws, she had a full face, with charming features, a row of shining white teeth, an open and fiery eye, and her fine properties and well-shaped breasts made her into one of those rare beauties among the Khoikhoi".

Haafner returned to Amsterdam and became a painter's apprentice. His talent for drawing and painting is evident from the engravings in his books. But life in Amsterdam, or for that matter in Europe, had become oppressive to him. He longed for the adventurous life overseas and without delay he again enlisted as a VOC servant. In June 1771, 17 years old, he departed for the second time. Two years later – after a disastrous voyage, a shipwreck, and barbaric treatment by a sadistic captain – he arrived in Negapatnam, the main VOC factory on the Coromandel coast of India. Tired of the sailor's life, he decided to settle in the city and accept a job in the factory. He became an assistant bookkeeper, which he remained until 1779. After a quarrel with his superiors, he resigned and was left to fend for himself.

He later remained remarkably silent about his years as a bookkeeper of the Company in Negapatnam. They were probably boring years, in which he kept the books and endlessly copied letters and other documents for the Company administration. Yet, he took the opportunity to learn as much about India as he could; about the Tamil language in this part of the country, about the trade, the products and prices, and so on. Like almost all Company servants, he too conducted some private trade to supplement his meagre wage. And of course, he became extremely experienced in bookkeeping, a quality that would be useful to him later on when he was living as a free burgher in India.

The years between 1779 and 1786 were the years of adventure. We should remember that Haafner lived in India during a period of disruption, rebellion and war. The VOC was in poor shape and faced fierce competition by the English and French East India Companies. England had started to conquer Indian territories from its base in Bengal and the factories of the VOC would be among its first victims. In 1780, the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War broke out, with disastrous consequences for the Dutch factories in Asia. Moreover, the Indian monarch Haidar Ali, from the central Indian town of Mysore, was extending his power and influence to the Coromandel coast, which led to a large-scale war with the English and widespread

plunder and disruption. All this happened exactly during the years Haafner was living and travelling in India. He witnessed the horrors of the war, was a victim himself, and lamented the suffering of, especially, the common people.

"Mangos! Ripe Mangos!"

To give an impression of how passionate Haafner was about India, it is best to hear his own voice for which purpose a longer passage from his *Adventures on a Journey from Madras via Tranquebar to Ceylon* is selected. It is an exceptional portrayal of life around 1780 in Sadraspatnam, a small factory on the Coromandel Coast. It was situated far from the centre of Dutch colonial power, and people of diverse nationalities, ethnicities and religious creeds coexisted here peacefully. He was a private bookkeeper and trader. Haafner's writings suggest a lively culture steeped in education, religion and trade. "A dozen young men are memorizing poems. Sitting beside them is a group of boys reciting the alphabet and, next to them, a group of thirty toddlers calling out the first letters of the alphabet. Others are saying their time-tables out loud and a couple of advanced students are reading *puranas* in a lilting voice. One listens to the other and, in betwixt their chants, you can hear the soft feminine voices of a couple of young *devdasis* or temple dancers. The pavement swarms with beginners in the art of writing. They are seated with crossed legs and practice writing characters in the sand while shouting them out loud. In short, everybody is screaming and yelling.

My morning stroll would always include a visit to the bazaar. Jugglers, soothsayers, basket-makers, tattooists and women selling coloured glazed bangles and extremely tasty rice pancakes congregate here. The stalls are open for business. The merchants arrive with their touchstones, gold scales and bags full of cash and rupees. They display their linen or other goods while mendicants take up their usual position near a temple devoted to the god Ganesh. A couple of naked fakirs move about, trying to draw people's attention. It is around nine in the morning. Buyers and those who are just curious arrive. The market and the streets are bustling and thronging with people. Not before long the whole street is filled with a thousand voices: Mangos! Ripe Mangos! Tamarind Yellow and ripe bananas! Creamy milk! Who wants creamy milk? Buffalo milk! Fresh and clarified butter! Pickled fruits! Vegetables! Areca and betel! Ripe and fresh coconuts! Fresh palm fruit!

The screaming and yelling is beyond compare. The crying of the little children, the singing of the *sannyasins* with their clanging cymbals, the drums of the yogis, the hobo snake charmers and much more of that ilk. The proud temple bull clears a way through these streets teeming with people. He grabs a mouthful of vegetables at several stalls. The merchants not only let him be, but offer him their best

selections. They try to lure him because everybody feels honoured when he pays them a visit."

However, all this came to an abrupt end when the English suddenly attacked at the outbreak of the Fourth Anglo-Dutch war. "Heavens, how we startled at hearing this unexpected message; as if we had been struck by thunder. Suddenly snatched away from peace and pleasure, to experience the humiliations and abuse of being a prisoner of war. We exploded with curses against the English and detested their disloyalty and shameful surprise attack."

Sadraspatnam was destroyed and Haafner was taken to Madras. Deprived of his possessions and money, he arrived in the city, which was already overcrowded with refugees who had attempted to escape the ravages of war in the countryside. Soon a terrible famine broke out, largely, according to Haafner, because of the British authorities and merchants who deliberately withheld food supplies from the city and even let a fleet of 80 ships carrying food be wrecked in a storm off the coast, all in order to screw up the prices. A British author, William Hickey, living in the city during the famine, described the conditions as follows: "A truly melancholy spectacle, the whole road being strewed on both sides with the skulls and bones of innumerable poor creatures who had there laid themselves down and miserably perished from a lack of food." His subsequent description is even more hellish than Goya's war drawings.

In the meantime the Dutch prisoners of war had been evacuated to Batavia (Jakarta), but Haafner had decided to stay behind in India, though he certainly wanted to leave Madras. With his mestizo girlfriend, Anna Widder, he managed to get away from the besieged city, in a small Indian rowing boat. After a perilous voyage along the coast, they finally arrived safely in Ceylon in early 1783. Here he met old friends from Negapatnam and Sadras, and enjoyed a very happy time with Anna. But, of course, the travel bug, that incurable desire, struck again. So, he and some friends undertook a hike across the island, from Jaffnapatnam to Colombo and back. They faced all kinds of dangers, came across ferocious bears and poisonous snakes, heard aggressive and ghastly voices of unseen jungle creatures in a blood-curdling succession of unexpected incidents. But when travelling, Haafner had an unprejudiced eye for the beauty of nature.

Travels in a Palanquin

"The sun now rose in full majesty: the heaven was blue and clear, and the scarcely-opened dawn gave all objects around me a youthful enchanting appearance; the finely wending shores of the gulf, bordered with high trees, the overhanging branches of which were reflected on the blue surface of the water; the gentle

breath of the cool morning wind; the monotonous splashing of the light waves; the screaming of the seagulls, that skimmed in circles, the surface of the water; the melodious pipe of the red-legged snipes, calling to each other; the innumerable water-fowl, rising from the thick groves of reeds, produced in me the most delightful sensations, and, at that moment, all the dangers, all the difficulties of our journey were forgotten."

Haafner not only had an eye for nature, but he also gives us a lot of hilarious descriptions of people who went overseas, such as that of a particular deaf baker. "As he spoke with the Strasbourg accent, a mixed dialect of bad Dutch and German, thickly interspersed with oaths, and at the same time accompanied the relation of his adventures with ridiculous gestures, and a distorted countenance, it was impossible for us to refrain from occasionally bursting out into loud laughter. He had married four wives in different cities in Europe, who, as far as he knew, when he went to India, were all living, and unknown to one another. They had caused him all the evils that wicked women can possibly bring upon man. His domestic history, which he related in full length, was truly strange and humorous.

He was forced to leave his first wife, for fear of his life; she was a devil in human shape. The second had sold him to a Prussian recruiting party, and he had the misfortune to lose his hearing at the Battle of Rosbach. The third, who was a spendthrift tippler, soon reduced him from the comfortable situation he was in when he had the misfortune to marry her, to a state of beggary. The fourth, whom he espoused at Hamburg, betrayed him into the hands of the Dutch recruiters for the VOC and he was sent by them as a soldier to Negapatnam. He there married his fifth wife."

After the travels across the island, and upon his return to Jaffna, he found that Anna had eloped to Ceylon with a rich businessman. So much for fidelity. Haafner also left Ceylon and proceeded to Calcutta in Bengal, the centre of British administration. He found a job as a bookkeeper to the former Governor of Benares, Joseph Fowke, and was active in the international trade that connected Bengal with the rest of Asia. He does not write much on his activities in Calcutta, but from the correspondence with Fowke in the archives of the British East India Company we have been able to more or less reconstruct his life. In early 1786, he suddenly left Calcutta for a journey in a palanquin along the coast southwards.

This journey is entertainingly described in the magnificent 2 volume *Reize in eenen Palanquin* (Travels in a palanquin), his best book. It contains fascinating descriptions of the Indian landscape, people, religious customs and ancient architecture. The piece de resistance, however, is the love affair with the Indian dancer, Mamia. After her tragic death, Haafner decided to return to Europe. He did so via Mauritius where he ended up in a terrible cyclone. I will quote from his description to give you another example of how he painted nature. "On the night of January 14th 1787, at long last after a deadly and eerie silence of several hours, the cyclone hits the



Figure 9. Engraving by Reinier Vinkeles executed on the basis of the drawing by Jacob Haafner of his girlfriend, the devdasi Mamia. 1809. 20 × 15 cm. Photo Cindy Bakker.

island with so much force and creating such an incredible noise that it is impossible to give even the slightest idea of it. You cannot compare it to anything else. Heaven and earth vanished from sight. The roaring and howling of the cyclone would have filled the heart of the bravest person with fear. Occasionally the persistent rumbling of thunder, and the sound of houses collapsing in the neighbourhood, drowned out its tumult. The wind seemed to come from all directions and after it abated a little, it seemed as if it gathered fresh strength from all the corners of the world."

He departed shortly afterwards; travelling via South Africa, France and Germany he finally returned to Amsterdam, where he settled permanently in 1790. It is difficult to believe that he was only 36 years at the time of his return.

Indian among Indians

The central theme of his travel stories is his life in India, his travels in that country, his contacts with the inhabitants, the customs of the people and the landscape. What image does he present of it? He quite simply adored it; he idealised the country and its people. By way of contrast, he criticised the Europeans, the English mostly, for causing havoc and suffering among the population. The Europeans invariably are the bad guys of the play. They turned Asia into a European penal colony: "Rascals, squanderers, criminals, bankrupts, and other bad people, every one runs to the Indies, to oppress the poor Indians, to plunder them, and to kill them." No other contemporary writer ever criticised colonialism more adamantly and more vehemently than Jacob Haafner did. The Indians, in turn, are praised for their noble and humanitarian way of life. Haafner read Rousseau, praised the ideal of vegetarianism and severely disliked hunting and the killing of animals, which he saw as characteristic of the Indian way of life. He immediately converted to vegetarianism himself and did not want to hunt anymore, although he always had been – until the moment of his conversion – an ardent hunter.

Haafner also admired the Indian princes, especially the monarch of Mysore, Haidar Ali. It was he who was wrecking the power of the English in India. He was depicted by Haafner as a freedom fighter, almost in the same manner as twentieth century intellectuals once admired Fidel Castro as the lonely, heroic fighter against US imperialism. Haafner was proud of almost being an Indian among the Indians. He saw himself as blended in with his Indian environment; fused with India and its inhabitants. Not being recognised as a European or a white man, that is what he liked most. "I had to laugh that this man mistook me for a mestizo. It is true, I entirely had the attitude and appearance of a mestizo. Not only was I without socks and shoes, but my face was burnt by the sun and I spoke the Tamil language fluently and properly."

What Haafner describes in his stories are the mixed, international communities of Indians, other Asians, Europeans of various nationalities and mestizos, inhabiting the coastal regions of India, in which he himself lived with such ease and pleasure. Particularly the small city of Sadraspatnam, where he worked for two years until the English conquest put an end to it, is depicted in all its colourful aspects. What he liked was the absence of any form of pretentiousness, ceremonialism and conventionalism, so typical of Dutch society, where everything was organised according to hierarchy and status. In Sadraspatnam he lived in a socially mixed society, with parties and picnics at night, in an exuberant and elated atmosphere.

While travelling, Haafner divided his attention equally between nature and culture. He visited old temples and other shrines and sanctuaries, often ruins, and depicted them himself. Both in his love of the pluriform culture of the people, and in his fascination with nature and ancient history, he appears to us as a romanticist. In addition to the people, the landscape and nature of India evoked vehement emotions in Haafner. In his *Travels in a Palanquin* his description of the Indian nature is almost religious in fervour and emotion, with the literary description of an overwhelming sunrise serving as a climax. It reads as an ode to nature, to the sun, and the message is: how insignificant and trivial human life is, and how majestic and sublime nature is.

Another strong point of Haafner as a writer is his sense of humour. He might idealise the Indians and the Indian society, but his sense of humour guaranteed that he never went too far in this. He had a good feel for the bizarre and grotesque, and he described people and events with a sense of irony. His language is expressive and evocative, his style the unparalleled result of a mixture of common sense and melodrama, and hyperbole is probably his most favourite trope. His world is populated with odd characters who constantly run into the most peculiar situations. That undoubtedly must be the reason that his work has sometimes been considered to be pure fantasy.

Travel Writing

Fifty years ago Percy Adams wrote a little, but influential, book that is still a classic: *Travelers and Travel Liars 1600-1800*. It discusses the historical reliability of the travelogue and discerns three categories. The first one is that of the true travel story, written by a traveller who has visited the places he describes. The second one is that of the imaginative travelogue, in which an author brings us to an invented world, e.g., Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*. The third one is that of the armchair traveller; he is the travel liar, who describes a journey or a foreign country without ever having visited it personally. Instead of making a journey himself, he stays safely at

home, consulting other travel stories and geographical descriptions and borrowing from them freely. The market for travel stories in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was undoubtedly as great as it is today and many travelogues appeared that were wholly or partly invented, or copied from other ones. Often artists added illustrations to the travel stories that were wholly artificial and showed only what Asia looked like in the imagination of the artist himself.

In Haafner's case it is quite clear that he was anything but an armchair traveller. During the preparation of the new edition of Haafner's works at the end of the previous century my colleague Jaap de Moor and I conducted as much archival research as possible, in order to verify what Haafner wrote about life, ships he was on, places he lived, jobs he had, friends he made. This research confirmed – even to our own surprise – much of what he tells in his stories. Documents of the National Archive in the Hague, but also the India Office Library in London and the Ceylonese archives in Colombo, show that all, or almost all, people he described, did in fact live in Asia and that they indeed held the jobs he attributed to them. We could successfully reconstruct his career as a VOC servant, and even found a receipt of the monthly rent for his house in Calcutta, where he lived as a free burgher.

In other respects, however, his work is certainly more literary, and closely follows the conventions and themes of his time. So we might conclude that Haafner described his own life and experiences with a certain accuracy, but that he did not hesitate, like many other writers, to borrow themes and stories from other books without mentioning his sources. Haafner was a writer who idolised India and its inhabitants. But this qualification doesn't really do him justice as, despite his fervent fascination with India, he nevertheless remained an independent and critical observer with an open mind and observant eye for the ridiculous aspects of life in that country. The mumbo-jumbo of all kinds of priests and religious functionaries, ascetics and denouncers of worldly matters, who tried to shake money out of the people's pockets through mysterious and obscure ceremonies, made him laugh. The servants of the Almighty were usually thoroughly disliked by him, whether they were Hindu, Catholic or Protestant.

Criminal Missionaries

That became obvious in 1807, when he published a treatise which caused consternation in ecclesial circles in the Netherlands. It is illustrative of Haafner's thinking and reflects what books he was studying and reading during his years in Amsterdam. It is called *Onderzoek naar het nut der Zendelingen en Zendelings-genootschappen* (Examination of the usefulness of missionaries and missionary societies). It was Haafner's submission for the essay contest organised by one of the oldest Dutch

scholarly societies, Teylers Godgeleerd Genootschap (Teylers Theological Society) in Haarlem. The Society had asked for essays answering the question: what has been the use of missionary work in the overseas world in the past and what could possibly be done to improve this work in the future?

Who could have been better equipped to answer the question than Jacob Haafner? In barely 100 pages he made mincemeat of the missionaries. According to him the world has never seen a more criminal and hypocritical group of people than the European missionaries. He points to all kinds of crimes and misbehaviour, quotes extensively from other authors who were just as critical on Christianity and the missions, such as Voltaire, and has only one good piece of advice for the future: if anywhere in Asia one particular group of people needs the beneficial effects of the Gospel, it certainly is the Europeans themselves, and them alone. But he issues a warning to the Society; if it were ever to send missionaries to evangelise the Europeans in Asia, these men should be fearless, because they would live in constant peril and fear of death. Haafner won the prize in 1805, but it took the cautious gentlemen of the Society two years before they had the book published in the prestigious series Verhandelingen (Transactions).

Haafner's way of thinking shocked his contemporaries. This can best be illustrated by the reactions to Haafner's treatise. This work, which can be viewed as his intellectual testament, was the topic of heated debates in missionary circles in the Netherlands, and four essays were written to refute his assertions. The authors tried to undermine Haafner's scientific and moral reputation and accused him of a lack of faith and of being opposed to missionary endeavours. They wrote that his historical knowledge of the mission was inadequate, that he had not used the politically correct sources and literature, but that when he did so, he quoted out of context, and that his way of thinking was based on false conceptions. Haafner's starting point was a respect for nature, and for the way of thinking and customs of indigenous populations. He invoked these aspects in order to show that attempts to convert these people would be fruitless.

Haafner, affirming other civilisations and putting them on equal footing with Christianity, rather than putting Western civilisation first, was utterly unacceptable to his contemporaries. When Haafner praised the Vedas as an original Hindu work, for instance, one of his critics stated that they had surely been borrowed from the Christian Scriptures. The critic maintained that the Vedas were a corruption of the Holy Scriptures, and that it was time to re-introduce the real Vedas, as this was what the Hindus were waiting for! It was difficult indeed for many of Haafner's contemporaries to appreciate or even understand the intercultural perspective of this original and profound thinker.

Haafner's work fell into oblivion over the course of the nineteenth century. Travel stories, in a way the precursors to the novel, were surpassed by the new

genre of novel during that century. There were periods, though, in which Haafner's work showed a revival, such as when the Germans during the Second World War discovered Haafner's dislike of the English, and decided to publish new editions of Haafner's work as a means of anti-English propaganda. The second revival was after the republication of his complete works and the publication of his biography in Dutch at the beginning of this century. A third revival could come when his biography is published in English, under the title: *Living under Palm Trees. The Sublime World of Jacob Haafner*. This would be ironic, but the Anglophobe Haafner would have been utterly amused.

The Painter Willem Imandt Revisited: A European Painter in Indonesia

The so-called Mooi Indië (Beautiful Indies) genre of painting has been both wrongfully neglected and scorned. The paintings were mostly dismissed as the inadequate products of artists lacking in classical training. Willem Imandt (1882-1967), about whom little was known until recently, was one of the artists unjustly relegated to this poorly defined and unappreciated genre, which was most unfortunate as only a few years of his artistic development could in fact be categorised as Beautiful Indies. Just a handful of his paintings found their way into museums, yet many of his pieces have fortunately been preserved in private collections.

Original source: Velde, Paul van der. 2013 "The Painter Willem Imandt Revisited: A Dutch Painter in Indonesia". *The Newsletter* 64, Summer. 6-7.

Increasing Interest

The number of publications on Dutch East Indies art reflects the increased interest in foreign painters working in Indonesia. This interest comes mostly from well-to-do Indonesians who have started to appreciate the colonial period paintings by western artists. Add to that number the more than half-a-million strong "Indo" population of Dutch-Indonesians who fled Indonesia after it became independent in 1949. Auction houses took notice and now conduct auctions for "Indonesian" art, whilst galleries in the Malay world organise exhibitions of colonial paintings on a regular basis. Dutch museums also became actively involved; their approaches noticeably changed from "colonial" to "mutually culturally influential". The contours of this shift towards a mutual appreciation started appearing at the beginning of the 1960s.

Renewed Appreciation

Said appreciation became clear in the monumental five-volume *Paintings and Statues from the Collection of President Sukarno of the Republic of Indonesia* (1964) edited by one of the most famous Indies painters, Lee Man Fong. The focus of the book was on the work of Indonesian painters, but western artists are very much present. With five paintings Imandt is well-represented. This publication is likely the reason for the revaluation of paintings made in/of Indonesia, and the increased interest in them. In 1967, J.H. Maronier published *Pictures of the Tropics*, which mainly deals with pictorial art in the Dutch Indies. One year later the ground-breaking work

by J. de Loos-Haaxman, *Veraat Rapport Indië*, appeared. She was a curator of the Bataviasche Kunstkring (Batavian Art Group) and knew Imandt personally. Imandt sits at the top of her list of Dutch artists in Indonesia because his contemporaries considered him to be the most famous artist on Java in the 1920s. J. Bastin and B. Brommer published their classic, *Nineteenth century prints and illustrated books of Indonesia*, in 1979. Then in 1995, the art dealers L. Haks and G. Maris published the quite handy *Lexicon of foreign artists who visualized Indonesia (1600-1950)*, which lists more than 3,000 foreign artists active in Indonesia during that period, and holds about 600 illustrations. The publication gives a varied impression of 350 years of painting and illustrating in the archipelago.

The Canon

Three years thereafter *Indië omlijst* (1998) appeared, containing an inventory of the 400-plus oil paintings in the Tropenmuseum (Museum of the Tropics, Amsterdam). In the past twenty years a number of monographs, of varying quality, have been published about artists active in The Indies. None of them were Beautiful Indies painters. All subjects belong to the group of classically trained artists, who in the course of time were considered by art historians to belong to the canon; these included Walter Spies, Rudolf Bonnet, Adolf Breetvelt, Pieter Ouburg, Charles Sayers and Isaac Israëls. According to the art historian Koos van Brakel, "They transcended the general conservatism in East Indies painting" (Van Brakel 2004). Jokingly I refer to them as the "Not Beautiful Indies painters", to differentiate from the "Beautiful Indies painters". Belonging to this latter group – according to Van Brakel – were Ernest Dezentjé, Carel Dake and Leonard Eland (Zweers 2012: 8-9). He made no mention of Imandt at that time, nor did he question whether these painters were aware of developments in the European art world, but he suggested they were not.

Cursed Beautiful Indies

The art critic J. Tielrooy wrote an article in 1930 that is still quoted today: "The Indies in the art of drawing and painting". He aimed his venomous arrow at the painter Dezentjé: "Who would not know Dezentjé? […] He paints paddy-fields, the water is silvery, the little dikes are green and in the background he paints mountains which invariably have a dark blue hue. The coconut tree is omnipresent and on the horizon yearning yellows melt together with poetic reds" (Tielrooy 1930: 1-10). Tielrooy's acerbic criticism on the Beautiful Indies painters influences art historians to this

very day. However, that criticism did not diminish the demand for the Beautiful Indies paintings. On the contrary; tourists, expats, wealthy Javanese and Chinese bought their work in vast quantities. In contrast to the academic painters, who only briefly stayed in the Indies, Beautiful Indies painters were much more rooted in the country, either by birth (Eland and Dezentjé) or through their work, such as Imandt. It seems as if the "Not Beautiful Indies painters" remained in a Western frame of mind, painting their cubist or surrealist paintings in The Indies, while the Beautiful Indies painters worked with an Indies frame of mind, taking pleasure from the Javanese subject matter.

Subject Matter

Mostly they painted locals, in particular Javanese and Balinese women with bare breasts, or scantily dressed males. During the first half of the twentieth century nudity was considered "not done" in bourgeois circles, except when it was set against an exotic background; this namby-pamby kitsch adorned many a Dutch sitting room! Imandt's paintings are completely devoted to the Indonesian landscape. This landscape not only fascinated the Europeans; both in Buddhism and Hinduism, mountains are considered to be spiritual places enabling contact between the world of the gods and men, mediating between this world and the heavens. Perhaps the Beautiful Indies painters (un)intentionally reflected their spiritual ties with Indonesia in their illustrations. Imandt made it perfectly clear that he produced the ridiculed paintings purely for practical reasons, although he also admittedly liked to produce works that did not conform to public taste. He was the only painter in Indonesia to ever write a short treatise on painting in Indonesia: "An Indies painting should have paddy-fields and coconut trees. How we are reproached if we do not include them!! I for my part prefer to paint one giant tree instead of all those coconut trees and paddy-fields. For sure, I have painted a tremendous amount of paddy-fields and coconut trees because a painter has to earn money in order to support one's family" (Imandt 1926: 338-339).

Imandt Signs up for the East

Imandt was born the eldest son of a primary school headmaster in the catholic village St. Jansteen, which was notorious for its malaria-infested wetlands and woods. His father played an important role in the budding cultural and sportive life of the village. He was the founder of the theatre and brass band, and the ice skating and bicycle societies. At an early age Willem was already showing artistic talents,

but it was after his uncle returned from The Indies (where he had been employed as a carpenter), full of stories about "the Netherlands beyond the horizon", that Willem must have started to dream about volcanoes, mountains and banyan trees, which he would later depict in his paintings. In 1901 he moved to Amsterdam where he fulfilled his military service, and followed lessons at the Municipal College of Education. He moved in artistic circles, influenced by the so-called Amsterdam School of painting, with famous representatives such as Willem Breitner.

In 1904 he returned home and taught at various primary schools, whilst in his spare time managed to obtain his drawing diploma at the State College of Education in The Hague. At this time he painted his first oil paintings of lakes and woods, which were influenced by the so-called The Hague school – an influence that is evident in his first Indies paintings. After falling in love with singer Eliza Robijns he returned to Amsterdam. In 1908 he applied for a job as a primary school teacher for the colonial services, and after getting married, he and Eliza soon departed to the Indies on an ocean liner. The colony provided a favourable economic climate, which offered artists increasing possibilities, further facilitated by an expanding network of art circles (Van der Velde 2015: 4-17 / Van der Velde 2009: 7-10).

De Reflector as Beautiful Indies Platform

Imandt started painting his first Indies work during his first appointment in the colony (at a public primary school in Sulawesi). Their eldest of five children was born in Makassar in 1910; in the same year he was appointed to the Dutch-Chinese school in Yogyakarta on Java. He left the colonial service in 1916 and from then until he was pensioned in 1929 (aged 47), he was headmaster and drawing teacher at several catholic schools on Java. In 1916 his paintings depicting lakes, mountains, volcanoes, gorges and ancient structures such as the Borobudur, were on view at the Yogyakarta Art Circle. His working method involved making sketches in situ, which he later developed into paintings in his atelier. At that time his paintings lacked both mastery of composition and colouring; the first review (1917) I was able to trace was by no means laudatory: "The painter Imandt, notorious because of his evening airs and mountains, can be ignored" (*De Taak*: 2017) In 1919 an article was published in the popular magazine *De Reflector*, in its series Mooi Indië (*De Reflector* 1919: 754). From it we cannot only conclude that his work had ripened, but also that he had become a talked-about painter. He was labelled a hard and talented worker who had thoroughly studied the Indies landscape.

Imandt himself later confirmed that it indeed required intensive study before one could portray an Indies landscape: "If you want to paint The Indies, you have to live there for a long time" (Imandt 1926: 338). With its series "Mooi Indië" the editors

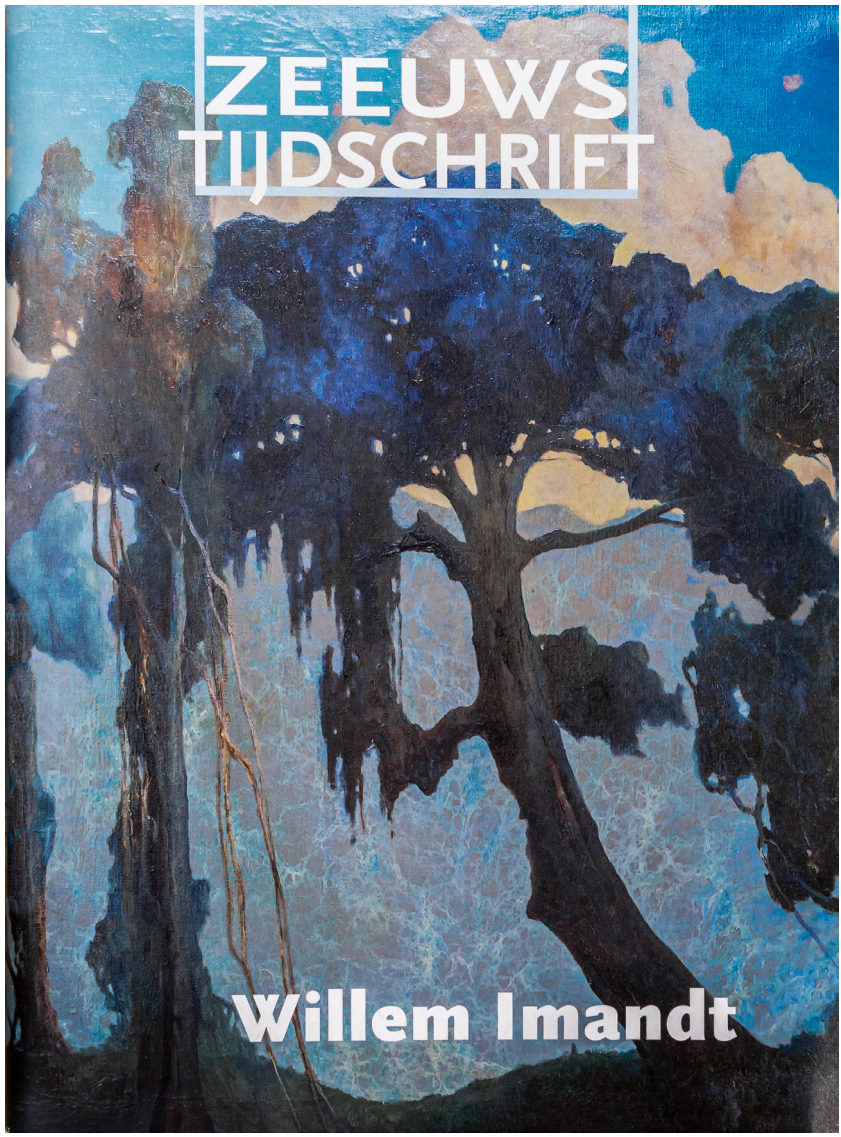


Figure 10. Willem Imandt, *Trees in the Preanger*. 1933. Oil on canvas, 90 × 110 cm. Collection Vortex. Cover *Zeeuws Tijdschrift* 65-6/7. Cover design: Pharos, Monique van Hootegem. Photo Cindy Bakker.

of *De Reflector* wanted to increase interest for art produced in The Indies itself. The series can be viewed both as a platform and name-giver of the Beautiful Indies painters such as Dake, Dezentjé, Eland, and Imandt, whose works were frequently published in the volumes appearing between 1916 and 1920. Their work showed many resemblances; and though they did not form a school, they were linked through the readers of *De Reflector*. Unfortunately, the positive appreciation of the Beautiful Indies did not last for very long, as mentioned earlier. In the literature these artists are always haphazardly grouped and negatively valued. Seemingly, painters who did not fit the "criteria" of the canon were muddled together onto the Beautiful Indies heap. Yet, his early work that already saw him labelled, turned out to be just the start of Imandt's rich development.

Imandt the Great Painter Here!

A week after the above quoted article appeared in *De Reflector* the art critic who had written the first traceable review of Imandt completely readjusted his opinion about the artist: "Imandt, whose work I reviewed earlier, has tremendously improved. Before his paintings were devoid of strength and pluck, which is now completely the opposite" (*Weekblad voor Indië* 1919). From this we can conclude that in a very short period he had become an esteemed artist. The height of recognition for an Indies painter was to be invited to the yearly August exhibition of the Art Circle of Batavia, which was founded in 1902. Imandt made his debut at the 1920 exhibition, at which 20 artists exhibited. In addition, his paintings were sold for impressive amounts – a small painting went for 150 guilders and the bigger formats for as much as 450 guilders (a year's income for a labourer at that time).

In 1922 Imandt met and frequently socialised with famous Dutch impressionist Isaac Israëls, who visited The Indies on and off. In a letter to the painter Willem Witsen, written by Israëls, it was clear that the interactions could occasionally be too much: "Otherwise nobody is here. Sometimes you long to see someone else than "Imandt the Great Painter here!" (Witsen: 1922). Besides the playful pun (Imandt sounds like the word "somebody" in Dutch), Israëls' remark also lays bare a certain occupational jealousy; in contrast to Imandt, he was a nobody in The Indies. Imandt was at the height of his fame. The brother-in-law of Queen Wilhelmina, the Duke of Mecklenburg, and the Captain of the Chinese in Surabaya, Han, all paid a visit to his atelier in 1923 and all commissioned paintings. "We had the opportunity to view and appreciate his highly artistic and colourful work depicting the beautiful nature of the Preanger and elsewhere" (*Java Bode*: 12 April 1923). In the respected art gallery H. Bos in The Hague, Imandt found an outlet for his work in Europe. Upon his return to patria in 1929, Bos organised a solo exhibition of his work; the

show lasted four months and was sold out (*Het Vaderand*: 1 June 1929). By the time Imandt settled with his family in Sint-Gillis-Waas – near his birthplace – he was considered a nabob and one of the most famous painters of The Indies.

Final Years

He could now fully concentrate on his painterly work. The Indies remained his most preferred topic, but following his later travels around the Mediterranean his work took on an Orientalist aspect. When not travelling he led a secluded life, working on his oeuvre in his glass-domed atelier. Here he reached full maturity and the works he painted during this period are considered his best. He sold his paintings mostly to relatives, but after being "discovered" by a local journalist, he started selling outside his closest circle of acquaintances. His paintings at this time depicted mostly seascapes of the Mediterranean Sea or the North Sea. These works are overpowering because of their sheer size, but also because of the solitude emanating from them, reminiscent of Casper David Friedrich. With the impending threat of a new world war, and with his sons already working in The Indies, Imandt decided to return in 1938. He continued to paint and his works still sold, but not at the rate he was used to. The new-found idyll was rudely disturbed by the Japanese invasion in 1942. He was interned in a Japanese camp, where he could not work, while his archive of sketches and notes was destroyed. He returned penniless to the Netherlands in 1946. He kept on painting, but interest in Indies paintings had almost completely dried up.

In 1954 however, aged 72, Imandt was honoured with an exhibition in the rooms of Hoogovens (a blast-furnace company, presently Tata Steel) in the city of IJmuiden. The main part of the exhibition was devoted to his Indies paintings, and as a painter of volcanoes he could not have wished for a better décor. The reviewer wrote: "It is difficult not to wax poetic when seeing this part of the world, as Imandt depicted it. The typical atmosphere of the tropics and the bright light that brings out a special depth in all colours: the deep blue of the tropical skies, the lively green of the sea. Imandt painted it with great mastery. The East comes alive when we see it through the painterly eyes of Imandt" (Anon. 1954).

Imandt died in 1967, when appreciation for paintings originating in the former colony was at its lowest. But the revaluation of those paintings has again shown a spectacular rise in the past twenty years. That unfortunately does not necessarily apply to the Beautiful Indies painters, or those relegated to the miscellaneous heap of leftovers, constructed by art historians. Surprisingly though, van Brakel in his article on Beautiful Indies painting (in the catalogue of the exhibition "Beyond the Dutch" in the Central Museum in Utrecht) writes: "The Indies art of painting has

been neglected for a long time and when something was written about it, it was primarily in a negative way. The Indies art of painting deserves, as part of the colonial history and as shared cultural heritage of the Netherlands and Indonesia, a place in the art of painting in both countries" (Van Brakel 2009: 50-59). But perhaps Indies painting deserves even more than that. As Imandt pointed out: "The Indies palette derives its own cachet from shades and shifts in colour, which simply do not exist in the West" (Imandt 1926: 338-339). In a future monograph I hope to show how Imandt developed from a Beautiful Indies painter into one with a recognisable signature, not only unsurpassed in the rendering of the magic nature and landscape of Indonesia, but also as a seascape painter in the best Dutch tradition (Van der Velde 2015).

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CHAPTER 4

The Post-Colonial Meeting of Asia and Europe

Cultural Rapprochement between Asia and Europe

In this article the author discussed a series of presentations by leading figures from the political and academic worlds in the mid-late 1990s, which were published in an IIAS volume on prospects for Asia-Europe cultural rapprochement.

Original source: Velde, Paul van der. 1998. "Cultural Rapprochement between Asia and Europe: An Introduction". *Cultural Rapprochement between Asia and Europe: Five Essays on the Asia-Europe Relationship*, edited by Velde, Paul van der. Leiden: International Institute for Asian Studies. 9-13. IIAS Lecture Series 7.

The Road to Greater Understanding

The complementarity of Europe and Asia was stressed by the Prime Minister of Singapore, Goh Chok Tong, in his address entitled: "The Asia-Europe Dialogue: the Road to Greater Understanding", delivered at the Egmont Palace for the Belgian Royal Institute of International Relations in Brussels on 14 October 1996. The first part of his address was devoted to the importance of strengthening the economic ties and security relations between both continents, a matter which was a key topic at the first Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) in Bangkok in March 1996. This was itself the outcome of several preparatory meetings between Asian and European resource persons, notably the Asia-Europe Forum in Venice in January 1996.

The second part of his address concerned the cultural-scientific dimension of the Asia-Europe relationship. In efforts to forge a durable relationship, Goh portrayed cultural rapprochement as being of equal importance to the intensification of economic ties. In fact the one was closely related to the other. He delineated three stages in this cultural rapport process. In the first or networking phase, the gaps in knowledge of each other's cultures should be filled. In this period the organisational infrastructure of Asian and European Studies should be strengthened and high-level meetings of resource persons should lead to the intensification of the internationalisation of these studies. This was clearly a phase through which we

were then passing. The next phase was seen as permeated by constructive dialogue in which common concerns should take center stage in the discussions. The third or consensus-building phase, in which civil society had a major role to play, was seen as the time when shared values developed.

The Third Dimension of the Asia-Europe Relationship

Wim Stokhof, director of the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) and secretary of the European Science Foundation Asia Committee (ESF-AC) delivered his lecture "The third Dimension of the Asia-Europe Relationship: Reflections on Asian and European Studies in Europe", during the conference "Asia-Europe: Strengthening the Informal Dialogues" organised by the Institute Français des Relations Internationales (IFRI) in Paris on 5-6 November 1996. In this lecture Stokhof labelled cultural and scientific rapprochement as the "third dimension of Asia-Europe relations" (the other dimensions being trade and security). Stokhof saw a trend in which European Studies, previously concentrated on European Law, Economics, and Political and Administrative Science were becoming less and less inward-looking. Likewise Asian Studies in Europe, formerly backward-looking in nature and concentrating on the uniqueness and cultural diversity of Asian countries on the basis of generally held theories of development, now focused more on research into the similarities between European and Asian cultures. Stokhof made a cogent plea for long-term research programmes addressing broad issues which would pay appropriate attention to historical foundations and then move on to predict their future developments in the global, triangular context. The institutionalisation of such a joint research effort would then bear fruit in the building up of a pool of Asian and European resource persons working together in fully fledged multifunctional European institutes in Asia and Asian institutes in Europe. These persons and centers could usher in the constructive dialogue phase outlined by Goh Chok Tong.

Asianisation and Westernisation

The contribution of Tommy Svensson, director of the Nordic Institute of Asian Studies (NIAS) and chairman of the ESF-AC, entitled "Prospects for Improved Pacific and Asia-Europe Cooperation in Research, Education, and Culture", was presented in Leiden at the Dutch Diplomat's Day, 24 August 1996. There Svensson analysed the reasons why there was, until the recent resurgence, hardly any interest about Asia in Europe. He traced this lack of interest back to the framework of thinking associated with the Enlightenment, which came to consider all non-European

civilisations as inferior. This perspective was further reinforced by the nineteenth century evolutionist view on history, in which progress was the key concept. Western civilisation backed by its technological superiority was the yardstick by which to measure all other civilisations. This intellectual climate, he argued, not only influenced important nineteenth-century thinkers but exerted its influence on Western intellectuals down to the present-day.

Svensson saw two possible scenarios for the development of the Asia-Europe relationship. One was the confrontational scenario in which Europe saw Asia as a threat and, in order to reinforce that idea, kept pointing to low wages, child labour, and the alleged lack of human rights in Asia. In the other, more positive scenario, Asia was seen as a challenge and an opportunity, with the emphasis shifted to the similarities between both cultures and the development of common values in a shared learning process in which the under-utilised resource of approximately 10,000 Asianists in Europe would play an important role. It was clear that Svensson opted for the second scenario, in which cooperation with thinkers from Asia would ultimately create the social, cultural, and intellectual framework for political and economic interaction between Europe and Asia.

