RELOCATING GOVERNANCE IN ASIA:
State and society in South and Southeast Asia, c. 1800-2000
Leiden University

Wednesday 22 - Friday 24 January 2020
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Conveners:

Maarten Manse
  Girija Joshi
  Sander Tetteroo
Introduction

Over the last decades, the study of governance in Asia has increasingly expanded to include a focus upon non-state entities. Historians have realized that engagement with local intermediaries, civil society organizations, power brokers, and interest groups has been crucial to the day-to-day administration of European colonies and postcolonial states alike. Historically, colonial regimes contended and interacted with pre-existing political and socioeconomic structures of the regions they occupied and sought to reshape. Simultaneously there has been a continued awareness that ideas, methods and policies did not develop in isolation in each colony, but instead circulated in trans-imperial networks. Similarly, nation states in postcolonial republics from Indonesia to India and Pakistan have been compelled to seek dialogue with non-state actors, even as their solutions to challenges from these quarters have been informed by wider discourses on statecraft.

This conference seeks to bring together these different insights in comparative perspective, to shed light on the many paradoxes, differences and continuities of (post)colonial rule across Asia. We seek to highlight the different sources and brokers of power in colonial and postcolonial societies, and the manner in which these interacted, contradicted, overlapped with and challenged the authority of the state. The aim is to bring this wider context of governance into focus, by crossing regional and temporal boundaries and including colonial and postcolonial states in the same framework of research.
City Map

Conference Venue (encircled):
Kamerlingh Onnes Gebouw (Faculty of Law)
Steenschuur 25, 2311 ES Leiden
Lorentzzaal (A 1.44)

1. Museum de Lakenhal
2. Museum Volkenkunde
3. Rijksmuseum v. Oudheden
4. SieboldHuis
5. Rijksmuseum Boerhave
6. Hortus Botanicus

A. Conference Dinner
B. Pub Quiz
Reaching the venue and getting around

Leiden is an easy city to walk through. The venue can easily be reached on foot (from the train station: follow the blue route) and many of the city’s restaurants, hotels and sights are located in the small inner city at walking distance from one another. The traffic in Leiden’s city centre is dominated by cyclists. Please pay close attention as they tend to cycle just about everywhere. Renting bikes is possible: please see https://www.visitleiden.nl/en/ontdek-leiden/kies-jouw-leiden/groepen/easyfiets-bike-rental-1.

Inside the city, the bus is the main form of public transport. The bus stop closest to the venue is ‘Korevaarstraat’. Bus lines 2, 45 169, 182, 187 and 400 stop there. Most bus lines pass Leiden Central Station. Google Maps or 9292.nl are the best websites to consult to plan your public transport routes.

If you wish to use taxi services, there are many companies available. Good services are: https://taxicentraleleiden.nl/ and http://www.wielkens.nl/en/book-a-taxi-online/. Uber is also available in The Netherlands.
## Programme Schedule

### Wednesday, 22 January

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
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| 08.30-09.15   | Registration and reception with coffee and tea.  
*Let’s start on time! Please make sure to be present in the conference room at **09.30**!*
| 09.30-09.40   | Word of welcome. Opening of the conference.                           |
| **09.45-10.45** | **Keynote 1. Robert Cribb** (Australian National University).  
*Blind Like a State: The Avoidance of Information in Colonial Indonesia.*  
**Moderator:** Sander Tetteroo (Leiden University) |
| 10.45-11.15   | Coffee Break                                                         |
| **11.15-12.45** | **Panel 1. Negotiated and Indirect Rule in Borderlands and Frontier Spaces.**  
**Chair:** Kristina Hodelin-ter Wal (Radboud University Nijmegen)  
**Discussant:** Roel Frakking (KITLV) |
| **Speakers:** | Scott Abel (Kean University)  
*Piracy in the Malay World during the 19th Century.*  
Eric Vanden Bussche (University of Tokyo)  
*Colonial Statecraft and Legal Practices in the Sino-Burmese Borderlands, 1902-1940s.* |
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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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<tr>
<td>12.45-14.00:</td>
<td>Lunchbreak</td>
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<td><strong>Chair:</strong> Farabi Fakih (Gadjah Mada University)</td>
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<td><strong>Discussant:</strong> Preeti Chopra (International Institute for Asian Studies)</td>
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<td><strong>Speakers:</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>David Baillargeon (University of Nottingham)</td>
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<td><em>Spaces of Occupation: The Corporation and the Colonial State in British Malaya, 1895-1958.</em></td>
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<td>Nicholas B. Miller (University of Lisbon)</td>
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<td><em>Chinese Merchants, Indigenous Monarchs and Euro-American Agents: Governing Migration across the Southeast Asia and the Pacific during the Nineteenth Century.</em></td>
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<td>Santy Kouwagam (Leiden University)</td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>Developing enclaves in Indonesia: Ali-Babas, Law, and Urban Land Acquisitions</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>15.30-16.00:</td>
<td>Coffee Break</td>
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<td>16.00-17.30:</td>
<td>Panel 3. Contested Authority and Relations Between State and Local Communities.</td>
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<td><strong>Chair:</strong></td>
<td>Girija Joshi (Leiden University)</td>
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<td><strong>Discussant:</strong></td>
<td>Abdul Wahid (Gadjah Mada University)</td>
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</table>
| **Speakers:** | Grace Leksana (KITLV; Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies)  
*Continuing Patronage Relation: State, Society and Rural Inequalities in East Java.*  
Rituparna Sengupta (Housing and Land Rights Network)  
*Land Contestation and Post-Colonial Trajectories of the Urban in Lumding Railway Township.*  
Maarten Manse (Leiden University)  
| 17.30-19.30: | Drinks & Pub Quiz |

* The Pub Quiz will be hosted at:  
  Grandcafé De Burcht  
  Burgsteeg 14  
  2312 JS Leiden  
  (Marked ‘B’ on the map.)
**Thursday, 23 January**

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<th>Time</th>
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<tr>
<td>09.00-09.15</td>
<td>Welcome day 2, coffee and tea. <em>Let’s start on time! Please make sure to be present at 09.30!</em></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| 09.30-10.30| **Keynote 2. Indrani Chatterjee** (University of Texas at Austin).  
             *Pluralising Governance, Expanding Care*  
             **Moderator:** Jos Gommans (Leiden University) |
| 10:30-11:00| Coffee Break                                                        |
| 11.00-12.45| **Panel 4. Spiritual and Religious Brokers, Interactions and Institutes.**  
             **Chair:** Nicholas Miller (University of Lisbon)  
             **Discussant:** Farish Ahmad-Noor (Nanyang Technological University)  
             **Speakers:**  
             **Pocut Hanifah** (Coimbra University)  
             *Call of the Bishops: The Obstruction of Post-Colonial International Diplomacy by the Catholic Dioceses of Timor and Bishops' Conference of Indonesia.*  
             **Nicholas Chan** (University of Cambridge)  
             *The (Islamic) Management of Savagery: Islam and Counter-Subversion in Colonial and Postcolonial Malaysia.*  
             **Anushka Kahandagama** (South Asian University)  
             *Buddhist Reformist Movement in the 19th century* |
**Sri Lanka under the British Rule: Manufacturing of Buddhist Modern Subjects.**

**Eka Ningtyas** (INALCO/Yogyakarta State University)  
*Javanism and Marriage Law in Indonesia until 1974.*

12.45-13.45: Lunchbreak

13.45-15.15: Panel 5. Disasters: (Post)colonial Governance, Societal Action and Local Consequences  
**Chair:** Eric Vanden Bussche (University of Tokyo)  
**Discussant:** Robert Cribb (Australian National University)

**Speakers:**

- **Sander Tetteroo** (Leiden University / Gadjah Mada University)  
  *State, Society and Two Volcanoes: Disaster Relief, Social Activism and Legitimacy in (Post-)Colonial Indonesia, c. 1900-1965.*

- **Eleonor Marcussen** (Linnaeus University/Erfurt University)  
  *“And there are Political Earthquakes”: Disaster Governance, Nation Building and State Formation.*

- **Girija Joshi** (Leiden University)  
  *Chasing Phantoms. ‘Prosperity’, ecology and colonial ambition in south-eastern Panjab, c.1800-1900.*

