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YELLOW MOUNTAIN TRAVELS: FOUR ACCOUNTS

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Translators' Introduction

"Why is it that the humane find joy in the mountains?" "This is because it is the mountains that the Ten Thousand people gaze up upon; thereupon are the plants and trees born, do the Ten Thousand Things grow, the flying birds gather, and the roving beasts find respite. Therefrom do all four quarters derive benefit, those mountains that generate the clouds and lend direction to the winds. Soaring upwards as they do between Heaven and Earth, they bring completion to both, and thus tranquillity to state and family. That is why the humane find joy in the mountains."

夫仁者何以樂於山也曰夫山者萬民之所瞻仰也草木生焉萬物植焉飛鳥集焉走獸休焉四方益取與焉出雲導風嵷乎天地之間天地以成國家以寧此仁者所以樂於山也

Han Ying 韓嬰 (ca. 200–130 BCE),
Master Han's Outer Commentary to the Book of Odes
(*Han shi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳)[1]

Long ago, when I toured Yellow Mountain, I ascended Now-I-Believe-It Peak and gazed out over the area surrounding Eastern Creek Gate. Yesterday, as Master Su Yimen and I were in the midst of discoursing about the relative extraordinariness of the various peaks of Yellow Mountain and Creek Gate, I drew this painting, working entirely from my imagination. In this way, I toured with my brush and visited in spirit that which, thirty years earlier, had stood in front of my eyes. Yimen broke into praise for my efforts, and asked for the scroll, saying that it will serve as his guide when next he tours the mountain. Summer, fifth month of the *Gengchen* year (1700), by [Shitao]

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1 Qu Shouyuan 屈守元 (ed.), *Han shi waizhuan jianshu* 韓詩外傳箋疏 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1996), pp. 303–305. This exchange is doubtless inspired by *Analects* (*Lunyu* 論語), VI.23 which, in the translation of Simon Leys, reads: "The Master said: 'The wise find joy on the water, the good find joy in the mountains. The wise are active, the good are quiet. The wise are joyful, the good live long,'" for which, see Simon Leys (trans.), *The Analects of Confucius* (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 1997), p. 27.

昔遊黃山登始信峰觀東澥門一帶昨與蘇易門先生論黃澥諸峰之奇想象寫此三
十年前面目筆遊神往易翁叫絕索此紙以為他日遊山導引云庚辰夏五月清湘大
滌子濟

<div align="right">

Shitao 石濤 (ca. 1642–1707),

"Inscription to a painting entitled *A Painting of Yellow Mountain*"

("Huangshan tu" 黃山圖)[2]

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The man-of-letters may well find joy in touring the mountains and rivers, but how could those mountains and rivers possibly find joy in being toured by such men-of-letters? "Let us turn back the carriage of a worldly fellow," this is the song sung by the pines and the birds, the rivers and the streams.

即文人喜遊山川山川豈喜此等文人遊乎請迴俗士駕松聲鳥聲水聲無不作是語矣

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Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (1610–1695),

"Preface to Jin Xiongfeng's *Touring Yellow Mountain: Poems and Prose*" ("*Jin Xiongfeng You Huangshan shi wen xu*" 靳熊封遊黃山詩文序)[3]

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It was the relative lateness of Yellow Mountain's (Huangshan 黃山) instantiation as a site for travel and literary and artistic pilgrimage in late imperial China that helps explain, in part, the mountain's immense attraction for the men-of-letters and artists of the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) dynasties; on the one hand, the mountain's

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2   *Zhilelou cang Ming yimin shuhua* 至樂樓藏明遺民書畫 [*Paintings and Calligraphy by Ming I-min from the Chih-lo Lou Collection*] (Hong Kong: Art Gallery, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1975), p. 21.

3   Shen Shanhong 沈善洪 (ed.), *Huang Zongxi quanji* 黃宗羲全集 [Complete Works of Huang Zongxi] (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1985), Vol. 10, p. 102. The internal quotation here is the penultimate line of Kong Zhigui's 孔稚珪 (447–501) "Proclamation on North Mountain" ("Beishan yiwen" 北山移文), given here in the translation of James Hightower, for which see, John Minford and Joseph S.M. Lau (eds.), *Classical Chinese Literature: An Anthology of Translations: Volume I: From Antiquity to the Tang Dynasty* (New York: Columbia University Press and Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2000), p. 613. Kong's piece is an excoriating critique of the false recluse. By his own account, Huang's trip to Yellow Mountain for the first time in 1691 at the invitation of his friend Jin Zhijing 靳治荆 (*zi* Xiongfeng 熊封), then serving in Xin'an 新安, was belated and once he was there, he found that he was "So infirm and dependent on my walking stick, pausing for some considerable time after every step, how possibly could I explore to the fullest the secluded perils of the mountain?" (龍鍾曳杖一步九頓豈能窮極幽險), for which, see his "Preface" to *Yellow Mountain Gazetteer: Continuation* ("*Huangshan xuzhi xu*" 黃山續志序), in *Huang Zongxi quanji*, Vol. 10, p. 85. Huang notes in this preface that his friend Shen Shoumin 沈壽民 (1607–1675), a Yellow Mountain local, had repeatedly invited him to tour the mountain with him over the years but that his mother's infirmity had always prevented him leaving her side to do so.