Eurasia

François Godement, senior research associate at IFRI and professor at the French National Institute of Oriental Languages and Civilisations (INALCO), also delivered his lecture, "The Key to an Asia-Europe Partnership Lies in Europe", during the Dutch Diplomats' Day. Godement focused more on trade and security aspects of the future Asia-Europe relationship, which he considered to be the missing link in international relations; the creation of ASEM having sent a clear signal that outlived, reciprocal prejudices should be relegated to the past. Taking a European perspective on the Asia-Europe relationship, Godement saw a convergence of the initiatives made towards achieving a common European foreign and security policy with an awareness in Europe of the rise of Asia. In this perspective, the Asia-Europe relationship could provide a test of the truth. Only the realisation of a joint European vision of the shape such a relationship must assume could lead to a European offer for cooperation both in economic and security fields. Meanwhile, European businessmen should strive to create a commercial network similar to that which Americans and Asians have been forging over recent decades. In this process, Godement also saw a role for European academicians once they had overcome the rift between orientalist and Asia-oriented research, which severely hampered the study of contemporary Asia. He blamed this on the frame of mind outlined by Svensson. Although basically sound, Godement's assertion that the

Asian perception of Europe, which is one of consumers visiting a cultural museum, may be an exaggeration *pour la bonne cause*.

Towards a New Civilisation

The article by the Japanese author and politician Shintaro Ishihara, entitled "Towards a New Civilization" is a reworked version of the lecture he gave at the Dutch Diplomats' Day. Ishihara was one of the leading figures in the Asian values movement and co-author, with the Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohammed, of the bestseller *The Voice of Asia: Two Leaders Discuss the Coming Century*. In his article Ishihara showed himself to be an outspoken proponent of an Asian model of capitalism, which he saw as a challenge to alleged Western domination and as a vindication of the ancient civilisations of Asia. Ishihara signalled the retreat of the West and an increasing dynamism in Asia, thriving on shared Asian values. Those values would, Ishihara claimed, have a great influence on those values which would ultimately crystallise from a fusion with those of the West.

The emphasis Ishihara gave to Asian values seems to have fallen victim to events. At least this is the conclusion one can gather from the other contributions to this volume, all of which point more in the direction of a cultural rapprochement in which mutual trust and the development of shared values were high on the agenda of the Asia-Europe relationship.



Figure 11. Covers of *Cultural Rapprochement between Asia and Europe*, *ASEM: A Window of Opportunity* and *Asian-European Perspectives*. Photo Cindy Bakker.

ASEM: A Window of Opportunity

In this article, co-authored with Wim Stokhof, director of the IIAS, Paul van der Velde introduced and situated in their proper context a series of papers published by Kegan Paul International on the future prospects and developments of ASEM, the Asia-Europe Meeting.

Original source: Stokhof, Wim and Velde, Paul van der. 1998. "ASEM: A Window of Opportunity". *ASEM: A Window of Opportunity*, edited by Stokhof, Wim and Velde, Paul van der, 1-9. London: Kegan Paul International.

The Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) is a unique interregional forum which consists of six members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), along with China, Japan, South Korea and the 15 members of European Union (EU). ASEM officially came into being at the first summit, held in Bangkok in 1996. It was born out of the necessity, felt as much in Europe as in Asia, of improving the dialogue between both continents, which had been neglected since the end of decolonisation. Although there had been contacts at the level of foreign ministries between ASEAN and the EU dating from the late 1970s, they were of a rhetorical nature and lacked substance. This changed with the inauguration of ASEM. In general the process was considered by both parties involved as a way of fortifying the relations between Asia and Europe, a necessity to balance the triangular world (US, Asia and Europe) of the 21st century. We can begin to distinguish its main components which were, by far, more substantial than the talks between Europe and Asia before the inauguration of ASEM.

The main components of the process included political dialogue, security, business, education and culture. Since the first meeting of heads of state in Bangkok there were a number of follow-up meetings on all of these topics. Political bodies generated some of the meetings, but others spontaneously came into being. A number of the participating countries, realising the importance of the process, created ASEM sections within their respective ministries of foreign affairs in order to closely monitor the multi-faceted ASEM process. This was increasingly propelled by the many new opportunities for communication offered by the rapidly developing information technology boom.

Notwithstanding this positive start, ASEM remained a loosely organised process, making it an easy target for sceptics who often pointed to its non-focused nature. They were of the opinion that only the creation of a more formal body could secure the momentum of ASEM. Steps in the direction of formalisation led to, for example, the creation of the Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF) in Singapore in 1997. The ASEF aimed to increase dialogue between Asia and Europe at all levels of society. Other initiatives such as the Asia-Europe Business Forum (AEBF) and

the Senior Officials Meeting on Trade and Development (SOMTI) also offered the possibility of developing into more formalised bodies. Still the meetings of a more informal nature far outnumbered the formalised ones and could be viewed as a token of the enthusiasm which the process generated.

The articles considered here are a clear reflection of the more informal side of the ASEM process, although not uniquely so. They were written by Asian and European politicians and academics involved in the process from its very beginning and all share the most important belief underlying the ASEM process, namely that it was based on partnership and equality. The contributions deal with a variety of topics such as security, economy, politics, education, culture, exchange of information and so forth. Of course these articles do not cover the whole spectrum of the ASEM process but they do give us an idea of what was not only an exciting experiment but a development which could also be construed as the beginning of a new era in the relationship between Asia and Europe.

The articles were loosely grouped around four themes: The Politicians' View of ASEM; Improving Mutual Contact between Asia and Europe; Challenges and Problem Areas; and the Future of ASEM. The first three articles were concerned with the political dimension of the ASEM process as considered by a Minister of State, a Director for Relations with Far Eastern Countries of the European Commission, and a Euro-parliamentarian. Their contributions touched upon the various levels at which the political dialogue took place.

The Politicians' View of ASEM

Derek Fatchett, in his article "Setting the Agenda for ASEM 2: From Bangkok to London via Singapore", reflected upon the Agenda of ASEM 2, held from 2-4 April 1998 in London. He clearly saw a special role in the ASEM process for the United Kingdom in bridging the gaps between Asia and Europe since it had been a long-time trading partner of Asia and because its economy enjoyed much Asian investment. One of the aims of the British government was to further increase the level of collegiality among the countries of ASEM, which was already high during the Bangkok meeting. This became known as the "Spirit of Bangkok".

According to Fatchett, ASEM was unique because of the strong involvement of the business committees of Asia and Europe, as exemplified in AEBF. The involvement of business in the process would increase the prosperity of both regions and, in a roundabout manner, also stimulate political dialogue (including on sensitive issues such as human rights) which in Fatchett's eyes was at the heart of ASEM. Another cornerstone of the future success of ASEM would be the broadening and deepening of educational exchanges between Asia and Europe. This was the most

effective way of challenging existing prejudices and nurturing new relationships. In this context Fatchett pointed to ASEF as a catalyst in stimulating cultural, educational, intellectual, and people-to-people contacts.

Percy Westerlund brought out the European Commission's perspective on how links between Europe and Asia could be intensified in his article "Strengthening of Europe-Asian Relations: ASEM as a catalyst". Although clearly optimistic about ASEM, he saw three possible traps: the setting of unrealistic goals; proliferation of follow-up meetings; and holding summits too often. Of these three he considered the risk of proliferation the most dangerous because he felt the process would then run the risk of losing its focus. In this context, Westerlund pleaded for a structural approach along the lines of the comprehensive framework programmes applied by the EU, in which priorities are clearly delineated. The establishment in 1997 of the Vison Group, which consisted of resource persons from both continents, was designed to lead to the formulation of such a programme, to be presented during ASEM 3 in Seoul in the year 2000.

Although not necessarily in order of importance, Westerlund saw three priority areas: trade and investment; culture, education and personal exchange; and political dialogue. In the field of trade and investment there were two main forums: the AEBF and SOMTI. Their task was to forge a Euro-Asian alliance in support of a more ambitious and global approach, and to advise the ASEM leaders and governments on how to improve economic ties. The SOMTI in turn would be fed by two advisory groups, which would report on a Trade Facilitation Action Plan (TFAP) and an Investment Promotion Asia Plan (IPAP).

While the articles of Fatchett and Westerlund were written from a perspective of international politics, Michael Hindley, in his article "Involving Politicians in the Political Dialogue: A Parliamentarian Perspective", dealt with the question of how politicians should translate the ASEM process to the voters and subsequently generate enthusiasm for a fairly abstract phenomenon. Politics which seems to be rational and explicable at an interregional level did not necessarily always translate into positive scenarios at a local level. The lifting of measures restricting imports from Asia might well be conducive to the ASEM process but if in practice it boiled down to, for example, the foreclosure of a plant with hundreds of workers in a parliamentarian's constituency, it was very difficult for the politician involved to explain the grander political scheme and even more difficult for him to be re-elected.

While such eventualities might diminish popular support for ASEM, Hindley was also aware of the possibilities of democratising the ASEM dialogue and commercial relationship by involving Europe's population of Asian extraction in that dialogue. The European-Asians could play a key role in widening the ASEM dialogue, as could the politicians who represented them. Notwithstanding the fact that Hindley clearly understood the role of European-Asians in the process, he was not convinced that

the advantages of a deeper understanding of each other's cultures was bound to improve the economic ties between Asia and Europe. However, many other people involved in the dialogue attached great value to the role culture could play in bridging the existing gaps between Asia and Europe. Wim Stokhof was one such person.

Improving Mutual Contact between Asia and Europe

In his contribution, "Bringing the Communities Together: What More Can Be Done?" Stokhof focused on the mediating role culture can play in increasing mutual understanding between Europe and Asia. Cultural rapprochement could only enhance economic growth and deepen the political consensus. Knowledge of each other's culture would augment our capacity to recognise prevailing stereotypes and to replace them by ideas and images more deeply rooted in contemporary realities. In order to be able to measure the impact of the process to some extent, Stokhof called for a (permanent) survey executed across both regions which could fine-tune the process of cultural rapprochement.

Stokhof emphasised the critical role education plays in cultural sensitisation. Thus exposure to each other's culture should, he considered, begin at the secondary school level through the teaching of language and culture, with the introduction of one-year exchange fellowships for secondary school students in Asia or Europe. At the university and institutional level, long-term joint research programmes on matters of interregional importance needed to be carried out by mixed groups of Asian and European researchers with disciplinary backgrounds in the Humanities, Social Sciences and technological fields. The formation of strategic alliances between European and Asian research institutes was one means to pave the way for such a development.

András Hernádi, in his article "Increasing Opportunities for Greater Contact: Asia and Eastern Europe", looked at various possible ways to improve contacts between Asia and Eastern Europe. He drew a parallel between ASEM and Central Europe in the sense that ASEM was the missing link in a triangular power equation. In turn he considered Central Europe to be the missing link in ASEM itself. Central European countries were by no means the only countries interested in becoming members of ASEM. More than twenty Asian and European countries also wanted to join in. Hernádi pleaded for the inclusion of what he considered to be the core group of Central Eastern European countries: the Czech Republic, Poland, and Hungary.

Hernádi particularly looked at Hungarian relations with Asia. He predicted a shift of Asian investment from Western to Central Europe, which was more attractive in view of its low wage costs. Added to that, Hungary was a regional centre for tourism, banking and finance. Hernádi quoted three other assets of Hungary:

its openness and multicultural set up; the Hungarian diaspora feeding back to Hungary; and the Hungarians' entrepreneurial and hardworking attitude. He was strongly in favour of increasing bilateral contacts with Asian countries by setting up centres in Asia, which would combine diplomatic, commercial, educational and cultural efforts.

César de Prado Yepes, in his article "Connecting ASEM to the Global Information Society (GIS)", discussed a very important aspect of ASEM's future. The emergence of GIS created a much wider range of opportunities for contact than ever before. Furthermore, those opportunities did not involve great expenditure. De Prado Yepes, like Westerlund, pleaded for the adoption of EU-like framework programs to achieve more focus. For example, in the sphere of communications there were endeavours such as the Golden Bridge Infrastructure Project aiming at the informatisation of China using advanced fiber-optic satellite technologies. De Prado Yepes also strongly favoured the creation of more Internet gateways in Europe and Asia because most Internet traffic searching the fastest route to its destination found its way through the US when flowing back and forth between Asia and Europe.

Challenges and Problem Areas

Dong Ik-Shin and Gerald Segal, in their contribution "Getting Serious about Asia-Europe Security Cooperation", sought a more engaged approach within the ASEM towards security if it wished to achieve a well-balanced global triangular relationship. Although Asia and Europe did not play an important role in each other's security context, they did need to work more closely together in this arena. Segal and Dong pleaded for a flexible understanding of the word "security": economic and military dimensions could not be separated from security in an increasingly interdependent world. They distinguished between "hard security" and "soft security with a hard edge".

After the withdrawal of the colonial powers from Asia there remained little that could be labelled hard security apart from a few remnants of French and British presence in the area of the Five Power Defence Arrangements (FPDA) in which the UK, Singapore, Malaysia, Australia and New Zealand cooperated. The sale of sophisticated weapon systems, training and transfers of intelligence also fell into the "hard" category. After 1992, the European market share in arms-related sales to Pacific-Asia hovered around twenty per cent. Dong and Segal saw a sensible arms-transfer strategy of vital importance to security building in Asia. Defending a stable Pacific-Asia that remained open and connected to the global economy was a vital interest of Europe, which it should want to defend in order not to continue free-loading on the US.

In the field of "soft" security they saw three possible fields of cooperation in the ASEM context. European countries had wide experience in Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) which they could easily share with their Asian partners. Also, European countries were very familiar with preventive diplomacy to help prevent the emergence or escalation of conflicts, which could be carried out in the context of the United Nations (UN), in which one-third of the budget and one-third of the personnel for such UN operations was from Europe, with Asia's contribution rising. Peacekeeping within the UN framework could enhance the ASEM process.

Another problem area (but at the same time an opportunity) for closer cooperation was international corruption. Jong Bum Kim, in his article "Combating International Corruption: In Search of an Effective Role for ASEM", described recent international movements to combat corruption against the backdrop of multilateral efforts to develop a framework for investment liberalisation. In the process, Kim argued that ASEM could play a unique role by filtering the discussion on combating corruption before it reached multilateral rule-making bodies such as the World Trade Organisation (WTO). Kim proposed that ASEM should first take up the issue of combating international corruption before tackling domestic corruption issues. This had the advantage that the international community could avoid pointing fingers at corrupt behaviour in one particular country. Thus ASEM could first provide a balanced forum for raising consciousness of the adverse effects of corruption in international business and then make concrete proposals to combat it.

Tetsundo Iwakuni, in his contribution "Developing the Business Relationship between Asia and Europe: Trends and Challenges", made a clear distinction in the relationship between overall trends, trade related trends and capital market trends. He then focused in particular on the relationship between Europe and Japan, which he did not consider applicable to the rest of Asia. Iwakuni saw four major challenges affecting the future business relationship between Asia and Europe. These related to the environment, political culture, social ethics and education.

By far the biggest challenge lay in the field of education. Ikwakuni pointed out that it was of crucial importance that the opportunities for educational exchange between Europe and Asia be drastically enlarged. Educational exchange was essential in ensuring mutual understanding in the areas of language, culture, economy and plain people-to-people contacts. Without this two-way flow it would be impossible to improve the relationship. He considered it a challenge for non-English speaking countries in Europe to attract more Asian students. The number of Asians studying in Europe was a mere fraction of those studying in the US; while the number of European students studying in Asia was again a mere fraction of Asians studying in Europe. Not only the quantity but also the quality of the existing exchanges would have to be increased by including not only transfers of knowledge or technical skills but also the cultural background of the country

the students were living in. In sum, raising intercultural sensitivity by means of intercultural education was, in the eyes of Iwakuni, the paradigm on which the new Asia-Europe relationship should be founded.

The Future of ASEM

Zao Gancheng, in his article "Assessing China's Impact on Asia-EU Relations", first examined China's domestic development over the previous two decades and secondly discussed its open-door policy. He also discussed the important role China should play in the ASEM process. With its huge population and fast-growing market, China not only had a big influence on developments in Asia as a regional power but also increasingly as a global player. Clearly China would benefit most from a stable Asia-Pacific as the EU does, but cautioned that configurations at a regional level could interfere with those at a global level.

According to Zhao, China would work towards improving its relations with other Asian countries and with the EU, which could be done effectively within the ASEM context. Therefore China would further open its markets and liberalise its domestic economy, which in turn would stimulate the economic relations between the EU, ASEAN, Japan and South Korea. Not only economic benefits would be reaped from this improved relationship: it would also create an environment in which security matters such as arms control and non-proliferation could be put on the agenda of ASEM. Furthermore, the new dialogue between Asia and Europe would help to balance the emerging triangular power structure of the 21st century.

In the last contribution, "The Future of the ASEM Process: Who, How, Why, and What", Jürgen Rüland looked at the future of the ASEM process in practical terms. As to "who", it was no secret that a host of countries wanted to participate in the ASEM process for various reasons. Rüland singled out six categories of future participants: Australia and New Zealand; India and Pakistan; Russia; Eastern European countries; European Free Trade Association (EFTA) members; Myanmar and Laos. As a yardstick for future inclusion in the process, he used the argument that the candidates should not introduce new lines of conflicts which could endanger the process. In analysing the above-mentioned categories he did not anticipate danger in including Eastern European countries such as Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary, Australia and New Zealand, and even India and Pakistan because *détente* between the latter two countries would be in the interest of all existing ASEM members.

Rüland continued pleading for a moratorium on membership until the year 2000. However, applicants should be given observer status and the secretary-generals of overlapping regional organisations should be unconditionally admitted to

AEBF and ASEF. Furthermore, task forces should be formed which concentrated on the different aspects of the process. These in turn should feed back to the summits and the foreign ministers' meetings. In order to coordinate all activities, a modest secretariat should be set up and soon the allocation of the budgets would have to be sorted out.

Rüland put forward a number of arguments both of a theoretical and practical nature as to why the process was functional and positive for all parties involved. As such, the interregional approach in international relations promised to be the most fruitful in terms of efficiency. Multilateral bodies with too many players and too widely diverging interests had become unmanageable, with rounds of negotiations which could stretch out over decades. ASEM in particular could be a stimulus for the emerging triangular global power structure. Furthermore, it could clarify intra-regional positions on all kinds of topics and increase the efficiency of international decision making.

Practical motives from a European point of view to actively stimulate the ASEM process were: making good lost opportunities and recapturing the initiative in global affairs against the backdrop of its unification: using ASEM as a platform for discussion on issues which could be solved at a supranational level; and shared security interests with Asia. From the Asian point of view, bolstering the ASEM process would increase its bargaining power with the EU, which could become increasingly inward-looking as a result of the unification of the "fortressed" Europe. Asia could use ASEM to press for a more open EU economic system.

As to what should be done in the future in the ASEM context, Rüland shared many of the ideas put forward by other contributors to this book. However, he clearly stressed that the involvement of civil society at all imaginable levels should be stepped up immediately because otherwise the ASEM process ran the risk of petering out. Needless to say, the media in Europe and Asia, which so far had paid remarkably little attention to this important process, needed to be more alert in picking up news that did not originate in the US but on our own doorstep in Eurasia. So the big question remaining to be answered was how popular ASEM really was.

ASEM for the People!

There can be no doubt that a new interregional dialogue between Asia and Europe, devoid of either colonial or new value rhetoric, was not only useful in the global triangular context but also *per se* a means to boost the intraregional contacts of the Eurasian landmass and between two neighbouring cultures made to believe that they were completely different in nature and texture. Such sayings as the "East is East and the West is West and never the twain shall meet" were engraved not only

in the collective memory of Europeans but also in that of Asian peoples. In retrospect, a picture emerges of two cultures learning from and accepting each other. While this once occurred on a very small scale, we could not escape the conclusion looking to the future that a phase of cultural rapprochement was rapidly emerging, and on a more pervasive scale. Therefore the academic and cultural community should build on this new window of opportunity, which the ASEM process offered, by increasing communication at all levels.

Science and culture – the two most important cornerstones of the Eurasian civilisation that brought into being a meaningful transfer, not only of people, but also of human matters such as ideas, technology, services, goods and food – had to involve themselves across the board to integrate the challenge of the ASEM process. The process elevated the promise of a multicultural world in which twains stem from the same tree. It is not very likely that many people noticed the banner flying from Nelson's Column in Trafalgar Square during ASEM 2. But the text written on it not only encapsulated the essence of the ASEM process but also its precondition for success: ASEM for the People!

Asian-European Perspectives

By 2001, it had become possible to identify trends and suggest possible future approaches to the development of ASEM. This article by Wim Stokhof and Paul van der Velde gives space to discussing these trends and possible future approaches.

Original source: Stokhof, Wim and Velde, Paul van der. 2001. "Asian-European Perspectives". *Asian-European Perspectives: Developing the ASEM Process* edited by Velde, Paul van der and Stokhof, Wim. London: Curzon Press. ix-xvi.

The Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) was officially established in 1996 at the first summit in Bangkok. At the beginning of the new millennium there seemed to be all the more reason to deepen this process because the US was downscaling its involvement worldwide. In Europe, we saw a host of new developments emerging. The Monetary Union was finally established after many years of debate. Unfortunately a political union which would make the EU more resolute still seemed far away, although there was a continuous political consultation on foreign policy between the most important countries in Europe. In the field of security, a European Rapid Deployment Force (ERDF) was in the making. Additionally, some people did not realise that Europe was also a nuclear power. In the field of education the Declaration of Bologna would go a long way towards the uniformisation of the curricula of higher education. That development of an accreditation system for higher education was an unequivocal sign that Europe was striving towards integration. The Convention of Nice which gave the official go ahead to the further expansion of the EU also created its own dynamism. In Asia, there were also numerous initiatives towards achieving further integration.

Thus we produced a new book, *Asian-European Perspectives: Developing the ASEM Process*, as a sequel to the work discussed above: *ASEM: a Window of Opportunity*. In the first volume we looked at the politicians' view of ASEM, the possibilities of improving mutual contact between Asia and Europe, while simultaneously trying to delineate the challenges and problem areas and hence map out the future of ASEM. In the second volume the contributors tried to answer questions of a more practical nature or present views of the process, such as: How had the ideas of the ASEM Vision Group developed? How could ASEM's potential be realised? How could we create a usable ASEM vocabulary? How could we create a Eurasian research culture? The answers to these questions were of paramount importance to the continuation of the process.

The contributions to this book were written by Asian and European academics, politicians, and businessmen. Most of them had been involved in the ASEM from its inception and freely supported the necessity of the process. This does not mean that they were not critical. On the contrary, many expressed strong doubts about the

feasibility and durability of the ASEM process, but at the same time were conscious of the fact that without it the world would be a far less stable place in which to live. We, and all the contributors too, were involved in the ASEM process because we were convinced that if it had not been invented, it should have been invented. It was timely because the "triangular world" – of which we saw the glimmerings earlier – was fast growing into a reality which we had to grasp before it was too late.

The Vison Group's Vision

The first three contributions were written by persons closely connected with the ASEM Vision Group which drew upon a report entitled, *For a Better Tomorrow: Asia-Europe Partnership in the 21st Century*. This can be considered the guidebook to ASEM for the ensuing twenty-five years. Niels Helvig Petersen, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, a country which would host ASEM in 2002, struck a positive note in his article "ASEM: Realising the Potential for the Next Millennium", although he was not blind to the shortcomings of the ASEM process. He was of the opinion that ASEM should serve as a facilitator and a bridge builder in creating a deeper understanding between Europe and Asia concerning some of the key issues which are on the global agenda. Therefore ASEM should gradually integrate Asia and Europe into an area of peace and shared development. In that context, both regions should broaden their concepts of security and build regionally-based crisis management capabilities. This broadening clearly anticipated a partial US military withdrawal from both the Asian and European theatres.

The title of the article by John Boyd, "Being Serious about Asia", sounds like an overt warning to all Europeans who had not yet grasped the importance of Asia for Europe. He openly warned the countries of Europe that they could not afford to ignore Asia whatever the "distractions" – such as the enlargement of the EU or the introduction of the Euro – might be. At the same time he called upon individuals to boost the process. Being a man with a wealth of Asian experience, Boyd knew that long-term personal relationships would not only give more substance and flavour to the process, but at the same time they would bolster the institutional framework of ASEM. In his argumentation, he pleaded for the reinforcement of cultural contact and more transparency through the establishment of an international degree accreditation system with benchmarking between the two regions. He considered that this would serve to shed more light on testing systems and also result in the use of "best practices". This could be one of the most promising outcomes of the ASEM process as a whole.

Robert S. Arendal, who was a declared representative of the business community and a member of the Vision Group, voiced the private sector's point of view

most clearly. In his article, which bears the same title as the Vision Group's report, he made a strong plea for a multilateral trading system, a free flow of goods by 2025, and such meaningful initiatives as the Asia-Europe Trade Week. He was convinced that the ASEM process had to move beyond government circles and therefore needed strong input by businessmen and academics. Whereas in the beginning the ASEM process was first and foremost seen by politicians as a way to increase and develop economic co-operation, Arendal expressed some disappointment at the meagre concrete results which had so far been achieved in this domain.

Realising ASEM's Potential

In his article "Resolving the Paradox", Anthony Murphy pointed out the paradox underlying the relationship between the private sector and the government in the ASEM process. Some saw this relationship as its greatest strength while others conceived of it as its most serious weakness. The paradox had to be resolved otherwise ASEM, as a process in which the private sector had an active role, would lose its credibility. Among the reasons ASEM might have to cede this credibility in the eyes of the business community was the lack of such crucial factors as focus, engagement, continuity, and feedback. Quick results served to get by on but they rarely endured or had a long-lasting impact. Therefore, ASEM business forums needed to learn from other similar forums such as the Transatlantic Business Dialogues (TABD) and the APEC Business Advisory Council (ABAC) in order to increase their own bargaining power.

In his contribution "The ASEM Process: New Rules for Engagement in a Global Environment" Leo Schmit took a bird's eye view of the sociological and historical development of the process during the first five years of its existence. He referred to Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong of Singapore, who stated (as above) that there were three stages the ASEM process would have to go through before it reached a mature status: getting to know each other, constructive dialogue, and consensus-based policy making. Schmit felt that we had moved into the second stage. He saw a clear role for Europe in Asia when it came down to balancing US influence in the area, which would set the stage for a more stable world. In view of the fact that the EU was the biggest lender to and investor in Asia, the Euro had the potential to become more widely used in international transactions and could help to prevent a *de facto* inclusion of Asian countries in the Dollar zone. The EU had other important advantages over the US as it had a more highly developed capacity for inter-governmental co-operation and for the building up of regional institutes across natural borders, which were and are highly relevant in Asia where regional diversity is also a matter of course.

In his article "Does ASEM function as a Transregional Forum?", Jürgen Rüland gave us the global setting of the ASEM process and the way he perceived its development. Whereas after World War Two global organisations such as the UN were founded, in the fifties these seemed to give way to regional organisations such as the EU, which were primarily established to create a unique identity. However, they lost weight again in the sixties and seventies. At the end of the eighties they again began to gain strength. Rüland labelled this second wave open regionalism – regional organisations becoming complementary to global organisations. Regional co-operation was now a chance to build up more bargaining power in international forums.

As a transregional forum ASEM could assume an intermediary role between the regional and global policy levels, but to do this ASEM had to become more result-oriented. In turn this would require the institutionalisation of ASEM as an organisation. Rüland argued that Europe-Asia identity building had already gone much further at an informal level than at a governmental level. He specifically referred to the work done by NGOs on sensitive issues which had not been tackled at the governmental level: issues such as human rights, democracy, and child labour. This remark gave the next contribution by Kiyoko Ikagami an extra dimension.

Inventing an ASEM Vocabulary

In her contribution "Legal Status of Non-Profit Organizations in Japan" Ikegami gave an insightful example of Japanese law-making while at the same time demonstrating how the meaning of a concept such as NGO can differ completely from one context to another. Ikegami zoomed in on the increasingly important role NGOs play in contemporary Japan. She referred to the earthquake in Kobe in 1995 where volunteers rushed in to do the job the paralysed government bureaucracy was incapable of undertaking. Thus the NGOs were clearly pushed into the public realm because the government could not produce an effective response. The upshot was the emergence of a debate on the position of NGOs, organisations which up to that point in time had had a very feeble legal basis and therefore were hampered in their development. Ikegami stated that it was the first time the citizens won a role in political decision making. The NGO Act was passed in 1998 as a consequence of negotiations between citizens' organisations and the legislature. She saw this as a positive development which carried the potential of giving an increased Japanese grassroots level input to ASEM. Present-day Japanese NGOs are now more readily comparable to their ASEM counterparts or branches in Europe.

In his contribution "How to Facilitate Integration of Developing Nations into the ASEM Process", Ngyuen Son viewed ASEM primarily as a co-operation based on mutual benefits with preferential policies from developed countries to support

resource-development programs in the developing countries. These countries in turn were doing their utmost to abolish any obstacles which stood in the way of a multilateral trade system and a free flow of capital, goods, and services. Despite this positive note, he sounded a warning, stating that trade-development thinking should move beyond ideas of pure trade growth to include the enhanced participation of all nations in international trade, the reduction of the inequality between rich and poor nations, and an improved quality of life for all. He hoped that these high-set goals could be achieved by the improvement of technological and scientific co-operation.

Daljit Singh addressed another increasingly important topic in his article "Europe and Asia: Promoting Security and Political Co-operation". He made a plea for more European involvement in Asia, because he considered Europe (after two world wars) in contrast to Asia, to provide a relatively peaceful environment. The investments in security should be brought more in balance with the major European investments in the Asian economy. Europe should strive primarily to transfer its knowledge and experience in the fields of preventive diplomacy, confidence building, and peace keeping. This would be specifically useful in potential, or actual, areas of conflict in Asia such as the South China Sea, the Taiwan Straits, and the Korean Peninsula. Singh believed the Asians would welcome this because at that point in history Europe did not have any interest in dominating any part of Asia. Europe could also be of assistance in facilitating the rise of China as a peaceful player in the global arena.

Creating a Eurasian Research Culture

In her contribution, "ASEM: Time for an Overhaul", Nuria Ofken tried to find an answer to the question of what had been achieved by ASEM and what direction it should take. She examined the main components of ASEM, political dialogue, economic co-operation, and cultural exchange to find out whether progress had been made in those fields in fostering a closer relationship between the two regions, something she considered to be the fundamental goal of the process. In the fields of political dialogue and economic co-operation she saw little progress being made and quoted the failed attempts to advance customs' co-operation and investment facilitation, and the fact that no common position could be arrived at on the necessary reform of the United Nations (UN), as examples. She was more optimistic about cultural rapprochement between the two regions, pointing out the activities of ASEF. Notwithstanding small successes in the field of cultural exchange, she pleaded for a clear-cut ASEM agenda because only in that manner would ASEM fulfil its objective of initiating and sustaining collective learning processes, thereby contributing to mutual understanding between the two regions.

In their contribution, "The Need for an ASEM Research Platform", Sabine Kuypers and Wim Stokhof gave high priority to education and research. Although treated in an off-hand manner over the preceding years, they could now re-emerge as prime factors because of the slow progress made in developing the economic, political, and security pillars of ASEM. Many contributors to this book were inclined to adopt the point of view that deepening the relationship and solidifying the foundation of the process were essential but remain largely unknown, because the results were not immediately visible. Given that politicians are very result-oriented, academics should play a more important role in the process in order to make it more balanced. Petersen underlined this point of view by pleading for the setting up of a focal point to facilitate twinning arrangements and other forms of institutional co-operation between universities and technical colleges in Asia and Europe. Could this be the ASEM Research Platform (ARP) Kuypers and Stokhof pleaded for? ASEM is not only about the exchange of elements of civilisations, but also about the creation of a new civilisation: the Eurasian which will co-exist alongside other great civilisations.

In the last contribution by Cesar de Prado Yepes, entitled "Towards a Virtual ASEM: From Information to Knowledge", the author accentuated the role new technology could play in boosting the ASEM process. He quoted President Kim Dae-Jung of Korea who made a strong plea for a Trans-Eurasian e-Network. This network would not come as a bolt from the blue because there has been intensive co-operation between Asian and European multinationals in developing standards for GSM and UMTS. Although English is the language used most on the Internet, joint Asian and European efforts have paved the way for a multilingual Internet by developing software for characters. De Prado Yepes hoped that Asian-Europe co-operation in the electronic field would stimulate the creation of virtual cultural and educational spaces even more. He was also aware that the convergence of existing structures at university and research level would be greatly enhanced by benchmarking and the development of an accreditation system which would create the critical mass the ASEM needs in order to achieve its goals.

Mobilising the Eurasian Senses

One could arrive at the conclusion that ASEM had lost its momentum. But appearances deceive. Because the process was first and foremost perceived as a way to increase economic co-operation, the "Asian crisis" of 1998 became an annoying spoil-sport. At a political level ASEM has not yet been able to formulate real common views leaving aside more rhetorical agreement on such hot issues as sexual abuse and so forth. Security has played a very limited role in the process but has become

somewhat more important as the US is scaling down its world-wide operations. In the meantime the cultural pillar, which received the least attention from the politicians, has done what it could with the meagre funds allocated to it. The foundation of ASEF gave cultural co-operation an institutional basis from which to operate and produce results, which it did. Therefore the majority of those mentioned here, who represent all the layers of the process, came more or less to the conclusion that for the time being culture is the way ahead for ASEM. Thanks to the activities of ASEF and other informal initiatives, for instance at NGO level, great progress in lasting co-operation has been made, not least because these organisations made it possible to deal with sensitive issues which lie at the heart of ASEM, such as labour relations and human rights. These had to be solved first before many other aspects of ASEM could be treated in a meaningful manner.

The vast majority of the populations of the Asian and European countries were not aware of the process as such and therefore they were also ignorant of the importance of the intensification of the Eurasian relationship. This low degree of popular participation was reflected in the near absence of interest shown in ASEM by the press. When ASEM 3 was held in Seoul, the main newspapers passed over it in virtual silence. We previously concluded that ASEM should be for the people or it would not survive. We abide by this remark and propose that alongside the intensification of exchange programs for students and high-school pupils, popular sitcoms with a mixed Eurasian cast addressing problems of day to day life in both areas should also be developed. These would contribute enormously to the sensitisation of the populations of the ASEM countries. Europeans could come to the conclusion that the Asianisation of Europe has advanced much further than they could ever have imagined, while Asians could see the Europeanisation in a completely different perspective. If we are talking about the exchange of elements of civilisations, we should open ourselves to it. Asian-European Perspectives are everywhere. One only has to develop one's senses to see, hear, feel, and enjoy them. ASEM should become synonymous with the mobilisation of the Eurasian Senses!

Building an ASEM Research Platform

This article from 2002 examines what had been done in the preceding decade to develop a Eurasian research culture and indicated how those efforts could be expanded within the ASEM context by focusing on the cultural, and above all on the intellectual exchange between Europe and Asia.

Original source: Velde, Paul van der and Stokhof, Wim. 2002. "Building an ASEM Research Platform". *ASEM 2020: A Backgrounder. A Publication of the Strategic Alliance for Asian Studies on the Occasion of the Fourth Asia-Europe Meeting Copenhagen, 22-24 September 2002,* edited by Köllner, Patrick. *Südostasien aktuell*, September: 32-35.

The work of the European Science Foundation (ESF) demonstrated the scope for encouraging a European research culture in various fields. It also highlighted some of the practical difficulties involved in achieving it. Ineluctably it clearly revealed the importance and value of the multilateral endeavours taking place within its framework. The introduction of the concept of a European Research Area (ERA) by the European Commission must be considered a very important step towards enhancing and expanding collaborative research in Europe.

The establishment of a European research culture to complement and take its place alongside the various national research cultures was a way of ensuring that issues spanning the continent received the best possible analytical attention. The rich European experience could be taken a step further to develop a Eurasian research culture in which issues of common interest could be explored in more depth. More important still are the ideas, analyses, and solutions that can be drawn from the various research cultures in Europe and Asia.

Research as an Integrating Force

The emergence of formal Europe-Asia links through the ASEM process was an important moment in the history of the Eurasian continent. The era of European colonialism in Asia ended four decades ago. Since then relations between the two regions have been relatively distant and fragmentary. This state of affairs was able to prevail so long because of the aftermath of the colonial legacy, the Cold War, and the overwhelming political, economic, and cultural presence of the US in both Asia and Europe.

After the fall of the Berlin Wall, the shape of international relations changed radically. Europe-Asia relations strengthened and by seizing the opportunity this created, the ASEM process began to establish a partnership between the two regions on an unprecedented basis of parity. The rub is that ASEM had been

devised primarily to address economic, political, and security issues. Research was virtually absent from its agenda, even though multilateral research and education are the most essential tools by which to reinforce an Asia-Europe rapprochement. The importance of an intellectual partnership that also pays attention to cultural co-operation is of primary importance.

Research linkages between Asia and Europe, especially in the Humanities and Social Sciences, have remained relatively weak since the end of the colonial era, in particular compared with the contacts between both regions and the US. Many Asian scholars continue to work within the scientific paradigms acquired during their studies in the US unaware of the developments in Europe. European scholars have tended to be academically self-sufficient but at the same time have been aware of the developments in the US.

Although Europe and Asia have much to offer to the other, the construction of a durable relationship, which deals in more than goods and services requires careful attention being paid to Europe-Asian interaction in the world of ideas. The rapprochement between Asia and Europe has been rapid but in the process outdated cultural stereotypes still tend to dominate the minds of the decision-makers and the general public in both regions when communicating.

These stereotypes were perhaps useful in the days when contacts were sparse, but they are inadequate to deal with, and at times are indeed actively injurious to, the complex, multifaceted relationship between Asia and Europe which emerged in the final decade of the twentieth century. The global communications revolution gives the misleading impression that the rapid delivery of information brings with it immediate understanding. In fact, rapid communication tends to reinforce the use of stereotypes as an easy tool for sorting (over)abundant information. Establishing a framework for replacing stereotypes with operative solutions based on recent comparative research is the main challenge.

An important part of the search for solutions is the development of a Eurasian research culture in the Humanities and Social Sciences. It is an inescapable fact that each of the national participants in the process works with distinctive national research paradigms, and each of these systems has both strengths and weaknesses. To the extent that ASEM participants take part in international research projects – and this extent varies greatly from country to country – that research is often linked to paradigmatic approaches developed in the US. The research preoccupations of the US are not alien to those of the rest of the world, but nor are they entirely congruent with those of Asia and Europe.

Without relinquishing existing research links with the US, complementary research cultures which are more attuned to Eurasian interests should be developed. While national boundaries are disappearing from the economic map, the need to understand the factors that shape a regional or national culture becomes

more pressing. Culture is not just a matter of heritage and history, it is also an integral part of our daily lives. It is a reality upon which progress, including economic growth and welfare, depends.

It would be extremely timely to enrich the process of Europe-Asia rapprochement by setting up research programs in the Humanities and Social Sciences. Long-term joint research programs in these fields will deepen our understanding of respective cultural backgrounds. They will serve to ensure peaceful co-existence, meaningful and productive integration, and lasting co-operation. They will also enhance a much-needed mutual understanding. Needless to say, they will encourage people-to-people contact and create links and networks based on trust and mutual respect.

European and Asian Initiatives

The activities of ESF-AC were terminated in 2001 on the bureaucratic grounds that the second (and last) mandate of three years had expired. Its aim had been to bring together the fragmented forces of Asian Studies in Europe and thereby to improve standards of research and expertise on Asia to the benefit of both the national participants and the EU as a whole. In the six years of its existence, the ESF-AC developed a wide range of activities to achieve its goal, such as the sponsorship of more than fifty interdisciplinary and joint Asian-European workshops; seed money given to elaborate on the most promising scientific themes deriving from these workshops; the initiation of three long-term research programs implemented by Asian and European researchers; a post-doctoral fellowship designed for leading young scholars to promote mobility between different European institutions thereby improving the quality of scholarly training and simultaneously diffusing new ideas to participating centers; dissemination of research-related information on European Asian Studies worldwide; travel grants given to young scholars for exploratory visits to centers of excellence in Europe; (financial) support given to the six professional European associations for Asian Studies and an annual meeting of presidents of these associations. All of these have been initiated and improved links between European centers and researchers and their counterparts in Asia. This support has been firmly based in both the Humanities and Social Sciences arenas, and a substantial share of it has focused on contemporary issues of importance to European policy makers. In this context it should be emphasised that the Humanities and Social Sciences are not independent fields of study, but are closely related and are both indispensable to understand the workings of Asian societies in the broadest sense.

The ESF-AC was also valuable in another way. Apart from the direct results of its activities, European and Asian networking were greatly improved with real

but necessarily unquantifiable results. Delegates on the Committee represented a wide range of Research Councils, scholarly institutions and constituencies. This variety and breadth of experience was what enabled ESF-AC to obtain an unusually comprehensive and considered view of the resources, as well as the strengths and weaknesses of Asian Studies in Europe. A view which was certainly beyond that available to any national body or any other European body.