15:15-15.45: Coffee Break
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<tr>
<th>15.45-17:15:</th>
<th><strong>Panel 6. Subaltern Experiences of Governance.</strong></th>
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<td><strong>Chair:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Philip Post</strong> (Leiden University)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Discussant:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Indrani Chatterjee</strong> (University of Texas at Austin)</td>
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| **Speakers:** | **Jessica Hinchy** (Nanyang Technological University)  
*Child-State Interactions on the Social Margins: Colonial North India, c. 1860-1900.*  

**Niyati Shenoy** (Columbia University)  
*The Rajah, the Rapist and the Resident: Sex and Governance in Early Colonial Rajputana.*  

**Kristina Hodelin-ter Wal** (Radboud University Nijmegen)  
*Using Empire: Tamils as Agents of the British, 1867-1933.* |

| 17.15-22.00: | **Conference Dinner*** |

* The conference dinner will be hosted at:

Bistro Malle Jan  
Nieuwsteeg 9 -11  
2311 RW Leiden  
071 512 3888

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<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>09.00-09.15</td>
<td>Welcome day 3, coffee and tea. Let’s start on time! Please make sure to be present at 09.30!</td>
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<tr>
<td>09.30-11.00</td>
<td>Panel 7. Diplomacy, Negotiation and Strategies of Colonial Governance.</td>
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<td><strong>Chair:</strong> Bente de Leede (Leiden University)</td>
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<td><strong>Discussant:</strong> Remco Raben (University of Amsterdam)</td>
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<td><strong>Speakers:</strong></td>
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<td>Tanja Bührer (University of Potsdam)</td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>The Transition from Intercultural Diplomacy to an Exclusive European International Law and Indirect Rule: European and Asian Intermediaries at the Court of Hyderabad, c. 1770-1815.</em></td>
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<td>Stefan Eklöf Amirell (Linnaeus University)</td>
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<td>Philip Post (Leiden University)</td>
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<td><em>Governors, Regents and Intermediaries: An Exploration of the Practices and Rituals of Colonial Authority in Ambon at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century.</em></td>
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<td>11.00-11.30</td>
<td>Coffee break</td>
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<tr>
<td>11.30-13.00</td>
<td>Panel 8. (Dis)continuities, Historical Legacies and Narratives of Statecraft.</td>
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<td><strong>Chair:</strong> Remco Raben (University of Amsterdam)</td>
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<td>Discussant:</td>
<td>Alicia Schrikker (Leiden University)</td>
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<td><strong>Speakers:</strong></td>
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<td>Sowparnika Balaswaminathan (Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History)</td>
<td><em>Historical Frames and Contemporary Archives: Challenging the Narratives on Postcoloniality and Caste</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Tyler A. Lehrer (University of Wisconsin–Madison)</td>
<td><em>Monks, Ministers, and Virtuous Kings: Histories of Early Modern Buddhist Revival in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Southern Asia.</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>13.00-14.00:</td>
<td>Lunchbreak</td>
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<td>14.00-15.00:</td>
<td>Keynote 3 (Closing Note). Dr. Farish Ahmad-Noor (Nanyang Technological University).</td>
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<td><em>From “Myth-Making” to Rural Bias: the Systematic Devaluation of Local Knowledge/s in Colonial Malaya and the Creation of the Trope of the “Native Peasant” in the Service of Colonial Capitalism.</em></td>
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<td><strong>Moderator:</strong></td>
<td>Maarten Manse (Leiden University)</td>
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<tr>
<td>15.00-15.30:</td>
<td>Conference closing</td>
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<td>15.30-:</td>
<td>Drinks</td>
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Keynote Lectures

Keynote lecture 1. Wednesday 22 January, 9:30

Blind Like a State: The Avoidance of Information in Colonial Indonesia

Robert Cribb

The collection of information about 'Native' society was a central feature of colonial rule. Anthropological investigations fed Orientalist justifications for colonial rule, and knowledge of the functioning of society enabled both social control and economic exploitation. Colonial states, however, also had strong reason to close their eyes to features of the societies they ruled. The deliberate blindness of the colonial state encompassed social ills for which it did not wish to be held responsible in an era in which the social obligations of the state were increasing. Selective blindness was also a way of exercising discretion in the administration of justice. This presentation will explore the matters that colonial authorities preferred not to know.

Prof. Dr. Robert Cribb grew up in Brisbane, Australia, and spent much time as a child wandering the bush and the Barrier Reef with his botanist parents. After completing his undergraduate studies in Asian History at the University of Queensland, he took his PhD from the School of Oriental and
African Studies, University of London, with a thesis on Jakarta during the Indonesian revolution, 1945-1949. After graduating, he taught at Griffith University and the University of Queensland (both in Brisbane) and as guest lecturer at the University of Leiden in The Netherlands. He held research positions at the Australian National University, the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study and the Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, where he was also director for two years. He re-joined the Australian National University at the beginning of 2003.

Robert Cribb’s research interests focus mainly on Indonesia, though he has some interest in other parts of Southeast Asia (especially Malaysia and Burma/Myanmar) and in Inner Asia. The themes of his research are: mass violence and crime; national identity; environmental politics; and historical geography. Current research projects include: the origins of massacre in Indonesia; 'Puppet states revisited: Empire and Sovereign Subordination in Modern Asia' (with Li Narangoa); and War crimes and the Japanese Military, 1941 - 1945 (with Sandra Wilson).
Pluralising Governance, Expanding Care

Indrani Chatterjee

Applying Foucault's concept of 'pastoral power' to the historical archives of the subcontinent, this talk lays out the various forms in which pastoral power was exercised, and the various shape-shifting forms in which care was provided and experienced as 'governmental'. It then argues that the regime of gender and property that began to mark the onset of nineteenth-century colonial revenue structures made the governmental aspects of older care-regimes narrow exponentially. These constraints in turn help explain their reconstitution in the later nineteenth-twentieth centuries as variously racialised and limited groups of care-providers and receivers reconstituted around access to state and electoral machines.

Prof. Dr. Indrani Chatterjee has taught young people in three continents, and over two decades. Her teaching interests have evolved to keep pace with her own travels in time. So the courses she has taught include Slavery and South Asian History, the Gender of South Asian pasts, Early Modernity in the subcontinent, and The Power of Performance. Recently, she finds herself drawn simultaneously to both intellectual and economic histories of the subcontinent. In particular, she is interested in the ways in which wealth travelled between and
within monastic lineages in the past. Having worked on the ways in which monastic governmentality was forgotten in Indian historiography by the early decades of the twentieth century, she is currently revisiting the costs of such forgetting to women's wealth in eastern India. In brief, she is interested in excavating a new history of wealth.
Keynote lecture 3. Friday 24 January, 14:00

From ‘Myth-Making’ to Rural Bias: The Systematic Devaluation of Local Knowledge/s in Colonial Malaya and the Creation of the Trope of the ‘Native Peasant’ in the Service of Colonial Capitalism

Farish A. Noor

Colonial violence cannot simply be studied by looking at the instances of wars and battles fought in the age of Empire. Equally important is the working of epistemic violence and the violence that accompanies the process of learning about, framing and categorizing the colonized Other. This presentation looks at one aspect of colonial Othering in particular, which is the manner in which colonial functionaries, administrators and scholars turned their attention to the local knowledge/s of those who came under colonial rule, and how in the course of collecting, codifying and categorizing these knowledges native texts, histories and narratives were systematically devalued – as ‘mythologies’, ‘legends’, etc. – and in due course relegated to a secondary register as ‘non-knowledge’ that could not be instrumentalised to serve the needs of racialized colonial-capitalism. From the down-grading of Malay-language histories and political texts as ‘myths and fables’ to the institution of the so-called ‘rural bias’ in colonial vernacular education, the argument put forth in this presentation is that colonialism was never a consultative
process where different knowledge-systems were engaged in an equal dialogue, but rather an epistemically violent process where non-Western belief-systems and knowledge-systems were deliberately downgraded in order to give rise to the myth of the lazy/backward/undeveloped native.