very lack of a literary and artistic history offered one the possibility of a semblance, at the very least, of that unfiltered engagement with the beauties of the "Mountains and Rivers" that underpinned contemporary literary and artistic developments, whilst, on the other, a trip to the mountain seemed also to promise a degree of immortality to the products of one's brush, to the extent that one could arrive at some striking metaphor or capture some unusual perception, before the sedimentation of cliché and stereotype prevailed. As the scholarly literature on the mountain has argued,[4] and as two of the accounts of trips to the mountain translated below make clear, it was only from the early 1600s onwards that, with the establishment (with distaff imperial sponsorship) by the monk Pumen 普門 (original surname Xi 奚, ming Huaian 淮安 [or Weian 惟安]; 1546–1625) of various Buddhist institutions throughout Yellow Mountain, and thus the provision of the infrastructure necessary for increased tourism (a network of paths and steps, accommodation, supplies of food and drink, guides and porters), the mountain became at all accessible to anyone other than the most intrepid of travellers. More mountain range than mountain with its thirty-six major and thirty-six minor peaks (magical numbers in Daoist numerology), the highest of which reach almost 2000 metres into the sky, today the Yellow Mountain World Heritage site stretches across some 150 square kilometres of south-eastern Anhui Province, straddling the former prefectures of Huizhou 徽州 and Ningguo 寧國 and bordering on the provinces of Zhejiang and Jiangsu. Traditionally, however, Yellow Mountain was neither part of the Five Marchmount (五嶽) configuration that served to define the four quarters and the centre of the Chinese cultural world and which held up the Chinese sky[5] nor the Buddhist (and later Daoist) system of the Four Famous Mountains (四大名山). Known in the earliest records as Blackmount (黟山), a name said to capture something of the hue of its mountains when seen from afar, it was renamed Yellow Mountain in 747 during the Tang dynasty (618–907) by the ill-fated Emperor Xuanzong (685–761; r. 713–756) in commemoration of the legend that it was to this mountain that the Yellow Emperor had come, late in his life, in search of the elixir of immortality. It acquired its belated empire-wide visibility through the circulation of literary accounts of its splendours, both prose, as below, and poetry, and of woodblock representations

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4   The mountain has occasioned a wealth of secondary literature in English. Apart from the titles referred to elsewhere in this introduction, see particularly Stephen McDowall, *Qian Qianyi's Reflections on Yellow Mountain: Traces of a Late-Ming Hatchet and Chisel* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009); and Jonathan Chaves, *Every Rock a Universe: The Yellow Mountains and Chinese Travel Writing* (Warren: Floating World Editions, 2013). McDowall's book includes a complete and fully annotated translation of the account of Qian Qianyi's trip to Yellow Mountain, excerpts of which are given below, with minor alterations; Chaves's book includes a complete and annotated translation of Wang Hongdu's 汪洪度 (1646–1721/2) exhaustive *A Record of Comprehending the Essentials of the Yellow Mountains* (*Huangshan lingyao lu* 黃山領要錄), first published in the 1770s.

5   "At least the Five Peaks/ Still support the Chinese sky" (至少五嶽還頂住中國的天), Yü Kwang-chung 余光中 (1928–2017), "Music Percussive" ("Qiaoda yue" 敲打樂). For a short introduction to this traditional mountain system, see James Robson, "The Marchmount System: Chinese Geologics," in John Einarsen (ed.), *The Sacred Mountains of Asia* (Boston and London: Shambhala, 1995), pp. 16–17.

of its fantastical peaks, eccentric pines growing out of seemingly soilless cracks in the rock faces, and the ever-shifting patterns of the circulating clouds,[6] whilst to its heights it attracted a number of the most important late imperial artists. As it developed in the hands of artists such as Hongren 弘仁 (1610–1663), Shitao, and Mei Qing 梅清 (ca. 1623–1697), the Anhui (or Xin'an 新安) School of painting focused especially on these aspects of the mountain, painted with dry brush and in a manner that was consciously individualistic.[7] Over time, such features of the mountain-scape became increasingly numinous, as perhaps best captured in Min Linsi's 閔麟嗣 (1628–1704) *Manual of the Pines and Rocks of Yellow Mountain* (*Huangshan song shi pu* 黃山松石譜) in which he names, describes, and locates nine pines (and two cypress trees) and forty-four rocks.[8] For his part, Huang Zongxi found the delights of the mountain to be inexhaustible: "If the mountains and the rivers have fixed form, they certainly have no fixed emotions, shifting endlessly from dawn to dusk each day. This is why in the boundless imaginations of talented men and literary gentlemen they acquire such variation. That which later men see is not necessarily the same as that which had been possessed by earlier visitors" (山川有定形而無定情朝暮之變不知凡幾才人文士之胸懷正復汲之無盡後人之所見未必前人之所有).[9]