One of the most important results of the ESF-AC is the creation of new networks at various levels that survived the demise of the ESF-AC. The national associations of Asian Studies, which were founded in a number of countries continue to operate. The European Alliance for Asian Studies (EAAS, established 1997) in which six European research institutes in the field of Asian Studies co-operate, has grown from an initial two to six members in 2002 and is expected to add more members in the future. The annual meeting of the presidents of the six regional Associations for Asian Studies also continued. The latter joined its voice to that of the ESF-AC in supporting the idea of the International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS), which is also supported by the Association for Asian Studies (AAS) and in a sense can be seen as a global platform for Asian Studies. Last but not least, the Asia-Europe workshops continued with the support of the EAAS and ASEF.

So far, the activities of the European Commission (EU) in the field of the Humanities and Social Sciences research have been very limited. The Sixth Framework Program (FP6) showed a clear interest in research. A closer look reveals that this interest focused mainly on problem-solving work, technology and science. The aim of the FP6 was defined as helping EU companies meet the challenges of the twenty-first century and, through research, to come up with answers to a wide range of issues that are important to European society. Clearly, this attitude was too Europe-focused to be instrumental in the general Asia-Europe dialogue. Fortunately, some initiatives in the field of joint Asia-Europe research were taken.

Its Asia-Link Programme echoed the ESF-AC activities in that it wanted to promote regional and multilateral networking between higher education institutions in EU member states and South Asia, Southeast Asia and China. However, grant support was exclusively given to human resource development, curriculum development, and institutional and systems development. If we take a closer look at where the management of Asia-Link was located, we find out that it operated from the Unit D2 or the Economic Co-operation with Asia Unit. The EU also supported several initiatives such as the Postgraduate Technological Studies Programme, European studies programmes in the Philippines, Thailand, and Malaysia and the ASEAN-EU University Network Programme.

The degree of national and regional institution building in the Asian ASEM member countries was still at the teething stage. Although on several occasions member states stressed the importance of national and regional co-operative links,

for several reasons this co-operation developed at a very slow pace. Cross-national professorial associations such as those existing in Europe have not yet developed. One positive development was the introduction of the ASEAN University Network (AUN) in 1995. Under this, some ten universities signed an agreement on co-operation between ASEAN scholars, pertaining to developing human resources, plus the dissemination and exchange of scholarly knowledge. Other networks were the Association of Southeast Asian Institutions of Higher Learning (ASAIHL), the Association of Universities in Asia and the Pacific (AUAP), and the University Mobility in Asia and the Pacific (UMAP). These activities, however, were not focused on joint collaborative research.

Joint Initiatives

At the inaugural summit of ASEM in 1996, the objective of ASEF was stated as being: "To enhance mutual understanding between Asia and Europe, through greater intellectual, cultural, and people-to-people exchanges". Given its brief and its restricted funding possibilities, ASEF concentrated on short-term activities. In its intellectual exchange programme ASEF stimulated academic discourse. It supported the Education Hub Programme proposed at the second ASEM in London in 1998. Notwithstanding useful initiatives taken, we believe it necessary that ASEM should pay more structural and long-term attention to joint research and education as two major elements in a (cultural) rapprochement between the two regions. Initiating and implementing joint multilateral research could play an important role in achieving ASEF's objectives.

A step in that direction was the Programme for Europe-Asia Research Linkages (PEARL), a network of researchers from Asia and Europe, representing leading Asian and European Studies institutes in the field of the Humanities and Social Sciences. PEARL was established in Seoul in October 1998 under the patronage of the ESF-AC and ASEF. PEARL was a broad-based research partnership encompassing the Humanities and Social Sciences of the Eurasian continent, which was poised to deliver great intellectual benefits to scholarship at national, regional, and global levels. PEARL was an open network and its members, belonging to the ASEM countries, were concerned that research did not receive the attention it deserved in the agenda of ASEM. It was established out of a need felt on both Asian and European sides for research interaction between the two regions, and out of a sense of opportunity created by the growing strength of the ASEM process and the establishment of ASEF.

PEARL set its sights on developing a Eurasian research culture by tightening links between Asia and Europe in order to develop long-term joint Asia-Europe research projects on a multilateral basis. This would not only enrich the quality

of research, but would also ensure attention was directed to issues pertinent to both Asia and Europe. It intended to promote and initiate studies of contemporary developments in Asia and Europe in a comparative perspective and against their historical and cultural backgrounds. It tried to integrate the best of the European and Asian Studies and to provide an institutional framework for collaboration on topics of common interest.

Within the existing relevant bodies such as the ASEM or the ASEF, no substantial possibilities existed to develop and implement joint multilateral Asia-Europe research and educational programmes. PEARL thus provided a unique structure for Asia-Europe co-operation in the field of research but for a number of reasons this did not materialise. But PEARL, like other initiatives which were discontinued, has not been a waste of time because the experiences gained in the process could be used in building a solid ASEM Research Platform (ARP).

Towards an ASEM Research Platform (ARP)

ASEM is a unique mechanism for dialogue. It is an informal process and it has no permanent organisational body. This poses a problem because if certain programmes, beneficial to the ultimate aim of the ASEM (co-operation in the economic, political, and cultural fields), are to be implemented successfully, they need to take place within an organisational structure. This has been done in a few cases. But the need was being urgently felt by different parties and at various levels that an ASEM Research Platform should be specifically designed to encourage multilateral scientific co-operation at an Asia-Europe level.

Three major reasons for seeking top-level presence for Asian and European Studies in the ASEM process could be identified. First, the need for a creative and well-informed policy on both the European and Asian sides had in many cases outstripped the capacity of government administrations to deliver it. The Asia-Europe rapprochement caught officials and policy-makers across a wide range of fields unprepared. The perceptions of Asia entertained by European officials and politicians, precisely like these of their counterparts' perceptions of Europe, were often restricted, blurred by historical reminiscences and time constraints, or the one or the other, which prevents officials from specialising in certain fields and areas. These are busy people who are sometimes forced to rely on aphorisms and stereotypes as tools for ordering the complex new world in which they find themselves. As the policy-making apparatus at the ASEM level grew, there needed to be a visible Asian and European Studies presence at the same level to ensure that officials and policy makers could quickly lay their hands on the best advice on complex inter-regional issues.

The second major reason was the need for cross-national co-operation. The distinctive national traditions of research and scholarship in various aspects of Asian and European Studies which exist throughout the ASEM community are a precious resource. In the environment of globalisation, however, these traditions needed to be brought together into complementary partnerships. No single nation could sustain a research endeavour on the scale needed to fully address the issues arising from globalisation. Co-operation and collaboration in Eurasian study centers could raise the awareness of the richness of each other's culture. The work of the ESF-AC has shown that internationally oriented bodies can play a major stimulating role both in bringing small centers of excellence out of isolation and in promoting innovative research which would not normally find support within any single national framework. By bringing Asian and European studies in Asia and Europe into a facilitating framework, it becomes possible to evolve further creative synergies without in any way detracting from the existing strengths of national research efforts.

The third cogent reason was the need to link academia to the ASEM process. The reason for acting was that the key institutions for ASEM co-operation were in the process of formation. Long-term joint research projects, on a multilateral basis, were a most effective tool for reinforcing links between Asia and Europe. Especially in the Asian context, these long-term ventures were conditions for sustainable success. Experience had proven that such personal relationships, once established, continue to thrive, even after the project had finished. The Humanities and Social Sciences were particularly important in this respect. They formed an integrating force by contributing to a better insight into each other's political, social, and economic concepts and in the way in which parties cope with issues of common interest.

The ARP should monitor and implement co-operative activities in research. The platform should be an umbrella organisation for the wide range of high-quality scientific research in general and should be composed of representatives from major research institutions from both continents. It should be committed to promoting high quality science at a Eurasian level. In this platform Asia and Europe can work closely together on topics of common interest. Research agendas and strategies will be designed and developed by a number of committees in which renowned scholars from Asia and Europe should participate. It should be funded by the ASEM member states. Scientific work to be sponsored by the ARP should not be restricted to the Humanities and Social Sciences, but should link to other forms of sciences as well. The ARP will have to work closely with already existing bodies such as ASEF, AEETC, and with EU-projects such as the Asia-Link Programme.

The establishment of an ASEM Research Platform under the aegis of ASEF, could lead to a division of labour between the intellectual exchange division of

ASEF, which could concentrate on short-term projects, and the ARP working on long-term projects. Such a construction could remedy the overemphasis in ASEM on trade and security issues. Needless to say, the ARP can build on its assembled expertise in Asia-Europe relations. A first step in the direction of building ARP is gathering all relevant information about ASEM which is now dispersed over a wide and unstructured number of sources. A portal is being constructed at IIAS where all information about ASEM will be systematically ordered and made available, not only for research purposes but also to a wider audience, because the ultimate success of ASEM will depend on the active participation of the citizens of both continents. Researchers can contribute to this goal by taking a Eurasian stance as a starting point of their research endeavours.

The Eurasian research culture may directly engage the efforts of a couple of thousand scholars across the ASEM community. The spin off from their endeavours could be enormous. It derives its influence on the one hand through the formulation and analysis of the issues that move Asian and European governments and the media and on the other hand through the students trained and educated in this culture who move outside academia to other positions in society. The cost of developing and sustaining such a Eurasian research culture represents a small financial investment in comparison to the fruits that would certainly be derived from it. With the growing unilateral attitude of the US in practically all matters, it seems more necessary than ever that Europe and Asia should rediscover their own rich cultural and intellectual traditions for the benefit of the whole world.



Figure 12. Covers of *The Eurasian Space: Far More Than Two Continents, Multiregionalism and Multilateralism: Asian-European Relations in a Global Context*; *The Asia-Europe meeting: Contributing to a New Global Governance Governance Architecture. The Eight ASEM Heads of State Meeting in Brussels* and *What about Asia? Revisiting Asian Studies*. Photo Cindy Bakker.

CHAPTER 5

The Eurasian Space

The Eurasian Space: Far More Than Two Continents

In 2004, Paul van der Velde was one of the editors of a third book exploring issues concerning the promotion of Asia-Europe ties, particularly in this volume in regard to international co-operation.

Original source: Stokhof, Wim, Velde, Paul van der, and Yeo, Lay Hwee. 2004. "Introduction. The Eurasian Space: Far More Than Two Continents". *The Eurasian Space: Far more than Two Continents* edited by Stokhof, Wim, Velde, Paul van der, and Yeo, Lay Hwee. Singapore: ISEAS Publications. 1-8. IIAS/ISEAS Series on Asia 2.

ASEM's scope of discussion and activity was multi-dimensional and encompassed politics, economics, and social, as well as cultural and intellectual exchange. In general the process was considered by all parties involved as a forum for enhancing the relations between Asia and Europe at all levels deemed necessary to achieve a more balanced multilateral world order. In the post 9-11 world and with the war and ongoing instability in Iraq there was ever more reason for Asia and Europe to deepen their co-operation to meet the common challenges of international terrorism, and maintain a just and stable world order.

This volume has been edited together with Yeo Lay Hwee, Executive Director and Senior Research Fellow of the Singapore Institute of International Affairs, and co-published with the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) in Singapore. This is a conscious move to increase academic co-operation between Asia and Europe. The contributors to this book consist of academics who can rightly be called specialists in the ASEM field of studies. They share a deep interest in how the relationship between Asia and Europe can be further enhanced. Their articles were written with the objective of examining the level of engagement between Asia and Europe, and highlighting how the ASEM process has been useful directly or indirectly not only in enhancing the ties between the various Asian and European countries, but also in contributing to the general development of new approaches to international co-operation. We have brought their contributions under four main headings: ASEMness and East Asianness; Inter-regionalism, trans-regionalism and extra-regionalism; Security and monetary co-operation; and East Asia and ASEM.

ASEMness and East Asianness

Against the backdrop of the issue of the enlargement of ASEM, Michael Reiterers' contribution, "ASEM: Value-Added to International Relations and to the Asia-Europe Relationship", addressed a key-question: what was ASEM all about and what function could it play in the area of international politics and the wider Asia-Europe relationship? He highlighted some of the discussion and debates on how ASEM conceptually contributed to multi-level governance in international politics through encouraging inter-regional and intraregional co-operation and by regional identity building and enhancing multilateralism. In more concrete terms, ASEM made a contribution to world governance in the fields of furthering cross-cultural understanding and mutual respect; overcoming narrow nationalism; regime building in specific issue areas; encouraging multi-dimensional dialogue and co-operation; the EU acting as a balancing and stabilising power in East Asia and enhancing the visibility and role of the EU. More generally, ASEM can be regarded as a valuable experiment of quasi-institutionalisation, bringing together different cultural approaches to international co-operation, that is, the legalistic formal European approach and the pragmatic informal Asian approach.

One of the issues in relation to the conceptual framework of the Asia-Europe relationship was the effects of inter-regional interactions on regional identity building or more concisely, fostering regionalism through inter-regionalism. This was taken up by Julie Gilson and Yeo Lay Hwee in their contribution "Collective Identity-Building through Trans-Regionalism: ASEM and the East Asian Regional Identity". In it a constructivist perspective was taken, focusing on the role of ideas and interests in the creation of regional identity and critical historical junctures from which new structural or institutional arrangements, norms and identities emerge and on interactions between existing cultures and institutions. The latter were defined as regularised channels of communication among state representatives acting in accordance with obligations set out in statements or declarations such as ASEM. While they do not overtly say that ASEM has been the impetus behind an East Asian regional identity, they conceive ASEM along the lines of lying within a process of increasing regional identification for the purpose of external affairs, which can ultimately lead to the development of a dominant discourse of East Asianness. Be that as it may, Gilson and Yeo did not hesitate to speak of an Asian identity in the context of ASEM that had become established by participation within a forum where a clear "other", that is, the European Union, exists. At the basis of this emerging Asian identity was the intensification of co-operation among Asian countries in which ASEM has functioned as a stepping-stone for other regional initiatives such as the ASEM+3 (South Korea, Japan, and China), a process established in 1997 which in turn reinforced ASEM.

Inter-regionalism, Trans-regionalism and Extra-regionalism

The EU-ASEAN relationship was one of the oldest group-to-group dialogues, having been in existence since 1972. Mathew Doidge's contribution "Inter-regionalism and Regional Actors: The EU-ASEAN Example" focused on the function such a dialogue might perform. He applied the concept of actorness, the capacity to act in the international system, to explain the performance or non-performance of this relationship. In addition to identity, actorness has three main components: action triggers (goals, interests, principles); policy structures and processes which involves the capacity to make decisions in relation to action triggers; and performance structures which includes all those structures and resources necessary for the performance of a given task once a decision has been made. Doidge concluded that despite its long existence almost all advanced functions of inter-regionalism such as alliance-style balancing, rationalising and agenda setting are hardly known in the EU-ASEAN context. Applying the concept of actorness to ASEM would create the possibility of assessing the qualitative levels of actorness, which could be used in targeting efforts towards areas where success was likely, instead of wasting them in areas where their actorness is insufficient.

In his article, "ASEM's Extra-Regionalism: Converging Europe's and East Asia's External Projections towards Other Regions", Cesar de Prado Yepes first focused on the commonalities of the regional processes of the EU and East Asia which were reflected in the ASEM. At the heart of this process lay the conviction from all members that multilateralism fed by regional and inter-regional processes should be the facilitator of international relations. De Prado Yepes continued with an overview of the many regionalisms outside Asia and Europe such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR), the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC), the African Union (AU) and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). In a matrix, de Prado Yepes demonstrated that ASEM could potentially create extra-regional synergies with other world regions through the selective engagement of representatives of world regions in the ASEM process and through converging inter-regional processes that both Europe and East Asia had with other parts of the world.

David Milliot in his contribution, "ASEM: A Catalyst for Dialogue and Cooperation: The Case of FEALAC", studied the influence ASEM had had on the formation of the Forum for East Asia-Latin America Co-operation (FEALAC) which was founded in 1999. FEALAC brings together the ten ASEAN countries, China, Japan, South Korea, Australia, New Zealand and seventeen countries from Latin America: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela. ASEM's influence was considerable because its framework was used as a blueprint,

thus offering FEALAC similar working processes and functionalities as ASEM. Although FEALAC had so far kept a low profile, it was nevertheless a clear example that ASEM had made its mark in international relations as a catalyst for dialogue and co-operation and that both processes marked the emergence of a multi-level governance and created a new trans-regional level between the regional and universal levels. It was up to the Asians and Europeans to turn trans-regionalism into a substantial and innovative component of international relations.

Security and Monetary Co-operation

Heiner Hänggi in his contribution, "ASEM's Security Agenda Revisited", took stock of the ASEM security agenda against the background of the process in general that started with a strong geo-economic agenda and gradually gave way to a more geo-political one culminating in the terrorist attacks of 9 / 11 and the outbreak of the war in Iraq, which once more gave security a central role in international relations. Those external factors led to an increasing securitisation of the ASEM agenda while internal factors relating to the political pillar of ASEM which has a political value (human rights and democratisation) and security dimension (covering a broad range of traditional and new security issues) also strengthened the latter because it held far more common ground than the political dimension. Therefore one can say that ASEM had in the previous eight years acquired a certain "security acquis". Hänggi was of the opinion that a further securitisation of ASEM would decrease the relevance of the process because it was built on a geo-economic rationale. Nevertheless, the ASEM partners should use their inter-regional framework as an instrument for keeping the United States engaged in a multilateral framework and to check and balance the United States' unilateralist strivings. The Declaration on Multilateralism agreed upon during the Sixth Foreign Ministers Meeting (2004) can be construed as a strong signal.

Whilst the influence of European and Asian influence on the world security agenda is limited, Xu Mingqi in his article, "The Euro and East Asia Monetary Co-operation", was of the opinion that the European Monetary Union and the euro would have a strong influence not only on the monetary situation in Asia but also worldwide. First of all the introduction of the euro lowered the transaction costs between Asia and Europe, which was beneficial for both parties. More and more transactions were in euros rather than dollars. At the same time the introduction of the European currency had clearly inspired ideas of East Asian monetary co-operation. Free Trade Agreements (FTAs), a precondition for monetary integration, were in the pipeline. Much would depend on the willingness of Japan and China to co-operate. Xu regarded the Chiang Mai Initiative (2000), a bilateral swap

agreement within the ASEAN+3 framework as its multilateral base, as the cornerstone of future East Asian monetary co-operation. For the time being Xu envisioned a bipolar euro-dollar international monetary system but with the strengthening of East Asian monetary co-operation a tripolar system would emerge which would further stabilise the international system.

East Asia and ASEM

China, Japan, and South Korea have all, albeit at different points in time, from different angles and with different degrees of intensity, become involved in the ASEM process. One of the *raisons d'etre* for that process was to engage China further in world affairs and its interest in this dates from the turn of the century. Sebastian Bersick in his article, "China and ASEM: Strengthening Multilateralism through Inter-Regionalism", examines why China had increasingly come to regard ASEM as a vehicle to further its foreign policy, which is geared towards a tripolar world order. ASEM as such has at its heart multilateralism as an organising principle of the international system while at the same time this approach stimulates inter-regional and intra-regional co-operation. The ASEM regime then can be seen as a new way of balancing regions and nations in an evolving multipolar world order through increasing interdependencies which fits with present-day Chinese foreign policy.

Kazuhiko Togo in his article, "Japan and ASEM" first described Japan's post Second World War policy towards East Asia and Europe and the opportunity created by ASEM, with its comprehensive agenda including political, economic and security dialogue, to discuss its relationships with Asian countries in a multilateral context while at the same time offering the opportunity to reconsider its primarily bilateral relations with European countries. Togo then analyses how Japan's involvement in ASEM had changed its policies towards Asia and Europe from the angle of its desire to be actively involved in the East Asian Community and from the perspective of deepening its ties with member states of the EU. In his concluding remarks, Togo pleaded for what he calls a true Eurasian perspective that is to develop ASEM as an entity with a bigger geopolitical perspective, which includes the Russian Federation.

In their contribution, "Korea and ASEM", David Camroux and Sunghee Park first analysed ASEM in the context of EU-Korean relations and then focussed on South Korea's ASEM diplomacy. The ties between Korea and the EU were, in comparison to other Asian countries up to the mid-eighties, not very strong due to a lack of Western colonial presence and because of the European conception of Korea as a developing country. In the nineties however, economic and political ties between

Korea and the EU matured. In 1996 at the outset of ASEM, Korea's interest in it was based on the idea that it could counterbalance APEC. The active engagement of Korea in ASEM was triggered by its wish to obtain European support for its Sunshine Policy of engagement with North Korea, which the United States refused to give. It used the hosting of the ASEM 3 summit in Seoul as a platform to internationalise its North Korea policy as exemplified by the Seoul Declaration for Peace on the Korean Peninsula. Camroux and Park concluded that the ASEM process had been truly beneficial for South Korea because it strengthened the promotion of its national interest and improved its bargaining power with the EU.

Concluding Remarks

The Eurasian space is still far from being a continuum. While the enlargement of ASEM was already a complicated affair, the inclusion of India and the Russian Federation was the big challenge for the decade lying ahead. Only then would one be able to speak of a real geographical continuum. Leaving geography aside, ASEM has since its inception and because of its multilateralist organising principle of the international system, paved the way for the eradication of inter-regional and intra-regional barriers at practically all levels of human interaction, which is showing us the way to a multipolar world order in which unilateralist behaviour will be regarded as uncouth globally and regionally. This last sentence may be construed as an abstract definition of an avant-garde concept in global relations. While the future of the official ASEM process may look uncertain (as the cancellation of two ministerial meetings over Myanmar's participation in the process exemplified), ASEM had provided that impetus toward new approaches to international relations. If ASEM had not been launched in 1996, it would have been invented sooner or later. That it has travelled this far, and spawned a network of interested people, academic research institutions and civil society organisations, holds promise for the future. Those of us who have been following the ASEM process, and witnessing the increasing linkages developing between Asia and Europe, look forward to more research, more studies and more space in which we can all interact without unnecessary physical and mental barriers.

Multiregionalism and Multilateralism: Asian-European Relations in a Global Context

In 2006, ASEM held its 10th birthday celebrations in Finland, which had then the EU's Presidency. Helsinki geared up to host the largest meeting at the level of Heads of State and Government in the history of that country, with approximately two thousand delegates and one thousand media representatives gathered for the sixth ASEM summit. A new co-edited volume was published by IIAS which focused on the institutionalisation of intraregional and interregional cooperation in the international system. It included, for the first time contributions by North and South American colleagues, demonstrating that ASEM was increasingly becoming a topic of interest to researchers worldwide.

Original source: Bersick, Sebastian, Stokhof, Wim and Velde, Paul van der. 2006. "Multiregionalism and Multilateralism: Asian-European Relations in a Global Context". *Multiregionalism and Multilateralism: Asian-European Relations in a Global Context*, edited by Bersick, Sebastian, Stokhof, Wim and Velde, Paul van der. 7-11. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. ICAS Publications Series, Edited Volumes 1.

The Driving Force of Multiregionalism

Tânia Felíco in her chapter "East Asia: The Missing Link in Multiregionalism", focused on how the crisis in multilateralism, especially at the security level, could be overcome through multiregionalism. She showed how multiregionalism was being encouraged by both regional-global and interregional processes pushing for region building in places previously dominated by state-to-state relations. Felíco highlighted the interrelated phenomena of the developing regional-global security mechanism sponsored by the UN and the EU-Asia dialogue through ASEM. Felíco furthermore contended that these asymmetries created a more positive attitude in East Asia towards closer cooperation while boosting their sense of region-hood.

Michael Postert in his chapter "ASEM and the EU-style Economic Integration in East Asia" traced the positions of the actors in the financial architecture arena back to the Asian financial crisis. Support extended to the affected states was not altruistic; nor were preventive measures proposed thereafter. Asia's financial architecture was a battleground between competing political agendas: integration into the IMF global regime or a more autonomous Asian regime loosely connected to the IMF. Asia under the de facto guardianship of Japan had tried to reach a solution with US/IMF interests that sufficiently safeguarded the needs of the region and its member states. In recent years, with the encouraging example of successful monetary integration in the EU, a more balanced and self-assertive approach towards monetary and economic policy has emerged in East Asia. Postert showed

how the process of inter-regional cooperation was leading to a more autonomous Asian policy approach in the field of economic and financial integration. Through interaction with the EU and other key actors, East Asia was shaping the contours of an emergent financial field in the multiregional world order.

Christian Wagner dealt with "India's New Quest for Intra- and Inter-regional Politics". Wagner took a neo-realist view of interstate cooperation focusing on national interests and the relative gains of the state actors involved. Wagner reflected on India's policies in the Cold War and post-Cold War periods and concluded it had followed a multi-faceted strategy through the 1990s, aiming for closer intraregional cooperation by strengthening existing organisations like SAARC, and looking for new opportunities for regional cooperation by becoming more integrated in existing organisations like ASEAN and applying for membership in APEC and ASEM.

John Quigley in his chapter "Enhancing South-East Asia's Security: The Aceh Monitoring Mission" highlighted a further important aspect of multi-regionalism. Quigley focused on the first-ever EU-ASEAN crisis management mission in Asia, which began in 2005. The implications for the security policies of both regional groupings could be significant. It was still early to tell, Quigley argued, but it might well have implications for EU external policy and ASEAN institutional structures.

The China Factor

Marc Lanteigne in his "ASEM and the Expanding China-European Union Relationship" analysed the increasingly important role ASEM was playing in the evolving China and EU relationship as well as China's engagement in the developing process of inter-regional relations between Europe and Asia. As China expanded its post-Cold War foreign policy interests further beyond its periphery, the ASEM process became an important forum for the country to address its expanding political, social and economic ties with Europe. China's interest in the ASEM process began to move beyond the expansion of trade ties to include complex security issues between the two regions. Lanteigne questioned whether ASEM could be useful in mitigating conflict around issues separating Brussels and Beijing, e.g. differences over Chinese monetary trade policies. Furthermore, China's participation in ASEM would be a crucial variable in determining whether ASEM would be able to distinguish itself from other regional and inter-regional institutions which had proliferated in the Asia-Pacific region over the past two decades.

Marisela Connelly in her "China and Latin America: The Economic Dimension" gave a detailed overview of China's increasing bilateral and multilateral involvement with Latin America over the preceding fifteen years, part of China's search

for raw materials to keep its economy on steam. The Chinese leadership was also aware that the region included important countries like Mexico and Brazil which enjoyed considerable prestige in international organisations. Yet many countries in Latin America still held diplomatic ties with Taiwan.

Towards ASEM Awareness

Bart Gaens in his chapter "Beyond ASEM 6: Lessons for the Actors", examined from a European point of view three key factors of ASEM cooperation: the informal approach; the achievement of tangible results and the non-institutionalised approach. ASEM's open and informal character offered advantages for networking and for the free exchange of views, and allowed for a comprehensive approach to global issues. It also underlined ASEM's specific *raison d'etre* within the array of available legal instruments and bilateral frameworks aiming to strengthen overall Asia-Europe relations. Rather than striving for grand projects or binding treaties, Gaens held that the ASEM process needed to sharpen its focus with a view on attaining less spectacular but significant results, for example in the sphere of soft security through interfaith dialogue.

Yeo Lay Hwee in her contribution "Ten Years of ASEM – Changes and Challenges" began with a brief historical analysis of the genesis of ASEM. She then gave an overview of the key changes in the regional and global environment in which ASEM operated and examined how ASEM had and should respond to those changes. The chapter assessed the progress and achievements made so far and concluded with a look at the possible way forward for ASEM in the next decade.

Zhu Liqun's "The Perception of ASEM in China" was based on research by the ASEM research team done at four Chinese universities where questionnaires were handed out at random. This research sponsored by the Japan Centre for International Exchanges (JCIE) was timely because it gave us an idea to what degree "ASEM – following the 'EU' and 'ASEAN'" – has become part of colloquial language over the past ten years. It came as no surprise that awareness of ASEM within the Chinese academic world barely existed. If comparable research was executed in other ASEM countries, the question remains whether the findings would differ. Research on awareness of ASEM in all member countries would thus be telling.

Based on the outcome of such ASEM-wide research, a plan should be developed to devise ways to popularise ASEM. For in the final analysis, ASEM should be for, and of, the citizens. A policy of ASEMainstreaming should guide the post-Helsinki summit decade.

The Asia-Europe Meeting: Contributing to a New Global Governance. The Eight ASEM Heads of State Meeting in Brussels

In an edited volume published by the IIAS in 2010 the first fifteen years of ASEM's existence were contextualised and its future directions and imperatives discussed.

Original source: Bersick, Sebastian and Velde, Paul van der. 2011. "The Asia-Europe meeting: Contributing to a New Global Governance. The Eight ASEM Heads of State Meeting in Brussels (2010)". *The Asia-Europe Meeting: Contributing to a New Global Governance. The Eight ASEM Heads of State Meeting in Brussels (2010),* edited by Bersick, Sebastian and Velde, Paul van der, 15-22. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press 2011. ICAS Publications Series, Edited Volumes 15.

ASEM is an inter-regional process of cooperation and dialogue consisting of 48 members, in addition to which the European Commission (EC) and the ASEAN Secretariat also participate in their own right. In the first fifteen years of its existence, the ASEM process has successfully facilitated the strengthening of ties between Asia and Europe at all levels of society. At the same time, the increasing economic and political importance of Asia – in particular emerging economies such as China and India as well as regional organisations like ASEAN – indicated a paradigm shift and qualitative change that the end of systematic bipolarity had brought about in the international system.

The Brussels Summit

In particular Asia's quest for regional solutions to indigenous and external threats to development demonstrated the new dynamics in international relations and the ineffectiveness of those global governance institutions and organisations that predate the end of the Cold War. It became evident that, though the Cold War was not long over and the international political economy has become ever more interdependent, its actors had yet to establish a global governance architecture that allows for common policy choices and their effective implementation. Against this structural deficiency of the international system, European and Asian state and non-state actors have long pointed to the potential of ASEM for enhancing problem-solving capacities in the political, economic, security, social and cultural realms.

The contributions to this volume represent a selection from the main topics of the ASEM 8 summit in Brussels. The chapters focus on four policy areas that have been identified by ASEM members as pivotal to their task of contributing to the development of a new global governance architecture: the Brussels summit,

financial and economic governance, security governance and the enlargement of ASEM.

The Brussels summit section contains four articles. Three of them were written by Belgian diplomats who were actively involved in the framing and organisation of the summit. Their contributions provide us with important insiders' perspectives and analysis of ASEM summitry, its inherent logic, limits and comparative advantages. The head of the ASEM unit of the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bertrand de Crombrugghe, brought us up to speed on the intricacies of organising an ASEM summit in his article on the "Negotiation History and the Summit Texts".

De Crombrugghe started from the premise that leaders from Asia and Europe were keen to periodically confront their perceptions of world developments and assess the "state of the art of Asia-Europe relations". The Belgian Prime Minister, Yves Leterme, suggested that the real added value of gatherings like the ASEM 8 Summit was in the influence they could exert on future multilateral meetings such as the G20. It was the stated ambition of the Belgian government as host of ASEM 8 to reach for higher levels of cooperation and to ensure the relevance of the ASEM process for the daily life of citizens. De Crombrugghe concluded with informed and detailed comments and reflections on the agreed summit texts, which made a welcome contribution to the development of a common ASEM vocabulary. The latter was seen by one of the founders of ASEM, former Singaporean Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong, as a precondition for the flowering of a Eurasian frame of mind.

Paul Lambert, deputy head of the above-mentioned ASEM unit, provided us in his chapter with a factual overview of both the Brussels summit and the events organised concomitantly. This did not preclude an insider's view regarding the substance and practical arrangements at the summit, of which the main event was of course the gathering of the heads of state and government at Brussels Royal Palace. In parallel, an ASEM Parliamentary Forum, People's Forum and Business Forum were held, as had become usual at ASEM summits.

In addition to these quasi-institutionalised ASEM events, a Connecting Civil Societies Conference was held just before the beginning of the summit in Brussels. The conference was organised by the Europe-Asia Policy Forum (EUforAsia) which was subsidised by the European Commission. EUforAsia was a collaborative effort of the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS, Leiden and Amsterdam), the European Policy Centre (EPC, Brussels), the Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF, Singapore), and the Singapore Institute for International Affairs.

Tom Vandenkendelaere, who also worked at the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, focused in his chapter, "ASEM Working Methods Reform: An Identity Issue", not only on the working methods of ASEM but also on the discussions that took place in the run-up to and during the Brussels ASEM summit. Important stakes were at play. The issues focused on how to better organise ASEM and make practical use of

the wide array of initiatives; how to ensure progress and concrete results over time; how to address the long-standing perception that ASEM needed some kind of secretarial support; and how to ensure the improvement of the global visibility of ASEM.

This section of the book concluded with a chapter by Sebastian Bersick and Tanja Bauer entitled "Perception and ASEM Visibility in the European Media". The chapter presented the first results of a still ongoing international research project (named "Asia in the Eyes of Europe") on the perceptions that Europeans held of Asia and of ASEM affairs. It measured Europe's cognitive outlook in eight EU member states by using, *inter alia*, a media analysis of major print and TV media outlets in Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Romania and the United Kingdom. The research project was the European part of the broader Asia-Europe Perception Project and complemented the work that was being done in the framework of the "EU in the Eyes of Asia" research project. A conclusion drawn from the research was that ASEM was mainly perceived as a political actor. Its visibility varied considerably between the sample set of countries and the European level, which was also analysed. Hardly any attention was given to ASEM affairs as such. If the ASEM 8 summit had not taken place, ASEM would have been largely invisible to the European public.

Financial and Economic Governance

In his chapter "IMF: The Road from Rescue to Reform", J. Thomas Lindblad sketched the historical background of the present search for reform at the International Monetary Fund (IMF). He stressed the lessons the IMF drew from the Asian financial crisis in the late 1990s. From it, the IMF learned that it had to account for its actions and mend its shortcomings. In the subsequent decade a wide range of reform measures, accompanied by a great deal of soul-searching at the IMF headquarters, had been put into place. Those measures, alongside new constructive IMF initiatives, were endorsed by the Asian and European leaders at ASEM 8 in Brussels.

Jörn-Carsten Gottwald focused in his chapter "In Search of a New Global Financial Architecture: China, the G20 and ASEM" on the role of China in reforming the global governance architecture. According to Gottwald, relations between Asia and Europe had matured enough for them to address the crucial issue of reforming the global financial architecture. Due to the emergence of China as one of the key actors in the policymaking framework, the playing field had changed considerably at the same time that China's involvement in ASEM had gained the support of its members. China was aware that the rule-making that was going on would define the future global financial system. There were still no comprehensive proposals on the table, but according to Gottwald it was safe to infer that, with China embedded

in an inter-regional and global governance architecture, Beijing would have a strong influence on the development of the new global financial architecture.

In "Banking Regulations at a Crossroads", Bram de Roos put into perspective the statement in the ASEM 8 declaration concerning the resolve to strengthen the resilience and transparency of the global financial system and to reform the financial sector. He pointed to what went well during financial crises and drew lessons from that. De Roos specifically pointed to the Asian crisis of 1997, which spurred a wave of regulatory reform aimed at protecting the affected countries against future external shocks. These new regulations contributed to the most recent crisis having had a less severe impact on Asian countries than other parts of the world. While European countries needed unprecedented bailouts to prop up their financial systems and were still coping with the fallout, many Asian countries were only affected by the crisis because of a decline in international trade. Using datasets on government intervention, economic growth, financial regulations and the stability of banks, De Roos explored new directions in the search for an improved regulatory framework. According to his analysis, ASEM was well positioned to facilitate an exchange of knowledge based on the experiences of its members in order to help develop guidelines that could contribute to a more stable financial system.

Security Governance

In "Asia and Europe: Meeting Future Energy Security Challenges", Christopher M. Dent zoomed in on one of the major global challenges of the 21st century: namely energy security, which was directly linked to other key challenges such as global poverty and climate change. Dent examined how these relationships had developed on the inter-regional scale, paying particular attention to the ASEM process. There was much to be gained from this cooperation. While Europe was the birthplace of both the Industrial Revolution and many important developments in energy infrastructure and technologies, it had also played a key role in shaping the world's energy systems and practices. Asia was having an increasingly profound impact on global energy security with its energy consumption levels having risen fivefold during the period 1970 to 2009, and it was estimated that Asia's share of global energy consumption would rise to 40 percent by 2030. While competition over access to fuels was expected to intensify, there would be a concurrent realisation that more international cooperation was required due to the interdependent nature of many energy security predicaments. Energy security is also inextricably linked to climate change and global environmental security. Dent referred to this as the energy-environment-security nexus. This all lent greater imperative of ASEM members to collaboratively foster ways to mitigate their structural dependences on carbon fuel-based energy systems.

Susanne Kamerling and Frans-Paul van der Putten reflected on the ASEM 8 chair statement, listing piracy at sea as one of the global focus issues of ASEM, in their contribution "Enhancing Maritime Security Governance: European and Asian Naval Missions against Somali piracy". The statement specifically mentioned piracy off the coast of Somalia as a contemporary threat to the freedom and security of the seas. The Gulf of Aden and the western Indian Ocean – the waters where Somali pirates roam – were major thoroughfares of maritime trade between Europe and Asia. From 2008, a large number of countries had contributed to naval missions against Somali piracy. The great majority of those countries were either European or Asian. The fact that so many nations were involved in addressing Somali piracy constituted an important opportunity to strengthen security governance on maritime piracy. However, even when facing a common threat, it is not easy for such a large number of countries to work together when they have little experience in doing so. This is particularly true when the military assets of competing great powers are involved in a maritime region that is of major strategic importance. Kamerling and Van der Putten addressed the question of how Asian and European countries that are active in naval operations against Somali piracy can contribute to more effective maritime security governance. They argued that the European Union, especially when supported by Asian governments, is in a strategic position to help overcome geopolitical impediments to greater international cooperation. In this, ASEM has an important role to play.

The Enlargement of ASEM

David Capie explored how Australia and New Zealand came to join ASEM in his chapter entitled "Bridging Asia and Europe? Australia and New Zealand Membership in ASEM". In the 1970s, Australia had come to realise that its economic destiny lay more in the Asia-Pacific region and less in the Atlantic world. It had become a member of practically every regional and multilateral organisation in the Asian and Pacific theatre. When Kevin Rudd became prime minister, relations with Asia were further deepened while ties with Europe were rejuvenated. Rudd also pushed for Australian membership of the reinvented G20, the first meeting of which was discussed in detail at ASEM 7 (2008) in Beijing. In order to play a key role in the international response to the global financial crisis, it was clear that Australia would have to become an ASEM member. This had a direct impact on New Zealand which, similarly to Australia, had experienced an economic shift away from Europe and towards Asia as its main trading partner.

This was also reflected in the development of closer political ties with Asia. New Zealand also began participating in many regional institutions, whether organised

on an East Asian or Asia-Pacific basis. Membership or affiliation in all these organisations was already stretching the country's diplomatic resources, which was one of the reasons why New Zealand never actively lobbied for ASEM membership. Once Australia applied for membership, however, New Zealand was quick to follow because it would otherwise have become the only non-ASEM member of the East Asia Summit (EAS). This could have undermined Auckland's position as an active participant in the developing East Asian regional architecture. It is clear that both countries perceived ASEM first and foremost as a forum for dialogue with Asian and European leaders. Nevertheless, Australia's interest in ASEM seemed to be much greater than that of New Zealand, which was primarily focused on the political interactions around summits and ministerial meetings. The accession of Australia, New Zealand and the Russian Federation eventually triggered the creation of a so-called temporary third category within ASEM alongside the Asian and European ASEM groups.

In the closing chapter of this book "ASEM's Future Enlargement: The Way Forward", Bertrand De Combrugghe analysed the history of enlargement and its future. He recounted how the accession of the three new ASEM members was brought about with cautious diplomatic manoeuvring. He also argued for the use of the term "middle members" rather than "third category" members. According to De Crombrugghe, all new members should be given the opportunity to partake fully and on an equal basis with the other ASEM members, because this would give new potential to the ASEM agenda. The ASEM coordinators were tasked with stimulating and coordinating the ASEM agenda, but they do so with few means. A technical support team or an ASEM secretariat would be more effective in ensuring neutral and objective service to all ASEM members.

Conclusion

The practical importance of international institutions that can contribute to regional, inter-regional and global governance is increasing. It comes as no surprise, then, that ASEM's agenda has continuously been enlarged since the first summit in 1996 took place. The chapters on security, economic and financial governance as well as the insiders' views on the advantages and limitations of contemporary ASEM affairs clearly demonstrate the contribution of the ASEM process, and of ASEM 8 in particular, to the development of a new global governance architecture.

ASEM affairs are, however, not only driven by issues but also by the need to reform. The question of ASEM membership and enlargement played an important role during the ASEM 8 summit in Brussels and continues to do so. More than anything else, the accession of Russia posed a challenge to ASEM's inter-regional

institutional and ideational structure. The accession of India and Pakistan in 2008 and Bangladesh in 2012, as well as the continued deepening of European integration (via the Lisbon Treaty), has furthermore contributed to an inter-regional asymmetry. As a result, ASEM-Europe has increased its unity while ASEM-Asia has increased its diversity. How Asians and Europeans react to and manage these changes as well as the challenges for governance they pose in their respective regions and inter-regionally will largely determine the problem-solving capacity of ASEM and the further impact that ASEM has on the development of a new global governance architecture.