**Dr. Farish A. Noor** is Associate Professor at the S Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) and School of History (SoH), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. His work focuses mainly on the political history of Southeast Asia and the history of religio-political movements in the region. His latest works include 'Data Collecting in Colonial Southeast Asia 1800-1900: Framing the Other' (Amsterdam University Press, 2020) and 'America's Encounters with Southeast Asia 1800-1900: Before the Pivot' (Amsterdam University Press, 2018).
Panel 1. Negotiated and Indirect Rule in Borderlands and Frontier Spaces.

Piracy in the Malay World during the 19th Century

Scott C. Abel

The Malay elite of the Malay Peninsula and the Riau-Lingga Archipelago employed piracy as a critical component of the kerajaan economics system to gain follower and support the state, along with using the same fleets that raided for plunder as a naval militia to protect against foreign and domestic enemies. Malay rulers employed “kerajaan economics,” or “kingdom economics,” to gain followers by amassing wealth. The way in which wealth translated into political power made wealthy people a potential political threat to a Malay ruler’s power base. To preserve the power of a ruler, the ruling elite needed to either bring the wealthy into their power base or deprive them of their wealth or lives if necessary. Pirating rights worked in concert with the monopolistic trading system by providing rents, which entrenched the elite’s position within Malayan society. Malayan residents took advantage of their strategic geographic position along crowded waterways to improve their economic prospects. Free trade imperialism, backed by the petitions of Straits merchants for low or no taxes and few regulations on firearms, weakened the fiscal and political health of the Dutch East Indies and Straits Settlements. Malay rulers having limited control over sources of income such as trade or resource extraction sought maritime violence as a way to maintain political relationships
while they received increasing pressure from colonial governments to suppress pirates in the region, thereby placing them in a difficult position.

Originally from the Jersey Shore in the United States, Scott Abel had an early interest in maritime history. He graduated from Washington College in Chestertown, Maryland with a bachelor’s in 2009. Afterwards, he attended Rutgers University-Newark and graduated in 2011 with a master’s degree. He earned his doctorate in history in 2016 from Northern Illinois University. He was a lecturer for the Center for Southeast Asian Studies at the University of Michigan and a fellow with the National Library Board of Singapore in 2018. He is currently affiliated with Kean University.

Colonial Statecraft and Legal Practices in the Sino-Burmese Borderlands, 1902-1940s

Eric Vanden Bussche

This paper examines the hybrid legal practices that British colonial officials in Upper Burma and Chinese authorities in Yunnan province employed to settle disputes arising from cross-border crime in the Sino-Burmese borderlands. With the signing of the Minai Agreement in 1902, Chinese and British officials held periodic meetings to jointly adjudicate legal disputes involving the border populations. Although this practice survived the collapse of the Qing dynasty in China in 1911 and persisted until the late 1930s, the Chinese and the British had to regularly negotiate adjustments to these legal practices to adapt them to the changing nature of their rule. Indigenous responses to colonial conquest and statecraft also
played a pivotal role in the transformations that these practices underwent during the Republican period.

By drawing on an array of British and Chinese archival sources, this paper shows how the joint adjudication of legal disputes reshaped the relationship between the border populations, state agents, and colonial officials. I argue that the Chinese and the British regarded these periodic meetings as a means of extending the reach of state institutions in the region and transforming collective identities among the local inhabitants. In addition, it enabled state and colonial officials to gain a deeper understanding of the dynamics behind local alliances and feuds. I also contend that these practices provided the border inhabitants with the opportunity to advance their own political and economic interests by taking advantage of the rivalry between the Chinese and the British in the region.

**Eric Vanden Bussche** is an assistant professor at the University of Tokyo. His current research focuses on colonial rivalries and state-building along the Sino-Burmese borderlands. Dr. Vanden Bussche received his Ph.D. in History from Stanford University. Prior to joining the University of Tokyo, he taught at Stanford and Beijing University. He was also a visiting scholar at the Institute of Modern History at Academia Sinica in Taiwan. He co-edited Critical Han Studies: The History, Representation, and Identity of China's Majority (University of California Press, 2012) and co-authored Baxi yu Zhongguo: Shijie Zhixu Biandongzhong de Shuangfang Guanxi (Beijing, 2001).
Building a Colony in Northern Afghanistan: Military Occupation and British Rule in Kabul, 1879-1881.

Francesca Fuoli

This paper examines the moment of British colonial state-building that followed the invasion of Afghanistan in November 1879 and the subsequent military occupation of Kabul and Kandahar. The military intervention was triggered by the assassination of the British resident in Kabul and the drawback this imposed on the ongoing attempts to transform Afghanistan into a subordinated polity along the lines of the Indian Princely States. However, initial attempts to implement this model again in Kabul ended abruptly when the Afghan amir Yakub Khan abdicated, thus leaving British authorities de facto in charge of the region. The government of India devised plans for splitting up the region into different polities, centred in Kabul, Kandahar and Herat, under varying forms of British supervision. In Kabul, British authorities took direct charge of the administration and introduced reforms of the taxation system, the reorganisation of regional governorships and the administration of criminal law. Their goal, often pursued by the military and political officers on the ground without the explicit consent of their superiors in Calcutta and London, was the establishment of the embryonic structures of a colony. However, as this paper argues, British state-building entailed haphazard combinations of different models and principles of both direct and indirect rule, which were sown together in an attempt to keep the shaky British presence in the country amidst growing local opposition.

Francesca Fuoli is a historian of modern Afghanistan, South Asia and modern European empires. She studied international
relations in Trieste and South Asian law, politics and anthropology in London. She holds a PhD in History from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) for which she researched the impact of British colonialism on Afghanistan’s state-building process in the late nineteenth century. She has been a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Historical Institute of the University of Bern since January 2018. Her current research project explores the role of mountain regions and mountain people in the formation and consolidation of modern nation-states and empires.

**Spaces of Occupation: The Corporation and the Colonial State in British Malaya, 1895-1958**

*David Baillargeon*

This paper examines the spatial history of British Malaya between 1895 and 1958, and particularly focuses on the role of foreign-owned businesses and corporations in creating a geography of occupation in Malaya to expand the reach and power of the colonial state. In doing so, the project not only explores how commercial agents and colonial officials occupied areas under indirect rule in British-occupied Malaya, but it also builds links between the geography of occupation prior to World War II and that which existed during the Malayan Emergency between 1949 and 1958, when British colonial forces instituted a massive programme of state surveillance, military control, and population relocation under the Briggs Plan. This project builds on research that examines the role of the transnational corporation and corporate governance in the occupation setting, and provides context about how space and territory could be manipulated and utilized as a tool of power. In addition, this presentation will reveal how new digital methodologies – in this case, GIS – can be integrated in the historiography of colonialism and occupation, as well as how digital mapping can reveal deep connections between the state and the corporation during the colonial period.

**Dr. David Baillargeon** is an ERC Research Associate and Research Fellow at the University of Nottingham, where he
leads Stream 3 of the European Research Council-funded Cultures of Occupation in Twentieth Century Asia (COTCA) project. He completed his PhD in History at the University of California Santa Barbara in 2018. His work has been published in the journal Slavery & Abolition and the recent edited volume, Global Raciality: Empire, PostColoniality, DeColoniality (Routledge).

Chinese Merchants, Indigenous Monarchs and Euro-American Agents: Governing Migration across the Southeast Asia and the Pacific during the Nineteenth Century

Nicholas B. Miller

An often-missing component of the migration history of Southeast Asia and the Pacific during the long nineteenth century is the role of indigenous actors. The migration of millions of Asians, particularly from China and South Asia, to what is now Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, Hawai‘i and Fiji has mainly been studied from the perspective of Euro-American colonial administration and these migratory communities themselves. Recent approaches to labour migration and indenture during this period focus on the inter-imperial networking practices of Euro-American actors in attempting to understand, manage and control Chinese and Indian emigration in Southeast Asia to develop new sites of commercial agriculture. Yet how indigenous governing elites across Southeast Asia and the Pacific interacted with this process has been largely ignored. Drawing upon intensive archival study of the networking practices of indigenous governing elites in Hawai‘i and Johore with Euro-American colonial agents and Chinese merchants and labour brokers,
this paper offers case study-based methodological insights for a connected history of colonial actors, state formation and the governance of migration between Southeast Asia and the Pacific. In the spirit of Sanjay Subrahmanyam’s classic studies of the complex actor world of the early modern Indian Ocean, I propose a modern chapter to the ancient migration history between the Malay world and Polynesia. Studying indigenous, Chinese and Euro-American brokers’ diverse investments in migration can reveal new insights about the modern formation of multicultural societies across this region and a less Eurocentric history of nineteenth-century colonialism.