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6   Chen Ding 陳鼎 (*zi* Dingjiu 定九; fl. 1644–1661) concludes his *Outline History of Yellow Mountain* (*Huangshan shi gai* 黃山史槩) in this manner: "This, then, is a rough sketch of Yellow Mountain. Most extraordinary of all are the illusionary clouds as they 'Spread the Sea' after a fall of rain, so filling the mountain valleys that gazing out over them, it seems as if they are boundless and resemble nothing other than the vast ocean" (此黃山之大略也尤奇者幻雲鋪海雨後瀰漫山谷一望無際儼若滄溟), for which, see *Zhaodai congshu* 昭代叢書 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990), Vol. 1, p. 446.

7   On this school generally, see Joseph P. McDermott, "The Making of a Chinese Mountain, Huangshan: Politics and Wealth in Chinese Art," *Asian Cultural Studies* 17 (1989): 145–176; J. Cahill (ed.), *Shadows of Mt. Huang: Chinese Painting and Printing of the Anhui School* (Berkeley: University Art Museum, 1981); and J. Cahill, "Huang Shan Painting as Pilgrimage Pictures," in Susan Naquin and Chün-fang Yü (eds.), *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), pp. 246–292. On Hongren, see James Cahill, *The Compelling Image: Nature and Style in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Painting* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1982), pp. 146–183; and Jason Kuo, *The Austere Landscapes: Paintings of Hung-jen* (Taipei: SMC Publishing, 1998). On Shitao, see Jonathan Hay, *Shitao: Painting and Modernity in Early Qing China* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001); and Hsu Wen-Chin, "Images of Huang-shan in Shih-T'ao's Paintings," *National Palace Museum Bulletin* 27. 1&2 (1992): 1–37. For a set of beautifully reproduced paintings by Mei Qing of Yellow Mountain, see *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce* 梅清黃山圖册 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1980). In a colophon attached to a painting, the Nanjing-based artist Gong Xian 龔賢 (1619–1689) labels this group of artists the Heavenly Capital School (Tiandu pai 天都派), for which, see "Ti shanshui juan" 題山水卷, in Wang Shiqing 汪世清 and Wang Cong 汪聰 (eds.), *Jianjiang ziliao ji* 漸江資料集 (Hefei: Anhui renmin chubanshe, 1984), p. 196.

8   For the text of this manual, see *Zhaodai congshu*, Vol. 1, pp. 52–54. The trees that so define the reception of the mountain are native to China and were identified as *Pinus Hwangshanensis* (or, in Chinese, 黃山松) by W.Y. Hsia in 1936.

9   "*Huangshan xuzhi* xu," *Huang Zongxi quanji,* Vol. 10, p. 86.

In all likelihood, the earliest of the trips made to the mountain narrated in the four accounts translated below was made sometime in the mid-1590s; the last is dated 1783. The second and third accounts, documenting trips taken in 1641 and 1672 respectively, straddle the divide of cataclysmic dynastic collapse and dynastic consolidation, as the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) was replaced by the Qing (1644–1911), years during which Yellow Mountain acquired a set of new associations connecting reclusion on the mountain with lingering loyalty to the fallen dynasty.

The texts of the four accounts translated below are those anthologised in Li Yimang's 李一氓 (1903–1990) *A Collection of Accounts of Yellow Mountain by Men of the Ming and Qing* (*Ming Qing ren you Huangshan ji chao* 明清人遊黃山記鈔).[10] In all four cases, reference has also been made to the collected works of the four authors translated. The translations of placenames on or around the mountain follow or are adapted from Stephen McDowall's Qian Qianyi's Reflections on Yellow Mountain; we have taken the unusual step of including the Chinese at each instance, since the names of individual sites and sights at the mountain had by the late imperial period become somewhat muddled and were often used inconsistently, even within individual texts. Indeed, the problem of accurately matching names with locations was a matter of some anxiety, which perhaps in part explains why our four authors seem so preoccupied with naming in the accounts below.[11]