We would argue that it is important for ASEM to enhance its inclusive and open style. There is a risk that the needed bidirectional and reflexive approach will be undermined by a potential inability of ASEM to integrate all its participants as full and equal members on either the European or the Asian side. The recent ASEM enlargement demonstrates how ASEM affairs and the development of a regional architecture in Asia also impact on Europe's regional architecture. Decisions taken among ASEM members highlight the issue of who is Europe and who belongs to Europe and to what extent the EU represents Europe. ASEM clearly adds to the dynamics of regional architectures not only with respect to Asia but also in relation to Europe. This is a new development, as the accession of Russia to ASEM requires a decision on whether Russia belongs to the European or the Asian region of ASEM. Whether the creation of a temporary third category would help to mitigate the identity crisis that ASEM is in remains to be seen. Apart from Bangladesh, European countries such as Norway and Switzerland are also keen to join the ASEM process. Its enlargement is indicative of ASEM's increasing role as a constituent of the developing new global governance architecture.

The Europe-Asia Policy Forum (EUforAsia)

Speech held at the launch of the Europe Asia Policy Forum at the European Parliament in 2009 outlining the aims, objectives and activities of this project funded by the European Commission.

Original source: Velde, Paul van der. 2009. “Speech on the Occasion of the Launch of the Europe-Asia Policy Forum (EUforAsia)”. Brussels, European Parliament, 29 April 2009.

Partners in EUforAsia

Who are the partners in EUforAsia? First of all the Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF) is the only institutional manifestation of the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) process, which includes all member states of the EU, the European Commission, the ASEAN Secretariat and almost all Asian countries. The second partner is the Singapore Institute for International Relations, established almost fifty years ago and which is increasingly devoting energy to the study of the Asia-Europe relations. The European input is given by the Leiden / Amsterdam based International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) which in the past fifteen years has grown into a facilitating hub for Asian Studies worldwide. The Brussels-based European Institute for Asian Studies has more than twenty years of experience in organising seminars and briefings on Asia primarily for a Brussels audience.

The aforementioned institutes have been working together intensively in the past so therefore it was no coincidence that they joined hands in tendering for the 2007 open call for proposals on “Promoting mutual awareness, understanding and cooperation between the EU and Asia, Latin America, the European neighborhood and Russia”. At the end of last year we were granted the contract and since then we have been busy finalising the program for 2009 in close cooperation with the European Commission (EC), setting up the website and doing all other nitty-gritty in order to get the project moving.

Aims and Objectives

EUforAsia has been set up to improve Europe’s understanding of Asia and vice versa, thus contributing to the growing rapport between the two regions. Nobody will doubt that this is a necessary approach and it is fortunate that the European Commission pushes it. The Director for Asia at the EuropeAid Cooperation Office, Dirk Meganck, welcomed our project as follows: “Asia’s growing importance in the European Union is increasingly self-evident. In order to help improve



Figure 13. Logo of the Europe-Asia Policy Forum (EUforAsia). Design: Pharos, Monique van Hootegem. Photo Cindy Bakker.

mutual understanding between the two regions, the European Commission is funding the EuforAsia project, which will facilitate the exchange of information on Asia by non-state actors. It will contribute to EU policy formulation towards Asia and will strengthen our cooperation."

EUforAsia is based on an extensive stakeholder network of institutes, universities and think tanks in Asia and the European Union. Supported by the European Commission, EUforAsia will address policy issues of concern to both the EU and to Asia for a three year period, from this year to 2011. By strengthening knowledge and understanding of the EU-Asia relations, EUforAsia will contribute to EU policy formulation towards Asia. Using the extensive networks in both continents, decision-makers in the EU institutions and member states will be brought together with Asian diplomats, European and Asian business and trade union representatives, leading academics, representatives of civil society, the media and other stakeholders interested in Asian issues. EUforAsia also aims at enhancing Europe's awareness of Asian political, economic and social developments and regional processes and mechanisms.

EUforAsia's Activities

Building on their respective strengths, the participating institutes are each taking the lead in a part of the project but needless to say there will be continuous cross pollination going on under the umbrella of EUforAsia. The EUforAsia Brussels briefings on important topical issues will be organised by the European Institute for Asian Studies with its twenty years of experience in organising these sessions aimed at a Brussels audience. Actually this launch was preceded by the first EUforAsia Brussels briefing on the ASEAN Charter and the second one in May will be on EU-India FTA negotiations. There will be eight such briefings each year.

The EUforAsia workshops and roundtable conference will take place in various venues in Europe and Asia and will primarily be organised by ASEF and SIIA. The meetings have three themes. (1.) The Asia-Europe Environment Forum which is a multi-stakeholder debate on sustainable development issues in both Asia and Europe. (2.) The Regional Integration Series analysing developments in regional

integration in both regions. (3.) The Asia Roundtable on Conflict Management which is an expert policy dialogue on Europe-Asia cooperation on governance and conflict management.

The EUforAsia website will be kept up by IIAS. It builds on the ASEM Research Platform (ARP) which was operated by IIAS from 2002 to 2004 and was a multi-stakeholder dialogue on Asia-Europe relationships. The virtual library of articles on EU-Asia relations will be part of the new website and will be updated on a regular basis. It will be an Internet forum on academic research and exchanges on Asia and Europe related issues to enhance communication and dissemination of European and Asian expertise. It has the ambition of becoming the leading online provider of information on EU-Asia relations. It has the dashboard feature with which everybody can simply create their own Asia-Europe environment with easy access to all up-to-date information.

All these activities will be coordinated by the EUforAsia secretariat which is conveniently located in Rue de la Loi near virtually all European institutions where we also have a meeting space for the EUforAsia Brussels briefings. It will closely cooperate with the team members in Singapore. We hope that three years from now we will look back on this launch event as the beginning of a fruitful project in Europe-Asia relations, the continuation of which thereafter will be self-evident.

CHAPTER 6

Asian Studies for the 21st Century

The Quest for a Global Perspective in Asian Studies

> This quest for a global perspective in Asian Studies has taken the Netherlands as its point of departure. There is no other reason for this than that the contributions presented in this supplement are the written form of the speeches delivered during the official opening of the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) on October 13, 1993, in Leiden. We have chosen this format to stress their transient nature. The lines of attack chosen by the contributors vary according to their nationality and disciplinary background. The value of the contributions must be sought in the inclination to seek a common ground for Asian Studies: How can Asian Studies be strengthened and be put in a proper global perspective?
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> Original source: Velde, Paul van der. 1994. "The Quest for a Global Perspective in Asian Studies". *IIAS Newsletter* 2. Supplement. Asian Studies in Global Perspective. 35-36.

The first contribution in this supplement is that of F. Hüsken, Professor of Anthropology at Nijmegen University and Chairman of the Board of IIAS. He looks back on the achievement of Dutch scholars and Dutch heritage in the field of Asian Studies. Notwithstanding this glorious past, Asian Studies were on the verge of becoming extinct in the 1970s and 1980s, just at a time when Asia was clearly entering the world picture. Two reports compiled by concerned scholars in the field of the Humanities and Social Sciences constituted a turning point which led to the founding of the post-doctoral IIAS which is a state-supported institute that will stimulate international co-operation.

Interchange

Wim Stokhof, Professor of Austronesian Languages at Leiden University and Director of IIAS, recapitulates the position of IIAS in the broad field of Asian Studies. He sees IIAS as an international facility and service centre, an interchange between organisations and groups of Asianists. He concludes that Asian Studies are bound to Asia which is increasingly impinging on the awareness of the Western world and vice versa.

M.J. Cohen, State Secretary for Education and Science, links the importance of Asian Studies directly to the ever growing economic importance of the Pacific Rim. Europeans have to do away with the old distorted Eurocentric picture of Asia in order to gain a more balanced new one. Moreover, Asian Studies in the Netherlands should be given a higher profile because the traditional Dutch middleman's role demands this. IIAS could play a role in the endeavour by creating a European Network for Asian Studies; a structure for pooling our knowledge of Asia.

Asian Studies from the German Perspective

Before turning his attention to the German situation, B. Dahm, Professor of Southeast Asian Studies at the University of Passau, highlights the long tradition of Asian Studies in Europe and its fine achievements, at the same time not closing his eyes to the close links between colonialism and Orientalism. Orientalism played a role in the German Romantic movement which stressed the unity of language and state. The independent attitude of the German States is still very much alive today as is witnessed by the decentralised build-up of Asian Studies in Germany and their predominantly linguistic and philological nature. There are 33 universities in Germany dealing with one or more aspects of Asian Studies and the German Asian Studies Association tries to provide some co-ordination. In a European perspective, Dahm sees these kinds of national organisations, in conjunction with the European organisations and the renowned European Institutes in the field of Asian Studies, as the backbone of what Cohen labelled a European Network for Asian Studies in which the identities of the different schools will be guaranteed.

Neighbouring Australia

From the contribution of Professor M.C. Ricklefs, Director of the Research school of Pacific and Asian Studies of the Australian National University, one gets a clear impression of the urgent need felt by the Australians, who are still predominantly Western orientated, to come to grips with the Asian 'challenge'. The Australian government has reacted by making Asian languages compulsory. Australia is well aware that it does not border on France or Germany but on Indonesia and Japan. Asian Studies in Australia is established in several regional centres but one can still speak of a concentration of Asian Studies in Canberra, clustered around the Australian National University, its library, and the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies. Ricklefs is of the opinion that the prospective European Network of Asian Studies should be linked up with other existing networks including the

Australian one. Post-doctoral exchanges within a global network could bring a beneficial global perspective within reach.

Teach or Perish

David. K. Wyatt, Professor of Southeast Asian History at Cornell University and President of the Association of Asian Studies (AAS), stated that Asian Studies in the United States is a big enterprise which has been institutionalised in many different universities across the country. Furthermore, if one looks at the membership of the AAS, which acts as a North American interest-group for Asian Studies, it becomes clear that traditional humanistic disciplines have continued to dominate the field. The support for Asian Studies in the United States comes from the general funding of higher education and is justified by the teaching of undergraduates. This leaves little room for new directions and has given Asian Studies in the United States a highly specialised and parochial outlook. Wyatt expresses hope that in future international co-operation will play a larger role in Asian Studies.

Learning from Asia

Professor R. Rybakov, Deputy Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies in Moscow which employs over 1000 researchers, informs us about the history of Asian Studies (which he consistently calls Oriental Studies) in Russia, the origins of which he dates back to the time of Peter the Great. Asian Studies in 19th century Russia were predominantly of a philological nature. Scholars incorporated words from languages of Asian peoples who had been conquered during the Russian expansion into the Russian vocabulary. Russia became an Asian country itself and Asian Studies a form of self study. After the communist revolution Asian Studies were completely politicised, but Rybakov states that the majority of Orientalists did not commit themselves to crude dogmatism. With the overthrow of communism a new generation of Orientalists, or should we say Asianists, is emerging which eagerly looks for inspiration from their economically successful Asian neighbours.

Decolonisation of Knowledge

Dr Taufik Abdullah, Senior Researcher at LIPI (Indonesian Institute of Sciences) in Jakarta, sketches Asian Studies in a broad regional Southeast Asian perspective of countries such as Indonesia, The Philippines, Singapore, Malaysia, and Thailand.

He addresses the decolonisation of knowledge in the context of Asian Studies, which was by no means an easy thing to do for the Asian scholars. In the 1950s and 1960s they searched for a proper academic perspective and in the 1970s and 1980s national identity and culture were high on the agenda. According to Taufik Abdullah the awareness of the artificiality of national boundaries in the global village will stimulate international co-operation and enhance research in a broader regional Southeast Asian perspective.

The Quest Has Just Begun

Much research still remains to be done in order to really come to grips with Asian Studies in a global context. More attention will have to be given to Asian Studies in the Asian countries themselves. Fortunately Taufik Abdullah can inform us about Asian Studies in the Southeast Asian region. But we are still ill-informed about Asian Studies in Japan, China, Korea, Vietnam, and India. More attention will have to be paid to Asian Studies in the southern countries of Europe and Latin America. Fortunately, Asian Studies in France and Great Britain have been charted in recent studies and Asian Studies in Scandinavia have been highlighted in an article in the previous issue of this Newsletter. With the assistance of databases, which are continuously updated, and unstinting efforts we will be able to create a greater degree of transparency in the world of Asian Studies. As a step in this direction in its next supplement the editorial staff of this Newsletter will venture to give a picture of Asian Studies in Europe.

Guide to Asian Studies in Europe

> This Guide cannot be seen as an abstraction, divorced from developments over the past few years which have influenced the field of Asian Studies in Europe. Therefore, before turning to this Guide to Asian Studies itself, it is necessary to set the stage with a brief sketch of those developments which have generated the growing awareness in Europe that intensive co-operation is a vital key to unlock new research areas and deal with the new realities of present-day Asia and the world at large. An awareness which is to be found at all levels among Asianists, institutes, organisations, and associations in the field of Asian Studies.
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> Original source: Velde, Paul van der. 1998. "Guide to Asian Studies in Europe", *Guide to Asian Studies in Europe*, edited by Paul van der Velde. London: Curzon Press. 5-7.

The foundation of the European Science Foundation-Asia Committee (ESF-AC) in 1994 can be seen as marking the beginning of the intensification of institutional co-operation in Europe. On its board are twenty members representing all the important European institutes in the field of Asian Studies. The committee has set itself three main goals. The first of these is to reinforce Asian Studies by setting up an ESF fellowship programme, which has so far been supported by the government of France, the Scandinavian countries, and the Netherlands. The second goal on which the ESF-AC has set its sights is the organisation of international scholarly meetings to increase mobility and co-operation among Asian scholars. So far thirty meetings of this kind have been organised, generating new impulses for Asian Studies in Europe. In a further attempt to stimulate co-operation and mobility the Committee also allotted a budget to the regional associations for Asian Studies in Europe in the field of Korean, Japanese, Chinese, and Southeast Asian Studies, which had already been founded, and stimulated the foundation of the European associations for South Asian and Central Asian Studies in 1996.

The third goal identified by the Committee as necessary to the achievement of its purpose was to create a European Database for Asian Studies (EDAS), which should initially help to identify the quantitative spread of Asian Studies in Europe and later their professional content. The publication of this edition of the *Guide to Asian Studies in Europe* can be regarded as the outcome of that first quantitative phase of the project. Now this project is poised to enter its second phase in which more qualitative information will be added to the EDAS by means of a more elaborate questionnaire. This does not mean that the quantitative gathering of information will not continue.

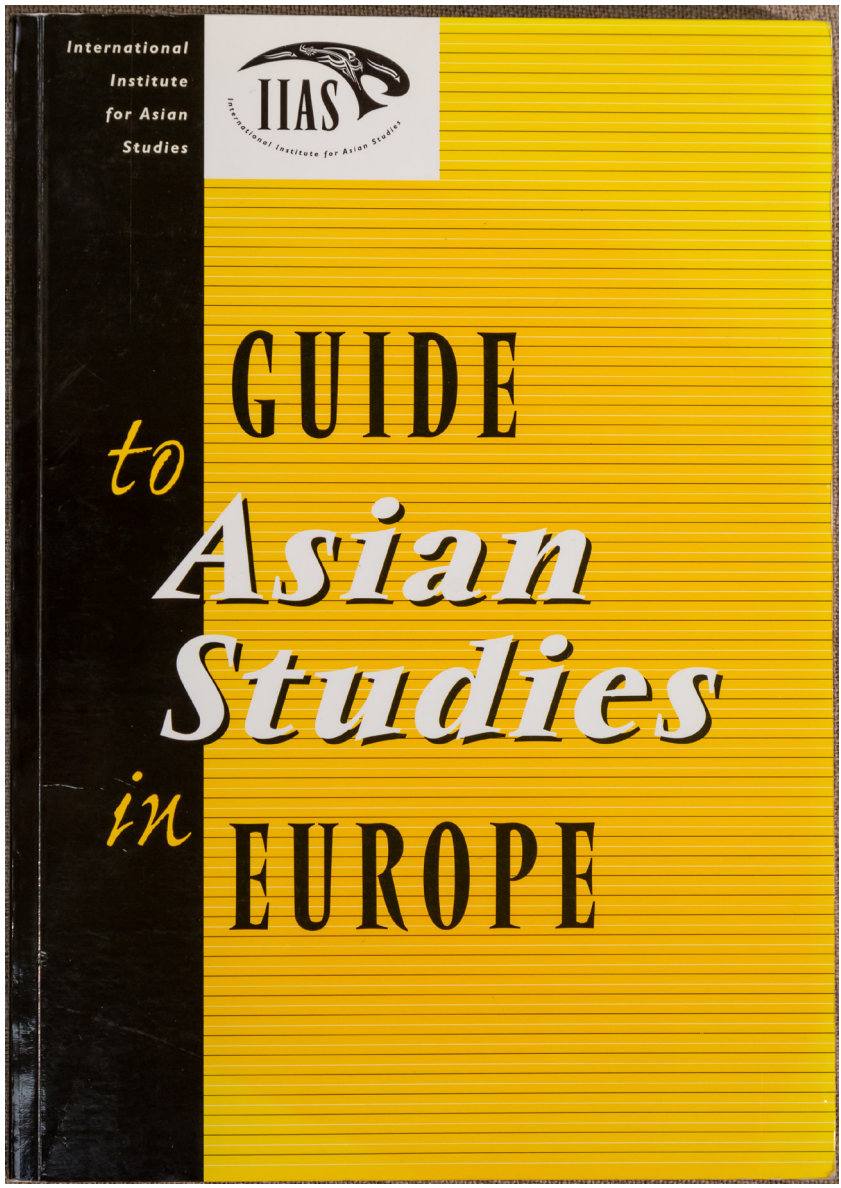


Figure 14. Cover of the *Guide to Asian Studies in Europe.* Photo Cindy Bakker.

The Guide to Asian Studies in Europe (GASE)

Anyone who has ever had the pleasure of compiling or supervising a project of this kind knows that he or she is fully dependent on the co-operation of the people who are candidates for inclusion in the Guide. Certainly when it is the first time that such a guide is put together, a lot of water has to flow under the bridge before such potential candidates are convinced of the necessity for the guide. The purpose of this publication is to present as concisely as possible the outcome of a project which has spanned a two-year period. The catalyst was a similar line of research conducted in the Netherlands in 1994-1995, resulting in the *Guide to Asian Studies in the Netherlands '95*.

The GASE Project commenced in 1995 with an announcement in the *IIAS Newsletter*, which included a questionnaire requesting professional data and information from Asianists about the region and discipline. By appending their signature, the respondents declared that they agreed that the information they had supplied us could be used for this publication. The response to this mailing was condensed in the *Preliminary Guide to Asian Studies in Europe '95* which was sent as an insert to all readers of the *IIAS Newsletter*. The primary reason behind this earlier publication was to act as a stimulus to generate more response. In this we were not disappointed. In Russia, Spain, and France national initiatives were undertaken to produce inventories for the field of Asian Studies, a move which expanded the European dimension of the project. In June 1996 a letter, which also contained a print-out of the data then in our possession, was sent to all respondents and, for encouragement, to all non-respondents. This initiative created a very sizeable response which, taken in conjunction with questionnaires received up to June 1997, seemed to justify the decision to go ahead with the publication of this guide, now that nearly 5,000 respondents or approximately 60 per cent of the European Asianists are represented in it. These figures would indicate that the total number of Asianists in Europe is in the region of 8,000.

Quantitative Data

The *Preliminary Guide to Asian Studies in Europe '95* contained information on 300 institutes and about 500 Asianists. The Netherlands was not included because the *Guide to Asian Studies in the Netherlands '95* alone contained more than 500 Dutch Asianists. In September 1995, a presentation detailing the GASE Project was made in a meeting of the ESF-AC. By that time slightly more than 2,000 Asianists had responded. About 40 per cent of them were Dutch. It was therefore no wonder that the area most studied turned out to be Southeast Asia, taking account of the

strong Dutch tradition in that field. South Asia was in second place, and third place was taken by East Asia. Central and Insular Southwest Asia were virtually virgin territories. Discipline-wise there was a clear preponderance of anthropology and history. French, German, and British Asianists were already well-respresented whereas the Mediterranean countries and Russia went almost unrepresented.

In this Guide almost 5,000 Asianists are listed, which is a tenfold increase in comparison with the Preliminary Guide. There is still a Dutch bias, but in all the percentage of Dutch Asianists has dwindled from 50 per cent to a little more than 20 per cent. Although the Netherlands emerges as the country with the most Asianists, we are convinced that in the second edition of this publication this number will be proportionally more representative. Countries with more than 500 Asianists are Germany, Russia, France, and Great Britain. All other countries have fewer than 200 Asianists. Fortunately Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Greece can now account for more than 300 Asianists between them. This number is comparable to the number of Scandinavian Asianists.

In the presentation in September 1995, South and Southeast Asia were the most studied regions. Now we can note that East Asia has stolen a march as the most studied area followed by Southeast and South Asia. Interestingly, a remarkable growth of Central Asian Studies can also be discerned. Countries attracting the most attention from Asianists are China, Indonesia, India, and Japan, each with on average 1,000 specialists. A middle category is formed by countries and regions such as Thailand, Korea, Malaysia, Pakistan, The Philippines, Taiwan, Tibet, and Vietnam which are studied by on average 400 scholars.

By far the largest discipline in the field of Asian Studies is history followed by anthropology, both fields with more than 1000 scholars. Cultural studies and religion attract about 800 researchers. Noteworthy is the rise of researchers in the field of political science, international relations, and economics. Each of these disciplines has more than 500 practitioners.

The Second Phase of GASE

In the second phase of the GASE Project our aim will be to collect more detailed information on the professional content of the work of the European Asianists. The instrument we have chosen to accomplish our aim is a more elaborate questionnaire. We would ask our contributors to this second phase to be fairly reticent in filling in their regional and disciplinary specialisation. If there is one thing we have learned from the first phase questionnaires it is that Europe has a fair percentage of Asianists who feel competent in a variety of disciplines and regions. Of course, it is hard to qualify when it is possible to claim to be a specialist in a certain field

but a minimum requirement should be that one has to have written at least three articles on the topic or a book. This should not stop young scholars from filling in the questionnaire, because it can also be seen as a statement of aspiration. Those who have already filled in the first phase questionnaire will receive a print-out of the information already provided. They then have to fill in only the remaining part. Please note that there is a separate entry in the questionnaire which is from the National Bureau of Asian Research (Seattle). If you fill out this questionnaire we will relay this information to this Bureau which will include it in its directory which tends to concentrate on specialists in policy studies. We hope for your continued support in this project and please do not hesitate to comment on this Guide so that we will be able to improve the second edition.

New Developments in Asian Studies: An Introduction

The eighteen contributions to this book concern the world of Asia albeit in a highly diverse sense. The articles range from Gujarat to the mountains of western Japan and from Tibet to Madagascar. They cover a time-scale from tenth century China to the present situation in the Pacific Rim and they deal with such political issues as minority rights and legal reforms, and analyses of the academic discourse in Asia. All the articles were written by scholars affiliated with the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS).

Original source: Velde, Paul van der. 1998. "New Developments in Asian Studies.: An Introduction". *New Developments in Asian Studies,* edited by Velde, Paul van der and McKay, Alex. London / New York: Kegan Paul International. IX-XVII.

Minorities in Asia

No major Asian nation-state is without its minority groups which have fought to maintain their identities and often succeeded. This section contains a review of one such successful strategy and a more general, theoretical consideration of the problem of minorities. Barend ter Haar, in "A New Interpretation of the Yao Charters", discusses these charters, which are often in the form of beautifully illustrated scrolls, preserved by the people of the Yao culture of southern China. These scrolls contain at least one or two narratives, which tell of the northern origins of the first Yao groups and legitimate their exemption from taxes and corvée labour. Chinese scholars (both Han and Yao) take quite literally the claims that these documents were donated by past emperors. They even use them as straightforward historical sources of the early history of the Yao. In his article, Ter Haar argues that these documents were actually composed by the Yao themselves on the basis of transmitted mythology in order to create a positive identity vis-à-vis the Han Chinese. The charters use the format of historiography because this was (and perhaps still is) the dominant mode of self-legitimation in the Chinese sphere of influence.

In his article "Can Kymlicka's Liberal Theory of Minority Rights be Applied in East Asia", Baogang He examines and questions this theory in the context of the East Asian experience. Kymlicka's theory of minority rights justifies and defends the institutionalisation of internal boundaries between communities in a nation-state, and, consequently the right of national minorities to refuse assimilation into a larger society. Baogang reviews the main ideas of Kymklicka's theory and, in testing it, describes minority policies in East Asia as a basis for discussion. The question of whether this conceptualisation of minority rights is appropriate in the East Asian context is examined. Another aim is to explore whether the inherent notion

of justice in Kymlicka's theory is comparable to the Confucian notion of justice. Finally the topic is used to test the strengths and limits as well as the applicability and implications of Kymlicka's theory.

Chinese History Within and Without

The next three contributions on China-proper all deal with history, the latter of the three being concerned with the question of sinology and sinologists. In his contribution, "Historical Consciousness in China: Some Notes on Six Theses on Chinese Historiography and Historical Thought", Achim Mittag takes a fresh look at six theses inspired by Chinese historiography and the Chinese sense of the past. These include: the often repeated view that the Chinese have valued a backward-looking attitude; the notion of compartmentalised time, which has been considered a hindrance to the development of historical consciousness; the time-honoured idea of history as a 'mirror'; the assertion that Chinese historiography was confined to chronography; the view that Chinese historiography functioned as 'a guide to bureaucratic practices'; and the notion of 'tyranny' of history. In his concluding remarks, Mittag introduces and briefly discusses a new theoretical approach to writing history and historical thought in a comparative perspective.

Angela Schottenhammer, whose contribution on "Polities and Morality in Song China: Sima Guang as a Typical Example'" explains the functioning of the ideological transition from the field of polities to morality within a political dispute and argumentation. She begins by describing the historical, political, and ideological background of Song China which was characterised by the emergence of new political and ideological concepts. The particular battle which captures her attention was that of the factions of the reformer Wang Anshi and those of Sima Guang, who clashed on the question of what the best and most appropriate way was to guarantee political and economic stability, and the unity of the empire. To prove themselves right, Song officials used a very specific argumentation originally put forward by Sima Guang. This example could just as well be applied to modern China and in fact has been one of the uses of Chinese history as Mittag has shown in his article. This leads to the intriguing question of who the present-day Wang Anshi is and who is accorded the role of Sima Guang.

Hans Hägerdal contributes an article entitled "Why Sinologists Look East: An Essay on the Prosopography of Sinology". He applies a prosopographical approach to the study of Western sinologists as a group of individuals pursuing a profession. Hägerdal draws inspiration from a wide range of sources: state-of-the-art studies, obituaries, autobiographies, and interviews. A number of themes, which are essential for the development of the profession, are examined. These are then placed in

the wider perspective of academic traditions and the temporal aspect of change. The first which springs to mind is the meaning of China and Chinese culture in the environment in which the sinologists work. This highlights the difficulties in gaining physical and mental access to the object of study. The scene having been set, the spotlight turns to patterns discernible in the initiation phase of the scholars: why China? Though purely academic interest has become an increasingly decisive factor among sinologists in their choice of the field, other factors should not be overlooked. The next step is to survey the personal characteristics of the sinologists. Hägerdal investigates issues relating to their educational and inspirational background and foregrounds the problem of an intellectual genealogy and the pros and cons of a strong scholarly tradition. Hägerdal hypothesises that the relation between the profession of sinology and Western political interest in general is less clear-cut than is often presumed. Strong national intellectual traditions in the field of sinology have prevailed thus far, but now these seem to have reached a stage of modification, submitting themselves to the influence of the internationalisation of research.

People, Capital and Law in China

Leaving history behind, the next three contributors bring us directly to present-day China, examining such pertinent topics as economic modernisation, migration, and law reform. In her article "Qiaoxiang Ties and China's Economic Modernization", Cen Huang gives a review of the current studies on overseas Chinese, with a specific focus on the relationships between qiaoxiang (home town) and China's fast growing transnational economy. Qiaoxiang ties, in a broad sense, represent complex social, political, cultural, and economic relationships between overseas Chinese and their ancestral homeland – China. They derive from 'traditional' modes of organisation among Chinese migrants, which have persisted for centuries. During the past two decades, large amounts of foreign capital have flowed into China and there is a widespread belief that the majority of this capital was introduced or invested by overseas Chinese. Qiaoxiang ties have played an important role in the creation of the economic miracle in South China. Nurtured by the qiaoxiang phenomenon, a transnational economy has been emerging in South China since the late 1980s. Huang focuses on three themes: qiaoxiang ties and Chinese societal networks; overseas Chinese remittances and foreign investment; and entrepeneurship and China's economic modernisation.

The theme of Carine Guerassimoff's article on "Legal and Illegal Mainland Chinese Emigration During the 1990s" is the new Chinese migration from the People's Republic of China since the end of the 1980s. She argues that the Chinese government is doing its best to control and organise the new flow of migrants, but the movement is growing so fast that illegal networks remain as important as before.

Yong Zhang examines the history and recent development of the Chinese administrative penalty system in comparison with Japanese and Taiwanese laws in his article, "The Development of the Chinese Administrative Penalty System: A Comparative Perspective with Japanese and Taiwanese Law". In contrast to the Japanese and Taiwanese administrative penalty systems, which developed under the principle of the separation of state powers and the rule of law, the Chinese administrative system has developed under the principle of concentration of state powers and the Chinese-style of the rule of law, which means that in the past as well as in the present the administrative power occupies a position of substantial supremacy. Against the background of the internationalisation of the Chinese economy, the Chinese administrative penalty system faced the problem of matching Western standards.

The legislation contained in the Chinese Administrative Penalty Act is an effort to make a rapprochement. Although the new legislation has improved the former situation in the power of creating administrative penalties and the procedure for imposing an administrative penalty, these improvements have their own limitations. The most acute of these restrictions affects personal freedom. The Chinese legislators were not in a position to remove the vested power for creating administrative penalties from the hands of the Executive, and administrative penalties affecting personal freedom could not be abolished nor could the newly introduced system of court hearings be applied to an administrative penalty regarding personal freedom. The short and simple answer to this conundrum is that the legislation has to be carried out within the framework of current Chinese constitutional principles.

Islam and the Challenge of Modernity

Turning south to Indonesia, the discussions fall into two highly opposing categories for modern Indonesia: Islam and regionalism. In his contribution on the "Role of Islam in Contemporary Indonesia: Search for a New Social Paradigm" Dilip Chandra analyses the developments within Islamic movements and organisations themselves and then contrasts this to the government's momentous step in 1985 of introducing Pancasila (the Five Principles) as the sole basis for all socio-political organisations. The crux of this argument is that though this historic step led to a formal end of the ideological struggle in Indonesia, which included the struggle for an Islamic state, it simultaneously opened up new possibilities for the Islamic organisations to channel the aspirations of the Islamic community (Ummat). The post-1985 period has been marked by a growing rapport between the government and the new Islamic leadership, whose summit was reached by the creation of the Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Se-Indonesia (ICMI, the Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals Association) by the government in December 1990.

Chandra analyses the major events which led to the declaration of Pancasila then focuses on its impact on the Islamic struggle. His conclusion is that although there is a favourable climate for greater unity within the Ummat at present, there has also been a major shift in the struggle of the Ummat concerning its aims. The current Islamic struggle is now more preoccupied with the application of Islamic cultural values and social norms in society, rather than with the creation of an Islamic state.

Using the academic debate on globalisation as an introductory framework, Jeroen Peeters discusses the Indonesian book trade in "Islamic Book Publishers in Indonesia: A Social Network Analysis". Proceeding chronologically, he offers a detailed discussion of Islamic publishers working under the Sukarno regime. Their fortunes initially declined under the New Order rule of Suharto. The healthy state of the industry which lasted until recently, typified by the publishing house of Mizan of Bandung, contrasts sharply with the struggles endured in the early days of the Republic by those who did their utmost to propagate religious knowledge.

Between Nation and Region: Authors in Indonesia

The contrast between ethnicity and nationalism has always been a delicate issue in Indonesia. The two following articles offer a historical perspective. One deals with colonial times, the other with a contemporary author. The article by Edwin Wieringa, entitled "Another Document from the Funeral Pyre: The Suluk Aspiya or Suluk Endracatur by Radèn Mas Atmasutirta", is about Pakubuwana IV's quest for the secret wisdom to help him exercise his statecraft. A close reading of the text shows that it has little to do either with mysticism or history. The story is perhaps best characterised as a 'satire' on Pakubuwana IV (r. 1788-1820). In his Babad Pakepung, Yasadipura had sharply critised Pakubuwana IV for not having listened to his court poet. Atmasutira in his poem was probably seeking more official court recognition for poets.

In his contribution "'Because I am a Malay' Taufik Ikram Jamil between Nation and Region", Will Derks discusses some of the main tendencies in modern Indonesian literature by focusing on the work of the Indonesian author Taufik Ikram Jamil. Taufik is a Malay in his early thirties, living and working as a journalist as well as a literary author in Pekanbaru, the capital of the Indonesian province of Riau. Although not yet well known, Taufik seems to be a promising young author of a great many poems, short stories, and essays. Derks shows that Taufik is by any claim a national author in whose work some of the main tendencies in modern Indonesian literature concerning the vicissitudes of the state and the nation are reflected. The clues are in its *pasemon* character, its inclination to play 'the game with the censor', its penchant for the absurd and its reticence, among others. Having said this, it has to be admitted that Taufik's work also reveals a strong

tendency to emphasise regional Malay concerns rather than national Indonesian preoccupations. This expression of a desire to 'turn inward', as well as some reasons for this desire, are discussed at length. Derks shows that Taufik holds an ambivalent position 'between nation and region', and ends by suggesting that such an ambivalence may be characteristic of other young writers in Indonesia today.

Deconstructing Imperial Images

The next three contributions are taken from South India, Madagascar, and Tibet, all looking at colonial myths which were once propagated to shore up the interests of colonial governments, and then proceeding to deconstruct them. "Indian Languages in the Modernization Discourse in Colonial India" is the contribution of E. Annamalai. In it he describes the nature and extent of encoding the modern ideology in Indian languages, especially Tamil, lexically and semantically. As one of the sources for language modernisation is cultural contact, this article describes the dissemination process of modern ideology identified with the European Enlightenment which began in India in the nineteenth century. The process is a mosaic of varying motivations of the colonial rulers and negotiations of the Indian subjects in disseminating and appropriating modern ideology, each to their own ends. Education, having been imparted through the medium of English to the upper segments of Indian society, did not, the author contends, turn out to be the primary source by which Indian languages were modernised. Publications in Indian languages by the bilingual intelligentsia, who had access to English education, were, however, such a source. Thus language modernisation followed societal modernisation at the ideological level.

In a theoretical framework which distinguishes between linguistic affiliation, assimilation, and differentiation of modern ideas, the article shows general semantic shifts in Tamil, illustrating assimilation and semantic differentiation as a way to create new meanings which are not isomorphic with the modern ideology. These would seem to suggest that a differentiated modernity was created. Both assimilating and differentiating manifestations of modernity as encoded in Indian languages are important for appreciating the issues of inter-translatability and inter-communication between Europe and Asia, even in the domain of modernity.

Rafolo Andrianaivoarivony has chosen "The Construction of the State of Madagascar in the Nineteenth Century: Archaeology of the Religious Legitimacy" as the title of his contribution. In it he addresses the question of how religious values were transformed and then used in the construction and consolidation of the kingdom of Madagascar. As of 1869, the legitimacy of power was no longer based on the values of the traditional religion but on Christianity. Although not denying the

enormous impact of Christian values on modern Madagascar, Andrianaivoarivony makes clear that the ancient values of the traditional religion have not been erased completely.

"Tibet: The Myth of Isolation" by Alex McKay, examines the popular image of pre-communist Tibet as a remote and inaccessible land and demonstrates that this image was deliberately cultivated for political purposes by Tibet itself and its Chinese and British patrons. The Tibetan government wished to maintain Tibet's isolation in order to protect its Buddhist system, and the Chinese (and later the British) co-operated with this policy to protect their own influence in Lhasa. In fact, the harsh climatic and physical conditions were the main barrier for Europeans wishing to travel there. Officials of the government of India and wealthy individuals who supported the British imperial government were routinely permitted to enter Tibet. Up to 2,000 Europeans entered Tibet in the first half of this century and even after the Younghusband Mission to Lhasa in 1903-4, more than 80 travelled to Lhasa. Neighboring states such as Mongolia and Bhutan were far more isolated from European visitors.

Environment, Culture, and Economy

The last three contributions range from the environment, to music, to the formation of modern supra-state organisations. Hunting, a very sensitive issue in many countries, is the topic of John Knight's "The Debate on Hunting in Present-day Japan". He focuses on the various criticisms levelled at hunting and on the way in which Japanese hunters respond to these criticisms. One of the key differences between hunting in the Japanese context and hunting in other urban-industrial societies is the Buddhist emphasis on the wrongful character of life taking. Despite the official recognition of contemporary Japanese hunting as a sport, hunters themselves recognise its life taking (and precept-breaking) character by ritually commemorating the souls of the animals hunted. Recreational hunting in Japan, it is argued, is caught in a rhetorical debate, whereby it cannot be straightforwardly defined either as a safe sport or as justifiable killing, but is left as an unstable, morally dubious activity. This discussion of Japanese hunting draws upon an ethnographic study of hunting among the mountain villagers on the Kii Peninsula, western Japan. For the wider national debate on hunting, it also draws from the database of the newspaper, *Asahi Shinbun*.

Music is the theme chosen by Françoise Delvoye who writes about "Music Patronage in the Sultanate of Gujarat: A Survey of Sources". She presents a survey of sources on some aspects of the cultural policy of the sultans of Gujarat (1407-1573), paying particular attention to their music patronage which should be seen within

the wider framework of a project she is conducting on the Social and Literary History of Court-Musicians in Western India, 14th-18th Century. Still today, the artistic heritage of Gujarat reflects the importance of artistic patronage in medieval western India. Delvoye demonstrates the importance of written historiographical, musicological, and literary sources drawn from a range of literary genres in various languages in the period of the sultans of the Muzaffarid Dynasty, founded by Zafar Khân in 1407. In a case study of the eminent poet-composer Nâyak Bakhshû, whose compositions where compiled on the orders of the Mughal emperor Shâh Jahân (r. 1627-58) and who has left us with an invaluable corpus of lyrics, Delvoye unravels facets of the socio-cultural court history of medieval India which add a documentary interest to the literary value.

Gwyn Campbell, in his contribution on "The Indian Ocean Rim (IOR): Economic Association: A Giant in the Making?", examines the rise of and prospects for a major new economic grouping: the IOR. The region possesses a long history of trade links, owing to its unique combination of relatively populous and resource-endowed littorals aided and abetted by the interplay of the monsoons and currents which facilitated trans-oceanic transport. This fortuitous conjunction is reflected in the emergence of the Indian and other trade diasporas. The advent of steam power and European colonialism from circa 1870, followed by the Cold War, and Apartheid in South Africa, destroyed the existing Asia-African trade networks. The abolishment of Apartheid cleared the way for a renewal of economic relations in the region in the early 1990s. First mooted in 1993, the idea of an economic association of Indian Ocean countries quickly gathered momentum and, in March 1997, the IOR association with an initial fourteen members was officially constituted.

Although it faces problems in terms of economic disparity and a potentially large membership, the IOR also has a number of advantages. The diversity of its resource base and of its component economies makes for complementarities which, given the huge population and fast-developing economies of Southeast Asia, create the potential for large-scale economies and thus for rapid economic growth across the region. This in turn could transform the IOR into the first intercontinental association of the "South", in contrast to the ASEAN for example, capable of bargaining with currently existing regional associations and world economic institutions of the "North" (EU, IMF) in order to counter North-South economic domination and create a more balanced global economy.

These eighteen articles offer a kaleidoscope of issues in Asian Studies reflecting the research interests of the IIAS. Many of the articles have implicit comparative transregional dimensions which clearly exceed the dimensions of mere case studies.

What about Asia? Revisiting Asian Studies

What about Asia? Revisiting Asian Studies brings together scholars from Asia, Europe and America to test the strength of a field of study which, considering the rise of Asia, should be gaining momentum. But is it? This is one of the many questions that the contributors to this volume ask themselves. In the past decade the use and legitimacy of area studies, and in particular Asian Studies, have been passionately debated in conferences and academic journals. Questions have been raised in several issues of the *IIAS Newsletter* over the conceptualisation of Asian Studies and the kind of knowledge that Asia specialists produce. A variety of answers have been presented, but the issue is still far from settled.