Developing enclaves in Indonesia: Ali-Babas, Law, and Urban Land Acquisitions

Santy Kouwagam

For the last three decades, Indonesia has been experiencing a rapid urban development. Private developers have built independent new towns with its own infrastructures for basic
and public needs such as water and electricity, and often completed with its own schools, hospitals and security forces. So far, there is little scholarly attention about how these enclaves could be developed in the first place, while their existence raises important questions about equality of citizens and the role of state services.

My presentation looks at the process and regulations of land acquisitions for the development of these urban enclaves. It focuses on the endurance of “Ali-Baba” relationships (collaboration between politico-bureaucrats and business people) despite the political turn in 1998, which amongst others demanded for eradication of corruption. I argue that these relationships are now legalized by contracts and implemented with an ideal in mind of being one family, including the obligation to treat one another as such. From this perspective, I will analyse the role of contract law (or lack thereof) in regulating the relationships.

**Santy Kouwagam** used to be a corporate lawyer in Jakarta who left practice to pursue a PhD degree at Van Vollenhoven Institute, Leiden University. She recently completed her manuscript entitled “How lawyers win land conflicts for corporations: Legal Strategy and its influence on the Rule of Law in Indonesia”. Santy studied law in Indonesia, then graduated her master’s degree in International and Comparative Law cum laude from University of Pittsburgh. She is the founder of the Stichting Socio-Legal Consulting, a non-profit organization providing legal aid for individuals and companies with ties to Indonesia.
Panel 3. Contested Authority and Relations Between State and Local Communities.

Continuing Patronage Relation: State, Society and Rural Inequalities in East Java

Grace Leksana

This paper presents a historical analysis of agrarian inequalities characterized by clientelistic and patronage relation between the state and society. Much of the inequality of rural society today resulted from long-rooted patronage feature dated back from colonial period and continuously (re)shaped in post-colonial context. Through a case study of local history in an East Javanese village, this paper argues that patronage relations that existed before colonialism, became exacerbated through expansion of the colonial economy. The establishment of a coffee and rubber company in the village shaped the patronage relation in the village, not only for the advantage of the colonial power themselves, but also for the rural elites who attempted to maintain their privileged position, access and ownership by forming alliance with the state. During colonial era, this alliance was formed between village authorities and administrators of colonial plantations or colonial government, but afterwards transformed (though not eliminated) after independence. It was during this later period that village inequality and patronage was challenged by the Leftist movement. However, this progressive attempt was completely eliminated along with the anti-communist operation in 1965 and the establishment of Indonesia’s authoritarian regime. The existing patronage relation was also used during the violent operation to eliminate the leftist. As a result, rather than
reforming the village patronage, the new regime created new alliance of patrons between the local elites and military. Agrarian transformation as the regime’s new policy were implemented through the works of these local village patrons. By looking at the continuity of clientelistic relation through different periods in Indonesia’s history, the paper will show how the state and society contradict, interact, and continue to cooperate in shaping rural societies.

**Grace Leksana** is a PhD researcher at KITLV. She is now working on her project on memory study of 1965 violence titled “Embedded Remembering: Memory of 1965 Violence in East Java”. She is also associated with Leiden University and NIOD.

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**Land Contestation and Post-Colonial Trajectories of the Urban in Lumding Railway Township**

*Rituparna Sengupta*

The Railway system made its inroad into North-eastern India as an imperial enterprise in the late 1800s, for the purpose of resource extraction and transportation, connecting the region to trade ports in Bangladesh, and thereby opening it to a global network. This advent also brought on a pattern of occupation, land use and governance that have continued to shape notions of community and identity, land ownerships, and related contestations in these regions. The formation of Railway townships in ecologically complex areas, the influx of labour from different parts of the country (thus creating a new demography in these regions) and the eventual secession of their governance from the British to the North-eastern Frontier Railways of India (via state) in the post-Independence scenario
has left several complexities, especially connected to land ownership and infrastructural provisioning. The current paper focuses on the long-standing contestation between the NFr Railways, Municipal Board of Lumding and State of Assam over land ownership of the Main Bazaar in Lumding Railway Township, one of the most important nodal points of the NFr Railways. Based on a study conducted over the period of more than a year, the paper will address how the State’s inability to translate post-Independence realities and expanding networks, and allowing a historic continuum of colonial governance, have created several conflicts among local bodies and state agents over land, perpetuating citizen anxieties and vulnerabilities in the region.

**Rituparna Sengupta** is an urban researcher working in the Housing and Land Rights Network, a human-rights, non-profit organization based in Delhi. The current paper is based on an extensive study conducted for her Masters dissertation titled, ‘Post-colonial trajectories of the urban in Lumding Railway Township,’ 2018 (School of Human Ecology, Ambedkar University) and ‘Memories in Meter Gauge: Women of the Northeast Frontier Railways,’ (2019) as part of the Zubaan-Sasakawa Peace Foundation Research Grant. Her research areas focus on migration, post-colonial urbanism and environment.
Conflict, Compromise and Adaptation: The Reciprocal Construction of Tax Policy in the Netherlands Indies, 1870-1927

Maarten Manse

My paper argues that colonial policymaking was a negotiated process, that was informed by local forms of social organization, resilience and compromise to a much larger extent than currently recognized. Colonial officials on the ground encountered a reality often unyielding and in stark contrast to the high-flung theories of Orientalist stereotypes concocted in universities and government offices. As a consequence, these ‘officials on the spot’ operated through local institutes in an attempt to communicate their agendas. As a consequence, colonial paper-policies and its governmental underpinnings were immediately compromised on the spot, thereby persuading officials to be much more pragmatic and consultative in their actions than instructed from above. Hence, the colonial state should be seen as far less sound and coherent than currently imagined. I exemplify the Dutch colonial tax system to support this argument. I will pick a number of case studies from my PhD thesis to show that tax policy was negotiated, compromised, reinvented, reshaped and abused on the spot, by local Dutch and indigenous officials, chiefs, villagers, religious elites, power brokers, and all in between. I focus on taxation, as this was a core instrument by which colonial governments attempted to not only extract from, but integrally transform and reorganize societies, but ultimately relied on traditional forms of social organization – often leading to resilience and resistance occasionally culminating in large scale rebellion. This shows, I argue, that enormous influences on state policies was exercised from
below. Not only did people resist, counter and reform colonial policies and contest the ways the state tried to influence their lives, their own institutes influenced these very polices to the bone. This throws new light on what the colonial state was and how it was used.

Maarten Manse is a PhD Researcher at the Faculty of Law in Leiden. He completed his BA and MA at Leiden University and is interested in colonial regimes of power and mechanisms of governance, particularly in the case of Southeast Asia. In the past, he has worked with the Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (2014-2015) and with the National Archives of Indonesia (2013-2015).
Panel 4. Spiritual and Religious Brokers, Interactions and Institutes.

Call of the Bishops. The Obstruction of Post-Colonial International Diplomacy by the Catholic Dioceses of Timor and Bishops' Conference of Indonesia

Pocut Hanifah

Timor was formally divided between the Protestant Dutch based in Kupang and the Catholic Portuguese based in Dili. Still, neither controlled the hinterlands and both were unable to spread Christianity outside these administrative centres. In contrast, today both sections of the islands strongly identify with Catholicism and Protestantism. This transformation seems caused by the policy of the New Order regime (1966-1998) to classify all Timorese as Christians under the Jakarta-based Bishops' Conference of Indonesia (MAWI). I argue, however, that the Christianization of Timor was a double-edged sword to this regime because it led to a political momentum for non-state entities from the Catholic Church to unite the East Timorese resistance movement and obtain international recognition for this cause. Timorese bishops like Bishop Belo were gradually able to gain sympathy from the MAWI from 1983 on. The MAWI thereby ignored the Spanish Apostolic Nuncio in Jakarta who sought to improve the international ties between the Vatican and Suharto and left East Timor to be discussed by Portuguese delegates. Bishop Belo rejected this state-centred diplomacy since “Portugal wants to leave time to solve the problem, and during this time we die as a people and as a nation”. By persisting in this call, he gained the attention of MAWI, the Vatican and the United Nations and thereby obstructed the post-colonial international
diplomacy initially followed by Indonesia, Portugal, and other states. I look at how this influenced the clergy in Jakarta, and how they partially opened the way for the Timorese bishops.