Writing in 1982 in the "Preface" ("Xu" 序) to his anthology, Li Yimang, scholar, diplomat, and noted calligrapher, is quite explicit about its intended purpose: "No traveller to Yellow Mountain can possibly hope to exhaust the delights offered by the mountain, nor to experience for himself all the various transformations of nature as the seasons alternate the one after the other, from spring to summer, from autumn to winter, or as the sky clouds over or dawns clear, in rain or in snow. Neither does any traveller to the mountain ever set off with a bundle of gazetteers or guidebooks in hand. In view of this and in keeping with my own passion for the natural beauty of this mountain, I have compiled this anthology… in the hope that it may serve to enhance the afflatus of travellers to Yellow Mountain as they browse through it, either resting at night or when perched upon a stone precipice enjoying the scenery before them, during the course of their travels upon the mountain. It may well be the case that these records contain such ridiculous notions as 'the Yellow Emperor becomes an Immortal' or 'Rongcheng obtains the Way,' but these are certainly not at all the point of this anthology and such things are perhaps best passed over in silence."[12]

The travel restrictions and quarantine requirements of the continuing Covid-19 global pandemic prevent the three of us even contemplating a trip to Yellow Mountain,

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10 Hefei: Anhui renmin chubanshe, 1983.

11 McDowall, *Qian Qianyi's Reflections*, p. 38. Qian is unnerved in 1642 by the fact that of the famous 'Thirty-six Peaks,' of Yellow Mountain, "…scholars and officials are unable to settle on all of their names, while monks and shepherds are unable to point out all of their locations" (p. 137).

12 *Ming Qing ren you Huangshan ji chao*, p. 4.

either separately or together.[13] In time-honoured fashion, however, reading the accounts of trips made to Yellow Mountain over the course of the late imperial period may allow us (and readers) to engage in a spell of "Recumbent Travel" (臥遊).[14] In the "Introduction" to his magisterial *Landscape & Memory*, Simon Schama suggests that if we in the West are not to be "…trapped in the engine of our self-destruction," then we must relearn something of the "…richness, antiquity, and complexity of our landscape tradition."[15] It strikes us that in the twenty-first century as ordinary Chinese citizens become ever more aware of the degradation of the physical fabric of their world, it is precisely by recapturing something of the numinosity of those landscapes that alternative ways into the future will be found.[16] And it is through a reading of accounts of mountains and rivers such as those translated below that this might best be done.

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13   For a wonderful account of the visit of two New Zealand poets to the mountain to attend a poetry festival held there, see Murray Edmond, "'It's A Lot Bigger Than In The Photographs': Poetry Festival In Huang Shan, China, 16–21 October, 2007," *ka mate ka ora: a new zealand journal of poetry and poetics*, No. 5 (March, 2008): 170–183. Over the years, many have been the poets who have clambered up the mountain in order to discuss aspects of their craft.

14   This concept derives, distantly, from the biography of the Liu Song dynasty artist Zong Bing 宗炳 (375–443), author of the famous "Preface to the Painting of the Mountains and the Rivers" ("Hua shanshui xu" 畫山水序), where we are told that bemoaning the arrival of old age and the onset of illness, he retired to his home in the hope that he might be able to continue to roam the mountains from his bed. For this, and for a translation of Zong Bing's preface, see Alison Hardie and Duncan M. Campbell (eds.), *The Dumbarton Oaks Anthology of Chinese Garden Literature* (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Texts in Garden and Landscape Studies, 2020), pp. 32–34. In a colophon to an album of paintings of Yellow Mountain, Mei Qing confesses that: "Ever since I toured Yellow Mountain, more than half of what I paint whenever I pick up my brush takes as its subject Yellow Mountain. Although this album may not be able to capture all the various splendours of its thirty-six peaks, nonetheless if one happens to open it up it may yet provide one the opportunity for a brief spell of recumbent travel" (余遊黃山後凡有筆墨大半皆黃山矣此册雖未能盡三十六峰之勝然而略展一過亦可聊當臥遊), for which, see *Mei Qing Huangshan tuce*. Famously, another local Anhui artist, Li Liufang 李流芳 (1575–1629), entitled two of his collections of colophons on his paintings *Colophons on Paintings of My Recumbent Travels on West Lake* (*Xihu woyou tu tiba* 西湖臥遊圖題跋), and *Colophons on an Album of My Recumbent Travels Through Jiangnan* (*Jiangnan woyou ce tici* 江南臥遊册題詞). For a short English-language biography of this man, see L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang (eds.), *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, 1368–1644 (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1976) (hereafter, DMB), Vol. 1, pp. 838–839.

15   *Landscape & Memory* (London: HarperCollins, 1995), p. 14.