Original source: Stremmelaar, Josine and Velde, Paul van der. 2006. 'What about Asia? Revisiting Asian Studies', *What about Asia? Revisiting Asian Studies*, edited by Stremmelaar, Josine and Velde, Paul van der. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. 7-13.

Wim Stokhof, who has been a fervent debater and partisan of Asian Studies, has taken numerous initiatives during his directorate of the International Institute for Asian Studies (1993-2006) to stimulate this field of scholarship. To honour his contribution to Asian Studies we have invited eminent scholars to reflect on and provide insight into the debate on the state of the art of Asian Studies. Among the topics touched upon are: the conceptualising of Asian Studies: what do they look like from a national, regional or global perspective? What is the relationship between Asian Studies and the societies that they cover? What contribution do Asian Studies make to Asian societies? What is the future for Asian Studies? Will interest in Asian Studies outside Asia continue, and will Asian Studies be 'Asianised'? What is the role of Asian diasporas in the conceptualisation of Asia?

From Enlightenment to All-inclusiveness

In his article "Asian Studies and the Discourse of the Human Sciences" Gananath Obeyesekere explores the issue of how the native Asian scholar, as opposed to the scholar of Asian Studies, can relate the discourse of the human sciences to his own cultural heritage. There is a view widely prevalent among Asian nationalist scholars, and elsewhere in the world, that one should be able to construct an indigenous social science. Obeyesekere argues that this is an unrealisable goal at present and that we cannot avoid our contemporary cosmopolitan inheritance of Enlightenment discourse. He makes a case for a more realistic approach which would use terms, concepts and ideas from one's own cultural tradition to enrich the Western discourse of the human sciences.

Obeyesekere does so by employing Buddhist ideas of "no-self" and the absence of essence within existence to critique the Cartesian paradigm, 'I think, I am'. Employing primarily Buddhist visionary experiences he argues that visions are "showings" that occur without the mediation of the 'I'. He then brings in Nietzsche who boldly suggested that instead of the Cartesian cogito, one should be able to say "It-thinks". From here Obeyesekere moves to a form of "aphoristic thinking" in the Buddha, Nietzsche and Wittgenstein that again entails the appearance of condensed thoughts without the mediation of the 'I' and in this sense he brings about a dialogue between the European and the Buddhist Enlightenment. In other words the question he poses is: "What are the areas of thinking where the self or ego does not exist and the Cartesian cogito does not operate?"

Peter van der Veer in his "Area Studies in a Changing World" demonstrates that area studies – in this context Asian Studies – can contribute to the deepening of knowledge on globalisation because it can put the 'national' into a global context. He first delineates the three main lines of criticism on area studies, namely that they do not produce universally valid knowledge; that they are intimately related to Western power interests and that they do not take into consideration the fluid boundaries of this age of globalisation. Although Van der Veer finds truth in this criticism he points to the huge potential of area studies which allows for a more in-depth perspective on the variety of forms of globalisation. According to Van der Veer, rather than a comparative stance, an all-inclusive point of departure should be taken in studying the West and the East.

He expounds this by using a case study of the relations between the Dutch state and Islam which edifies his all-inclusive approach. That such an approach is necessary is borne out by the jingoist attacks on mosques and Islamic schools that have taken place in the Netherlands in the wake of 9 /11. The loyalty of Muslim immigrants to the Dutch way of life was questioned and a fierce debate ensued over the nature of Dutch society. It has only recently dawned on the North Sea Hollanders that their country is in fact a postcolonial society with a growing number of immigrants who adhere to Islam. This once again proves that the concept of la longue durée is unfortunately not embedded in political discourse because otherwise the debaters would have realised that only fifty years ago the Netherlands was a colonial society in which a vast majority of the population was Muslim.

Historical analysis of the colonial state could have provided clear insights into three dilemmas the postcolonial modern state has to come to grips with: how to make individuals into loyal citizens; how to substantially increase the political participation of its subjects, thereby entailing a public sphere in which civil society can operate; and how can the modern state protect the liberty and equality of its inhabitants? In this context another important question needs to be tackled: can the postcolonial state still be called a 'national' state or are we moving in the direction

of what Manuel Castells labelled "the Network Society"? Certainly cosmopolitans view the state as an obstacle to realising their global ambitions when using their transnational networks, which are essential for creating transnational identities that are inspired more often than not by religion. They challenge the national state that can no longer counter confrontations with traditional national reflexes. Only by tackling these challenges from an all-inclusive perspective is there a chance that acceptable answers can be found.

The Intimate Knowledge of Asia

Shamsul A.B. in his "Asia as a Form of Knowledge: of Analysis, (Re) Production, and Consumption" regards Asian Studies as consisting of a number of regional studies, such as South Asian Studies, Japanese Studies and Southeast Asian Studies. Asia is in Shamsul's eyes both a real and imagined area. It is real in terms of its physicality and the people that populate the region. It is imagined because it is situated in documents and texts that form a corpus of knowledge regarding the society and environment of the region that have been accumulated from the earliest of available records on leaves to the latest digitalised form.

In sum, Asia is a form of knowledge. This knowledge is called Asian Studies and has been constituted from accounts about its society and environment. It is organised along a baseline, a continuum between 'plurality' at one end and 'plural society' on the other. Both 'plurality' and 'plural society' are terms that describe the two different processes of social formation as well as types of society forms within Asia before and after the arrival of the Europeans in the fifteenth century.

The consolidation of "plural society" in Asia led to the organisation of knowledge about societies within the region into nation-states hence the development of nation-state based studies, such as Indonesian studies, Japanese Studies and so on. Therefore the production and reproduction process of knowledge about Asia became increasingly detailed but highly compartmentalised hence the complex system of organisation and bureaucracy that is involved. This, in turn, shapes the pattern of consumption of knowledge about Asia, both within and outside Asia.

Robert Cribb in his "A Little Knowledge is a Useful Thing": Paradoxes in the Asian Studies Experience in Australia' relates the history of Asian Studies from the 1950s to the present. Until the 1950s there was no such thing as Asian Studies in Australia. Academies interested in Asia worked within disciplines such as history or anthropology, or in an esoteric field generally called Orientalism. As of the fifties Asia began to loom large in the world; Asia as a whole seemed to have something special, something not to be found elsewhere. It became a place where important lessons could be learned, and the people to identify those lessons were Asianists.

Like the Orientalists, they spoke one or more Asian languages, but their orientation was on the present rather than the classical past. They typically drew insights from more than one discipline, blending history, politics, anthropology and economics. Since the late 1980s, however, Asian Studies have come under attack from different corners. There were accusations that a cultural determinism was rife among Asianists and that they were staunch adherents to a pluralist stance in the Asian values debate which implicitly denied the universality of human rights. These attacks combined with the winds of economic realism blowing ever more strongly from the 1980s onward caused a notable decline in academic and financial support for the field of Asian Studies despite the increasing importance of Asia to the West. Cribb then focuses his attention on the future of Asian Studies in Australia against the background of the growing complexity of Australia's involvement with Asia beyond both bilateral government relations and the Asian Studies world of the universities. Business engagements are growing and people-to-people contacts are multiplying in cultural, technological, religious and social fields. In academia, geologists, economists, engineers and a host of other researchers routinely include the study of Asia in their teaching and research. Many of them are discovering that much of modern Asia is no more difficult to understand than the United States or France. When Asia was a mystery, Asianists were the gatekeepers to a world of glittering promises and terrifying threats. As Asia becomes routine, those who want to take part in it feel that they can bypass Asianists. However, Cribb still sees a role for Asianists and Asian Studies when he concludes that the risk of assuming that a little knowledge is enough will lead to insufficient specialists addressing complex issues that only those with a deep knowledge can tackle effectively.

The Eurasian Space

Yeo Lay Hwee in her contribution "The Ebb and Flow of ASEM Studies" explores Europe's and Asia's "rediscovery" of each other in 1996 with the launch of the high profile leaders' summit in the form of the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM). ASEM is the official abbreviation for the Asia-Europe Meeting, an informal forum for developing dialogue and cooperation between the members of the EU, the European Commission, China, Japan, Korea and the ten members of the Association for Southeast Asian Nations. It led to a burst of writings and literature on ASEM and Asia-Europe relations; this burst of energy saw economists, International Relations specialists, Europeanists, Asianists, and a string of political and news commentators rushing to analyse, dissect, and theorise on the ASEM process. ASEM was studied not only from a policy angle but from the perspectives of diplomacy, inter-regionalism and global governance. The interest in and study of the ASEM process has waned

as the process suffers from a lack of commitment and coherence. It could even be argued that because the ASEM process lacks progress, and has been criticised for the lack of substance and substantive results, interest could not be sustained. But the death knell has not rung for ASEM as the cooperation and conflict between Asia and Europe remain real and important. ASEM may not be a central theme but it is still one of the frameworks that should be mentioned in passing when examining EU-East Asia relations, and issues on regionalism and inter-regionalism.

How does one define ASEM studies – is it in the realm of economics, politics or the international political economy? Is it in comparative studies, comparing Asia and Europe and their approaches to regionalism and internationalism? The article clusters the key studies and writings on ASEM, and examines how they have added to the understanding of such a process in the real world of politics and diplomacy. Yeo surmises that it is perhaps rash to talk about ASEM studies in the same breadth as Asian Studies but by looking at ASEM from different disciplines one can get a more complex and nuanced picture of how the Asia-Europe relationship is perceived.

Paul van der Velde in his "Re-orienting Asian Studies" concentrates on developments in the organisation of the field of Asian Studies from the beginning of the 1990s to the present, highlighting the role played by Wim Stokhof. Four major initiatives are singled out and elaborated upon: the European Science Foundation Asia Committee; Programme for Europe-Asia Research Linkages; the European Alliance for Asian Studies and the International Convention of Asia Scholars.

The European Science Foundation Asia Committee was established in 1994 at a time when interest in Europe for Asia began to rise steeply; the Committee's purpose was to bring together the fragmented forces in Europe in the field of Asian Studies and it operated successfully for six years. In essence the Committee significantly enhanced the value of local research funding by building bridges within Europe and between Europe and Asia. The same can be said of the European Alliance for Asian Studies, established in 1997, which combines the individual strengths and endeavours of eight institutes of Asian Studies in Europe. One of its goals is to intensify links and communication between academic research on Asia and non-academic institutions and actors. The Programme for Europe-Asia Research Linkages had an even wider scope. It was set up in 1998 as a cooperative project between institutes in Asia and Europe and was to be a network of researchers with the aim of developing a Eurasian research culture wherein issues shared by the two regions would be the driving force of study. While the previously mentioned initiatives were about cooperation between Europe and Asia, the International Convention of Asia Scholars, launched in 1997, involves the entire world in the study of Asia. The IIAS played a major role in its foundation. The main goals of the International Convention of Asia Scholars are to transcend the boundaries between disciplines,

between nations studied, and between the geographic origins of the Asia scholars involved. With the fifth convention coming up in Kuala Lumpur 2007, ICAS has grown into the largest biennial Asian Studies event outside the US covering all subjects of Asian Studies.

A clear line of development can be discerned in all these initiatives. What started out as a plan to make Asian Studies more visible at a national level gradually developed through European and interregional stages into a global process, thereby transcending the prevailing parochialism in Asian Studies. Through joint action Asia scholars were enabled to interact beyond their own discipline and region, thus enriching other (non)academic platforms and making valuable contributions to discussions at all levels of society.

Cosmopolitan Orientation

The contributors to this book share an understanding that the similarities between Asia and the West are of greater importance than the otherness of Asia on which the Orientalists focused their studies. Obeyesekere makes a strong plea for the cosmopolitan inheritance of Enlightenment discourse which leaves open the possibility to use terms, concepts and ideas from one's own cultural tradition to enrich the human sciences. Therefore, area studies and Asian Studies in particular are all but antiquated. In its all-inclusive jacket, as put forward by Van der Veer, it has the potential to be a powerful tool coming to grips with the workings of the merging of the postcolonial state and the network society in the globalising world of the 21st century.

This all-inclusive approach can not only be applied to the study of a problem within a national context but can also be used to study a process such as the Asia-Europe Meeting. This process, which focuses on the similarities between Europe and Asia rather than on the dissimilarities, can be regarded as an attempt to address Asia's and Europe's key societal questions, such as ageing, global warming and security, in a global context. Here, Asia scholars add value to debates with their intimate knowledge of the region. As Cribb so aptly states, "A little knowledge is a useful thing" because at no other point in time has knowledge about plural Asia become so indispensable as well as widespread. However, this does not mean that Asia scholars should remain in their ivory tower. Instead they should without hesitation take on a cosmopolitan habitus and apply their fusion of local, regional and global knowledge to all domains of society and learning. Wim Stokhof would call this process the rich tapestry of life.

Re-orienting Asian Studies

This contribution will outline the developments in the cooperation between the actors in the field of Asian Studies over the past fifteen years, a period which coincides with Wim Stokhof's directorship of the IIAS. In describing these developments we should keep in mind that he has played an important role as an initiator and as a facilitator. However, this article is not solely about Stokhof per se but about the world of Asian Studies in which he has operated. When using the terms Asia and Asian Studies, Asia is meant here as the area east of the Indus River up to and including Japan and Asian Studies is seen as the set of disciplines and sub-disciplines pertaining to the Humanities and Social Sciences which focus on Asia and whose researchers have a special area-related expertise and a thorough knowledge of the language, culture and history of their chosen area.

Original source: Velde, Paul van der. 2006. 'Re-orienting Asian Studies'. *What about Asia? Revisiting Asian Studies*, edited by Stremmelaar, Josine and Velde, Paul van der. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. 87-103.

Asian Studies in Europe up to 1950

Four distinctive features of Asian Studies in Europe can be distinguished: The first is that Europe has a long tradition in Asian Studies spanning more than 500 years. The institutionalisation first took place in Asia itself with the foundation of the Dutch Asian Learned Society in Jakarta in 1778, followed soon after by its British equivalent in Calcutta in 1784. The French established their Institut National des Langues et Civilizations Orientales (INALCO) in Paris in 1795. A second distinctive feature of Asian Studies in Europe is that it was born out of the colonial encounter (An exception is Germany where Orientalism was fuelled by Romanticism). A third feature is the growing quality of Asian Studies which developed into specialisations such as Indology, Japanology and Sinology (Chairs for Indology were founded in Paris (1815), Bonn (1818), and Oxford (1833)). The fourth characteristic is the predominant focus of Asian Studies in Europe on philology, history, ethnography, and religion.

A clear and demonstrable decrease in interest in Asian Studies took place in the aftermath of World War Two. This decrease was caused by several factors. The 'granting' of independence to the Dutch, British and French colonies in Asia, shortly after the end of the war, put an end to the opportunities for young scholars to work as civil servants in the colonial administration. Before the war a host of them had the opportunity to develop a thorough knowledge of, and expertise in, topics related to their sphere of work. Upon their return to Europe many held professional chairs in Asian Studies. They used learned journals and conferences to exchange

their views in a European context. This process of accumulating knowledge about Asia *in loco* and disseminating it in Europe came to a halt after the independence of the colonies. The journals led an increasingly precarious existence and focused almost completely on classical Asian Studies.

In the immediate post-war period, Europeans became more and more involved in the reconstruction of their national states. The war had left them penniless and their infrastructure was in ruins. Endeavours to reconstruct their countries confronted the Europeans with two crucial insights. Firstly, without the US and its Marshall Plan, the European countries would have been extremely weak in a political as well as economic respect. Secondly, to avert disasters such as future wars, steps were to be taken to build a strong economic Europe. The predominant focus on the Atlantic relationship and a profound preoccupation with the convergence of national forces in Europe further distracted Europe's attention from Asia. Add to this the growing tension in the framework of the Cold War and you may understand that it was only after the fall of the Berlin Wall, coupled with the slowly developing perception of an Asian miracle, that Europe's renewed interest in Asia was jumpstarted. It will come as no surprise that motivation fueling the EU's interest in Asia stems from an unambiguous combination of economic and strategic considerations. Asia in this century will account for more than half of the world's population and has the potential to become both the world's most powerful economic region and, consequently, a political powerhouse of the first order.

To sum up: the "loss" of the colonies, the Cold War and the preoccupation of the national states with reconstruction in a wider European framework resulted in an persistent disinterest by the national authorities in the study of Asia and a consequent lack of funding for Asian Studies.

Asian Studies in Europe from 1950 to the Present

The decline in Asian Studies in the post-war era could be seen in academic circles among the former European colonial powers and this had a ripple effect stretching to other countries in Europe which had not had a colonial presence in Asia, such as the Scandinavian countries, Austria and Italy. A host of eminent scholars (many of them practically oriented) were forced to leave. Many took up positions in American universities and were instrumental in setting up study centers at their new places of employment, which eventually resulted in the burgeoning of contemporary Asian Studies in the United States. The founding of the Association for Asian Studies (1941) gave Asian Studies in the US both a focus, an academic meeting point and recruitment center, certainly at its annual meetings at which the majority of American Asia scholars gathered.

If we take a look at Asian Studies in Europe during the second half of the 20th century, we ineluctably have to acknowledge a quantitative and qualitative decline. Asian Studies in Europe has been very specialised, idiosyncratic and disproportional, focused on philology, history and anthropology. The *Guide to Asian Studies in Europe*, published in 1998, paints a telling picture of the nature of Asian Studies in Europe. Only 15 per cent of the research conducted can be labelled contemporary and geared to the present-day situation in Asia; in terms of discipline, history accounts for more than 40 per cent of the total output. Cogently, in Asian Studies in Asia, we see the reverse: eighty-five per cent of the studies conducted deal with contemporary issues, in the fields of the economy, politics, law and development.

Contemporary studies is meant here as the disciplines such as political sciences, strategic studies, international relations studies and social sciences. It is beyond doubt that the study of contemporary issues demands an intimate knowledge of the language, culture and history of the area under investigation. *La longue durée* is a prerequisite for insightful research. However, Asian Studies in Europe tend to be backward looking and more concerned with the uniqueness and cultural diversity of the countries and peoples in the region. A survey of Asian Studies in the Netherlands and Europe taken in conjunction with a review of the infrastructure and resources applied in this field of study reveals a hard core consisting of languages and cultures, social sciences and history.

Concealed within these disciplines, there is a great diversity of approaches born of the different research traditions of the countries in which these studies have been established. Another feature of European Asian Studies is the opposition between 'universal' and 'area-specific' approaches, which exposes the field to misguided notions derived from 'Orientalism' or leading to unwarranted claims of uniqueness. It is not necessary to elaborate on the well-known discussion of the pros and cons of the area studies approach versus the pure disciplinary approach because it is a non-discussion. An exclusive area studies approach could fragment disciplinary coherence and limit the scope and quality of research. Asia should be studied from a thematic i.e. interdisciplinary and comparative perspective.

As far as the field of Asian Studies has demonstrated an interest in public policy and strategic studies, it has been and still is dominated by colonial practices. In the post-colonial period, public policy studies of Asia have taken on the guise of developmental studies, concerned with state interventions for the benefit of specific target groups in the less developed parts of the region. It is estimated that in Europe between six to eight thousand people currently work in Asian Studies; most of them are real Asia scholars – they have area-specific knowledge and master an Asian language. Asia scholars are dispersed over many universities, institutes and area

study centers. The amount of knowledge is considerable but dispersed. Further, if you take into account the many large sets of data on Asia in European libraries, collections and archives, you can imagine what huge potential there is to further develop Europe's Asia expertise.

The question then arises, why have Asian Studies not played a dominant role in the Asia-Europe relationship or to phrase it differently, why have they not contributed to the cultural dimension in the Asia-Europe relationship? Possible answers could be: European Asia scholars are mostly individualists; they work in isolation in small departments; and they are not used to organising themselves so as to create greater visibility. Apart from this, there is the dichotomy between scholars from the classical, philosophical tradition and the contemporary Asia researchers. Studies by Asia scholars tend to focus on small-scale, long-term research and they are not used to large-scale programmes, or taking into account the wider picture. In Asian Studies there is much diversity in terms of scientific approaches. While this is an asset to the field, it does not help to organise people in cooperative research programmes. Quite a number of Asia scholars abhor the idea of multidisciplinary research, where, for instance, Social Sciences and Humanities would complement each other, or of working together with economists or colleagues from exact sciences and engineering.

Perhaps this draws a too despondent picture of the state of the art of Asian Studies in Europe. There are clear indications that in the last two decades of the 20th century, a greater interest has developed in contemporary studies combined with a gradual retreat from the formerly dominant focus on linguistics and on philology. Institutes such as the South-Asia-Institute in Heidelberg (1960) and the Nordic Asian Studies Center in Copenhagen (1967) carried the banner as advocates for contemporary studies in Europe. At many universities and institutions there is now a demonstrable tendency to offer courses in the classical disciplines as well as teach contemporary issues. A short check of dissertations defended at European universities since 1990 reveals that the following themes have been most popular: labour relations, democracy, economic relations, regionalism/ globalism, ethnicity, identity and/or nationalism, the rural versus urbanity, minority rights, migration, state / nation / regions, tradition and modernity, women and gender, international relations, and of course post 9-11 security.

Bearing this in mind we should now elaborate on the endeavours made to arrive at the organisation of Asian Studies at a European Level. Three major initiatives will be singled out for that purpose and elaborated on: 1. the European Science Foundation Asia Committee; 2. Programme for Europe-Asia Research Linkages and: 3. the European Alliance for Asian Studies.

European Science Foundation Asia Committee (ESF-AC)

In 1992, the Ministers of Education and Research from France and the Netherlands approached the European Science Foundation in Strasbourg. The ESF is the European association of more than 70 major national funding agencies devoted to scientific research in 29 (European) countries. It represents all scientific disciplines – from the exact and engineering sciences, to the Humanities and Social Sciences. In their joint letter to the president of the ESF, the two ministers asked the ESF to stimulate co-operation in the so-called Asian Studies, in particular in the Humanities and Social Sciences. It is puzzling that these two ministers asked for special assistance from an international European institution in matters which clearly pertain to the sphere of their own national responsibility. How did this come about?

At the time when the ministers approached the ESF, the national authorities responsible for Asian Studies had become acutely aware of the importance of Asia, heightened by their continuous neglect of the field and the necessity to co-operate and co-ordinate Asian Studies in Europe. In reaction to the ministers' plea, the ESF established the Asia Committee in 1994 that aimed to bring together the fragmented forces of Asian Studies in Europe, thus improving its standards of research and expertise and benefiting the participating countries and the European Union as a whole. Delegates on the Committee itself represented a wide range of research councils, scholarly institutions and constituencies. This variety and breadth of experience has enabled the Committee to obtain an unusually comprehensive and considered view of the resources, strengths and weaknesses of Asian Studies in Europe. Such a view was certainly beyond that available to any national or other European body. The Committee, which operated successfully for six years, adopted a variety of scientific instruments to achieve its goals: fifty-five interdisciplinary workshops were organised jointly by European and Asian partners; publication grants and travel grants were given; a postdoctoral fellowship scheme for promising young scholars was designed to promote mobility among researchers, and professional European Associations for Asian Studies were supported.

Through these activities, the ESF-AC developed Europe-wide research strengths and improved links between European centers and researchers and their counterparts in Asia. This support has been firmly based in both the Humanities and Social Sciences arenas, and a substantial share of it has focused on contemporary issues of importance to European policy makers. In this context it is elucidating to emphasise that the Humanities and Social Sciences are not independent fields of study, but are closely related and both are indispensable to understanding the workings of Asian societies in the broad sense. The functioning of governments, economies, management, and scientific systems, for example, all involve research that embraces both fields of study. Supplementary to the direct results of the

committee's activities, European and Asian networking has been greatly improved with real but unquantifiable results.

One of the most important results of the ESF-AC has been the creation of new networks at various levels. Through the ESF-AC, isolated scholars in small institutes scattered over Europe have been able to establish new links at a disciplinary or interdisciplinary level. It also supported scientific gatherings connecting and engaging European scholars in Europe-wide, Atlantic or Asia-Europe networks. One other feature of the ESF-AC's work is the scope of the European group that has benefitted and been drawn into the wider field of Asian Studies. The ESF-AC's role in the establishment of associations of Asian Studies in several European countries such as the Netherlands, Spain, Germany, and, more recently, France clearly reflects this. In addition, the ESF-AC has established a platform for the six European Associations for Asian Studies to strengthen their roles and enable them to fulfil their missions more effectively.

Any appraisal of the Committee's record would confirm that it has had an impact in the field of Asian Studies of a kind qualitatively different to what any member country could have obtained individually. And, judged by contemporary research funding standards, this has been achieved at an extremely small cost. What the ESF-AC has done, therefore, is to enhance the value of local research funding by building bridges within Europe and between Europe and Asia. Through the work of the ESF-AC there is now some Asian Studies presence in almost every European country and expertise in contemporary studies and social science based work has improved enormously.

Even before the ESF-AC was disbanded, some of its members came up with the idea to involve Asian participation in setting up a multilateral research project. In a meeting in Seoul in October 1998 the Programme for Europe-Asia Research Linkages (PEARL) was established. The following institutes were involved: Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta; Department of Political Science, Yonsei University, Seoul; European Studies Programme, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok; Faculty of Social Science and Humanities, National University of Malaysia, Bangi; Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore; Ėcole Française d'Extrême Orient, Paris; Institute of Asian Affairs, Hamburg; International Institute for Asian Studies, Leiden; Nordic Institute for Asian Studies, Copenhagen and the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. PEARL was to be a network of researchers from Asia and Europe, representing leading Asian and European Studies departments in the field of the Humanities and Social Sciences. The need for this was felt both in Asia and Europe in order to boost the research interaction between the two continents which seemed opportune against the background of the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) which was established in 1996.

At the time of the launch of PEARL it had already become abundantly clear that the focus of Asia-Europe relations was on politics, economics and security.

According to the members of PEARL, research should be much higher on the agenda of ASEM. A broad-based research partnership encompassing the Humanities and Social Sciences at the two ends of the Eurasian continent would deliver enormous intellectual benefits to scholarship at the national, regional and global levels. This would gradually develop into a shared research culture which would enable attention to be more effectively directed to issues which are shared between the two regions, as well as globally. But when it came down to basics the representatives of these institutes were not able to deliver the organisational and financial back-up for PEARL once the ESF pulled out. They then reasoned: Why leave a perhaps uncertain but comfortable national environment and swap it for an unsure future oriented experiment?

The European Alliance for Asian Studies

Another example of co-operation in Europe is the so-called European Alliance for Asian Studies (EAAS), or the Alliance as it came to be known, which began as a co-operation between the Nordic Institute of Asian Studies (NIAS) in Copenhagen and the International Institute for Asian Studies in Leiden in the early 1990s. The initiative taken to enlarge the partnership in 1997 was inspired by the new world order that emerged during the last decade of the 20th century as outlined above. This was an order in which Asia developed very rapidly in every respect: culturally, economically and technologically.

A more profound mutual understanding between the two continents is essential to future academic research. Existing expertise on Asia in Europe has to be improved and optimised to meet the needs of Europe and equally those of Asia. In Europe, the initiators of the Alliance felt that restructuring Asian Studies was necessary and could be achieved by combining the individual strengths and endeavours of the various existing institutes of Asian Studies.

The policy of the Alliance is aimed at the establishment of scholarly excellence in central areas of research and expertise on Asia by building up high quality, border-transcending research with a strong focus on contemporary issues; creating networks with Asian and other research institutions and scholars; strengthening the links and communication between academic research on Asia and non-academic institutions and actors. The Alliance supports both long-term and short-term fellowships for research in Asian Studies, collaborative research projects and academic workshops and conferences.

Much has been achieved in the past six years, because of its broad range of activities. The Alliance has grown into a well-known international network bringing together expertise in Asian Studies in Europe and facilitating scholarly

excellence to the benefit of research institutions and the European community at large. The Alliance was enlarged with new members such as the Institute of Asian Affairs in Hamburg (current name: Institute of Asian Studies), the European Institute for Asian Studies in Brussels, the Asia-Europe Centre at Science-Po in Paris (now called CERI-Sciences Po), the Centre for East-Asian Studies in Madrid and the School of Oriental and African Studies in London.

The network is expanding not only in Europe but also in Asia. Upon the initiative of the Alliance a joint Annual Asia-Europe Workshop Series was set up in 2001 in co-operation with ASEF. The series supports workshops which focus on contemporary topics that are of relevance to both Asia and Europe. More information regarding the recent activities of the Alliance can be found on its website which is maintained by the secretariat, and hosted by the IIAS in Leiden. Moreover, the Alliance is seeking co-operation with a yet-to-be-formed alliance of Asian institutes in Asia. The initiative to constitute such an alliance has been taken by the Chinese Academy for Social Sciences in Beijing. Once the Asian Alliance has been created, close links will be fostered with its European sister organisation and eventually this will lead to an Asia-Europe Alliance for Asian Studies.

Asia-Europe Meeting

In 1994 the European Commission published *Towards a New Asia Strategy* (1994), in which the idea of a first get-together of EU countries and ASEAN countries was launched. The initiative came at the right time: absorbed in its own integration processes and in developing a strategy towards its eastern neighbours, the EU had simply neglected its relations with Asia for a long time. In the meantime, the European Commission had gradually become aware of the unprecedented economic developments in the ASEAN region and of the growing strategic role ASEAN intended to play in that part of the world.

From the very beginning the IIAS looked upon the idea of rapprochement between Asia and Europe as a potentially very effective vehicle for closer cooperation between the two continents. Therefore the IIAS did not hesitate when it was asked for input in the preparatory meetings of the Asia Europe Meeting (ASEM) in Venice and Manila in 1995. On the basis of these meetings Goh Chok Tong, the then Prime Minister of Singapore, produced a document in which he envisaged a rapprochement between Asia and Europe in three stages: 1. Filling the knowledge gap / obtaining 'mutual understanding'; 2. Engaging in a process of constructive dialogue, and 3. Reaching consensus on the basis of shared values and goals.

The first meeting of Heads of State took place in Bangkok in 1996. In the following years ASEM developed into an interregional platform for consultation

and discussion between Asia and Europe. For a time, the momentum was nearly lost due to the Asian economic crisis. During the London meeting (1998) it became increasingly clear that ASEM remained useful to both regions as a forum to stimulate dialogue at a range of levels. The aims of ASEM are quite vague and somewhat ostentatious. Moreover, there seems to be little connection between the measures taken or the instruments chosen by the heads of state to obtain these goals. Basically, the whole ASEM process is still waiting for a crucial idea or concept that will boost its development.

Unfortunately the ASEM process has been hampered by unexpected events such as the Asian financial crisis, the political problems in Indonesia, the Myanmar problem, the Tsunami catastrophe, SARS, Avian Flu, the dramatic events in the Balkans and the institutional crises in the European Commission and the European Parliament and recently, the negative vote of the French and Dutch populations concerning the European constitution. Although these events have caused a higher mutual awareness, it was not always in a very positive sense. It is striking that in cases where a concerted action between ASEM countries could probably have been effective (e.g. the Asian crisis), the cooperation between European and its Asian partners has been quite limited, unproductive or sometimes even lacking.

The Pillars of ASEM

ASEM has three pillars: the economic domain, the political domain, and 'the rest', in which civil society issues, culture, education, and research are heaped together. Needless to say, ASEM is first and foremost an economically driven forum. This can clearly be seen from the plethora of meetings concerning trade, investment, finance, and business, as well as from the activities developed within this first domain: the Asia-Europe Business Forum, Trade Facilities Action Plan, Investment Experts Group Meetings, Investment Promotion Active Plan, the ASEM trust fund, and the European Financial Expertise Network, to mention a few.

In the political domain the situation is less concrete: the Asian partners appear to be apprehensive whenever such topics as human rights and good governance are suggested for the agenda. At the third summit in Seoul, however, commitments were made to strengthen the political dialogue, giving special attention to human rights issues, and to address the global implications of such problems as illegal trade in weapons, drugs, and workers of regional and interregional migration. At the Copenhagen meeting (2002) a joint declaration on Cooperation Against International Terrorism was adopted. However, it is difficult to perceive what has actually been done about these issues in the ASEM framework. Reports cannot easily be found linking the chairman's statements and intentions with what actually

has been accomplished and what the results are. The parties involved thus mainly consider the ASEM process as a way to deepen relations between Asia and Europe and as such it is a time-consuming exercise in building mutual confidence.

It is the third pillar which in fact is often treated in a somewhat step-motherly way, or in other words: culture and civil relations in ASEM are seen by most politicians merely as functional prerequisites for successful economic relations. Fortunately the ASEF has done a lot to promote better mutual understanding through intellectual, cultural and people-to-people exchanges. A cascade of all sorts of sympathetic initiatives and actions has flooded both regions, ranging from cultural festivals, young entrepreneurs forums, meetings for editors, young leader symposiums, Asia-Europe Young Artists Painting competitions and last but not least the establishment of the ASEM-DUO fellowship programme. ASEF has, given its limitations and objectives, done a great job on the cultural dimension of the ASEM process but it misses – inevitably given its brief and scope – a clear focus and depth. Moreover, ASEF runs the constant risk of becoming an entity on its own – no longer perceived by the public as a (partial) actualisation of the ASEM process.

Pointing to the free exchange of views between European and Asian heads of government, the EC is always quick to proclaim the ASEM process a success. Still, sceptics might point out that economic relations between Asia and Europe would have prospered without ASEM anyway. In the second domain, less progress can be demonstrated. In the third domain many opportunities have neither been seen nor seized upon.

ASEM should concentrate on the third pillar. It is from this very diverse and varied storehouse that new joint activities are to be expected. Right now, the existence of ASEM is barely noticed by the people of the ASEM member states. If we would like to improve this situation and make our 'ASEM people' more aware of each other and of ASEM, we should choose a more bottom-up trajectory, i.e. ASEM should be more engaged in the numerous initiatives ventured by various sectors from civil society such as universities, research groups, professional associations, labour unions, NGOs, parliamentarians, artists and think tanks.

A New Perspective for ASEM?

Until now relations between Asia and Europe have been dominated by policies that place economic growth above all else. However, a more balanced policy with special attention to the third pillar of the ASEM process will in the end yield more promising cooperation. ASEM is still in need of a long-term internally driven strategic vision that can be translated into clear and concrete objectives, backed up by all ASEM members. This is of course not an easy task; ASEM is like a patchwork

quilt, a mixed bag of 35 different countries (plus the EC) with many dissimilarities in their cultural, ethnic, ethical, political, economic and societal systems; some have a shared history, while others have nothing in common in terms of their past. However, this rich tapestry of ASEM is also its biggest asset.

In ASEM we have created a unique mechanism for dialogue between two regional concentrations of a completely different nature and with rather different objectives. It is still a very frail instrument: there is a danger that the momentum built up in the first decade will disappear. It is therefore no wonder that Wim Stokhof in his lecture on the occasion of receiving a honorary doctorate from the Universitas Indonesia in Jakarta (July 2006) pleaded for the following steps to be taken in order for ASEM to become more effective and more visible: "1. Reformulate ASEM's objectives; 2. Establish a new format of rules of engagement; 3. Start institutionalisation through setting up joint institutes and programmes with well-defined objectives, concrete deliverables, good monitoring, evaluation and reporting procedures, and a clear financial commitment; 4. Install a joint interregional secretariat with two main tasks: to monitor the new format of rules of engagement and to facilitate and implement jointly taken decisions".

In this lecture, Stokhof also made a strong plea for the foundation of ASEM Institutes for Advanced Studies in Asia and Europe where young scholars from both regions work together. This aims to replace the lopsided Eurocentric Euro Studies Programmes introduced by the EC in China, Thailand, the Philippines, Vietnam and Singapore. He also argues for an ASEM research council with the following tasks: monitoring and facilitating the ASEM Institutes for Advanced Studies; creating a network of existing centres of expertise and institutes in Asia and Europe; initiating activities (in close cooperation with ASEF) such as symposiums and master classes and increasing the visibility of Asian Studies in Europe and Asian and European Studies in Asia.

To implement these proposals one could build on experiences derived from initiatives related to ASEM such as the Asia-Europe Network of Museums (ASEMUS), which was formed in 2000 on the basis of a concept launched by the IIAS. The ASEMUS was started as a co-operative project between museums in Asia and Europe with the support of the ASEF. Its objectives are: to increase the sharing and joint use of museum collections in Asia and Europe; to share and transfer professional museum competence; to make repositories of documentation and databases jointly available and to develop joint exhibitions. ASEMUS is run by an executive committee which is backed by a secretariat. The membership of ASEMUS consists of museums in Asia and Europe and the website provides a wide variety of information on the participating museums.

Looking back from the vantage point of 2006 we can conclude that ASEMUS has organised a series of meetings between museum curators from Asia and Europe;

this has helped them get to know each other better, share their problems and successes, and even find common solutions to technical problems. This network is operating quite well. In ASEMUS the first steps have been taken to create what Wim Stokhof and others have been striving for: a global collection, not a series of objects belonging to a certain nation, ethnic group, museum or person, but a set identifying mankind in all its various representations. The same idea was behind the ASEM Research Platform and the ASEMeeting place.

ASEM Research Platform (ARP)

In the Chairman's statement of the Fourth ASEM Foreign Ministers' Meeting (June 2002) the Foreign Ministers called for the establishment of a portal linking all existing ASEM related websites. They viewed such a portal as an important tool in facilitating and deepening the ASEM process. In January 2002, the IIAS had already launched the idea of setting up such a portal and by the time of the Foreign Ministers' Meeting try-outs of the website had been executed. This was by no means a coincidence. Since its foundation in 1993 the IIAS had been involved in improving and facilitating the relations between Asia and Europe in the academic and cultural fields. From the outset the IIAS has worked closely with ASEF. To name a few examples: the IIAS has set up an Asia specialist database for ASEF; ASEF and IIAS co-organised the cultural manifestation surrounding ASEM 2 in London (1998); it has covered the activities of ASEF in its *IIAS Newsletter* and is co-organising the Asia-Europe Workshop Series with ASEF: IIAS organised the Young Leaders Meeting, the ASEM Summer University and will co-organise the Young Parliamentarians Meeting in 2007 in The Hague. On the basis of these past and future cooperative projects, working together on the further development of the ASEM portal could have been construed as a logical next step in the development of the ASEF-IIAS cooperation.

The ASEM website, which was an integral part of the ASEM Research Platform (ARP), was launched a couple of weeks before ASEM 4 in Copenhagen (September 2002). It embraced diverse aspects of the ASEM process. One of the main goals of ARP was to sensitise people at all levels of society in Europe and Asia to the Asia-Europe Meeting process. One of its first activities was to create an ASEM portal meant to facilitate the search for information and research on ASEM by structuring all relevant information about this process. It contained: texts of official documents pertaining to ASEM; all available electronic publications and titles of other relevant publications in the digital library; the ASEM agenda and the civil society activities within ASEM and other relevant information pertaining to ASEM.

An equally important goal was to inform the scientific community about ASEM research and facilitate contacts among scholars studying ASEM. It aimed at a

division of labour between the ASEF division of intellectual exchange, which could concentrate on short-term projects, and the ARP, focusing on long-term projects. The ARP could build on the expertise in Asia-Europe relations it had built in the past. In this way it would have been able to engage the efforts of thousands of scholars across the ASEM community. The spin off from their endeavours would have been considerable. It derives its influence, on the one hand, from the formulation and analysis of the issues that move Asian and European governments and the media, and, on the other hand, through the students trained and educated in this culture who move outside academia to other positions in society. Developing and sustaining such a Eurasian research culture would have presented a small financial investment in comparison to the benefits that would have been gained.

This ARP initiative was welcomed by persons and institutions involved and interested in ASEM such as officials, diplomats, journalists, representatives of civil society organisations, scholars and so on. By 2004 the website offered a wide variety of information and documentation on ASEM and the number of visitors to the website grew both from a qualitative and quantitative point of view. This meeting place should have become an interactive environment where it is easy to come into contact with representatives of all layers of society in Asia and Europe and react to their ideas and opinions concerning ASEM. It would have contributed to a higher degree of awareness of the ASEM process because the main idea behind this environment is making people at all levels of society in Asia and Europe increasingly conscious of the existence of the process.

The further development of this ASEM Meeting Place under the aegis of ASEF would have been a logical next step in view of the many possibilities that constructing such a repository / database offers. However, only the information pertaining to the agenda and official documents were incorporated in the ASEM Information Board which is now operated by ASEF. This more narrow interpretation of the idea of disseminating factual information is a missed opportunity to boost the ASEM process in general and the visibility of the process in particular.

International Convention of Asia Scholars

Whereas the ESF-AC solely consisted of representatives of Asian Studies centers in Europe, PEARL included both members from Asian and European studies institutes in both continents. The Alliance consisting of European institutes always strived for a mirror organisation in Asia which will become a reality at the end of 2006. While all these initiatives are about cooperation between Europe and Asia, the International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS) tries to involve the entire world in the study of Asia.