Pocut Hanifah is a researcher at the University of Coimbra where she is involved in the ADeTiL program on the transnational history of Timor Leste’s self-determination. Within this project, she writes on the Indonesian institutions and actors involved with Timor Leste and is based in Jakarta to conduct archival research and interviews there. She previously conducted research on the regicides occurring in Aceh during and after the Indonesian decolonization wars and has written on the Islamic philanthropy for rural development in West Java. She obtained her Master degree on Asian Studies at Leiden University.

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The (Islamic) Management of Savagery: Islam and Counter-Subversion in Colonial and Postcolonial Malaysia

Nicholas Chan

Whereas the connection of religion to political extremism is a highly contested topic today, the use of religious institutions, actors, and discourses to quell the phenomenon is less interrogated. This paper investigates the employment of Islamic discourses for counter-subversion in Malaysia in two different contexts. The first pertains to the Communist Insurgency (1948–60) when the colonial state was trying to discourage ethnic Malay participation in the Malaya Communist Party (MCP). The second refers to the mid-2010s when counter-radicalisation discourses were disseminated by the postcolonial Malaysian state to stem record-high
participation of citizens in purported terrorist activities following the rise of the transnational terrorist group, the Islamic State (IS). Using archival materials and contemporary publications, this paper traces the employment of ‘Islamic’ signifiers and logics in state discourses aimed at population control and ideological modulation that was mainly targeted at the Malay-Muslim community. It argues that this process of the ‘Islamisation’ of security, which had its contours and logics inscribed during the colonial period and witnessed the category of religion made progressively important in the supposedly ‘secular’ area of national security, highlights an internal paradox of (colonial) governance where efforts by state actors to institute ‘apolitical’ religion will often lead to its politicisation. In other words, statist intentions to govern minds through religion is inevitably entangled with the longstanding problématique of the governance of religion. The process proffers as many opportunities and openings for religious actors and agents as there are conflicts and tensions, further illustrating the overdetermined nature of enterprises such as ‘counter-terrorism’ and ‘Islamisation’.

Nicholas Chan is a PhD Candidate with the Department of Politics and International Studies, University of Cambridge. He has published with Critical Studies on Terrorism, ISEAS Yusof Ishak Institute (Singapore), and a book chapter with Routledge. His major research interest is in radical politics, religio-political discourses, and Southeast Asian state and society.
Buddhist Reformist Movement in the 19th century Sri Lanka under the British Rule: Manufacturing of Buddhist Modern Subjects

Anushka Kahandagama

The Buddhist reformist movement of the nineteenth century Sri Lanka was surrounded by wealth and the knowledge of the emerging middle-class of the country who owned trades and industries which facilitated the vast colonial economy. This emerging middle class wanted to produce a tamed and civilized labour force, which is efficient enough to cater their needs. While the first generation of this middle-class funded the movement, the second generation was the brains behind the movement armed with 'modern scientific education'. The Buddhist reformist movement was actively engaged in producing Buddhist-modern subjects, which, on the other hand, fill the emerging need for the modern labour force. In doing this, Buddhist reformist movement established formal entities which produce the docile bodies and plethora of publications and speeches in vernacular language, Sinhala, to tame the subjects who were part of un-regulated spaces. New 'scientific' institutional models coming from western knowledge systems were introduced to the island fusing with local knowledge systems, Buddhism. This appearing wealthy middle class did not have the power either local cast-based hierarchies or British race-based hierarchies. Under these conditions, this group created a strategic informal governing mechanism which is acceptable by both western as well as local groups and which can provide them with better economic benefits. The study has used archival material from the 19th century Ceylon, mostly the publications by the nineteenth-century Buddhist reformist movement of Sri Lanka, both in
English and vernacular language of the Buddhists of the island, Sinhala.

**Anushka Kahandagama** is reading for Mphil/PhD at South Asian University, New Delhi, India. She has done her Master's degree at the University of Colombo, Sri Lanka. She did her Master's thesis under the topic 'Militarized Masculinities in Sri Lankan Sinhala Cinema' and her MPhil thesis under the topic Buddhist Revivalist Movement Under British Rule in the Nineteenth Century Sri Lanka'. She has worked as an Assistant Lecturer at the University of Colombo, Visiting Lecturer at the Open University of Sri Lanka and Foundation Institute of Sri Lanka. She served as one of the researchers at the Consultation Task Force on Reconciliation Mechanisms in Sri Lanka, Law and Society Trust, and Center for Women's Research. Her academic interests lie in colonial studies, Buddhism, and Visual Anthropology.

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**Javanism and Marriage Law in Indonesia until 1974**

*Eka Ningtyas*

This article analyses marriage law in Indonesia in relation to non-religious groups. It shows that since the marriage law was formed in the colonial period until Indonesia's independence, it did not regulate marriages among non-religious groups. From the beginning of independence until the 60s, Indonesia was preoccupied with the process of forming state institutions, one of which was a religious institution. This encourages the Indonesian government to define the term of religion and to which groups are included in the category of religion. This results in a condition where many groups of people feel that
they are not in accordance with the definition and institutional boundaries that have been formed by the government. One of these groups is those who hold Javanism as a guide in life. Javanism is a view of life influenced by the values of Javanese culture. The ideas contained in Javanism focus on the relationship between humans and God. It has the ultimate goal of unity between humans and God (Manunggaling Kawula Lan Gusti). The emergence of a large wave of Javanese groups which had institutionalized themselves as an official forum for their adherents until the early 60s led to a clash with religious institutions that were also formed by the state. By analysing these developments, the article wants to show that from the beginning, Javanism in the institutional aspect of religion did not have space in Indonesia.

**Eka Ningtyas** is doctoral candidate at INALCO (Institute National des Langues et Civilisation Orienatales) in Paris at Departement of Histoire, Societe et Civilisation. She currently works as a lecturer at the Department of History Education, Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta (UNY). She received her master and bachelor degrees from Gadjah Mada University (UGM).
Panel 5. Disasters: (Post)colonial Governance, Societal Action and Local Consequences

State, Society and Two volcanoes: Disaster Relief, Social Activism and Legitimacy in (Post-)Colonial Indonesia, c. 1900-1965

Sander Tetteroo

My presentation will argue that natural disasters were integral to the social and political history of colonial and postcolonial Indonesia. Natural disasters were, borrowing a phrase from Greg Bankoff’s work on the Philippines, frequent life experiences for the inhabitants of Indonesian archipelago, whether as victims, involved subjects and citizens, or state officials. Based on my dissertation research I argue that disaster relief had a significant impact on crucial socio-political developments in late colonial and early independent Indonesia. In this paper I highlight two issues: the expansion and legitimization of the (post)colonial state, and the growth and social and political engagement of Indonesia’s burgeoning indigenous civil society. In the early twentieth century, indigenous activism in the fields of religion, education and politics increasingly crystallized into (often middle-class-fuelled) civil society organizations that engaged with the Dutch colonizers in the public sphere. Disaster relief opened up a platform that was used by both state and civil society actors to further their interests. This dynamic resulted in aid for disaster victims, but also reverberated deeper into the day-to-day functioning of public life in the archipelago. I use responses of the state and civil society organizations to the eruptions of two volcanoes to showcase how demonstrate that state legitimacy and (anti-colonial) nationalism, religious-political movements
and local activism were deeply intertwined with disaster relief. To do so, I shed light on an eruption of Mount Kelud (1919), East Java and two eruptions of Mount Merapi (1930/1954), Central Java.