16   Ideas of the numinous have not been entirely forgotten in the People's Republic of China, of course. A plant smuggler entering New Zealand from China was stopped at the border recently, having secreted upon her person some 1000 succulents and endangered cacti. Some 500 of the succulent leaves had incised on them the Chinese character that best expresses the idea of the numinous, *ling* 灵 [靈], written in the simplified form of the character, a version of the writing script that over time the tutelary gods of ancient China have obviously learned to read. In exciting and exemplary manner, a number of the essays contained in Olivier Krischer and Luigi Tomba (eds.), *Shades of Green: Notes on China's Eco-civilisation*, Made in China Notebooks 2020 (The University of Sydney) seek to explore the role of China's past in China's possible future. The fourth of the convictions of what is required to face the challenge of our collective environmental crisis to the minds of the editors, as outlined in their introduction to this stimulating collection of essays ("Another Kind of Intervention:

A Record of My Trip to Yellow Mountain ("You Huangshan ji" 游黃山記)

By Yuan Zhongdao (1570–1623)

Yuan Zhongdao 袁中道 (*zi* Xiaoxiu 小修; *hao* Shangsheng jushi 上生居士), the youngest of the three famous Yuan brothers of Gongan 公安 (in Huguang 湖廣) during the late Ming period, never quite achieved either the official success of his eldest brother, Yuan Zongdao 袁宗道 (*zi* Boxiu 伯修; *hao* Shipu 石浦; 1560–1600), or the literary reputation of the most famous of the three, Yuan Hongdao 袁宏道 (*zi* Zhonglang 中郎; *hao* Shigong 石公; 1568–1610). His diary, entitled *Notes Made Whilst Travelling and at Repose* (*Youju feilu* 遊居柿錄), provides a detailed record of the years 1608–18, a period during which both Yuan Zhongdao's father and his beloved brother Hongdao died, whilst Zhongdao himself belatedly achieved the examination success long expected of him and took up the first of his official posts. Above all, it tells of the pleasure Yuan derived from his riverine travels throughout some of the most scenically beautiful parts of southern China, of the friends he encountered along his way, and of the private collections of painting and calligraphy to which he was given access. Yuan's account of Yellow Mountain is not dated; evidence suggests that the trip that occasioned it took place sometime in 1595 when Zhongdao was in his twenty-sixth year.[17]

It was only after I had made my way along River She Banks 歙浦 for about a *li* or so that I was able, finally, to catch sight of the Cloud Gate Peak 雲門峰 of Yellow Mountain, the contours of the summit of which appeared as sharp as the blade of a sword, as removed from other mountains as is an immortal from the common man. To the traveller suddenly finding this peak looming up before him, it is as if the spirit of the mountain itself, in anticipation of his visit, has dispatched a servant to receive him.

Skirting the mountain and with the stream at our side, we progressed within the shade of a hedge of pines. Here we could rest. By the time we reached the entrance to the mountain, the ranges were again in sight, and by Fragrance Hamlet 芳村 the

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16. – *ctd.* Discussing the Anthropocene in China") is the need for a new language: "This new language would be a different way of communicating, that may result from more than an updated alphabet, to accept the power of the symbolic and artistic creation, the experimental and the forensic or archaeological, the simplifying power of technology and the ethical concerns of philosophy, the spiritual and the divine" (p. 7). In her "Dreams of Shanshui: China's Environmental Modernization and Landscape Aesthetics," Andrea Riemenschnitter interrogates "…the conceptual undercurrents of the China Dream at the intersection of nation-building, landscape representation, and cultural reconstruction," seeking also to "… unravel the negotiation of ideas and images between official and unofficial," for which, see *International Communication of Chinese Culture*, Special Issue: Anthropocene Matters. Envisioning Sustainability in the Sinosphere (guest edited by Andrea Riemenschnitter and Jessica Imbach), 2018. In this connection, it is important to remember that the contemporary post-Cultural Revolution and pre-Covid 19 tourist boom in the People's Republic of China, both domestic and international, was inaugurated by a speech that Deng Xiaoping 鄧小平 (1904–1997) gave (subsequently known as the "Yellow Mountain Talks" 黃山談話) in July 1979 after he had spent three days touring the mountain, for an account of which, see Sang Ye, "1979: Huang Shan, Selling Scenery to the Bourgeoisie: An Oral Account of Chinese Tourism, 1949–1979," *China Heritage Quarterly*, No. 18 (June 2009).

17. For short English-language biographies of all three Yuan brothers, by C.N. Tay, see DMB, Vol. 2, pp. 1635–1638.

slopes danced to our left and right. As we entered Hot Springs Mouth 湯口, again the mountains hid themselves from us, as if, having appeared thrice to admit their guests, they now chose to retreat inside. From this point onwards, we travelled beside a wide stream, the roar of which resounded in our ears. Before us rose three peaks, standing erect like handsome men, tall, thin and somewhat emaciated, their complexions all smudged in the thick brume, these being those three supreme peaks of Amethyst 紫石, Cinnabar 硃砂 and Old Man 老人, waiting in serried rank for the arrival of their guests.