ICAS was at the outset an experiment in terms of the parties involved, the nature of the participants, the contents, the manner of the organisation, and its size in terms of participants. How did the ICAS come about? As of 1995 the Association for Asian Studies (AAS) and the IIAS had been thinking of ways of internationalising Asian Studies. This transatlantic dialogue gradually matured and was thought of as a process involving American and European Asia scholars. Its main goals are to transcend the boundaries between disciplines, between nations studied and between the geographic origins of the Asia scholars involved.

The idea of ICAS was officially launched in 1997 by the IIAS, in close cooperation with the AAS. Apart from the AAS and the IIAS, the six European Asian Studies Associations also joined and a programme committee was established consisting of representatives of all parties involved. There was never any doubt that Asia scholars from all over the world should have the chance to participate and once the convention was announced, enthusiastic replies came from every quarter of the world, especially Asia. Thus ICAS became a platform on which Asia researchers from all corners of the world could study problems of interest to all.

ICAS has grown into the largest biennial Asian Studies event outside the US and covers all subjects of Asian Studies. There, ICAS has now become the only major, regular Asian Studies event to take place. On average the number of participants now varies from 1000-1500 people. The organisation of ICAS 1 was put into the hands of the IIAS and it was held in Leiden in 1998. More than 350 universities, institutes, and organisations were represented. There were nearly 1000 participants from 40 countries; 130 panels were held; and there was a remarkably equal distribution continent-wise. New cooperative initiatives were developed. ICAS 2 was hosted by the Freie Universität Berlin and took place in 2001. About 800 scholars attended around 100 panels and 500 papers were presented. During this convention the ICAS secretariat was founded. The secretariat co-organises the events with local partners, guarantees the continuity of ICAS and it organises the ICAS Book Prizes. It was also decided to have future meetings of ICAS in Asia and make it a biennial meeting.

The Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences and the Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore jointly hosted ICAS 3 in 2003. Over 1,000 scholars from 54 countries participated and some 940 papers were presented in 250 sessions, on a wide variety of topics. ICAS 3 also provided a platform for scholars to explore ways of coordinating Asian research in Asia. ICAS 4 was hosted by the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences in 2005 in the Shanghai Exhibition Centre. It had slightly more participants and panels than ICAS 3. At the opening ceremony of ICAS 4, the ICAS Book Prizes (Humanities, Social Sciences, best PhD) were awarded for the first time. Also the publication of selected proceedings of ICAS was announced.

ICAS 5 will be hosted by the Institute of Occidental Studies (IKON) and the Institute of the Malay World and Civilisation (ATMA), Universiti Kebangsaan

Malaysia in August 2007. It will be held in the Kuala Lumpur Convention Centre and is expected to draw 1500 specialists in the field of Asian Studies to Kuala Lumpur. Each convention has been organised by respected academic institutions such as the Freie Universität Berlin, the National University of Singapore and the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences. During the conventions prominent Asia scholars hold keynote addresses. Among the speakers, for instance at ICAS 4, we counted Prof. Wang Ronghua, Prof. Barbara Andaya, Prof. Jean-Luc Domenach who talked on such varied topics as "The future of Asia", "Cross-Cultural Conversations in History", and "Towards a European Point of View on Asia".

In the panels, virtually every topic important in the field of Asian Studies has come to the fore. A cross-disciplinary border transcending approach is stressed which enhances a fruitful dialogue among the participants who originate from more than 50 countries in Asia, Europe and America representing about 500 institutes working in the field of Asian Studies. This encounter between researchers coming from different cultural and paradigmatic backgrounds results in new insights in the way they will approach their topics in future research. On a personal level this leads to long-term academic friendships that stimulate a global approach to research on Asia. ICAS does not perceive itself as an isolated academic event. ICAS clearly links to the city and the country where it is held. This is brought about by connecting ICAS to the city and vice versa by way of a wide variety of cultural events such as exhibitions, performances, concerts and films.

It is no wonder that Wim Stokhof will remain involved in this ICAS process as Secretary General till 2011. ICAS will put the network which he has helped to build up over the years in the field of Asian Studies and beyond to good use. 2011 will see the greatest gathering of Asia scholars yet because ICAS and AAS are jointly hosting a meeting in Honolulu. This event is the outcome of twenty years of development in Asian Studies which has brought scholars from Asia, Europe and America closer together in their study of Asia in a global context.

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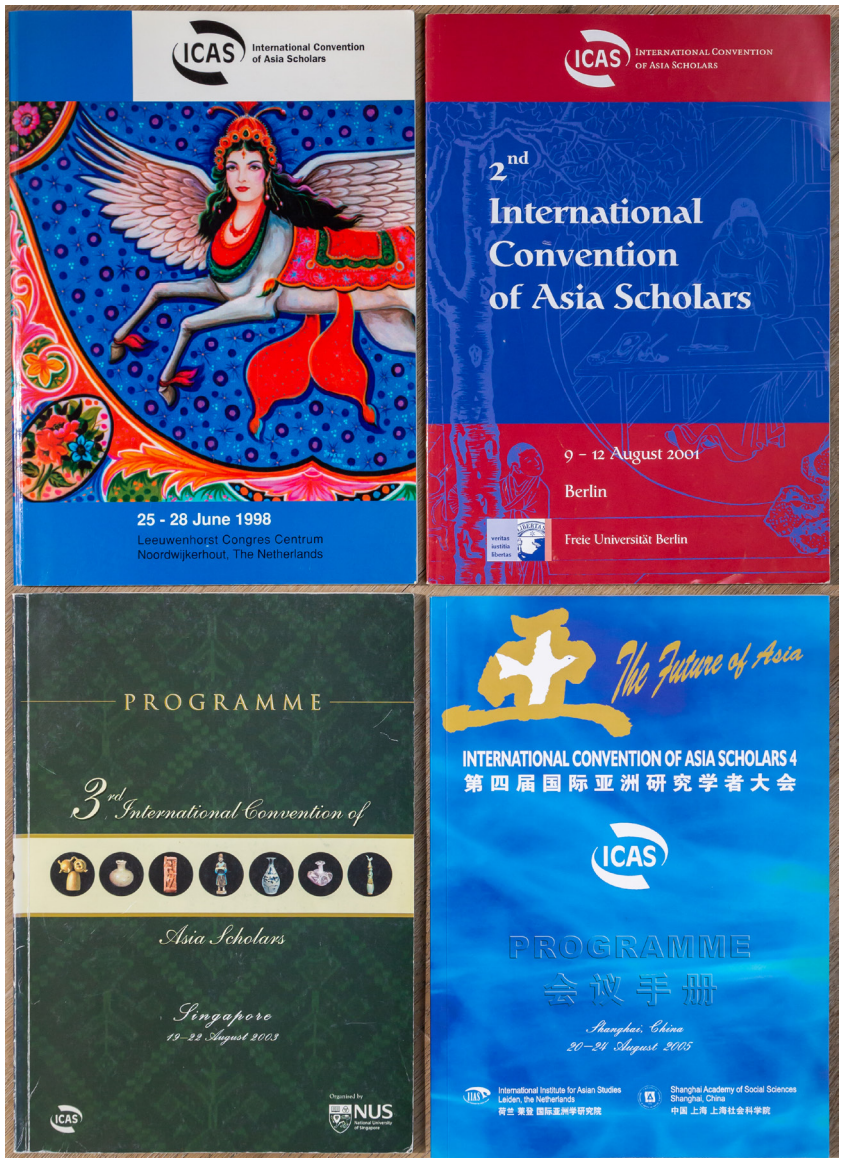


Figure 15. Covers of programme books of ICAS 1, 2, 3 and 4. Photo: Cindy Bakker

CHAPTER 7

The International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS)

ICAS turns 21

Globalisation was the buzz-word in the 1990s. From the first year of its creation in 1993, the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) was a promoter of the internationalisation of Asian Studies. The IIAS's periodical *The Newsletter* (initially called the *IIAS Newsletter*) quickly established itself as the communication channel in the very fragmented field of Asian Studies. We took 1,500 copies with us to the Association for Asian Studies (AAS) annual meeting in Washington in 1995. At the end of the meeting everybody was carrying our free tote bag plus the interdisciplinary, cross-regional message it carried. Clearly, there was a new kid on the block.

Original source: Velde, Paul van der. 2019. "ICAS Turns 21", *The Newsletter* 83 / Summer. 3-9. Velde, Paul van der. 2019. "ICAS 11 Embracing Leiden", *The Newsletter* 84 / Autumn. 4-7. Haak, Martina van den and Velde, Paul van der. 2021."ICAS 12: A Retrospective, *The Newsletter* 90 Autumn. 44-45. For the full version of this article see: www.iias/newsletter. For an impression of ICAS 12, please see the movie at www.icas.asia

The Birth of ICAS

The IIAS delegation learned a lot at the meeting. Amongst other things: we were practically the only non-Americans; the venue of the meeting was an anonymous chain hotel that lacked any connection to Asia; and the exhibition area was dominated by US publishers. However, the scale of the conference with 200 panels and a thousand participants was impressive, and so too were the manifold interactions and smooth organisation of the meeting. In sum, it worked well, but we missed the international aspect.

It was not difficult to convince our European colleagues to join us at the next AAS meeting in Honolulu in 1996. We participated with a strong delegation of European Asia scholars and at a meeting of the AAS board we presented a preliminary copy of the *Guide to Asian Studies in Europe*. It was hard for them to believe that Western Europe had at least as many Asia scholars and institutions researching Asia as the

US did. Then Secretary-Treasurer, John Campbell, concluded our conversation by saying: "For the first time we know whom to call in Europe".

Since I was tasked with deepening IIAS's contacts with the US, I paid a visit to the AAS Secretariat in Ann Arbor. I pitched the idea of an international conference in Leiden in 1998 to further internationalise Asian Studies in a cross-regional and multidisciplinary way. To cut a long story short: the AAS, six European Associations for Asian Studies, and the European Science Foundation Asia Committee, collaborated on the first edition of ICAS. It took place near Leiden in 1998.

ICAS 1, Leiden, 25-28 June 1998

We think of this convention as a platform at which Asian, American and European Asianists can study problems of interest to all.
J. Campbell and W.A.L. Stokhof, co-chairs, programme committee ICAS 1

Nearly one thousand participants gathered during this convention. We named it a convention because we brought people together with an interest in Asia. The meeting was the first of such a size in the context of Asian Studies in Europe. Twenty five percent of the sessions transcended the usual boundaries between disciplines, between nations studied, and especially between the geographic origins of the presenters. This was pointing in a new direction. The venue was a convention centre at the seaside town of Noordwijkerhout near Leiden, where a plethora of other public activities took place, such as a South Asia Film Festival, dance performances by the School for New Dance Development, a journalists' forum on the Eurasian Century, music performances, a Pakistani truck art exhibition and the *Contemporary Art from Asia* exhibition in cooperation with the Gate Foundation and Canvas World Art. The French composer Henri Tournier wrote a composition for a programme of musical travelogues *Views of Asia*, a joint film project in cooperation with EYE Film Museum, and the Rotterdam Conservatory, based on an idea developed by Helga Lasschuijt and Paul van der Velde.

Quoting one of the participants: "The greatest value of ICAS was that it did allow a greater mixing of Asian, North American and European scholars than we have experienced at any previous such gathering. This was of course one of the aims of the convention and we hope that its unqualified success will be a sufficient incentive to attempt a "repeat performance" in future. We are all greatly impressed with the convention – its venue, its scope, the excellence of the organisation, the diversity of activities and the range of scholars who attended".

ICAS 2, Berlin, 9-12 August 2001

This truly interdisciplinary conference opened up whole new, intriguing insights and knowledge for me.
Kati Kuitto, co-organiser ICAS 2

The second instalment of ICAS took three rather than two years to come about, which was partly due to the Millennium Bug alarming everyone at that time. No less than 14 associations in the field of Asian Studies were involved in its organisation, and it took place in five buildings of the Free University in the middle of Berlin. The IIAS provided free access to the Internet, which must have been a relief for many in the post-millennium era. By this time practically all academicians were online, which certainly increased the connectivity amongst them.

If I had to single out one of the keynote speeches of all ICAS editions it would certainly be the one given by Wang Gungwu, one of Asia's most important public intellectuals. He is best known for his explorations of Chinese history and for his writings on the Chinese Diaspora (albeit not a term he himself likes to use). His keynote address was about "Divergence and Dominance. Challenges to Asian Studies". Wang characterised the development of Asian Studies and mentioned the risks, but also the opportunities, of the different ways in which Asian Studies is performed in present times. In 2018, in the first part of his autobiography *Home is not Here* (NUS University Press) he reflects on family, identity, and the ability of the individual to find a place amid historical currents that have shaped the world. He will certainly broach the topic of Asian Studies in the second part of his autobiography (forthcoming) and he will doubtlessly evoke new horizons that will put the field of Asian Studies in a new cyclical perspective.

Wang Gungwu attended a meeting of all organising parties in Berlin, where two important decisions were made that had a decisive influence on the future development of ICAS. The first was the decision to organise ICAS in Asia, every two years, in cooperation with a local host. This was not only to further increase Asian participation, but also to connect to the Asian city in which it was being held. The second decision was to establish a permanent ICAS Secretariat, to be hosted by IIAS in Leiden, in order to facilitate and safeguard the concept of a cross-disciplinary and cross-regional approach to Asian Studies. In short, to guarantee the continuity of the ICAS process and assist the local hosts in the organisation of ICAS.

ICAS 3, Singapore, 19-22 August 2003

ICAS 3 Singapore brought ICAS to Asia for the first time. With a significant presence of scholars from Asia, ICAS 3 hopefully helped in a small way to break down a few silos and build new bridges for Asia research.
Alan Chan, organiser ICAS 3

The organiser of ICAS 3, Alan Chan of the National University of Singapore, reminded us of another aspect of globalisation. "The planning of the Convention took an uncertain turn when SARS (Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome) brought international travel almost to a complete standstill". Fortunately ICAS 3 at the Raffles City Convention Centre was the first big meeting allowed to take place in Singapore once SARS had abated and attendance was barely affected. With more than a thousand participants, gathering in more than 250 panels, ICAS 3 not only showcased the vitality of Asian Studies in Asia itself, but also proved that the intuitive decision to move ICAS to Asia was completely justifiable.

It enabled a direct connection to the Asian environment not only in the convention centre itself, but also to explore the many attractions multicultural Singapore has to offer. Alan Chan noted: "ICAS serves an important function in promoting Asia research and in providing a forum for scholarly exchange and collaboration. We are indeed pleased that we are able to bring ICAS to Asia for the first time". It would not be the last time, as the next three editions also all took place in Asia. Being there offered an ideal breeding ground to refine long-standing theories and to develop new, more Asia-informed ones. In particular, the time-space compression experienced in Asian countries in their radical reforms in the past decades offer a unique opportunity to study some of the most important present-day issues. These included questions of institutional change, social transformation, market reform, ethnic conflict, environmental hazard, national security, urbanisation, migration, political control and resistance, social marginalisation, and inequality, to name but a few. All these questions were clearly present in the first book of abstracts, which the participants found in their neatly designed ICAS 3 conference bag along with the programme book.

ICAS 4, Shanghai, 20-24 August 2005

ICAS is the largest gathering of scholars in the Humanities and Social Sciences not only in China but also in Asia.
Wang Ronghua, President of Shanghai Academy for Social Sciences

At the end of the opening ceremony in Singapore, the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences (SASS) presented Shanghai as the venue for ICAS 4. Their video presentation started a tradition, which has carried on till the present day. The fact that Shanghai would be the next venue should be seen within the wider context of new developments in China at that time. The People's Congress had decided that more should be invested in the Humanities and Social Sciences, which had hitherto been dealt a step-motherly treatment.

ICAS 4 took place in the headquarters of the Communist Party in Shanghai, in a building that resembled an enormous cake, one which had been a present from Stalin to the people of Shanghai (when I revisited the city in 2013 tall skyscrapers completely dwarfed the building). We used an annex with marble floors, with more than enough rooms to accommodate 250 panels. Wang Ronghua, the President of SASS, stressed the close cooperation with the municipality of Shanghai, which translated into a state of the art dinner and a magnificent trip along the Huangpu river, passing the neon-lit Bund. For the first time the convention was given a general theme. SASS fittingly chose "The Future of Asia". Since it was a closed meeting, "sensitive" topics such as "AIDS without Boundaries" and "Bad Girl Writing" could also be freely discussed.

During the opening ceremony the winners of the first ICAS Book Prize (IBP) were announced. This new initiative by the ICAS Secretariat was taken to create by way of a global competition both an international focus for publications on Asia (academic English-language books on Asia in the Humanities and Social Sciences) while at the same time increasing their visibility worldwide. In contrast to other prizes in the field of Asian Studies the IBP is both trans-regional and trans-disciplinary, with an international reading committee. During ICAS 4 we also published the first ICAS supplement to the *IIAS Newsletter* (now *The Newsletter*), entitled "Publishing in Asian Studies". In it, publishers, editors and writers reflected on how to increase the visibility of Asian Studies by developing a wide range of activities.



Figure 16. Covers of programme books of ICAS 5, 6, 7 and 8. Photo: Cindy Bakker

ICAS 5, Kuala Lumpur, 2-5 August 2007

ICAS is the Olympics of Asian Studies.
Shamsul Amri Baharuddin, organiser ICAS 5

The Institute of Occidental Studies (IKON) and the Institute of The Malay World and Civilisation (ATMA) of the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM) teamed up to organise ICAS 5, for which the theme "Sharing a Future in Asia" was selected. The Minister of Higher Education of Malaysia wrote in his welcome address: "The hosting of ICAS 5 is very timely, held at a defining moment when we are embarking on a new path and transforming the country's higher education system to make Malaysia the regional centre for educational excellence". ICAS 5 coincided with the celebration of 50 years of Malaysian independence, which furthermore connected to the Visit Malaysia Year 2007. In cooperation with the city of Kuala Lumpur a circular bus line connecting places of cultural interest was launched, and still operates to this very day.

ICAS 5 took place in the Kuala Lumpur Convention Centre (KLCC). The nearly forty exhibitors at the ICAS Book Fair had no reason to complain both in terms of visitor numbers and spectacular vantage point, as the centrally located exhibition hall had a clear view of the famous Petronas Twin Towers. The Book Fair had already been a fixed feature of ICAS since the beginning, but in Kuala Lumpur it matured.

The organiser of ICAS 5, Shamsul Amri Baharuddin summed it up perfectly: "ICAS 5 is the place where researchers of all categories, from various fields, coming from all over the world, but all interested in Asia, convene, interact and build networks to share their research findings and personal experience". This was a clear impetus for the ICAS Secretariat to keep ICAS travelling through Asia, each time drawing special attention to the local dynamics of the country and region in which the convention was held.

In Kuala Lumpur it was the first time that the number of grouped panels (individual abstracts that are thematically grouped by the organisers, on a trans-regional and trans-disciplinary basis) was double the number of organised panels and roundtables. This combining of organised and grouped panels resulted not only in an ideal mix of top down and bottom up contributions, but it also yielded an amalgamation of many different paradigmatic approaches, which give ICAS its signature vibe.

The second ICAS supplement to the *IIAS Newsletter*, "Academic Publishing Today" addressed the challenges and pitfalls of getting a book published. For the first time e-books were highlighted and a new IIAS initiative "New Books Asia" was launched: an online platform to browse the newest Asian Studies titles and read/contribute to the latest book reviews.

ICAS 6, Daejeon, 6-9 August 2009

We have so far been too neglectful of the value of Asian identity. Time has come to re-evaluate the entire inheritance of all of humanity within the context of the Asian Continent Civilisation as whole.
Young-Oak Kim, keynote speaker at ICAS 6

When the ICAS Secretariat visited Daejon in 2007, we first met with former Prime Minister Hung Gu Lee in Seoul. He graciously offered to be the Honorary General Chair of ICAS 6, a move that proved to be extremely instrumental in bringing ICAS 6 about. Sang Jik Rhee, local host at Chungnam National University (CNU), was the main organiser; he ingeniously put together no less than eight sub-committees to streamline the process. They decided on a general theme "Think Asia", with a wink to an everyday supplement in the *Korean Times* entitled "Think English". The ICAS Secretariat visited the Daejeon Convention Center (DCC), which was still under construction at that time. It stands on the former site of the 1993 World Exhibition, and one can still observe some highly peculiar constructions that survived, in what is now called Expo Park.

Although the financial crisis erupting in 2008 had an impact on the organisation, sponsoring and attendance of ICAS 6, there were still nearly one thousand participants. They had to "endure" three keynote speeches by American, European and Korean representatives. The latter was the famous and popular Korean philosopher Young-Oak Kim who was riding the waves of Asian values, concluding that: "The Eurocentric historical view of the world can no longer hold itself as a model of universally valid values". His speech was delivered in Korean and simultaneously translated into English; it lasted nearly two hours! Befittingly, yet surprising us all, he concluded his talk by singing David Bowie's *Changes*.

All participants received two free copies of the brand new ICAS Publication Series. No less than eight volumes were concurrently launched during an event where more than fifty editors and authors were present. The books were based on contributions to ICAS 4 and 5. From five hundred submitted papers roughly one hundred were selected by the General Editor of the series. These were arranged along thematic lines and given a working title. A senior and junior editor were asked to supervise the process of collegial review. This meant that everybody had to read the contributions by all the other authors. It resulted in a very rigorous reviewing process, experienced by all contributors as an innovative and rewarding way to review books.

The ICAS 6 supplement to the *IIAS Newsletter*, "Choice in Academic Publishing", opens with the following words by the editor Marie Lenstrup: "All academics, by the nature of modern academe, must be both authors and readers. To the familiar invocation to "publish or perish" we could add another to "read or rot" or as publishers might be tempted to put it, to "buy or be damned".

ICAS 7, Honolulu, 31 March – 3 April 2011

> *While the structure, activities, and culture of each organisation (AAS and ICAS) vary somewhat, they share the common goals of promoting the study of Asia and transcending boundaries between disciplines, nations, and geographic origins of scholars of Asia.*
>
> K. (Shivi) Sivaramakrishnan, AAS President

During ICAS 4 (Shanghai, 2005) a delegation of AAS board members and the ICAS Secretariat had suggested the idea of organising a joint AAS-ICAS "meet". It took a while before we agreed on a location, yet eventually Honolulu rose on the horizon as the obvious choice. After intensive negotiations an agreement was signed in Philadelphia in 2010. Since it was the 70th birthday of AAS, the theme was "Celebrating 70 Years of Asian Studies". Both the AAS and the ICAS Secretariats had to work full speed to deal with the unprecedented number of submissions. AAS took care of all panel submissions, and ICAS put together no less than 350 panels based on an inflow of 2,500 individual abstracts, mostly from Asia.

An impressive 5,000 participants gathered in the Honolulu Convention Center from 31 March to 3 April 2011 making it the biggest meet in the field of Asian Studies so far. The reception was sponsored by the University of Hawai'i at Mānao, the East-West Center and the Confucius Institute. It was a memorable meeting, which kicked off with the welcome reception on the Great Lawn at the Hilton Hawaiian Village and Beach Resort & Spa overlooking the Pacific. The Kenny Endo Taiko Ensemble on Japanese drums entertained the participants while a fireworks display added further lustre to the gathering. The gaiety of the reception was understandably tempered by the March 11th Tōhoku earthquake and subsequent tsunami on the east coast of Japan. A Japanese princess was present at the official opening of the joint meeting and thanked the inhabitants of Hawai´i and those present on behalf of the Japanese people for their support.

Nearly 800 panels were included in a programme book as thick as the phone book. It was more than triple the size of our regular conferences and a large number of them were in the category "Border Crossing and Inter-area". A bewildering variety of topics were discussed ranging from "Literary Monsters and Demons" to "Global Representation of China" and "Women in Asia" to "Media and the Message". In the main lobby of the Convention Center there were continuous musical performances, and for the first time a professional photographer, Wim Vreeburg, was engaged and made a colourful impression of this memorable meeting, sending out a clear signal to the outside world that Asian Studies is a thriving and vibrant community.

Our joint gathering was from the outset both a risk and a challenge but it paid off in many respects, foremost in terms of attendance. More than 2,000 scholars

hailing from Asia set in motion further internationalisation of Asian Studies and triggered the annual AAS-in-Asia meetings, which started in 2015. The ICAS Book Prize received 200 submissions, prompting the reading committee to put in place Accolades, so as to recognise a larger subset of titles, including "Publishers Accolade for Outstanding Production Value", the "Edited Volume Accolade" and "Teaching Tool Accolade".

ICAS 8, Macao, 24-27 June 2013

The hosting of ICAS 8 is testimony to our commitment of achieving excellence in higher learning.
Wei Zhao, Rector University of Macau

The rich cultural heritage and the strong historical legacies connecting East and West made Macao an ideal place to host ICAS 8. Who would have ever dreamed that ICAS would take place at The Venetian Macao, the fourth biggest structure in the world, primarily a casino, shopping mall and hotel.

ICAS 8 was organised by the University of Macau (UM) and the Macau Foundation while Professor Tak-Wing Ngo acted as the local host assisted by Wai Cheung, the present ICAS programme coordinator. The 1,200 participants representing 600 institutes of higher learning gathered in more than 350 panels. Within these panels, new ideas and research findings were discussed, not only among researchers who study Asia, but also among scholars who live in Asia. Holding the convention in Macao reminded us yet again of the importance of holding ICAS in Asia. The conceptual lexicons and theoretical tools used in Social Sciences and Humanities have derived almost exclusively from the West. Although these theories and methods have been applied throughout the world with considerable success, their limitations are increasingly apparent, especially in Asia, with its long traditions of organising social relations, its own norms about power and order, and its legacies of implementing rule. With Asian countries emerging to become prominent players, there comes a point when we recognise that the region has something to offer in the development of (social) knowledge. ICAS offers a platform to facilitate this process.

The city of Macao played a central role in discussions on urbanism and heritage. The panels and roundtables on these subjects were attended not only by academicians, but also by government officials, museum curators, NGO activists, journalists, business leaders, and members of the general public. It was a rare opportunity during which scholars and practitioners across different continents and regions gathered together to explore local and global problems.

ICAS 8 had several firsts. It witnessed the first meeting of the ICAS International Council (ICAS-IC), now a well-established advisory body composed of academicians, representatives from civil society and previous ICAS organisers from Asia, Africa, Australia, Europe, Latin America and North America. From its inception ICAS benefitted from their inputs and it has certainly widened the global reach of ICAS. During its first meeting Lloyd Amoah, Secretary of the newly founded Association of Asian Studies in Africa (A-Asia), presented the plan for what would in turn become the conference "Africa-Asia: A New Axis of Knowledge", which took place in Accra (Ghana) in September 2015 with the support of the ICAS Secretariat and the University of Ghana. The second edition of the "Africa-Asia conference" took place in September 2018 in Dar es Salaam with the University of Dar es Salaam acting as a host. Nearly 400 researchers, craftsmen and artists gathered there in nearly 100 panels.

Another first was the reporting on the conference in cooperation with the *Macau Daily Times*. Sonja Zweegers, Editor of *The Newsletter*, cooperated with local journalists to produce a daily supplement reporting on what was taking place, and coming up, at ICAS 8 (https://issuu.com/iias/docs/icas8-newsletter).

ICAS 9, Adelaide, 5-9 July 2015

> *This is the first time that interculturality has been given such prominence in Australia. ICAS 9 seeks to harness international expertise on interculturality in Asia. This will be another way in which Asia expertise can help shape public policy in unexpected and positive ways.*
> Gerry Groot and Purnendra Jain, organisers ICAS 9

When the International Congress and Convention Association (ICCA) informed us that ICAS belonged to the top five percent of conferences world-wide in terms of numbers we decided on a franchise experiment. Four Australian cities showed an interest, but Adelaide's bid was the most all-encompassing: three universities (the University of Adelaide (UA), Flinders University and the University of South Australia), the city of Adelaide, the Adelaide Convention Bureau, the state of South Australia and the International Convention Management Services Company, had worked closely to bring the bid together. And so, the city on the southern coast of Australia, with a tradition of strong ties with Asia, was selected as the location for ICAS 9.

After negotiations with the Asian Studies Association of Australia (ASAA) during its meeting in Perth in 2014, several of its regional associations decided to have their biennial meetings coincide with ICAS 9. This was a way to guarantee sufficient numbers of participants in a place, not without reason, coined "down under".

At ICAS 9 the ICAS Secretariat (ICAS-Sec) launched a new format: the Book and Dissertation Presentation Carousel, which gives participants the opportunity to



Figure 17. Covers of programme books of ICAS 9, 10, and 11. ICAS 12 had no programme book since it was online and therefore the Cultural Platform of ICAS 12 is represented.
Photo: Cindy Bakker

present their research findings in a concise way for those interested in the topic. It proved to be a very fruitful format for both presenters and audience and it has become a popular fixed feature of the convention. The young doctors pitching their dissertations found it an easy way to come into contact with interested publishers. The latter in turn were quite happy to get in touch with prospective authors. This win-win situation has brought and will bring about many happy marriages between publishers and authors.

The issue of *The Newsletter* published shortly after ICAS 9 asked the question: Who is the New Asia Scholar? Content was based on interviews conducted and contributions commissioned during the meeting in Adelaide. ICAS is a fitting platform to ask such a question because it has the greatest diversified cross-continental representation. One of the most obvious observations is that Asian Studies is now more and more being produced in Asia. New ideas and research findings are discussed not only among researchers who study Asia, but also among Asia scholars, practitioners and artists who live in Asia. In approximately 20 articles ranging from "The new Asia scholar's role in Asian/area studies" and "A China scholar working in China", to "Navigating our culturally interconnected world" and "Africa and the unmasking of Asia", we are beginning to see the contours of this New Asia Scholar.

In retrospect, the meeting was an important one for Adelaide because it brought fresh knowledge and perspectives on Adelaide's relations with Asia through the exchange with a wide range of top researchers in, to name but a few fields: urban development, social and economic transformation, migration and connectivity, history and cultural heritage. "Interculture Adelaide" was one of the platforms where this was made specific. It brought together scholars, policymakers and other stakeholders to consider the idea of interculturality, broadly defined as a set of cultural skills supporting openness and adaptivity. Also from a financial point of view ICAS 9 was beneficial for Adelaide. The Adelaide Convention Bureau later estimated that ICAS 9 injected 5 million Australian Dollars into the Adelaide economy.

ICAS 10, Chiang Mai, 20-23 July 2017

> *The emergence of the ASEAN community in Asia is a hope for economic, political and socio-cultural connectivity as well as a challenge for policymakers and the grassroots.*
> Chayan Vaddhanaphuti, organiser ICAS 10

After a decade it was high time to return to Southeast Asia. The Regional Center for Social Science and Sustainable Development (RCSD) at Chiang Mai University (CMU) in Thailand requested the opportunity to organise the 10th edition of ICAS in connection with 50 years of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN),

and to hold it back to back with their Thai Studies conference. According to the organiser of both conferences, Chayan Vaddhanaphuti: "The emergence of the ASEAN community in Asia is a hope for economic, political and socio-cultural connectivity as well as a challenge for policymakers and the grassroots. ASEAN in Asia is, thus, one of the central themes of this conference". As a result, Surit Pitsuwan, former Secretary-General of ASEAN, was invited to speak at the opening ceremony, where he made a passionate plea for democratic values and academic freedom.

His speech closely connected with the ICAS Keynote Roundtable "Upholding Democratic Values in Southeast Asia: Intellectual Freedom and Public Engagement". Two Southeast Asian historians and a social rights activist from Thailand addressed the situation of democratic deficit prevailing in most Southeast Asian countries by focusing on the social and political roles they play as actors and witnesses of ASEAN's recent history. More than three hundred participants joined in the lively discussions chaired by IIAS Director Philippe Peycam. This format proved fruitful and is also planned for future editions of ICAS because it embraces a multitude of voices and views and is apt for a meeting such as ICAS.

This multitude of voices should also be present in the ICAS Book Prize (IBP). ICAS and the IBP can be regarded as one of the ways to facilitate the confluence of localised "connected knowledges" and also the decentring of the landscape of knowledge about Asia. From the start, the IBP has had a broad interdisciplinary basis – Social Sciences and Humanities – instead of the traditional geographic or disciplinary compartmentalisations. The diversification of the IBP's language basis, in collaboration with partners and sponsors from other language areas than English, was realised at ICAS 10: the ICAS Book Prize was extended to include Chinese, German, French and Korean language editions.

The film screenings organised by Mario Lopez of the Center of Southeast Asian Studies (CSEAS) of Kyoto University were a reflection of Southeast Asia's rich ethnic and cultural landscape, and an outcome of CSEAS's Visual Documentary Project, which aims at examining everyday life in Southeast Asia through documentary filmmaking and stimulating the dialogue with ASEAN countries. No less than thirty documentaries varying in length from 15 to 70 minutes were presented, with titles ranging from *Ageing in Bangkok* to *Burmese in Thailand* and *Lives Under The Red Lights* to *Silence of the Summer*.

ICAS 10 in Chiang Mai was memorable in so many ways. The venue was massively impressive, the Rati Lanna Resort catered the most beautiful and delicious Lanna-style receptions and lunches, and Akkanut Wantanasombut together with Rhinosmith Design co., created the most stunning overall design of any ICAS yet! Not to mention the twenty thematic exhibitions in traditional wooden structures, showcasing a wide variety of local projects, including, for example, "Salween Local Research Display: bringing the Village to the Conference". Local researchers from

villages along the Salween River, which flows through Thailand, Myanmar, and China, have been conducting research into the social and environmental issues related to the river; they displayed the outcomes of their research to start conversations with academics, professionals, activists and others from all over the world. To top it off, a real market place with a wide variety of local quality produce stood at the entrance of the convention centre. Many participants took craft items home along with fond memories of an exceptional ICAS.

ICAS 11, Leiden, 16-19 July 2019

> *ICAS now runs an inclusive space in which different social stakeholders – from academic to cultural institutions, from citizen associations and regions – work hand-in-hand to promote scholarly knowledge in society.*
> Philippe Peycam, Director IIAS

Nobody could have predicted that it would take 21 years before ICAS returned to its place of birth: Leiden. It was time, perhaps, to ask – has it fully grown up? By no means. There is still a world and more to explore for this fledgling. Yet we had learned a lot over the previous two decades and brought our combined experiences to this meeting on our home ground. "How the weather will be, nobody knows!" is how I ended my article "ICAS at 21" in *The Newsletter*. Now we do know! The sun started to shine the very moment the ICAS 11 parade was set in motion, and it stayed with us for the duration of the convention.

Considering the location, the theme of the 2019 ICAS was *Asia and Europe: Asia in Europe.* And to make it more of a European affair, we reached out to some friends of ours with whom we frequently collaborate, and asked if they would join us in this endeavour. We were delighted when GIS Asie (French Academic Network for Asian Studies) agreed to come on board as co-organisers and incorporate their own biennial conference into the ICAS programme. GIS Asie was also the main sponsor of the French-language ICAS Book Prize.

Holding the convention in Leiden meant that the ICAS team was not only performing its regular secretarial tasks, but also those of co-organiser, together with GIS Asie and local host Leiden University. From the outset, we knew this would mean more work for us, but we had no idea of what was to come. Compared to our usual 1,000-1,200 participants, this edition welcomed more than 2,300 attendees! They hailed from 75 countries and represented all conceivable fields of research within the Asia-related Humanities and Social Sciences, Civil Society and the Arts.

As with every edition of ICAS, we wanted to connect with the host city. Leiden University was our local host, housing the event in its buildings and sponsoring the

attendance of a very large number of scholars. The City of Leiden also proved to be very generous; it was the main sponsor and helped us deal with much of the bureaucratic elements of organising such an event. Many of the ICAS activities took place outdoors or in other public venues, so that more of the city's residents and business owners could enjoy and profit from this sudden influx of visitors in an otherwise off-season. On the Pieterskerkplein (Peter's Church Square), for example, at the heart of the ICAS area, we organised a Food and Cultural Market. At this market, open to the public as well as ICAS participants, visitors could enjoy a selection from Dutch and Asian cuisines, and be entertained and informed by a number of artisans performing age old Dutch traditions, such as clog crafting, liquorice making and "ship in a bottle" making. The market was open every day during the convention and along with a large number of local cafés and restaurants made ICAS participants feel welcome.

The academic programme of ICAS 11 was bigger than ever; it included close to 550 panel sessions, roundtables, and book/dissertations presentations. The programme commenced with a festive parade through the streets of Leiden, which led the participants to the Hooglandse Kerk where the convention's opening took place. As they filed into the gothic church the attendees were welcomed by the sounds of the 17th century church organ, culminating in Beethoven's *Alle Menschen werden Brüder* (Ode to Joy). They were then welcomed by a number of representatives of the university, organisers and the city. In the church's luminous atmosphere the opening ceremony played out, in which welcome words and the ICAS Book Prize (IBP) ceremony were interchanged by the musical composition *Wind Flow between Asia and Europe* in which musician and singer Enkhjargal Dandarvaanchig carried us to the steppes of Mongolia on the waves of his unbelievable tonal register. We wrapped up the formal procedures with an extraordinary performance, brought to us by Henri Tournier and Enkhjargal Dandarvaanchig, in which they combined Western, Indian and Mongolian musical elements.

This special composition by Henri Tournier was one of the contributions of our co-organiser GIS Asie, but certainly not the only one, because for the first time more than two hundred academics from the Francophone world participated at ICAS. We were also happy to welcome a fairly large delegation of Asia scholars from the Russian Federation. Likewise the presence of many colleagues from Africa and Latin America was new. This was partly a result of ICAS's involvement in the organisation of conferences in those continents, with the University of Ghana, the University of Dar es Salaam and the Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, during the past four years. This cooperation also resulted in the foundation of the Africa-Asia Book Prize and the addition of the Spanish/Portuguese edition of the IBP, which had a flying start with no less than 66 submissions.

The ICAS Asian Studies Book Fair attracted over 30 exhibitors and a good number of acquisition editors were present to connect with potential authors; again ICAS facilitated many a happy meeting and new publication! Other events included a film festival; a number of photo exhibitions and displays; and "The IIAS Academic Freedom Space", a meeting place for discussions on academic freedom which will become a permanent feature of ICAS.

There were also side events such as curated visits to the Asian Library; canal boat rides; tours of the National Museum of Ethnology including a visit to the *Restorient* studio there; an "Introduction to Japanese painting conservation"; walking tours of "Historical Leiden and Leiden's Alms Houses" and an "Asia in Leiden city walk"; as well as lectures and workshops at the Textile Research Centre and the Hortus Botanicus.

In its role as the home of the ICAS Secretariat, the offices of IIAS were open to all interested parties and exhibitions and demonstrations at the IIAS building at Rapenburg 59 included an introduction to IIAS, an ICAS Retrospective including a Book Prize Exhibition, the Photo Contest Exhibition "IIAS 25 years" and a Chinese calligraphy demonstration and workshop.

For the first time ICAS ended with a blast! The grand closing party at the City Auditorium (Stadsgehoorzaal), a beautiful concert hall in the middle of Leiden, featured live music, karaoke, drinks, bites, dancing, and some really good unwinding and celebrating after a productive and inspiring convention week. The conviviality was certainly enhanced by the 120 student volunteers who wisely spent part of their holiday assisting us in creating such a youthful and enthusiastic atmosphere. The local newspaper reported that a new concept of conference had seen the light of day.

ICAS has never simply been a purely academic endeavour – it is creating, sharing and collecting knowledge, it is network building and facilitating new partnerships, it is learning from those beyond academia (such as civil society and practitioners), it is recognising great research, publications and effective projects, it is showcasing the arts, it is enjoying time spent with like-minded people, and it is so much more. When contemplating ICAS 11, I am reminded of Paul Gaugin's *D'où venons-nous / Que sommes-nous /Où allons-nous* (1897), which shows the embrace of the Pacific culture and people, not as the other but as the human. That is the direction in which we are moving, no matter where we come from.

ICAS 12, Kyoto, 24-28 August 2021

> *Everything was so well organised, the participants having the opportunity to alternate between watching pre-recorded presentations, participating in the discussions, witnessing live events, taking time to "visit" Kyoto. I have no words to thank the organisers, as well as the participants for the effort of producing presentations on such a variety of topics related to Asia.*
> Quote from the ICAS 12 survey

On Tuesday, 10 August 2021, we are sitting in the IIAS office in Leiden, the Netherlands, looking at each other and wondering whether everything is ready before sending the access codes for the ICAS 12 Academic Platform to the participants. In the past couple of weeks, the ICAS 12 panel participants have carefully prepared their presentations and have either uploaded them or recorded them within the platform. Now the time has come to make it available to their ICAS 12 colleagues. A rich database of more than 1000 presentations was available to be explored in the two weeks before ICAS 12 officially opened on 24 August.