Sander Tetteroo (1988) completed his Research Master’s degree in Colonial and Global History at the Institute for History of Leiden University. He is currently a PhD candidate in a cooperative project between Leiden University and Gadjah Mada University. His dissertation research concerns societal and governmental responses to natural disasters in (post)colonial Indonesia, c. 1900-1965, with a focus on the connections between social interpretations of disasters, political movements, disaster charity and colonial government policy.

“And there are political earthquakes”: Disaster Governance, Nation Building and State Formation

Eleanor Marcussen

Governance in the immediate aftermath of a natural disaster begins as the management of a crisis and lasts for a limited time. In the long aftermath, a disaster offers an opportunity to introduce new modes of governance, often in response to the failure of protection that the disaster represents. Natural disasters such as the destructive 1934 earthquake in Bihar (India) are not only disruptive and often tragic events but also the beginning of a social process of coping and rehabilitation. Historical disaster research underline how aftermaths can serve as opportunities to reorder society or reinforce the existing social order. After the devastating earthquake in 1934,
numerous civil society associations organised financial aid and mobilised man-power to aid the victims of the disaster. Both the state and civil society groups consciously deployed disaster relief as a means to appease social groups of people such as the middle classes and urban residents. From the perspective of civil society organisations, politicised disaster relief became a tool for nation building and a practice in state formation. This paper argues that disaster relief and the regimes of aid laid out by the colonial state and civil society organisations represented and produced ideas of citizenship and legitimate government institutions in the aftermath of the 1934 earthquake. Disaster governance could thereby represent attempts at reinforcing or reinventing colonial subjects and citizens as well as shaping the framework of the envisioned nation state. The questioning of colonial governance in the aftermath by civil society organisations serves as a site for analysing political ideas underpinning aid, relief and reconstruction in the making of an alternative mode of governance.

Eleonor Marcussen is a COFUND fellow at the Max-Weber-Kolleg for Advanced Cultural and Social Studies at Erfurt University (2019/20). Since 2018, she is a postdoctoral fellow in history at Linnaeus University in Sweden. She received her PhD in South Asian History from the South Asia Institute at Heidelberg University. She has worked as an assistant professor in history at North South University in Dhaka, held a Junior Research Fellowship at Nalanda University in India and visited Linnaeus University Center Concurrences in Colonial and Postcolonial Studies as a guest researcher. Her research interests include historical disasters and crises, and governance and humanitarianism in the modern period.

Girija Joshi

Studies of impoverishment, starvation and famine in colonial South Asia have tended to approach the subject through the prism of political economy. This paper takes a different approach, exploring the cultural underpinnings of imperial science to explain why colonial projects of improvement so often failed. It makes two arguments. The first of these pertains to the ecology of prosperity. It is well established that the colonial state deemed all environments that were not conducive to sedentary cultivation, and all rural populations that did not conform to the ideal of the settled peasant, as inferior and in need of improvement. This paper will explore the environmental and human cost of creating a colonial peasantry in south-eastern Panjab. It will argue that this ecologically unsustainable project contributed little to improving agrarian conditions, and in fact caused considerable damage to the land and rural populations alike. At the root of this failure was the state’s inability to appreciate the value of pastoralism, itinerant cultivation and brigandage as modes of subsistence adapted to an arid and changeable habitat. The second argument is that the methods touted by the state as scientific, and therefore as a panacea to a wide variety of ills, from epidemics to famines, were often themselves quite unreliable, their sheen of objectivity notwithstanding. Although colonial officials painstakingly surveyed the land, measured the rainfall and classified soil types, their estimates of the agrarian yield routinely proved to be too high. An exploration of the methodology of the revenue assessment provides an indication of why this might have been the case.
Girija Joshi did her BA in history at the University of Delhi, followed by an MA at Leiden University. In 2015, she began her doctoral research at the Leiden Institute for History. Her research interests include mobility, environmental history, caste and ethnic boundary formation. She is currently a lecturer in history at Leiden.

Child-State Interactions on the Social Margins: Forced Child Removal in Colonial North India

Jessica Hinchy

From 1890, colonial officials forcibly and extralegally removed children from certain ‘criminal tribe’ communities in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. The 1871 Criminal Tribes Act targeted groups deemed hereditary criminals by caste occupation and allowed police to register and restrict the mobility of children, as well as adults. Legally, children could not be separated from their parents or guardians before 1897; nonetheless, the NWPO removed children between 1890 and 1896. The story of ‘criminal tribes’ child removal reveals both the violence and the limits of the colonial regulation of parent-child ties, which could challenge the government’s control over criminalised populations. ‘Criminal tribe’ child removal also calls into question how we conceptualise the relationship between childhood, law and colonialism. First, how might we approach a child-centred anthropology of the colonial state? How does the colonial state look different from the location of colonised children—albeit, not from children’s perspectives, which are rarely visible in historical records? Second, extralegal practices of child removal open up questions about how we theorise colonial legal structures and practices. Colonial law in India was underlined by a distinction between individual and collective crime. Authorities had significant scope to criminalise entire populations under laws like the CTA. How, then, should we understand legal and policing practices which exceeded the government’s legal powers? Third, child removal complicates the common demarcation of colonialism into settler and non-settler forms. Histories of child removal have
mainly focused on settler colonial contexts, viewing the separation of children from their parents as part of the wider ‘logic of elimination’ that underlay settler colonialism and indigenous dispossession. Did child removal in India, a ‘colony of exploitation,’ serve eliminationist aims, or other agendas? What does this tell us about the relationship between—and theoretical framing of—settler and non-settler colonialism?

Jessica Hinchy is Assistant Professor at Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. Her research examines gender, sexuality and colonialism, particularly in northern India. Her book Governing Gender and Sexuality in Colonial India: The Hijra, c. 1850-1900 (Cambridge University Press, 2019) examines the history of transgender Hijras in the context of their criminalisation by the colonial state. Jessica’s research has also examined themes of childhood and sexuality; the history of slavery; and the gender history of low-caste communities labelled ‘criminal tribes’ during colonial rule. This research has appeared in Gender & History, Asian Studies Review, and Culture, Theory and Critique, among other journals.

'The Rajah, the Rapist and the Resident: Sex and governance in early colonial Rajputana

Niyati Shenoy

My paper addresses questions of responsibility, jurisdiction, and governance in the context of war and rape in colonial north India. In 1823, the East India Company’s Rajputana Resident wrote a series of dispatches documenting a year-long military affray between two neighbouring EIC-allied kingdoms, Bharatpur and Firozepur. This war—which destroyed dozens of villages, occasioned hundreds of casualties on both sides, and
reignited rivalry between kings—arose from a blood feud between two border communities over the rape of an eleven-year-old girl. Upon being refused the right to kill the perpetrator, her caste kin had assembled in an army of thousands and rampaged through the countryside, necessitating the intervention of EIC troops. Nothing more was heard of the original victim. This material reveals, I argue, that the occasion of rape is a signal, an opportunity, a social script that solicits and enacts “conventional, gendered structures of feeling and action” in and from a wide field of agents. For early British officials seeking to justify ruling India, however, it is particularly an occasion to portray a vengeful free-for-all. A colonial sociological vision of the role of honour and injury in caste-stratified societies engulfs the specific forms of political manoeuvring enacted by South Asian subjects through resort to varied, overlapping kin and status markers, equating such forms with social breakdown, chaos, anarchy, and civilizational decline through reiterations of the sexual violability of women. This produces a depiction of a political condition in which households and clans exercised unchecked and chaotic influence over governance.

Niyati Shenoy is a third-year doctoral student in Middle Eastern, South Asian and African Studies and a certificate candidate at the Institute for Research on Women, Gender and Sexuality at Columbia University. She holds a BA in History and Politics from Pomona College, has studied at SOAS, and has been a Princeton in Asia Fellow and a Young India Fellow. She aims to research the origins and causes of sexual violence in northern India as questions of concept history. Her interests include sexuality and masculinity studies, archive theory, affect theory, early modern Persianate histories and cultures, and life-writing and autobiography.
Using Empire: Tamils as Agents of the British, 1867-1933

Kristina Hodelin-ter Wal

In order to preserve their influence among the British during the late nineteenth into early twentieth centuries, the Jaffnese had to balance their drive to climb the colonial social ladder next to displaying their loyalty to the British. Caste politics between the majority Vellalars and the smaller groups of Madapallis and Brahmins serve as the backdrop for collaborative interactions between colonial officials, missionaries and local communities in Jaffna. The drive for social upward mobility can be circled back to developments in Jaffna such as the promotion of conversion to Christianity and education which aided in the structural agency of the Jaffnese Christianized Vellalars. This structural agency presented itself in the form of circulation between friends and families concerning ideas to climb the colonial social ladder through education and then employment. In turn, this added to the prestigious status of the Vellalars in Jaffna and abroad in Malaysia. How did Jaffna Christianized Vellalar Tamils transfer their elite status within Jaffnese society to the frontier society of colonial Malaysia?