Hot Springs Temple 湯寺 stands here, bisected by the stream. Crossing over the stream at this point, we made our way up the foothills of Cinnabar Peak 硃砂峰 until we came to Hot Springs 湯泉 itself. The water of these springs is unmatched in its sweet purity. Having bathed in these waters, we went on, skirting the rock face and passing beneath a series of three waterfalls. Crossing back over the stream again, we rested at Lotus Hermitage 蓮花菴 and watched as the brume swallowed up the various peaks. Advancing up the stream we came to Elixir Copper 藥銚, this being where the Yellow Emperor had concocted the elixir of immortality. Here too is White Dragon Pool 白龍潭 where the water flowing over the rocks sings with such sweet melody. We rested beside the stream before following the foothills of Old Man Peak 老人峰, passing Tiger Head Cliff 虎頭巖 and listening to the gurgle of the Spring of the Humming Strings 鳴絃泉. This spring flows down into the stream from the very peak of the mountain, and from half-way down, where a rock face interrupts its passage, it seems as if suspended in nothingness. The water crashes down finally with a veritable roar of joy. All the way from Hot Springs Temple 湯寺 until this place, it is as if a river-borne musical troupe was performing amidst the mountains, the muffled sounds of string and pipe coming to one as if they were announcing the arrival of an honoured guest.

Once we had reached the summit, Cinnabar Peak 硃砂峰 appeared to our right, Old Man Peak 老人峰 at our left, both standing there as if to welcome their guests. We followed Cinnabar Spring 硃砂泉 until we reached Cinnabar Hermitage 硃砂菴. By now, the brume had thickened, and we could barely make out the outlines of the trees growing upon the slopes above us. We rested a short while once we had reached Cinnabar Cliff 硃砂巖.

A fellow traveller turned to me to say: "Usually, from this spot here, you can take in a complete vista of Heavenly Capital Peak 天都峰, but today it is hidden behind the brume."

"How very malevolent is the brume," I sighed in response, "to so hide the mountains thus. What very great harm it does!"

In a moment, however, a grey-haired old man cried out: "Look! The Spirit of the Sun is about to appear!"

"But a brief moment's sunlight will do nothing to dispel this brume, I fear," I began to reply, but even before I had finished speaking, the brume suddenly dropped away, leaving the orb of the sun hanging in the empty firmament, the solitary Heavenly Capital Peak 天都峰 appearing as if in a painting. The host, it seems, having held his breath for so long, could now finally relax and greet his guest. We all clapped our hands with delight and shouted out in joy at the sight that had just been revealed to us.

I was suffering from the occasional cramp in my foot, so I sat down upon the grass to massage it, all the while unable to wrest my eyes away from Heavenly Capital Peak 天都峰. Standing erect in the firmament, its skeleton strong and angular, how exceptional its shape; with its light brume the colour of pale ink, as if clothed by the brume, how exceptional its hues; its warm jade-like rocks and glistening cliffs, tactile and almost edible, how exceptional its crust; its ten thousand twists and turns all within the compass of a single inch, how exceptional its bearing; its stunted pines, like the feathers of the kingfisher, thrust out of an earth without a fistful of soil, how very exceptional its adornment. Indeed, whereas one can characterise those mountains that I have become used to seeing as having the feet of a Daoist and the tonsure of a Buddhist, were I to attempt to depict this mountain I would find it altogether too strange of appearance, and therefore not at all like a mountain.

In a moment's time, the brume descended again, leaving revealed the peaks of the various mountains, Lotus Blossom Peak 蓮花峰 now appearing with the vague resemblance to Heavenly Capital Peak 天都峰 but with a more bewitching beauty about it. Whereas Heavenly Capital 天都峰 appears especially august, Lotus Blossom Peak 蓮花峰 seems somewhat more animated. I struggled up Heavenly Capital Peak 天都峰, and at the very top found myself standing in front of Mañjuśrī Cloister 文殊院. The rock screen here stands precisely at the intersection of the steps leading up to Heavenly Capital 天都 and Lotus Blossom 蓮花 Peaks respectively. From here, we descended to Lotus Cavern 蓮花洞 where we viewed the various peaks of Prime Minister's Source 丞相源 before taking the steps upwards. It was as if we had suddenly broken through a wall, and we encountered ladders and catwalks leading off in various directions. We took rest in a hermit's cell. To the left of us stood Heavenly Capital Peak 天都峰, with such peaks as Peach Blossom 桃花峰 standing at its shoulder, whilst to our right rose Lotus Blossom Peak 蓮花峰 with the Blue Phoenix 青鸞峰 and other peaks at its shoulders, like guests who have just arrived at the banquet and who are paying their initial respects to their host. Before then, the brume had dropped away and transformed itself into a vast sea, with the tips of the peaks now decorating its surface. "What a delight is this brume,"[18] I sighed, "for without it we could not call this sight a sea."