After the launch of the Academic Platform on 10 August, we were proud to present the Cultural Platform on 20 August, which was meant to evoke the city of Kyoto itself. Participants would enter a beautifully designed Kyoto-style floor plan with different buildings to explore. Although we could not wander around Kyoto and the conference venue itself, the multiple 3D art galleries on the platform effectively approximated the experience of being at an exhibition. Entering the first exhibition space (*Visual Arts Meets Research*), participants could walk around and explore two projects lead by faculty members of Kyoto Seika University – namely, *WADAKO: Stories of Japanese Kites* and *Washi: From Mulberry to Manga, the Art of Paper in Japan.* The second exhibition space featured graduation works by students of Kyoto Seika University, which were produced in the faculties of Japanese Painting, Sculpture, Ceramics, Textile, Printmaking, Video & Media Arts, Illustration, Graphic Design, Digital Creation, Product Communication, Interior Goods and Design, Fashion, Architecture, Cartoon Art, Comic Art, and Character Design. Beyond these virtual exhibitions, the platform also included the ICAS 12 Hidden Talent Gallery, a special space in which colleagues could showcase other talents beyond their academic field. The result was a rich variety of music, dance, fashion, poetry, manga, food, arts and crafts, and other performances

There was so much going on in the Cultural Platform that it was difficult to discover all of it. For example, the vast selection of 32 documentaries included in the ICAS 12 Film Festival, which was curated by Dr. Mario Lopez of the Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University. Titles ranged from *Ambon: A Return to Peace* to *Golek Garwo*, from *Mlabri in the Woods* to *The Father I Knew 2020*. This

film festival edition also showcased a selection of short animated films bringing out issues of social relevance, which were created by students of the Graduate School of Film and New Media, Department of Animation, Tokyo University of Arts.

The publishers and institutes of our *Asian Studies Exhibitor Gallery* also found a place in our Cultural Platform. Several booths could be visited to learn about the latest books, products, and activities in Asian Studies. Participants could also gain more insight about publishing during two *How to Get Published* sessions, which were led by editors from Brill. Other features of the Cultural Platform included the *Poster Gallery*, where participants presented their latest research as a poster of which some were also accompanied by a short explanatory video; the *Networking* space, where participants could virtually gather with the Kamo river in the background; the *Photo Booth*, where participants could take a selfie to add to the *Crafting a Global Picture* mosaic; and the *Explore Kyoto!* Bus, where participants could explore and learn more about Kyoto. Not to be missed was the *Catch-Up Cinema*, where one could view recordings of the live events that one had missed earlier in the conference, and which also presented a rich collection of short video clips of (Japanese) cultural performances and activities. The selection ranged from *noh* play (Japanese original dance with drama) to *sado* (tea ceremonies), from *zazen* (meditation with temple chief priests) to *kamishibai* ("paper play" stories) specially created for ICAS 12

The *Live Events Stage* featured a range of events and performances during the breaks. It started with the official opening speeches. Following this, a keynote symposium occurred, in which Prof. Oussouby Sacko (President of Kyoto Seika University), Prof. Juichi Yamagiwa, and Prof. Shoichi Inoue discussed the importance of locality and crafting a global future based on the diversity of nature and culture. Besides live performances, the *Live Events Stage* was also a space where experience was shared. There were several interviews: the rapper Moment Joon shared his experience as a Korean immigrant in Japan and how it influences his music. Cameroon-born, Japan-raised cartoonist René Hoshino discussed his manga work; and Marty Gross enlightened us about his Mingei Film Archive Project, which aims to restore, enhance, and preserve films and recordings documenting the history of Japan's Mingei Movement and its ongoing legacy in the world of contemporary ceramics. Participants could also enjoy a variety of performances, which even brought some people in Kyoto on the dancefloor during the opening concert by Millogo Benoit, who has been working between Japan and Burkina Faso since 2007. One could also relax and appreciate the beautiful sounds of the piano during a concert by Dr. Masafumi Komatsu.

Another essential element of ICAS is the ICAS Book Prize. This edition honoured publications in Chinese, English (including dissertation prizes), French, German, Japanese, Korean, Portuguese, Russian, and Spanish, and it also included a prize

for the Best Article on Global Hong Kong Studies. With nearly 1000 submissions, the Reading Committees did a tremendous job singling out the winners. During the ceremony, we made a trip around the world to hear from Secretaries of the various languages, each of whom introduced the recipient(s) of their respective edition's IBP Award. Winners happily reacted in a short video clip to this wonderful news. The ICAS Secretariat would like to thank the IBP Secretaries, Reading Committees, and the IBP sponsors and partnering institutes for supporting the nine language editions and article prize.

Perhaps the most important building in the Cultural Platform was, of course, the *Live Sessions* space. By entering this room, you would be taken to the Academic Platform, where on 24 August we finally kicked off five days of live sessions. 1500 participants from all over the world gathered online in more than 300 sessions, structured along 13 main themes, to exchange and discuss their latest research. We were also happy to work with *Engaging for Vietnam* for the second time, which included a large number of Vietnam-related panels in the ICAS 12 programme. The one-hour live sessions were programmed in a 12-hour/day schedule to cross the different time zones. The sessions consisted of short recaps of each presentation, followed by a longer period of lively discussion, exchange, collaboration, and Q&A. The International Academic Forum (IAFOR) in Japan coordinated all sessions in Zoom and arranged for each session to be supported by a technical moderator to assist the participants as needed. If more time was needed for further discussion after the allotted hour passed, we were happy to offer break-out rooms in which participants could talk in a more informal setting.

Our conference format – pre-recorded presentations made available before the official ICAS 12 conference dates, coupled with live sessions focused more on discussion and exchange – aimed to break through the online fatigue of sitting in hours-long sessions. We hoped to create opportunities for a more in-depth discussion of research. Also, participants who were unable to attend the live sessions would still have the opportunity to view the presentations, as these would be available until 15 October, long after the formal conference concluded.

The five days of live sessions and other activities flew by. Before we knew it, we had reached the last event of ICAS 12 on Saturday, 28 August. It was time to sit back and enjoy *kyogen* – traditional Japanese comic theatre. For the closing speeches, we joined two different parts of the world again, Japan and the Netherlands. With great enthusiasm, Prof. Oussouby Sacko expressed his insights from Kyoto on the intensive and wonderful week full of fruitful exchanges, discussions, making new connections, and reconnecting with new and old friends. After his inspirational talk, we moved to Leiden, the home base of the ICAS Secretariat.

This ICAS 12 was the last edition in which Paul acted as ICAS Secretary and General Secretary of the ICAS Book Prize, as he will be retiring on 1 November 2021.



Figure 18. Kae Amo. *Manga drawing of the ICAS Team*. 2019. 8 × 15cm. Photo Cindy Bakker. From left to right: Martina van den Haak, Thomas Voorter, Narutai Riangkruar, Paul van der Velde and Wai Cheung.

Because the ICAS Secretariat team also had to stay in Leiden given the impossibility of traveling to Japan, we experienced ICAS 12 from our computers, just as our participants did. Nevertheless, we became aware that, even online, we could bring the ICAS community together and bridge research across different regions, disciplines, and time zones. We successfully brought together junior and senior scholars from more than 70 different countries. Special thanks also to our ICAS 12 partner, Kyoto Seika University, and all of their partnering institutes. We are grateful for the rich, varied programme they created. Thanks in particular to Prof. Oussouby Sacko, Dr. Shuzo Ueda, Dr. Manabu Kitawaki, Ms. Hiroko Iguchi, the Academic and Cultural Committee, and all supporting staff for their hard work in bringing Kyoto to the ICAS 12 participants. During our weekly online meetings, we together crafted the ICAS 12 experience, and we appreciate them taking on the adventure with us. Even though the experience was virtual, we hope that the participants got a touch of the Kyoto vibe by navigating the Academic and Cultural Platforms. We do hope that, someday soon, there will be an opportunity for all to visit this wonderful city in person.

The richness and diversity of the different research presented at ICAS 12 has not gone unnoticed. We are therefore happy to announce a new ICAS project. Amsterdam University Press (AUP) has approached us to participate in their new Open Access Conference Proceedings Series. ICAS 12 participants will be invited to submit their paper to be considered for the *ICAS Proceedings*. In this experimental phase, nearly 100 are selected. This offers participants the opportunity to

publish their work in an accessible and widely distributed forum (https://icas.asia/icas-12-conference-proceedings).

After ICAS 12 concluded, we invited the participants to provide us with their feedback in a survey. Hearing back from participants is always important to see how things can be improved in future. As this was the first-ever online ICAS, the first-hand experiences of our ICAS 12 participants are even more important for us, as these give us an understanding of what worked and did not work and thereby help us plan for the future. For example, should we continue ICAS online, or is there still a need to meet each other in person when possible? Nearly one third of our participants made the effort to submit the survey. In general, the responses were very positive. The overall ICAS 12 experience was rated with an 8. With so many participants, there are of course different opinions and needs. Most appreciated the format, but there were also those who prefer the more traditional in-person format of longer sessions with full presentations and a short Q&A. Suggestions were also made to improve the online format further.

Although the online ICAS 12 experience was much appreciated, there are also some downsides to an online format. Some participants mentioned that they were unable to fully engage themselves in the conference. Because they were not physically attending the conference, many participants were thus not free from their other obligations at home (e.g., teaching, meetings, family care, and so on). Also, the different time zones made it difficult to attend all sessions one might have liked to join. Despite this, 65 percent indicated that they would be interested in a future online edition of ICAS. However, there also exists a large desire for *in situ* meetings. Ninety percent mentioned that they would prefer the next ICAS to be an in-person conference. With this online ICAS 12 adventure and the feedback sinking in, we will keep a close watch on different developments worldwide regarding the pandemic effects, but also new evolutions in the field of (online) conference organisation. The time has come for us to think about the next ICAS. The future will show us how, where, and when ICAS 13 will take place.

The ICAS Book Prize: A Multilingual Window on the World of Asian Studies

At ICAS 4 in Shanghai, to further establish its brand and position in the field of Asian Studies, ICAS launched two significant initiatives: the ICAS Publication Series in cooperation with Amsterdam University Press (AUP), primarily based on articles presented during ICAS, and of course, the ICAS Book Prize (IBP).
Right from the start, the IBP was designed to be different in nature than the (few) prizes in the field of Asian Studies at that time. The existing prizes were limited to particular regions or disciplines, and often named after one of the professorial stars in the field. Access to and judgement of the prizes tended to occur in a rather closed circle of familiarity, and was mostly resistant to external input. There was clearly room for improvement and innovation.

Original source: Velde, Paul van der. 2020."The ICAS Book Prize: A multilingual window on the world of Asian Studies", *The Newsletter* 86 Summer, 5-9. https://www.iias.asia/the-newsletter/article/icas-book-prize-multilingual-window-world-asian-studies. Velde, Paul van der. 2020."The ICAS Book Prize: A multilingual window on the world of Asian Studies", *The Newsletter* 86 Summer, 5-9. https://www.iias.asia/the-newsletter/article/icas-book-prize-multilingual-window-world-asian-studies. Velde, Paul van der. 2021."Nearly 1000 Submissions in nine languages. The ninth (2021) ICAS Book Prize Edition", *The Newsletter* 89. 9-20.

Turning the First Page of the ICAS Book Prize

The main idea behind the ICAS Book Prize (IBP) was to create, by way of a global competition, an international focus for academic publications on Asia so as to increase their visibility worldwide and beyond academic circles. As a result, the IBP was conceived as a general prize for academic publications on Asia, in both the Humanities and Social Sciences. The IBP Reading Committees consist of scholars in diverse disciplines, focusing on various regions, working on and originating from different continents: a composition that reflects the transcending nature of ICAS.

The ICAS Secretariat approached a diverse group of participants of the first three ICAS meetings with the question of whether they would be willing to become a member of the IBP Reading Committee. Excellent remuneration was offered, including a return ticket to ICAS, free lodging for the duration of the meeting, plus of course they could keep all the submitted books. No wonder there were more than enough candidates to choose from. The first Reading Committee consisted of four members, a secretary and a chair. They originated from Asia, Australia, Europe and North America, and represented the broad fields of the Humanities and Social Sciences in relation to Asia.

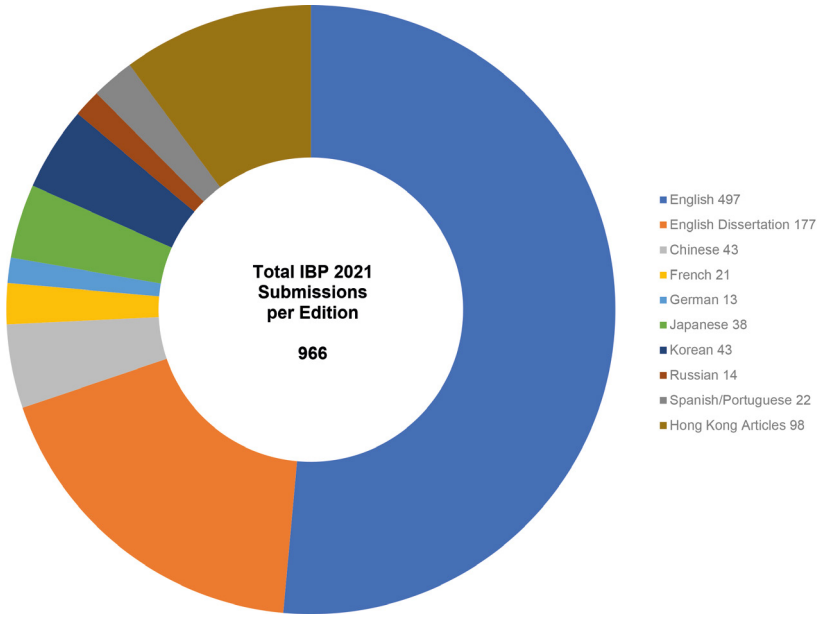


Figure 19. IBP Submissions 2005-19. Source: *The Newsletter* 86. Summer 2021.

With a Reading Committee in place we started promoting the IBP through various platforms, including the *IIAS Newsletter*. On page 42 of issue 34 (2004), the IBP was announced to the world for the first time: "All scientific books published in 2003 and 2004 on Asian topics are eligible. Three prizes will be awarded: (1) best study in the Humanities; (2) best study in the Social Sciences; and (3) best PhD dissertation." We reached out to a large number of (academic) publishers, who in general welcomed the new concept. In all, we received 38 books (23 Humanities and 15 Social Sciences) and five dissertations. The shortlists of three books per category were made public during a brief ceremony in the ICAS exhibition booth at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies (AAS) in Chicago on 1 April 2005.

The Reading Committee met in Shanghai, one day before the opening of ICAS 4, for final deliberations during the so-called "decision dinner". The first IBP Awards Presentation took place on 20 August 2005, in the Friendship Hall of the Shanghai Exhibition Center. At the end of the ICAS Opening Ceremony the IBP Secretary presented the jury report, which was based on citations provided by members of the Reading Committee. The IBP Awards Presentation would become a permanent feature of all future ICAS Opening Ceremonies. Shortly after the ceremony, the jury

citations were put on the ICAS website (where they can still be found) and shared with multiple Asian Studies outlets, such as H-Asia.

The winners of the first IBP were both present at the Awards Ceremony. They were Elizabeth C. Economy for her *The River Runs Black: The Environmental Challenge to China's Future* (Cornell University Press, 2004) and Christopher Reed with his *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876-1937* (UBC Press, 2003). Sam Wong was the first winner of the IBP Best Dissertation Award with his thesis "Community participation of Mainland Chinese migrants in Hong Kong –rethinking agency, institutions and authority in social capital theory". As a prize, his dissertation was published by AUP in the ICAS Publications Series: *Exploring 'Unseen' Social Capital in Community Participation. Everyday Lives of Poor Mainland Chinese Migrants in Hong Kong* (available from http://oapen.org). It was no small wonder that three publications on China won prizes, since a substantial part of the submitted books were about this upcoming political and economic powerhouse. In a special section of the *IIAS Newsletter*#37 – "Publishing on Asia" – this was further contextualised and a rich tapestry of publications on all parts of Asia were highlighted. (https://issuu.com/iias/docs/iias_nl_37)

IBP 2007, Kuala Lumpur: IBP Colleagues' Choice Award

Based on comments from ICAS 4 participants, the ICAS Secretariat was motivated to initiate the Colleagues' Choice Award, in order to enable persons interested in Asia to cast a vote for their favourite book. This was only possible thanks to recent IT developments. An online polling system was established, and voting was possible from mid-March to mid-July. Giving a voice to the practitioners was in line with the ICAS bottom-up approach to the field of Asian Studies. From the beginning we were aware of the fact that the winning title of the Colleagues' Choice Award would not necessarily be the "best" publication, but rather the book with an author or publisher best equipped to mobilise votes for their publication. In order to be a successful author, however, this is not an unimportant aspect of publishing.

The first winner of the IBP Colleagues' Choice Award was Nordin Hussin, working at the Institute of Occidental Studies of the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, the organising entity of ICAS 5. Here follows a part of the citation, which sheds light on why voters liked his book: "Without a doubt *Trade and Society in the Straits of Melaka: Dutch Melaka and English Penang, 1780-1830* (NIAS Press, 2006) is a truly pioneering study of urban history, one that we rarely see in Southeast Asia. This study compares Melaka and Penang in the context of overall trends, namely, policy, geographical position, nature and direction of trade, morphology and society, and how these factors were influenced by trade as well as policies [...] By documenting

the impact of imperialist ambitions on the economy and society of two major trading centres, this book will provide a point of reference for all future research concerning the period."

The Reading Committee for ICAS 5 reviewed 80 books and 10 dissertations. The members of the Reading Committee were: Jennifer Holdaway, Christopher Reed (winner of the IBP 2005 Humanities Prize), Paul van der Velde (Secretary), Anand Yang (Chair), and Guobin Yang. The prizes were awarded by Deputy Prime Minister Dato'seri Najib Tun Razak during the ICAS 5 Opening Ceremony at the Crowne Plaza Hotel in Kuala Lumpur on 2 August 2007.

The winner of Best Book in the Humanities was Madeleine Zelin, with her *The Merchants of Zigong* (Columbia University Press, 2006); the winner of Best Book in the Social Sciences was Pei-Chia Lan and her *Global Cinderellas. Migrant Domestics and Newly Rich Employers in Taiwan* (Duke University Press, 2006). Winner of Best Dissertation in Asian Studies was Karen Laura Thornber, for her thesis "Negotiating and Reconfiguring Japan and Japanese Literature in Polyintertextual East Asian Contact Zones: Japan, China, Korea, Taiwan" (Harvard University).

For the first two editions of the IBP, the Reading Committee reached their final decisions during a dinner one day before the Awards Presentation. After IBP 2007, it was decided to expedite the decision-making process so that the shortlisted authors could be informed earlier in the year, so as to increase the likelihood that they could and would attend ICAS.

IBP 2009, Daejeon: The Network Search for Dissertations

The third IBP Awards Presentation took place during ICAS 6, on 6 August 2009, in the Grand Ballroom of the newly built Daejeon Convention Center. The Awards were presented by the members of the Reading Committee: Mehdi Amineh, Vinesh Hookomsingh, Xiaoming Huang, Alex McKay, Paul van der Velde, and Anand Yang. After the ceremony, all ICAS 6 participants could pick up two free copies of the ICAS Publications Series, of which eight were launched during a special session with more than fifty editors and contributors present.

The 2009 winner of Best Book in the Humanities was Anthony Barbieri-Low, *Artisans in Early Imperial China* (University of Washington Press, 2007); the winner of Best Book in the Social Sciences was Anne E. Booth, *Colonial Legacies: Economic and Social Development in East and Southeast Asia* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2007); Laurent Pordie was the winner of the Colleagues' Choice Award, for the edited volume *Tibetan Medicine in the Contemporary World: Global Politics of Medical Knowledge and Practice* (Routledge, 2008); Best Dissertation in the Humanities was won by Birgit Abels for her thesis "Sounds of Articulating Identity: Tradition and

Transition in the Music of Pulau"; and the winner of Best Dissertation in the Social Sciences was Iza Hussin with "The Politics of Islamic Law: Local Elites and Colonial Authority in Malaya, India and Egypt".

While the number of books submitted for this edition of the IBP had neared one hundred, the dissertations were lagging with just 12 submissions, which were obviously only a fraction of all dissertations written on Asia in English. What could be done to increase that number for the next IBP? We thought the best way to tackle this situation was to put in place a special Reading Committee for Dissertations, consisting of peers of the young doctors. Whom better to ask than the IBP 2009 Best Dissertation winners: Birgit Abels (Humanities) and Iza Hussin (Social Sciences). We invited them to scout for dissertations all over the world and use their growing academic networks to at least double the number of dissertation submissions for the following IBP in 2011.

IBP 2011, Honolulu: From Traditional to Contemporary Asian Studies

The fourth IBP Awards Presentation took place on 1 April 2011 in the Kalakaua Ballroom of the Hawai'i Convention Center, during the Opening of ICAS 7; it was combined with the Ceremony of the Association for Asian Studies (AAS) regional book prizes. President of Ceremonies was four-time IBP Books Reading Committee Chair, Anand Yang, not only one of the pillars of the IBP but also one of the promoters of the joint meeting of ICAS 7 and AAS in Honolulu, which took place from 30 March to 3 April 2011. No less than five thousand participants attended the meeting, making it the biggest ever held in the field of Asian Studies. It was a clear signal to the outside world that Asian Studies was alive and kicking.

The public relations campaign around the combined meeting also had a positive impact on the number of books and dissertations submitted to the IBP. Book numbers doubled while the number of dissertations even tripled. The latter also implied that the newly created IBP Dissertations Reading Committee had done an excellent job. In all, 174 books were submitted by more than 40 publishers worldwide; 75 in the Humanities and 99 in the Social Sciences. A trend that had already been noticeable in IBP 2009 became fully manifest during the fourth edition: whereas for the first IBP, 65 percent of the books had been in the Humanities and 35 percent in the Social Sciences, it was completely the other way around for the fourth edition. This marked a clear shift in the field of research from traditional (orientalist) to contemporary Asian Studies. This also became clear in the supplement of *The Newsletter#56* "Asian Book Series as Global Currency". Many of those featured series were contemporary in nature (https://issuu.com/iias/docs/icas_nl56_supplement).

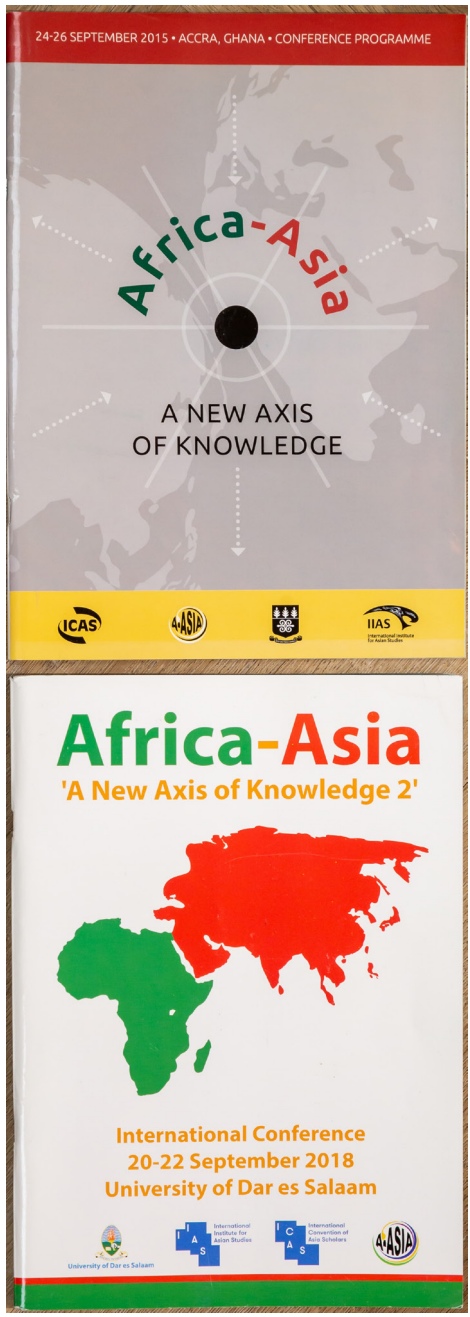


Figure 20. Covers of programme books of the conferences “Africa Asia: A New Axis of Knowledge 1 and 2”. Photo Cindy Bakker.

This was not the only shift we observed. We also saw a clear change in geographical backgrounds of the authors. During the first IBP only 10 percent of the participating authors were of Asian descent; the fourth edition of the IBP saw a marked increase to 40 percent. Asian Studies were clearly more and more being carried out by Asian scholars, yet their books (in English) continued to be predominantly published by Western publishers. Unsurprisingly, a third of the books submitted for the IBP 2011 were about East Asia, but Southeast Asia and South Asia also formed a large number of publications. Popular themes were art and culture, (post)colonial, gender and identity, history, international relations and politics, literature, media, Islam (a newcomer), literature, nationalism and state formation, religion and society. With such a wide diversity of excellent books we started thinking of ways to reward more books than only the main winners. This was successfully developed for the next IBP in 2013.

The IBP 2011 Reading Committee for Books consisted of Manuela Ciotti, Derek Heng, Alex McKay, Khun Eng Kuah-Pearce, Paul van der Velde (Secretary) and Anand Yang (Chair). The Reading Committee for Dissertations consisted of Birgit Abels and Iza Hussin. For the Humanities, Stein Tønnesson won Best Book for his *Vietnam 1946. How the War Began* (University of California Press, 2010), and Carmen Perez Gonzalez won Best Dissertation for her "A Comparative Visual Analysis of Nineteenth-Century Iranian Portrait Photography and Persian Painting". The Reading Committees chose the following winners in the category Social Sciences: Uradyn E. Bulag, *Collaborative Nationalism: The Politics of Friendship on China's Mongolian Frontier* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010) and Imran bin Tajudeen for his thesis "Constituting and Reconstructing the Vernacular Heritage of Maritime Emporia in Nusantara: Historic Adaption and Contemporary Accentuations". The public voted online for the winner of the Colleagues' Choice Award. It went to Alexander Huang and his *Chinese Shakespeares: Two Centuries of Cultural Exchange* (Columbia University Press, 2009).

IBP 2013, Macao: Guide to the IBP and the Addition of Reading Committee Accolades

At ICAS 8 in Macau we celebrated the fifth edition of the IBP. Within one decade the IBP had grown from an experiment with 38 books and 5 dissertations to an established prize with 250 publications submitted by 60 publishers worldwide and 100 dissertations. As previously mentioned, we wanted to start recognising more titles for their excellence, not just the main winners. In order to increase the diversity and creativity of the judging process and so that the Reading Committees would be able to single out a larger number of books and dissertations, we decided

to create the Reading Committee Accolades. The Accolades were to be awarded to any of the books and dissertations submitted, not just those which had made it onto the long/shortlists for the main prizes.

The IBP Reading Committee Accolades were, and continue to be, awarded separately for the two main categories, Humanities and Social Sciences, but the exact Accolades can vary each year (and not all need to be allocated). Accolades are awarded to both Books and Dissertations. Since their inception, the Accolades have included: Publisher's Accolade for Outstanding Production Value; Most Accessible and Captivating Work for The Non-Specialist Reader Accolade; Specialist Publication Accolade; Ground-Breaking Subject Matter Accolade; Teaching Tool Accolade; Best Art Book Accolade; and the Edited Volume Accolade. The Accolades bring prestige rather than cash prizes with them, but all winners receive an IBP certificate, and some even proudly hang them on their wall. To be a winner of an IBP Main Prize or Accolade, or to be included on the long/shortlist, is an important career milestone; importantly, the inclusion alerts academic publishers to the quality of the author's work.

To assist the Reading Committees, I had already in 2009 prepared a modest "Guide to the ICAS Book Prize", which contained an alphabetical enumeration of all submissions so that the readers could check if they had truly received all books. The sharp increase in the number of books in 2013 made it necessary to create a more elaborate "Guide", which now contained structured information to help the Reading Committees to better navigate the multitude of publications. It included an overview of not only titles, authors and publishers, but also the categorical division of books, the regional distribution and the most important topics treated in the publications. The guide also included the procedural regulations, a timetable, and the rules for eligibility of submissions.

The fifth IBP Awards Ceremony took place during ICAS 8, in The Venetian Macao Resort Hotel on 25 June 2013. The IBP 2013 was sponsored by The Kingdom of the Netherlands represented by the Consulate General in Hong Kong and Macao; ICAS's mother institution and co-host, The International Institute for Asian Studies; Amsterdam University Press; and the University of Macau. The members of the IBP 2013 Reading Committees were Birgit Abels, Michiel Baas, Sebastian Bersick, Annu Jalais, Alex McKay, Imran bin Tajudeen and Paul van der Velde (Secretary). Together they awarded the following prizes: Best Book in the Humanities went to Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, for their *The Art of Modern China.* (University of California Press, 2012); Best Book in the Social Sciences was received by Miriam Kahn and her *Tahiti: Beyond the Postcard. Power, Place, and Everyday Life*. (University of Washington Press, 2011); Best Dissertation in the Humanities was awarded to Birgit Tremml for her thesis "When Political Economies Meet: Spain, China and Japan in Manila, 1517-1644"; Roberto Benedicto won the Best Dissertation

in the Social Sciences for his thesis "Bright Lights, Gay Globality: Mobility, Class, and Gay Life in Twenty-first Century Manila"; and the 2013 Colleagues' Choice Award went to Fabrizio M. Ferrari, *Guilty Males and Proud Females: Negotiating Genders in a Bengali Festival* (Calcutta: Seagull Books, 2011).

IBP 2015, Adelaide: The New Asia Scholar

The Focus section of *The Newsletter*#72 (Autumn 2015) was devoted to a phenomenon that we were calling "The New Asia Scholar"(https://www.iias.asia/the-newsletter/newsletter-72-autumn-2015). During ICAS 9 in Adelaide we took note of new trends and developments in Asian Studies. The meeting was a particularly useful observatory due to its diversified cross-continental nature. A number of ICAS 9 participants were invited to contribute a piece to *The Newsletter*, focussing on the question: "Who is the New Asia Scholar?"

The IBP itself has also proven to be an excellent trend identifier and forecaster. For a start, in 2015 we noticed that Asian Studies was moving from Western based Asian Studies to studies coming from the region itself, based on local conceptual lexicons and theoretical tools. Secondly, the shift from Humanities to Social Sciences, already perceived in 2009, continued and intensified; and thirdly, 50 percent of the authors had an Asian rather than Western background, which was a remarkable rise in numbers.

An issue that had come to worry us more and more was the language in which these submissions were written. International publications have always been dominated by English language works. Presuming English as the *lingua franca* of Asian Studies produces at least two implications: English speaking authors are writing about other cultures in a non-local language, thus missing much of the specific nuances (even though they might proudly speak the local language, they do not tend to publish in it); and non-English writing authors are limited in their international reach (or at most, their works have been translated into English only after an international publisher has deemed their work "interesting enough"). As organisers of the IBP we recognised the growing challenge of having only one language centre stage, and in response to demands from the field we realised the need for a change. Prospective partners were approached to either organise and/or sponsor a number of non-English language editions of the ICAS Book Prize. These were to be launched on time for the next IBP in 2017.

One of the incentives for a more diversified and decentralised approach came from our colleagues in Africa, particularly the African Association for Asian Studies (A-Asia), and accordingly, the first "A New Axis of Knowledge" conference was held in Ghana in 2015, followed in 2018 by the second meeting in Dar es Salaam.

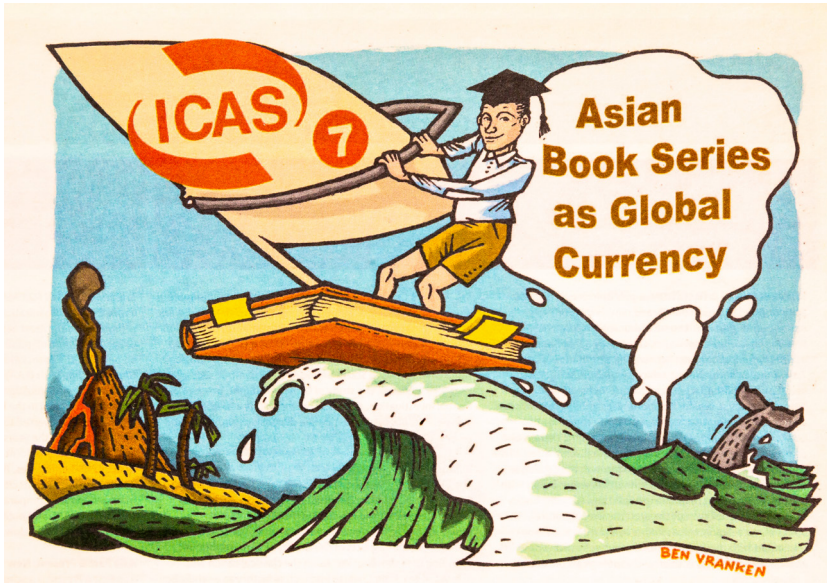


Figure 21. Asian Book Series as Global Currency. Supplement to *The Newsletter* 56. Spring 2011. Colored drawing, 14 × 20 cm. Illustrator Ben Vranken. Photo Cindy Bakker.

Alongside the two meetings also came the regional version of the ICAS Book Prize: the Africa-Asia Book Prize. Books submitted to this prize focussed on Africa-Asia relations and Asian Studies in Africa.

Another interesting, more logistical development, was the sheer number of books being shipped to our offices every two years. Publishers were sending us 6 copies of each submitted title, which we then forwarded to the Reading Committee members. For the IBP 2015 we received approximately 1500 books! Our offices turned into a warehouse *cum* distribution centre. Someone finally came up with the bright idea of asking the publishers to send the hard copies straight to the Reading Committee members. This was only one of the solutions to the many practical problems when running what had become one of the biggest book prizes in the world. Another solution found was to the problem of the growing collection of books from previous editions of the IBP; by now more than six hundred books filled two book cases in the ICAS Secretariat's office. What could be a better destination than the Leiden University Library, especially since it was precisely at that time building an entire floor to house its new Asian Library! Consequently, an agreement was signed between the Leiden University Library and our mother institute, the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS), that the Asian Library would become the sponsor of the IBP. In return, we gifted the library all remaining books from previous (and future) IBP editions.

The IBP 2015 Awards Presentation took place in the Adelaide Convention Centre during the ICAS 9 Opening Ceremony. The Reading Committees were compiled by Christina Firpo, Duncan McDuie-Ra, Alex McKay, and Aysun Uyar. They awarded Best Book in the Humanities to Adam Clulow, *The Company and the Shogun: The Dutch Encounter with Tokugawa Japan* (Columbia University Press, 2014); Best Book in the Social Sciences went to Jinghong Zhang, *Puer Tea: Ancient Caravans and Urban Chic* (University of Washington Press, 2014); awards for Best Dissertation went to (respectively for Humanities and Social Sciences) Deokhyo Choi for his "Crucible of the Post-Empire: Decolonization, Race, and Cold War Politics in U.S.-Japan-Korea Relations, 1945-1952" and Tutin Aryanti for her "Breaking the Wall, Preserving the Barrier: Gender, Space, and Power in Contemporary Mosque Architecture in Yogyakarta, Indonesia". Finally, the public voted for the winner of the Colleagues' Choice Award, which in 2015 went to Khoo Salma Nasution, *The Chulia in Penang: Patronage and Place-Making around the Kapitan Kling Mosque 1786-1957* (Penang: Areca Books, 2014).

IBP 2017, Chiang Mai: A Multilingual Discourse at the IBP Party

ICAS is a successful facilitator of localised but connected knowledge about Asia, and an enthusiastic actor in the decentring of knowledge about and in Asia. As a reflection of this approach, the IBP enacted its existing wish to diversify its language basis. The ICAS Secretariat successfully enthused relevant institutes operating in Chinese, French, German and Korean to take on the challenge to organise their own respective language editions of the IBP: The Education University of Hong Kong (Chinese Edition), Groupement d'intérêt scientifique Études asiatiques (GIS Asie) (French Edition), the German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA) and the Schweizerische Akademie für Geistes-und Sozialwissenschaften (SAGW) (German Edition), and Seoul National University Asia Center (SNUAC) (Korean Edition). Together with the Asian Library/Leiden University (English Edition), the IBP was now shouldered by six institutions in Asia and Europe. All books were submitted centrally through the ICAS website, but each Language Secretariat was responsible for their own Reading Committees, for contacting publishers/submitters, and for collecting hard copies. They all succeeded in receiving at least 30 books (a commendable start, comparable to the first English instalment); the Korean Language Secretariat outdid all with nearly 100 submissions.

The Secretariat of each language edition, in cooperation with the IBP General Secretariat, put together a Reading Committee of four persons, representing the field of Asian Studies in the widest sense. Towards the end of this new multi-language edition I decided to relinquish my position as Secretary. I handed over those

duties to Sonja Zweegers, Editor of *The Newsletter* at IIAS, and I took on my new role as General Secretary of the IBP, in order to coordinate the various language editions, and secure all necessary agreements and sponsorships.

The IBP 2017 Awards Presentation took place on 20 July in the Plenary Hall of the Chiang Mai International Exhibition and Convention Centre. It was memorable to see the winners of all the language editions on stage. Upon leaving the hall everyone was given the *ICAS Book Prize 2017* publication, a new initiative by the ICAS Secretariat. The booklet listed all shortlisted books, winners, citations, Reading Committees, organisers and sponsors.

In previous years there had always been a small IBP dinner organised for the winners and Reading Committee members, but with the growing numbers involved we decided to throw a proper IBP party. The winners were given the floor to say a few words (which had not been possible during the ceremony). Our first multilingual ICAS Book Prize party was a roaring success, lasting well into the wee hours.

The English language Reading Committee members for Books were Manuela Ciotti, Tom Hoogervorst, Claudio Pinheiro, Tina Shrestha and Paul van der Velde (Secretary). They awarded the Best Book in the Humanities to Seth Jacobowitz, *Writing Technology in Meiji Japan: A Media History of Modern Japanese Literature and Visual Culture* (Harvard University Asia Center, 2015); and Best Book in the Social Sciences was awarded to Han F. Vermeulen, for his *Before Boas: The Genesis of Ethnography and Ethnology in the German Enlightenment* (University of Nebraska Press, 2015).

The Reading Committee for Dissertations included Tutin Aryanti, Deokhyo Choi and Alex McKay (Chair). They awarded Best Dissertation in the Humanities to Lisa Hellman, for her "Navigating the Foreign Quarters: Everyday Life of the Swedish East India Company Employees in Canton and Macao 1730-1830"; and Best Dissertation in the Social Sciences to Gauri Bharat, for her "Place-making Through Practice: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Santal Architectural History". And finally, the Colleagues' Choice Awards (respectively for Humanities and Social Sciences) went to Christina Elizabeth Firpo, *The Uprooted: Race, Children, and Imperialism in French Indochina, 1890-1980.* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2016) and Adams Bodomo, *Africans in China: Guangdong and Beyond* (New York: Diasporic Africa Press, 2016).

And for the first time there were prizes for languages other than English. The German language edition awarded their main prize to Hans van Ess, *Politics and Historiography in Ancient China: Pan-ma i-t'ing*; the Chinese language edition Best Book went to Lui Tai-Lok, *Hong Kong Model: From the Present Tense to the Past Tense;* the main prize of the French language edition was received by Marine Carrin, *The Language of the Gods: Santal Ritual Discourse Between the Oral and the Written (India)*; and the Korean language edition recognised as Best Book: Jaehun Jeong, *The History of the Turk Empire 552-745: The Rise and Fall of Ashna's Power.* [The titles of the books in this paragraph have been translated into English.]

A number of publishers also attended the IBP party, as they had travelled to Chiang Mai to exhibit their products and services at the ICAS Asian Studies Book Fair. The number of publishers involved in the IBP English edition had been quite stable (at 60) for a few years; however, for the first time we could clearly discern a core group of seven publishers that had submitted more than 15 books. These were, in alphabetical order: Amsterdam University Press, Brill Publishers, Cambridge University Press, Harvard Asia Center, ISEAS Publishing, NIAS Press, and the University of Washington Press. The following 13 publishers submitted five to ten books: Columbia University Press, Cornell University Press, Hong Kong University Press, Hurst & Company, Lexington Books, NUS Press, Oxford University Press, Peter Lang, Polity Press, Primus Books, Routledge, SUNY Press, and University of Hawai'i Press. The remaining publishers, most of them academic, submitted up to five books. It was clear that the majority of publishers producing books on Asia (in English) were located in either USA or Europe, although we were also made aware that an increasing number of these companies were opening up branches in Asia, so as to be able to effectively scout new authors in the field, the majority of whom are from Asia. This was also the main reason for them to exhibit at ICAS, as most of the participants hail from the region.

IBP 2019, Leiden: The IBP Books and Dissertations Carousel

The IBP dinner at the Hortus Botanicus during ICAS 11 in Leiden was, with over 30 guests, a particularly generous affair as we had added yet another language edition to the group: a combined Spanish/Portuguese edition, organised by Sephis. Its Chair, Claudio Pinheiro, had performed in-depth research into the state of affairs of Asian Studies in Latin America before establishing the Secretariat. His efforts resulted in no less than 66 publications submitted for their first IBP in 2019. The number of submissions for each language varied from 20 to 100 and taking into account the English edition we received a total of 754 submissions.