The challenges faced by this first sojourner generation to Malaysia lead to the changing dynamics between the first and second generation’s experiences in the colony. In this paper, I will focus on how local communities navigate colonial policies to ensure communal mobility and socioeconomic advantages. By asking ourselves how and when the community went from being a group of sojourners to a group of migrants, we can come to understand the solidification of the group’s identity as Jaffnese-Malaysians experienced during the
colonial regime. It is the intersection of loyalties to the colonizer and the desire to become a minority elite among other minority sub-elites which explain the contested categories of identity for peripherical subjects during the British empire in Asia.

Kristina Hodelin-ter Wal was born and raised in New York City. She completed her Bachelor of Arts in Sociology and Anthropology from Pace University in New York in 2011. Upon completion of her BA, she was fortunate to be awarded a Fulbright English Teaching Assistantship to Malaysia. Her time living and teaching in the Southeast Asian nation during 2012 exposed her to the interconnections of current ethnic relations and the legacy of empire in the country. This has inspired her academic work ever since. From 2013 to 2015, she completed a dual Master degree from Columbia University and the London School of Economics’ joint program in International and World History. During her time in the program, she continued to study the legacy of empire through interactions between British missionaries and Indian Tamil plantation labourers in 1950s pre-independence Malaya. Now, as a PhD candidate at Radboud University, Kristina analyses missionary and Tamil interactions by focusing on Ceylonese (Sri Lankan) Tamil identity development in colonial Ceylon and their subsequent migration to colonial Malaya. Their migratory patterns showcase the continuing webs of empire over the colonial to post-colonial period. From September to December 2019, she is a Visiting Research Scholar at the London School of Economics. Outside of her academic endeavours, Kristina is an avid Carnatic vocalist and loves to cook.

The Transition from Intercultural Diplomacy to an Exclusive European International Law and Indirect Rule: European and Asian Intermediaries at the Court of Hyderabad, c. 1770-1815

Tanja Bührer

The argument that the British Company did not impose a new order on Mughal collapse, but built on South Asian state structures and societies has become a truism. The bulk of scholarship, however, is preoccupied with colonial state-building in north-eastern India. This paper argues that practices of intercultural diplomacy with independent Indian rulers that transformed from a diplomatic world defined by Indo-Persianate protocols to British dictated unequal treaties was just as corrosive a form of imperialism as outright conquest. Furthermore, ideas of hybrid collaboration and legal regulations emerging from cross-cultural negotiations on the ground were circulating back to the metropolis and provoked reflections on ‘national’ political cultures, which eventually not only shaped reforms of colonial governance, but also the exclusive European international law.

This paper focuses on intercultural negotiations of British-Hyderabad interstate legal regulations by drawing on documented cross-cultural encounters at Indian courts. Since the compatibility of different political ‘systems’ was created through European and Asian diplomatic agents in everyday face-to-face encounters, special attention will be paid to the mobile professional lives and cross-cultural sociability of these intermediaries at the intersection of cross-cultural patronage-client networks. My argument is that the introduction of treaty
making in South Asia did not mark a clear-cut shift to European legal regulations or the elimination of Indian rulers’ sovereignty. Instead, it added another instrument to an existing variety of Mughal legal repertoires. In pragmatic approach, diplomatic intermediaries could agree to transcultural forms of transactions. The presumable essential difference between the ‘Western’ justice and the lawless despotic ‘East’ was a construct to justify metropolitan intervention and the exclusion of Indian rulers from the European family of nations.

Biographical Note

Tanja Bührer completed her PhD thesis on Colonial Security Policy in German East Africa (1885-1918) in 2008 at the University of Bern. It was awarded with the first prize of the Werner Hahlweg Prize of Military History 2009/10. From 2010 to 2014 she was granted a mobility Fellowship from the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF) to work on her postdoctoral project on European-Asian intercultural diplomacy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and was Visiting Researcher at SOAS, the Oxford Centre for Global History, the German Historical Institute London and the JNU, New Delhi. She recently submitted her Habilitation (book length postdoctoral project) titled Intercultural Diplomacy and Empire in an Age of Global Reforms and Revolutions: European and Asian Intermediaries at the Court of Hyderabad, c.1770-1815 at the University of Bern. Currently she is Assistant Professor for migration history at the University of Bern and from October 2019 she will be Visiting Professor at the University of Potsdam.
Coping with Colonialism: Strategies and Perceptions of American Colonial Rule in the Sulu Sultanate, 1904–06

Stefan Eklöf Amirell

The early years of the American colonial period in Sulu, Southern Philippines, saw the implementation of a system of indirect rule through the so-called Bates Treaty concluded in August 1899. In March 1904, however, the US government unilaterally abrogated the agreement, thereby severely circumscribing the previously enjoyed autonomy of the Sulu Sultanate and initiating a period of thorough change leading to the imposition of direct colonial rule and eventually the demise of the Sulu Sultanate. The new policy provoked fierce resistance against American rule, but also accommodation and negotiation between, on the one hand, the Sultan and other notables of Sulu and, on the other hand, the local American authorities.

Based on published and unpublished contemporary sources, the paper focuses on how the Sultan and other notables of Sulu perceived of the profound changes to the social, economic, political and cultural conditions of the Sulu Sultanate under American rule, from the time of the signing of the Bates Treaty in August 1899 until its abrogation in March 1904. Through letters and transcripts of meetings and interviews, the paper gives a rare glimpse of the strategies adopted by the Sulu elites to cope with the fundamental changes caused by colonial rule.

This paper presents some of the results of an ongoing research project called “Intermediaries in Imperial Expansion: Connections and Encounters on the United States Frontiers,”
Governors, Regents and Intermediaries: An Exploration of the Practices and Rituals of Colonial Authority in Ambon at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century.

Philip Post

This paper aims to investigate how the Dutch colonial state in Ambon in the beginning nineteenth century tried to re-establish relations with local regents, making use of already existing protocols that were produced during the period of the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (1602-1799). For the Dutch state it was crucial to maintain stable relations with local intermediaries and local rulers. It needed to know how to deal with these local power holders and attempted to fix them as a group. This was an especially pertinent question after the demise of the VOC and two short period of British rule in
Ambon (1796-1803 and 1811-17) had shaken Dutch rule to its foundations. This paper argues that the Dutch colonial state made use of knowledge and protocols that had been established by the VOC to re-establish its legitimacy. By shedding light on the continuities between the VOC and the colonial state, this paper feeds into debates about why colonial governance in the 19th century developed the way it did. To answer these questions, this paper will compare the so-called “Instruction for the Regents” that was drawn up in 1772 by a VOC administrator with one that was written down in 1818. This comparison will show whether the colonial state employed a different governing logic vis-à-vis the local rulers compared to the VOC administration. Furthermore, correspondence between the Dutch authorities and these local regents will be analysed to see how they contested Dutch attempts to fix them as a group and thereby shaped colonial rule.

**Philip Post** (1989) is a PhD candidate at Leiden University. His research focuses on colonial governance in the Moluccas in the period 1700-1870 and is part of a VIDI project led by dr. Alicia Schrikker. He holds a BA in Cultural studies from Maastricht University, an MA in History from Radboud University Nijmegen and an MSc in Political Science from Radboud University Nijmegen.
Panel 8. (Dis)continuities, Historical Legacies and Narratives of Statecraft.