As we descended and turned towards the west, the rock screen came into sight to our right at the height of our shoulders, Lotus Blossom Peak 蓮花峰 loomed up before us and Heavenly Capital 天都 appeared at our backs. One could now enumerate the marvellous peaks that surround Lotus Blossom Peak 蓮花峰. We approached Lotus Blossom Peak 蓮花峰 and ascended its summit, like ants scrambling upon a petal. By the time that we had arrived, the wind had blown up a gale, and we found that we could not tarry long. We descended then, and thus having exhausted the sights of Lotus Blossom Peak 蓮花峰, it was now the summit of Great Pity Crest 大悲頂 that appeared to our right, as we faced Lion Peak 獅子峰 with Lotus Blossom Peak 蓮花峰 behind us. The marvellous peaks that surround Lion Peak 獅子峰 could now, in their turn, all be enumerated.

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18 On this occasion, we follow the reading given in Yuan Zhongdao's collected works, Qian Bocheng 錢伯城（ed.）, *Kexuezhai ji* 珂雪齋集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989), Vol. 2, p. 694, of "What a delight is this brume" (快哉霧也) rather than the "How strange is this brume" (怪哉霧也) found in Li Yimang, *Ming Qing ren you Huangshan ji chao*, p. 13.

From Mañjuśrī Cloister 文殊院 and Jade Screen 玉屏 to this point, the two mountains begin to merge into one another completely, and one's feet begin to tire of finding purchase upon the ground, just as one's eyes can only intermittently search out the sky as the two mountains begin to merge. Pulled upwards by hawsers, lowered downwards upon ropes, gaining egress by means of ladders and groping our ways across the gaps, one moment we were like fish swimming in nothingness, the next found us on all fours like dogs, all the while as fearless as ghosts in the night, as if the passage presented us with no danger whatsoever. To the extent that I could, I closed my eyes to the strangeness of a branch here and the unusualness of a rock there, such things not being at all what makes this mountain so very important.

From the ordinary, therefore, we obtained the truly extraordinary when, once we had ascended Illumination Terrace 光明臺 to the north, all thirty-six of the peaks of Yellow Mountain became visible to us. It was as if we had entered a vast audience-chamber and the host for the occasion had just made an appearance, in order to entertain his guests. Even those unnamed peaks that are not included in the pantheon of the thirty-six seemed quite extraordinary, this truly being a circumstance where "…even the servants and retainers prove to be of immortal talent."

Having passed such splendours as Anterior Sea Gate 前海門, we found ourselves encircled by Alchemists' Terrace 錬丹臺, Alchemists' Peak 錬丹峰, Verdant 翠微峰, and Immortal's Palm Peak 仙掌峰. Once we had passed Level with Heaven Promontory 平天矼 in order to gaze at Posterior Sea 後海, we found ourselves encircled by such splendours as the Stone Screen that Flew Here 飛來石幢 and Stūpa 寶塔 and various other peaks. And then, once we had made it to Stalagmite Promontory 石筍矼, we were encircled by the splendours of Now-I-Believe-It 始信峰 and other peaks. Whereas the Three Seas 三海 peaks are like a hank of floss silk, Stalagmite Promontory 石筍矼 is like a polished gem; if Three Seas 三海 resembles a bronze tripod, then Stalagmite Promontory 石筍矼 resembles a sword or a halberd.

In summary, then, Yellow Mountain constitutes the acme of both the extraordinary and the illusory, the numinous and the living, its appearance proves infinitely changeable, its shape constitutes the very embodiment of all seven emotions, as if the various Buddhas themselves, in order to entertain their guests, had each made display of their respective supernatural powers of transformation. At Pine Valley Hermitage 松谷菴 it is the spring that is especially noteworthy, lending its great beauty to Stalagmite Promontory 石筍矼. We departed the mountain by way of the route that took us past such sites as Prime Minister's Source 丞相源 and the Hermitage of the Lamp of the Sage 聖燈菴, all of which seemed like secret chambers within which guests could sit and read or rest their wearied legs. As we were quitting the mountain, the thunderous sound of Nine Dragons Spring 九龍泉 reached our ears from below, like the drums and horns serving to farewell guests. We returned by way of the route we had followed when entering the mountain, our guides accompanying us as far as River She Banks 歙浦 before they took their leave of us.