The IBP Books and Dissertations Carousel had been set in motion as an experiment during ICAS 9 in Adelaide, had matured at ICAS 10 in Chiang Mai, and came of age during ICAS 11 (15-19 July 2019) in Leiden. Eighty presentations took place during 15 sessions, nearly half by young doctors for whom the IBP Carousel was initiated in the first place: "To offer young doctors the opportunity to briefly present the significance of their work to an audience of interested scholars, publishers and potential employers, who in turn may question the candidates on their findings. This is also intended to be a relatively informal chance for presenters to meet others interested in their field of enquiry". A number of presentations (in English) were about books written in languages other than English, and we hope that this platform will indeed see even more non-English language authors during future editions.

With another hat on, as IIAS Publications Officer, and together with my assistant Mary Lynn van Dijk, we convened a panel at ICAS 11 on the three IIAS Book series ("Global Asia", "Asian Cities", "Asian Heritages"), with the aim to look back on the 25 monographs and edited volumes published in these series in the past four years. The series editors took the lead in explaining how they work and what kind of manuscripts they want to include in their series. Tak-Wing Ngo (organiser of ICAS 8 in Macau) said the following about his "Global Asia Series" (although this could also apply to the IBP and ICAS in general): "The Series takes issue with the conventional practice of treating Asia as merely the empirical testing ground for universalised theories developed from Western experiences. Instead, it underlines the contributions of Asian knowledge, values, and practices in making our modern world. The Series deliberately keeps a broad scope to include studies that focus on a wide range of topics and disciplines. Books published under the Series are unified not by a common theme or theoretical approach, but by a critical stance that highlights the autochthonous contributions of Asia to Social Sciences. As such, the Series as a whole addresses contemporary issues related to transnational interactions within the Asian region, as well as Asia's projection into the world through the movement of goods, people, ideas, knowledge, ideologies, and so forth. Priorities are given to well-researched manuscripts that seek to develop new perspectives and theories about global Asia".

The IBP 2019 awards ceremony took place during the opening of ICAS 11, in Leiden's Hooglandse Church, on 16 July 2019. Nearly 2500 people attended the ceremony, and all were presented with the *ICAS Book Prize 2019* publication at the end of the session. The booklet included all shortlists, winners, sponsors, organisers, reading committees of the IBP 2019. The English language Reading Committee for Books included Seth Jacobowitz, Rachel Leow, Thien Huong Ninh, Olga Sooudi, and Sonja Zweegers (Secretary). The prize for Best Book in the Humanities went to Howard Chiang, *After Eunuchs: Science, Medicine, and the Transformation of Sex in Modern China* (Columbia University Press, 2018); Best Book in the Social Sciences was awarded to Sareeta Amrute, *Encoding Race, Encoding Class: Indian IT Workers in Berlin* (Duke University Press, 2016).

The members of the Reading Committee for Dissertations were Bart Luttikhuis, Alex McKay (Chair) and Anna Romanowicz. They awarded Best Dissertation in the Humanities to Leonor Veiga for her "The Third Avant-garde: Contemporary Art from Southeast Asia Recalling Tradition"; and Best Dissertation in the Social Sciences to Aleksandra Lee for her "Modeling China: Business, Politics, and Material in China's Museum Industry". The Colleagues' Choice Awards (respectively for Humanities and Social Sciences) went to Abdur-Razzaq Lubis, *Sutan Puasa: Founder of Kuala Lumpur* (Areca Books, 2018) and Azmil Tayeb, *Islamic Education in Indonesia and Malaysia: Shaping Minds, Saving Souls* (Routledge, 2018).

The Main Prize for the Chinese language edition was awarded to Feng-mao Li, *Transforming 'Sacred Religion' into Daoism: Festival, Belief, and Culture in the Chinese Society of Malaysia* (National Taiwan University Press, 2018). The French language Reading Committee recognised as Best Book, Michèle Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens and Marianne Bujard, *The Qin and Han Dynasties: General History of China (221 BC-220 AD)* (Les Belles Lettres, 2017). Thomas Zimmer, *Awakening from the Coma? A Literary Positioning of Today's China* (Tectum Wissenschaftsverlag, 2017) was the winner of the 2019 German language edition. Best Book in the Korean language was awarded to Jae-hoon Shim, *From a Vassal to the Hegemon: The Birth and Rise of the State of Jin in Early China* (Ilchokak Publishing, 2018). And for the first time, the Spanish/Portuguese edition presented its ICAS Book Prize; in fact it had two winners: Madalena Natsuko Hashimoto Cordaro, *Japanese Erotica in Painting and Writing of the 17th to 19th centuries, 2 volumes* (USP, 2017) and Óscar Figueroa, *The Preceding View: Visionary Power and Imagination in Ancient India* (UNAM, 2017). [The titles of the books in this paragraph have been translated into English.]

Increasingly Asian scholars are and must be at home in different cultures, languages, subjects and disciplines. In an article in 2015, we coined this development the "New Asia Scholar", who is increasingly superseding the very specialised disciplinary or regional Asia scholar. One thing is for sure: all those who have been members of the Reading Committees in the past two decades have become by the very nature of their horizon-widening exercise New Asia Scholars. They form the avant-garde in a development which in the near future will lead to a paradigmatic shift in Asian Studies with new approaches not only based on Western concepts (amalgam) but will for sure increasingly include Asian concepts (gamelan). The fusion of both will lead to ground-breaking new insights that will transcend traditional institutional structures and methodologies and will turn into constantly changing hypersensitive networks, brain and craft parks, where ideas exchange without any restrictions.

IBP 2021, Kyoto: Looking Back to the Future, Part 1

From the beginning, the IBP has been a general book prize of a region and discipline transcending nature. From its seventh edition in 2017 it also became multilingual; by adding Japanese and Russian, the ICAS Book Prize is now considering nine languages that have (long) established research traditions in Asian Studies. Is it conceivable to add even more languages to the IBP without it imploding? I am of the opinion that because English is one of the official languages of India, Hindi or Tamil editions will be unlikely. Bahasa Indonesia, spoken throughout the Malay world, Swahili as the biggest East African language, and Arabic spoken and read throughout the Islamic world, could be possible candidates.

The scholars who have been members of a Reading Committee have fully experienced the horizon-widening experience of the IBP. They received and processed books from not only their own fields of study, but far beyond. Many of them have used the submitted books as pedagogical tools in their teachings on Asia. They work together with the other committee members, and somehow always seem to agree on who should be the winner.

How the IBP will be further impacted by the de-globalising tendencies in the world today, no one can be sure about. However, we do predict that the new Russian language edition will attract a higher number of titles on Central Asia, the Japanese edition will likely introduce us to topics we have never even heard of before, more and more of the authors will originate from Asia and be published by Asia-located publishers, more Asian authors will write about Asian countries other than their own, more books on Asia will be written in a language other than English, etc. And the ICAS Book Prize will continue to boost and document all these developments through its original aim: to increase the global visibility of and interest in academic works on Asia.

Another way in which the IBP works to make Asian Studies and its publications more visible and accessible is through the ICAS Book Fair. The last few ICAS meetings have seen between 30-40 publishers exhibit their wares and services, but this number could rise because of the increasing number of languages involved in the IBP. Closely connected to the IBP is the ICAS Books and Dissertations Carousel, in which authors present their recent work; it has witnessed a clear growth in the number of presentations of books not written in English, thus familiarising wider and wider audiences with works written in non-English languages.

We have also seen how presentations of dissertations are increasingly impacted by developments in IT. Quoting the Chair of the IBP Dissertations Reading Committee, Alex McKay: “What is also notable is that the form of a doctoral dissertation has lost the traditional boundaries of extensive text and relevant illustration. Many submissions incorporate video and other technological innovations of the last decades, once tentatively but now confidently deployed by a generation that has grown up with new tools of expression. That tendency, like ICAS itself, is likely to only grow”. So far, the IBP has only accepted dissertations written in English, but this does not exclude the possibility of dissertations in other languages in the future.

The Colleagues’ Choice Award was introduced in 2007, and has been included in every instalment of the IBP ever since. However, with the steep yearly rise in the number of votes we are no longer able to guarantee the validity of the polls, and so after the IBP in 2019 we decided to stop awarding this prize. Nevertheless, we are convinced that the Colleagues’ Choice Award has made the IBP more popular by highlighting books that would otherwise have gone unnoticed. We will of course continue to award Reading Committee Accolades to the submitted books and

dissertations. The Accolades are an invaluable method to acknowledge a larger number of very deserving titles.

Why compete for the ICAS Book Prize? Where will it get you? Well, Alex McKay, one of the pillars of the IBP, wrote on that matter in *The Newsletter* # 76 and # 83: "The best dissertations will have the primary merit of originality, along with scholastic qualities such as depth (and breadth) of research, evidence of intellectual quality, clear and sophisticated arguments, good organisation and presentation of evidence leading to significant conclusions liable to be of interest to the wider field, a consistent and properly considered theoretical and/or methodological framework, and of course it must include due acknowledgement of sources and proper presentation of bibliography, notes and associated scholastic apparatus. They will also have the minimum of typographical errors and the standard of writing and use of English language will be of a good standard".

The criteria for the IBP Book Reading Committee were summarised as follows: "There are several criteria which determine what is a good book: originality in the treatment of the topic; the depth of the research; opening up a new field of research; providing a definitive study on a certain topic; being well written or making clear arguments. […] Inclusion on the [long] list is a significant achievement and means that the author belongs to the top tier of Asia scholars." With these considerations in mind the Reading Committees start their yearlong reading process, which results in longlists, then shortlists. Being included on those lists is already a great honour and references to them frequently pop up on CV's of scholars to enhance their resume. The winners of the prizes are ultimately those that come closest to the criteria outlined above and for them it means a boost to their careers and a reward for many years of meticulous and intensive research. The recognition for one's work, knowledge and dedication that comes with winning the ICAS Book Prize is priceless, often leading to unexpected but well-deserved career-related rewards.

IBP 2021, Kyoto: Looking Back to the Future, Part 2

The diversification of languages for the IBP was further extended by the addition of Japanese and Russian editions, bringing the total to eight editions representing nine languages. There are very strong Asian Studies traditions going back centuries in both Russian and Japanese. It is only natural that they are part of the IBP, along with the excellent studies written in those languages, which should become part of the international discourse on Asian Studies. During the ICAS Book Prize Dinner, we invited Alexey Maslow, Director of the Institute of Far Eastern Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, to set up a Russian Language Edition, while I want to single out the Japanese Language Edition because two previous attempts to set it

up were foiled. Therefore the ICAS Secretariat sponsored this first edition and with good result mainly thanks to the endeavours of its Secretary Aysun Uyar Makibayshi of Doshisha University in Kyoto, who managed to get in 38 publications. We do not doubt that in view of this unprecedented result many institutes in Japan will jump at the chance to sponsor future IBP Japanese Language Editions.

One other newcomer was the Hong Kong Article Prize. Many times in the past I was asked whether it would be a good idea not only to include books but also articles in the IBP because, certainly in the Social Sciences, a lot of the academic output is in articles. Therefore we welcomed the idea of the Society for Hong Kong Studies to have, on an experimental basis, an article prize for Hong Kong studies. With more than a hundred articles submitted it clearly fulfils an existing need for this field of study and gives us an idea of the wide variety of academic periodicals in which our colleagues find a safe haven to contribute their ideas to.

With this multilingual approach, ICAS was increasingly decentring the landscape of knowledge about and in Asia. The English Language Edition with which it all started will remain – now with 497 books and 176 dissertations – for some time to come the biggest in number of submissions. However, other editions have the potential to grow substantially – in particular the Asian language editions, which started out with more submissions than the first English Language Edition. It takes a lot of energy, time and experience before a prize is deeply rooted and starts to blossom.

The following ten institutions in Asia, Latin America and Europe either organised or sponsored the respective language editions. CATS, Centre for Asian and Transcultural Studies (German Edition), GIS Asie, French Academic Network on Asian Studies (French Edition), ICAS, IIAS and the Asian Library at Leiden University (English Edition and Japanese Edition), IFES, Institute of Far Eastern Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences (Russian Edition), NCU, National Chengchi University (Chinese Edition), SEPHIS, The South-South Exchange Program for Research on the History of Development (Spanish/Portuguese Edition), Society for Hong Kong Studies (Hong Kong Article Prize Edition) and SNUAC, Seoul National University Asia Center (Korean Edition).

The secretariat of each language edition, organised and sponsored by an Asian Studies institution in cooperation with the IBP Secretariat at ICAS, puts together a Reading Committee (normally of 4 academics) consisting of scholars in diverse disciplines, focusing on various regions, working on and originating from different continents: a composition that reflects the transcending nature of ICAS. Each secretariat has succeeded in finding enthusiastic members for their respective Reading Committees and persuaded publishers and periodicals in the field of Asian Studies to submit their publications.

Once the number of submitted books to a language edition reaches one hundred, two prizes are awarded, one in the Social Sciences and one in the Humanities.

In view of the large number of submissions we have, since the sixth edition (2013) Accolades have been put in place to highlight specific aspects of books and dissertations. Although primarily awarded in the English Language Edition, other editions also started to award them or came up with their own Accolades. For example, the Chinese Language Edition (which doubled the number of submissions thanks to the work of its energetic Secretary Cha-Hsuan Liu) has put in place an Accolade for the Best Translation into the Chinese Language, and the Spanish/Portuguese Edition came up with the Outstanding Contribution to the Field of Asian Studies Accolade. It is not only the prize winners who are acknowledged: everyone who is on the longlists or shortlists or receives an accolade is a rightful winner. Roughly ten percent of all authors thus receive recognition and rightly so because we all know how much it takes to get published.

ICAS prides itself on being the platform for young scholars and practitioners. Therefore from the first IBP onwards we put a lot of effort into the Dissertations Edition. This time around, there was a record number of 176 dissertations submitted, 99 in the Humanities and 77 in the Social Sciences. The predominance of Humanities submissions was notable. The two categories were almost equally represented at ICAS 11. At earlier ICAS meetings Social Science submissions predominated. Those submitting their dissertations came from 101 different universities in 21 countries, with a particularly strong component of American universities represented (33). This is indicative of a cultural difference, with particular merit awards being more commonly endowed by American institutes than those of most other countries, and their students thus being more accustomed to promoting their work in such a manner.

Slowly it was sinking in that this was my last IBP as General Secretary. I left with a smile, convinced that my successor Martina van den Haak, who was IBP Acting Secretary from 2008 to 2013, will continue with much gusto. She will work in cooperation with the secretaries of the language editions and with Wai Cheung (co-organiser of ICAS 8 and ICAS Programme Manager) who succeeded Sonja Zweegers as Secretary of the IBP English Edition. A special thanks to Alex McKay who has been involved with the IBP almost from its inception and for the past four editions was the Chair of the Dissertation Reading Committee.

Needless to say I would like to thank all IBP Secretaries, Members of the Reading Committees, the authors who in the past have submitted their publications or dissertations, and the publishers who provided the copies of all these wonderful books. It will come as no surprise that I am eagerly looking forward to the tenth edition!

The New Asia Scholar

In the following article, revised for this publication, Paul van der Velde discusses different perspectives on the identity and approaches of the "New Asia Scholar". The original sources of statements and opinions attributed to the various individuals whose work is discussed here, may be found in the original articles cited at the conclusion of this section.

Original source: Velde, Paul van der and Zweegers, Sonja. 2015. "The New Asia Scholar", *The Newsletter* 72 Autumn. 17-19. Focus Section. https://www.iias.asia/the-newsletter/article/new-asia-scholar

There have been many developments in the field of Asian Studies and among its scholars during the last few decades, and we have been taking note. Our particular observatory has been the biennial meetings of the International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS), which had its first assembly in 1998, and its most recent in 2021. After the first two meetings in Europe (Leiden and Berlin), ICAS was moved into Asia (with two diversions: Honolulu and Adelaide), not only to further increase participation of scholars from Asia, but also with the idea that the Asian case provides an ideal breeding ground to refine existing theories and to develop new ones.

Unlike other Asian Studies conferences, where the majority of participants come from the United States and Europe, ICAS boasts the greatest diversified cross-continental representation, and most of its participants come from Asian countries. One of our most obvious observations has been that Asian Studies is now being produced more and more in Asia. New ideas and research findings are discussed not only among researchers who study Asia, but also among scholars who live in Asia. This is important because so far the conceptual lexicons and theoretical tools used in Humanities and Social Sciences have been derived almost exclusively from the West. Although these theories and methods have been applied throughout the world with considerable success, their limitations are increasingly apparent, especially in a place like Asia (or Africa for that matter).

Reverse and Inclusive Discourses

As Asian countries emerge to become prominent players in the world, there comes a point when we recognise that the region has something to offer for knowledge production. One example of this is the ICAS Book Prize (IBP), which since its inception in 2005 has seen the percentage of Asian authors rise from 20 to nearly 50 per cent at the most recent convention. This will hopefully make apparent that

English language publications are but an iceberg slowly melting into an ocean of multilingual Asian Studies.

Tak-Wing Ngo (University of Macau and local host of ICAS 8), commented on this realisation. He signalled that, recently, there has been an increasing demand for alternative scholarship within Asian Studies, for a move away from Western theory, and "for the development of 'reverse discourses' in order for non-Western scholarship to theorise back at the West". But as local Asian centres and networks of knowledge emerge, seeking to interact with the rest of the academic world, they encounter the problem of language. And now the challenge has come to continue to judge scholarship according to quality not quantity, and to, in Tak-Wing's words "encourage internationalisation without compromising indigenous scholarship".

Not only is Asia a breeding ground for new knowledge and theory, it is also a new home for the many foreign Asia Scholars who wish to "get up close" to the discussion. Lena Scheen (New York University Shanghai), a sinologist from Leiden University, moved to Shanghai so that she could experience the benefits of being among her research subjects, but has now also been forced to learn how to deal with becoming part of her own research field. Essentially, she considers it to be a benefit: "to be required to consistently question your surroundings and yourself in it, creating never-ending opportunities to learn".

Besides the refreshing reversal of roles and locations, we are also seeing a new inclusiveness in many areas of research. Priya Maholay-Jaradi (National University of Singapore) presents herself and her professional career path, as exemplary of a new Asia scholar involved in the arts. She discusses how, as museums and university programmes draw closer together, their shared resources are resulting in new pedagogical tools and exhibition programmes; new media, such as video and digital archives, are gradually becoming part of a new arc of "scholarship-archives-museum-publications-teaching"; and the politics and poetics of culture are being implemented as tools for development and community activism. As museum theory is being linked with practice, academic research on museums becomes more socially relevant to local communities, "in an academic climate where researchers are increasingly encouraged to demonstrate the social impact of their research" (Yunci Cai quoted by Priya Jaradi).

Towards a Multilingual Level Playing Field

The IBP organisers have recognised the growing "problem of language" and in response have added five eligible languages: Chinese, Japanese, Korean, French and German. Language plays an increasingly obvious role in Asian Studies; it is of importance for both collecting data and distributing it. Occasionally, language is the

tool with which one will come to understand a culture, or a relationship between cultures. And knowledge of a particular language will often mean the difference between being able to publish for an international audience or not. The pressure to publish is a familiar sensation for most academics, but it weighs heavier on some than on others. John Bohannon has gone so far as to declare "an emerging Wild West in academic publishing", and Ulrich Kozok (University of Hawai'i at Mānoa), has commented on the growing pressure to publish so as to advance one's career at Indonesian universities. In addition, Indonesian academics find themselves in that disadvantaged situation of having to publish in a foreign language. With the pressure high and predator publishers on the lure, their choices are perhaps understandable. But standards of quality control must be improved if the reputations of academics, and the scientific world of research, are to be protected.

Duncan McDuie-Ra (University of New South Wales) was a member of the IBP 6 Reading Committee and is a former accolade winner. He has commented on the benefits those roles have presented him. Although an immense task, judging the IBP gave him the opportunity to act as a clearinghouse, advise anyone he could on which books to read next, and to accumulate new names for peer-reviews. Significantly, he was able to observe the extremely broad field of Asian Studies, and the current state of its publishing. Duncan comments on the ongoing value of books (monographs in particular), produced despite the pressures of academic life, and notwithstanding the "phantom crisis" in the Humanities and Social Sciences. As a judge, wading through the 200 plus submitted books, he found that the field of Asian Studies is very much alive.

Paul Kratoska and Peter Schoppert have recently witnessed a shift in Asian Studies publications in their role as publishers located in Southeast Asia (NUS Press, Singapore). Western authors have in the past mainly written to explain Asia to audiences in their own part of the world, but Asian publishers have tended to find the appeal of that scholarship limited. However, distribution of research published by Asian scholars in local Asian languages has in its own way also been restricted, that is, until the recent developments encouraging Asian scholars to publish in other languages (mainly English). Their audience is evolving and is starting to include scholars in the West, but also scholars based in other Asian countries. The shift: authors from all over the world are embedding themselves in local discourse, publishers are going straight to the source, and innovative technologies are helping regional knowledge to reach new global audiences.

As a publisher and the owner of Silkworm Books in Chiang Mai (Thailand), Trasvin Jittidecharak is in a suitable position to comment on the "problems of language". She has raised concerns acknowledged by many in the field: the lack of funds for academic publishing and the pressures of writing in English for non-native speakers. But importantly she also notes the problem of censorship in many Asian

countries. Political systems are perhaps developing towards more liberal forms in many areas of "new" Asia, but freedom of speech is still far from being a reality.

Another aspect of this discussion of language concerns was raised by Tom Hoogervorst (Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies), who asks if the "New Asia Scholar" is perhaps motivated by, or even swept up in, "the crisis of area studies", be it real or just an apparition. Has the scholar gone into survival mode, demanding innovation and adaptation? As a researcher of interethnic contact through language, Tom wonders what role language will play in the scurry to reconfigure the field. He follows the path that language-learning in area studies has taken in the recent past; from western researchers learning local languages in their attempts to become "regional experts", to the centrality of English for academic theorisation, to the engagement of native speakers as fieldwork assistants, concluding with the undeniable importance of the study of language to help understand the rapidly homogenising world.

Paradigmatic Shift?

The changing field of Asian Studies brings with it a new academic, one we have termed the "New Asia Scholar". Marlon James Sales (Monash University) has astutely remarked that the term can refer both to a scholar who is attuned to the newness of Asia as a field of inquiry, and also be interpreted as a reconfiguration of "who" studies Asia. Marlon is an "incidental" Asianist, one of a variety of scholars whose specific fields of study (in Marlon's case, linguistics/translating) draws them nearer to Asia by looking at the continent through a "new" set of lenses. He suggests that both the area of the world and the scholars who study it are "new". But more than that, Marlon discusses the limitations of interculturality in Asia (the acknowledgement of different cultures in Asia), and calls rather for transculturality, which alongside the differences also acknowledges the permeable borders of languages and cultures.

In fact, one of the main themes of recent ICAS gatherings has been interculturality; to be understood as the encounter between hegemonic and non-dominant cultures as well as frictions, overlapping, interdependencies, potentials for conflict and mutual interference caused by this. Cathy Monro (University of Sydney) has called attention to the oft-failing collaboration between the academic and legislative worlds, particularly in the context of interculturality. Anyone in the field of Asian Studies knows how diverse and vast topics of academic research can be. We've all seen those monographs come by with exotic titles such as "Yak milk preservation on the Mongolian steppe", "Embroidery from the Sumatran forests", or "Coconut collection from the beaches of some tropical island". And as you pick

up the book to delve into bizarre new worlds, a little voice in the back of your mind might be asking "why?". Why indeed. It is not always immediately clear why particular research has been undertaken, or what its significance for society could be (assuming that one would want to have at least a slight impact on society beyond the academic bleachers). Too often, research findings fail to find their way into the realm of practical applicability. Researchers are not always concerned with this aspect, and policymakers habitually bypass academic research findings in their decision-making.

Jinghong Zhang (Australian National University), winner of the 2015 IBP in the Social Sciences, commented on the dilemmas encountered when attempting social scientific research in the globalising and commercial world (the "new" Asia). Where the new world wants fast and clear answers, the new social scientist must learn how to adapt. Forfeiting their desire to understand the "why" and the "how", they must learn to answer the "what", in the process possibly losing their academic soul. However, learning to adapt to the changing environment, Jinghong concluded, would also conceivably give them something new and valuable in return.

Imran bin Tajudeen (National University of Singapore) also commented on the links between knowledge production and usefulness for the "new" commercialised world. He approaches the New Asia Scholar as both an emerging scholar who is changing the conditions for knowledge production, and also one who is challenging the existing forms of knowledge produced about (Southeast) Asia. Imran observed how the old regime of scholarship was motivated by the need to serve various colonial territories, with its legacy still being felt not just in the West, but in Asia too. The post-colonial era continued to see scholarship regimes produce research with utility for Western knowledge consumers. These Anglo-American academic traditions subsequently went on to form the framework of research for most Asian institutions and scholars; alternative discursive domains and traditions of scholarship remain very limited even today.

Current scholarship in the US mould is concerned with what Benedict Anderson has cynically called the "theory market in the academic marketplace", resulting in the dilemma that scholarship with a concern for social engagement must operate beyond and in spite of the adopted US model. To generate critical and socially-engaged scholarship, new avenues must be paved so that research may reflect concerns rooted in the locality studied. These ideas resonate with Dell Upton's advocacy for a cultural landscape approach to architecture and urban history, and with an emerging notion of the "flipped academic", where publication is delayed in favour of community engagement.

New Approaches and Players in Asian Studies

Asian Studies as a field of research is constantly developing, but at times a more concerted effort must be made to identify, define and design new approaches. The IIAS is responding to the organic developments outlined above – new knowledge, new scholars, in a new Asia – as have numerous other knowledge institutions in the field. In 2014, IIAS initiated a programme, funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation: "Rethinking Asian Studies in a Global Context". With the objective of reshaping the field of Asian Studies, the programme seeks to foster new Humanities focused research. In practice, this means adapting Asian Studies to an interconnected global environment built on a network of academics and practitioners from Asia, the Americas, Europe and Africa. Educational opportunities are created by selecting cross-disciplinary methodological questions likely to shift scholarly paradigms as they pertain to Asia.

Titia van der Maas (IIAS) is the project coordinator of the "Rethinking Asian Studies" programme. She points out how recent technology has improved communications and the sharing of knowledge, and how uniformity in this and in research methodology has facilitated the running of research (projects) across the globe. However, it is nevertheless important to not forget the pursuit of alternative interpretations; to question and challenge the establishment. Although a field of studies will evolve organically in some ways, there are always good reasons to promote more deliberate developments.

In a similar vein of highlighting new players in the field, David Camroux (Sciences Po) delivers a wealth of bibliographic references in his demonstration of the changes occurring in the field of political science research in Southeast Asia. An emergence of new scholarship is introducing comparative dimensions, crossing disciplinary boundaries, and juxtaposing theoretical arguments and observations drawn from various regions of the world, requiring us to rethink a number of assumptions and interpretations.

New approaches and players are also emerging in "new" regions of the world. Cláudio Pinheiro (Rio de Janeiro Federal University) provides a historical overview of Latin America's curiosity about Asia, which challenges the hegemony of the Northern framework, helping to de-provincialise Asian Studies. This curiosity has passed through various phases; at first defined by Orientalist approaches emulating colonialist views, later by the theories of Development and Modernity; from a diffuse 19th century aristocratic inquisitiveness to the professional academic interest of post-WWII; from disperse connections between peripheral parts of the world to alternative models of modernisation. Area Studies, in general, can both develop capacities of intellectuals dedicated to the interdisciplinary study of specific spaces, whilst simultaneously isolating academics in self-contained realities. It

has also validated the prevalence of a North Atlantic expertise, which has hindered the postcolonial peripheries from observing one another intellectually. Pinheiro therefore advocates the institutionalisation of Asian Studies in the Global South (particularly Latin America and Africa), which will help to improve the progress of the field, to de-centralise Asian Studies, and to encourage debates that cross disciplinary boundaries.

The institutionalisation of Asian Studies in the Global South has recently seen fruition in Africa, where the African Association for Asian Studies (A-Asia) was founded in 2013. Lloyd Amoah (University of Ghana) is Secretary of A-Asia and was also one of the convenors of the conference, "Africa-Asia: A New Axis of Knowledge". Lloyd notes that, despite the fact that Asia-Africa relations can be traced back to antiquity, there has always been a notable lack of institutional pursuit of knowledge about Asia in Africa. He references Kierkegaard's "midnight hour" and declares that the hour of "unmasking" has finally struck. Burdened by a past of imperialist subjugation, both the continents of Asia and Africa are perhaps finally ready to see each other without the blurring mask of colonialism, struggles of independence, and the Cold War. New relations are being forged; ones that take their source from ancient connections, but which also attempt to craft fresh engagements befitting a rapidly changing world.

Habibul Khondker (Zayed University in Abu Dhabi) has discussed the challenges and potential of Asian Studies in the Arab states of the Gulf, concentrating mainly on the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries, and paints a picture of hopeful future growth. Although initially established to cater to the human resource needs of a modernising world, the universities in the Gulf region are starting to "Look East" and to recognise the importance of global relations and developments, possibly encouraged by the infatuating influences of Asia's pop culture, which are emblematic of the "new" Asia.

One hears the expression "the Asian Century" all the time, but what really does it mean? Are we just talking about growing economies and evolving political systems? Or is the "new" Asia more than that?

Looking Ahead

In his key-note address, "Looking Back, Looking Ahead: Asia in the 21st Century", at the ICAS 9 opening ceremony in Adelaide, Takashi Shiraishi (National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies, Tokyo) started with an overview of the economic, political and social developments in Asia, among Asian areas and countries, and in relation to the rest of the world. He continued by targeting Area Studies specifically. The quote reproduced below comprises Shiraishi's concluding words to his speech.

His address, and especially these observations, sum up our discussion of the "New Asia Scholar" and the field of Asian Studies better than we could ourselves, so we leave it to Professor Shiraishi to conclude this introduction:

"I have worked as a historian, an international relations specialist, a political economist, and a foreign policy expert over the last 40 years, but have always studied Asia, Southeast Asia initially and Asia more generally in recent years. It is my conviction that Area Studies have a lot to contribute to our understanding of the very complex global, regional, national, and local processes at work, precisely because our perspective is anchored in historical and comparative approaches to and across areas rather than in any disciplinary box. The "crisis" of area studies has been talked about since the end of the Cold War era, with budget cuts, disciplinary compartmentalisation and the imposition of quantitative, technical assessment standards borrowed from some of the natural sciences and now applied uncritically to the Social Sciences and the Humanities. At the same time, we are very much aware that no discipline can account for the complexity of the lived experience and processes currently unfolding across different scales. Our understanding of the region these days is most often based on a certain discipline, and disciplines are useful because they pose questions from which we can undertake our study of and engagement with the world. But I believe that area studies provide an arena in which we can talk across disciplines and learn from each other.

At a time when we have all the more reason and need to learn about ourselves and our neighbours, this crisis of area studies may in fact be a crisis of knowledge and authority, or rather the way in which we go about producing, authorising or validating, and sharing knowledge. We need to ask the question of whose crisis this is, and whether we are not ourselves guilty of thinking within a box, or even in a box within a box, and complicit in reproducing the inequalities that structure knowledge production. In the traditional approach to Asian Studies we go to a "field" somewhere, do research and write about "other" people not our own, publish in our own national language as well as in English but not the languages of the people we are talking about, talk to our fellow academics in America or Europe or Asia while feeling ourselves above the debates happening within communities in the region and in the different countries, not talking to nor citing the scholarship produced by our colleagues in this region, and then insisting that everyone should publish in English language journals with high impact factor. The point is that people in the region and the world move on and things are unfolding right in front of us, and for many of the people who find themselves in an "area" – in the many senses and contexts in which it is understand as such – that area is not something removed or out there, but the ground on which they, and we all live, work, love, hate, have children, move about, grow old, and die. Let us be open-minded and stop thinking about Asian Studies as something out there, but something we do together with our friends and colleagues here."

The Publishing History of the International Institute for Asian Studies

From its inception in 1993 the IIAS has been active in publishing a wide variety of academic book series, promotional material of all kinds and its flagship newsletter which in a journalistic way reports on what is happening in the field of Asian Studies worldwide.

This is a somewhat reworked version of the article by Dijk, Mary-Lynn van. 2021. "The Story of a Publisher: A Conversation with Paul van der Velde", *The Newsletter* 90 Autumn. 52. For a complete overview of all IIAS publications see: www.iias/publications. For an overview of my publications see: www.paulvandervelde.nl.

Deadline Time

Setting up the newsletter and its international editorial board took up a lot time which could be summarised as deadline time. Needless to say, an academic institute should also be active in publishing its and others' academic outputs. First we concentrated on what our fellows were working on which resulted in two *IIAS Yearbooks* (1994-95) with such titles as *Cultures of Madagascar* to *New Approaches to Board Games Research* and *Administrative Reform in the People's Republic of China since 1978* and *Performing Arts of Asia*. Furthermore, we mounted an IIAS Lecture Series (1993-1998) containing the speeches of politicians and Asia scholars held at the IIAS with topics varying from *Asia and Dutch Development Cooperation* to *Cultural Rapprochement between Asia and Europe* and from *The Revival of Chinese Nationalism* to *Concepts of Science in Europe and Asia*. Furthermore, to get an idea of who was doing what in the field of Asian Studies, IIAS as a facilitating institute published the *Guide to Asian Studies in the Netherlands*, *IIAS Guide to Asian Collections in the Netherlands* and also *the IIAS Internet Guide to Asian Studies* which gave an overview of this then – 1996 – only emerging new setting.

London and Singapore-based Publishers

These were all in-house publications so in fact IIAS acted as a publisher. Each of its publications came with its own ISBN number. Although we were able to sell these publications by promoting them at international conferences and online we realised that this was not an ideal situation. So while we still continued with our in-house publications contacts were established with several publishers to replace our yearbooks. In the end we chose Kegan Paul International in London, a publisher with



Figure 22. Book case containing all IIAS publications from 1994 to 2022 showing the spines of the publications. Photo Cindy Bakker.

a global distribution network. Thus the Studies from the International Institute for Asian Studies came into being (1996-1999) in which eight volumes were published with titles varying from the *Hani-English / English-Hani Dictionary* to *ABIA South and Southeast Asian Art and Archaeology Index* and from *New Developments in Asian Studies* to *A Concise History of Dutch Mauritius,1598-1710.* The choice of Curzon as our new publisher was not a surprise because we had a very positive experience with Curzon when editing the *Guide to Asian Studies in Europe* (1998) which was the result of the work of an international team which for many years unearthed what

was going on in the field of Asian Studies in Europe. We found out that there were at least as many Asian scholars in Europe as in the United States and for some time this guide remained an essential resource for anyone who wanted to know "Who is Who" in Europe in Asian Studies. The European Database for Asian Studies was the e-version of the *Guide* on which the present-day IIAS database with its over 30,000 entries is based. Furthermore Dick van der Meij together with Wim Stokhof, set up the Curzon-IIAS Asian Studies Series (2001-2005) in which 13 Volumes were published with titles ranging from *Images of the Modern Woman in Asia* to *Nomads in the Sedentary World* and from *Asian-European Perspectives Developing the ASEM Process* to *The Indian Ocean Rim*.

The IIAS and ICAS Publications Series with Amsterdam University Press

After working with a number of different publishers we thought the time was ripe to concentrate our publications programme. It resulted in two series on primarily contemporary Asia with Amsterdam University Press which had a track record of contemporary publications. That its books were distributed in the United States by Chicago University Press and that AUP also had a distribution network in Asia was also a big factor featuring in our decision-making process. After we were convinced that Asian Studies would be one of the spearheads in AUP's publication policy we signed the contract and whereas all previous IIAS books had been hard covers we shifted to much cheaper paperbacks in order to increase the accessibility of our academic output. This was the beginning of the IIAS Publications Series (2007-2013) and the ICAS Publications Series (2006-2012) both consisting of monographs and edited volumes.

The Editorial Boards of these series consisted of well-known Asian Studies scholars such as Carol Gluck, Prasenjit Duara, A.B. Shamsul and Wim Boot. With them and their contacts we were able to set up both series in a reasonably short time span. The IIAS Publications Series remained very much a channel of publication for the many fellows visiting IIAS. The topics of the books reflected the kind of research being done at IIAS during those years. We find monographs and edited volumes on gender such as *Woman Rights: The Politics of Eugenic Abortion in Modern Japan*, *Frameworks of Choice: Predictive Testing and Genetic Testing in Asia* and *Their Footprint Remains: Biomedical Beginnings Across the Indo-Tibetan Frontier*. Also books on art saw the light of day such as *Austronesian Soundscapes: Performing Arts in Oceania and Southeast Asia* and *China with a Cut: Globalisation, Urban Youth and Popular Music*.

Furthermore, there were publications on politics and economics as for example *The Making of the Asia Pacific: Knowledge Brokers and the Politics of Representation*,

The EU-Thailand Relations or publications in the field of migration such as *Asian Cross-border Migration: Demographic Patterns and Social Issues*. Also Urban studies featured with *Aspects of Urbanization in China: Shanghai, Hong Kong, Guangzhou*. They were very nicely executed with colorful covers capturing the topic of the book. In all 18 books were published with an average of four books a year.

The idea for the ICAS Publications Series was born out of a demand from participants of ICAS to have their contributions published as a kind of proceedings. Since we had seen too many rag-bag proceedings we started thinking of another way of publishing a selection of the more than five hundred articles flooding our desks, which had been presented at ICAS 4 (2005) and ICAS 5 (2007). After a thorough selection we came up with eight possible edited volume titles containing on average ten articles. From the contributors we chose a senior and a junior scholar to edit the volume. We asked them to mail all of these articles to every contributor who in turn had to return all their comments to the editors thus establishing an internal review process. The outcome was eight book titles ranging from *Chinese Women and the Cyberspace* to *Identity in Crossroad Civilisations: Ethnicity, Nationalism and Globalism in Asia* and from *Islam in Indonesia: Contrasting Images and Interpretations* to *Asian Material Culture*. They were all launched during a session in a theatre at ICAS 6 (2009) in Daejon (South Korea) in the presence of around fifty editors and contributors to the books.

In order to promote our series, participants of ICAS 6 received two free copies from the series which they had chosen beforehand. In all 23 books were published. The editorial board of the series consisted of scholars closely connected to ICAS such as Jennifer Holdaway, Christopher A. Reed, Anand A. Yang and Guobin Yang who were also involved in the then nascent ICAS Book Prize. For both series, reviewers were chosen from our database and also authors had to give us three names of possible reviewers out of which we picked one and gratefully added all to our reviewers database for future use which happens to this very day. The reviewers had the choice between a cash reward or could order an equivalent in AUP books.

Asian Cities, Asian Heritages, Global Asia, Humanities across Borders Series

Every now and then institutes such as IIAS change direction. Present-day director Philippe Peycam streamlined research at IIAS along three main themes: Asian Cities, Asian Heritages and Global Asia (Humanities Across Borders is a very recent addition to the series). It is always difficult to discontinue a series but we had much to go on since these themes had been very much present in the previous series and in a certain sense the Global Asia Series has many of the traits of the ICAS

Publication Series. AUP now has (including our four series) 15 Asian Studies series all in hardcover and has become one of the main publishers in the field worldwide. This means that we almost never have to reject book proposals because if they do not fit in our series they find their way into one of the other series.

So far 32 volumes (on average five a year) have been published with titles ranging from *Shadow Exchanges along the New Silk Roads* and *African-Asian Encounters. New Cooperations and New Dependencies* to *Beyond Bali: Subaltern Citizens and Post-Colonial Intimacy* and *Ideas of the City in Asian Settings*. The series editors of each of the series (Global: Tak-Wing Ngo, Asian Cities: Paul Rabé, Asian Heritages: Adèle Esposito and Michael Herzfeld) play an important role in both generating new manuscripts and deciding whether submitted books fit in the series. They have been very successful judging from the number of books which have been published and the 17 books which now are in various stages of production. Also not unimportantly, as with our previous publications series, these have been widely reviewed in major Asian Studies journals worldwide. Book series remain the global currency of our academic economy. The new series Humanities Across Borders with working titles as *Rice* and *Indigo* will add a long overdue pedagogical and methodological dimension to our IIAS publications programme.

The Asian Studies Parade

Our hope is that in the future all IIAS series will be in Open Access which will make IIAS research available to all for free. It will also significantly increase the readership of the series which is no doubt a win-win situation. From in-house publications with hardly any impact to Open Access publishing, it will bring a global audience *The Newsletter* has had since its foundation. The more than one hundred books in eleven series published by IIAS in the past decades were all reviewed in it. The Asian Studies Parade moves on. Many more volumes in the IIAS series will appear and the *ICAS 12 Proceedings* have been published in Open Access containing nearly one hundred articles on a wide variety of topics representing the rich tapestry of IIAS publishing.

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