Douglas Kammen

The end of Suharto’s New Order in 1998 and the introduction of new regional autonomy laws in 1999 prompted a rash of demands for the creation of new administrative units, including both new districts and provinces. Between 1999 and 2010, Indonesia added seventeen new provinces before the Yudhoyono government declared a temporary moratorium on the creation of provinces in 2010. (An eighteenth new province – North Kalimantan – was established in 2012.) Despite the 2010 moratorium, demands for new provinces have continued to proliferate and there are now proposals for Indonesia to increase the number of provinces from the current 34 to 60 or more.

Movements demanding the creation of new provinces often involve a combination of individual ambition, historical legacies, economic grievances, and ideas/ideals derived from political theory. Case studies of communal violence (Davidson 2008, van Klinken 2009, etc.) and successful provincial proliferation (Kimura 2012, etc.) have highlighted all of these factors, but have made little effort to determine the relative weight of these factors or the causal links between them.

This paper seeks to address the relative weight of historical legacies – including the existence of pre-colonial or colonial era ‘kingdoms’, direct versus indirect colonial rule, colonial administrative units, and political positioning during the revolution – in post-1998 demands for the creation of new
provinces. In order to keep the scope of comparison manageable, I will restrict the case selection to two major islands groups – Kalimantan (5 cases, 1 successful) and Sulawesi (6 cases, 2 successful).

**Douglas Kammen** is an associate professor in the Department of Southeast Asian Studies at the National University of Singapore, whose work has focused on social movements, the military and political violence in Indonesia and human rights, popular political thinking and history in Timor-Leste. His most recent books include *Three Centuries of Conflict in East Timor* (Rutgers UP, 2015), *Independent Timor-Leste: Between Coercion and Consent* (Cambridge UP, 2019), and (with Jonathan Chen) *Cina Timor: Baba, Hakka and Cantonese in the Making of Timor-Leste* (Yale Council on Southeast Asia Studies, 2019).

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**Historical Frames and Contemporary Archives: Challenging the Narratives on Postcoloniality and Caste**

*Sowparnika Balaswaminathan*

The Vishwakarma caste is a pan-Indian artisan caste which claims a mythic origin from the Indus Valley civilization. Members of the community also consider themselves to have been historically marginalized, especially during the precolonial times when their rightful position had been usurped by Brahmins, and they had been relegated to a lower rung in the caste hierarchy. However, during the colonial period, the seemingly unbiased British legal courts provided an avenue where this wrong could be righted, and in various regional courts in southern India, Vishwakarma caste
organizations sued for a reconsideration of their religious, cultural and caste rights while refusing to participate in the non-cooperation nationalist movements. These records are now being compiled into an archive by Vishwakarma caste organizations in an effort to mobilize and construct a postcolonial identity and future. In this paper, I examine components of this archive, especially the legal records, and consider what role their preservation performs for both the Vishwakarma caste history and the colonial government. I propose that the contemporary Vishwakarma community treats the precolonial, colonial, and postcolonial as a continuous framework of colonization, thereby challenging these temporal divisions as well as the consequent subject positions occupied by the colonizer and the colonized. I ask what work is performed through such removal, and what contributions could be made in the study of governance and historiography.

Sowparnika Balaswaminathan received her PhD in Anthropology from the University of California, San Diego. She is the Peter Buck postdoctoral fellow at the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History, Washington, D.C. Her research examines the construction of heritage and traditional arts in South Asia through museums and handicraft policies, and their impact on contemporary artisan communities and uses ethnographic and archival methods. She is currently working on a book project about the ethical life and aesthetic practice of bronze casters in South India.
Monks, Ministers, and Virtuous Kings: Histories of Early Modern Buddhist Revival in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Southern Asia

Tyler A. Lehrer

Recent decades have been marked by intense debate in parts of South and Southeast about the utility of Buddhist histories for marking categories of belonging and difference, constituting political allegiance, and engendering moments of interreligious and interethnic acrimony and violence. My paper sheds light on how a number of understudied popular histories of Buddhist connection in the eighteenth–century Indian Ocean which were mediated by the ambition and prowess of the Dutch VOC, specifically the writings of the Thai Crown Prince Damrong Rajanubhab (1862–1943 CE), have become operationalized as a source of legitimizing religious and state power in the following century and a half. I consider the ways in which Damrong’s and others’ histories of early modern religious connection between the predominantly Buddhist Ayutthayan and Kandyan kingdoms (in present–day Thailand and Sri Lanka)—whose monks, kings, and ordinary people were subjected to the ambition of the Dutch VOC’s power brokers in the mid–eighteenth century that constrained as well as facilitated their opportunities for religious connection—nevertheless worked with and through these colonial formations to accomplish their own projects of religio–political statecraft. I analyse late nineteenth and early twentieth century histories of these events in which the fortunes of late medieval modes of Buddhist kingship were increasingly mediated by contact with Europeans and their commercial, political, and diplomatic ambitions. I demonstrate that such histories aspired to fashion ethical and politicized subjects in
the early twentieth century by inculcating their audiences into a historical subjectivity defined by the actions of Buddhist monks and virtuous kings in the past.

With a background in Religious Studies, Tyler A. Lehrer (tlehrer@wisc.edu) is a Ph.D. Candidate in Southeast and South Asian History at the University of Wisconsin–Madison. His research engages religious and diplomatic history in the eastern Indian Ocean region, specifically forms of Buddhist exchange and collaboration between what are now Sri Lanka and Mainland Southeast Asia in the early modern period.

Student-Assistants

Iris Vaneman is a student at Leiden University, doing a double bachelors, in History and in English Language and Culture. Especially interested in the history of (post)colonial South and South-East Asia, she sees helping as a student assistant at the conference as an opportunity to get a better view of the field.

Sander ten Caat recently finished his BA in History at Leiden University and is currently studying for a master’s degree in Colonial and Global History. He is particularly interested in the effects of environmental pressures on the fabric of society and the relationship between governance and the natural environment in a (Dutch) colonial context. Having mostly focused on the Americas, he hopes to broaden the scope of his research by assisting at this conference.
## Participants

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<th>Name</th>
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<td>Abdul Wahid</td>
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<td>University of Potsdam</td>
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Beyond the Conference

The University Library

Leiden University’s faculties are spread across the city, with the Law Faculty and the Faculty of Humanities located in the middle of the city centre. The University Library is located at the Humanities campus, at about 10-15 minutes walking distance from the conference venue. If you wish to visit the University Library to consult the collections, you can apply at the library’s front desk for a guest pass. For a fee, you’ll be able to request and consult the library collections at its premises, including the Special Collections which house many collections on South and Southeast Asia. Please consult the following website for more details:

https://www.library.universiteitleiden.nl/using-the-library/services-for-visitors.

Sightseeing and leisure

If you’re staying in Leiden beyond or before the conference, you might be interested in doing some sightseeing. Leiden is home to multiple museums, ranging from the arts, ethnography to the natural sciences. Particularly worthwhile are the Museum De Lakenhal (no. 1 on the map on p. 4), which houses 17th and 18th century (Dutch) art, the Museum Volkenkunde (the National Museum of Ethnology; 2), the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (the National Museum of Antiquities; 3), and the Naturalis Biodiversity Center (the national museum of natural history; not displayed on the map).
Other options are the SieboldHuis (Japanese culture and history; 4), Corpus (human anatomy; not on the map), Rijksmuseum Boerhave (the national museum of the history of science; 5) and the Hortus Botanicus (botanical gardens; 6). The city itself is easy to walk through and the city centre still preserves many buildings from the 16th century onwards. If the canals are not frozen, taking a boat tour through the Leiden canals can be a fun and interesting experience as well. A city guide and map can be found here:


**Food and drinks**

If you’re looking for dinner in Leiden, there are options available for various budgets. If you’re looking for a simple bite to eat, options within walking distance of the conference venue include Karalis and Bocconi (Italian), Bunga Mas and Soerakarta (Indonesian), Fresh and Fast (burgers, includes vegetarian options) and La Bota (European). If you want to try Dutch-style pancakes with toppings, you’ll find these at Oudt Leyden. The areas around the Nieuwe Rijn canal have a range of options for restaurants and cafés, as does the Beestenmarkt area. Both are located at walking distance of the conference venue.

Leiden is a city of bars and cafés. You can find many of them near the Law Faculty. Recommended places include De Keyzer, Bonte Koe, Olivier, De Waag, Het Stadsbrouwhuis and De Burcht.