A Record of My Trip to Yellow Mountain ("You Huangshan ji" 游黃山記)

By Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582–1664)

"For fifty years he reigned supreme over the world of letters" (主文章之壇坫五十年), the historian Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (1610–1695) was later to say of Qian Qianyi in his *Recalling Friends of Old: A Record* (*Sijiu lu* 思舊錄). Poet, historian, essayist, sometime official under both the Ming and Qing dynasties, husband of one of the most talented courtesans of his age, owner of the most exquisite private library ever assembled in China, Qian was posthumously to so earn the animus of the Qianlong emperor (1711–1799; r. 1735–1796) that his entire corpus was proscribed, fortunately to no lasting effect. Born in Changshu 常熟, the prosperous market town some 40 kilometres north of Suzhou, the last decade of his long and eventful life was spent in one or other of his beautiful garden estates on Mount Yu 虞山 working on various large and complex scholarly projects, including his extraordinary anthology of the poetry of the Ming dynasty, *A Collection of the Poetry of the Various Reigns* (*Liechao shiji* 列朝詩集), edited with his celebrated wife Liu Rushi 柳如是 (1618–1664) and published by his friend Mao Jin 毛晉 (1599–1659) at his Changshu printing works, the Pavilion for Drawing on the Ancients (Jiguge 汲古閣). An extensive history of the Ming dynasty that he was said to have been working on was lost in the conflagration that in 1650 destroyed his Tower of the Crimson Clouds (Jiangyunlou 絳雲樓). The loss of his book collection is said to have been largely responsible for his developing interest in Buddhism towards the end of his life. In nine sections with a preface in the original, this preface and Part VI are offered here.[19]

Preface

In the spring of the *Xinsi* year (1641), Cheng Jiasui 程嘉燧[20] and I planned to make a trip to Yellow Mountain, arranging to meet at Western Creek in Hangzhou when the flowering plum blossoms came out. When a month had passed with Jiasui still not having arrived, I found that I had matters to attend to at White Mount, and my passion for the Yellow Mountain trip abated somewhat. It was a letter from Xu Zhiyuan 徐之垣[21] that came to rouse me again—having read it my arms wanted to stretch out and take flight,

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19 For a short English-language biography of the man, see A.W. Hummel (ed.), *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644–1912)* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943) (hereafter, ECCP), p. 148–150.

20 Cheng Jiasui (*zi* Mengyang 孟陽; *hao* Jiean 偈庵, Songyuan shi lao 松圓詩老; 1565–1644) was a poet and artist, from Xiushui 秀水 in Anhui. For a short English-language biography of the man, see ECCP, pp. 113–114.

21 Xu Zhiyuan (*zi* Weihan 維翰; *hao* Zaijianlou 在澗樓), a native of Yin County 鄞縣, Zhejiang.

so I grabbed Wu Shi 吳拭[22] and set out. Wu Dazhen 吳大震[23] made ready a carriage and prepared us some grains and dried meats, and the cousins Zihan 子含 and Wenli 聞禮[24] goaded each other to come, but in the end neither of them could make the trip.

Zhiyuan's letter to me read:

The White Mount 白岳 is remarkably steep, but it stands like one of those miniature scenes of landscape painters, and even its sheerest and most remote rocks have been scribbled over by vulgar Daoists. The remarkable peaks of Yellow Mountain, though, drive up from the ground, with the taller ones rising a few thousand *zhang*, and even the smallest rising several hundred. There is no way to approach the summit, as there is simply nothing on which to rest one's feet. The rocks have a sleek green quality, delicately exquisite with their intricate bends, and wherever a fissure appears there is always a pine cutting through it. With their short needles and ancient trunks, and truly myriad in their various forms, these pines all take the rocks for their earth.

I have travelled as far as the Eastern and Southern Marchmounts 東南二嶽, roamed further north than Baha 叭哈, reached Potalaka 落迦, Hermitage 匡廬 and Nine Blossoms 九華 Mountains in the south, and nothing I have seen can compare to Yellow Mountain. Mere description cannot begin to exhaust its wonders, nor can the imagination approach them. Although it will waste a good many days, and the climb itself is arduous labour, in the end it is a labour that one simply cannot forgo.

On my trip to Yellow Mountain, I completed over twenty poems, and afterwards, finding myself idle before my cold window, I supplemented this collection with a prose account in nine parts. When this essay was finished, I immediately regretted writing it, and wondered whether, with Zhiyuan's description having already done full justice to Yellow Mountain, there had been any real need to take up my brush. Later though, a guest heard of my account, and soon those demanding to see it became too many; I could not refuse them. So now, I have arranged in order the nine parts to form a fascicle, and am sending them to Cheng Jiasui at Zhanghan Hill 長翰山, including, as a starting point, this brief reference to Zhiyuan's letter.

This preface written in the first month of the *Renwu* year (1642) by Qian Qianyi, the Old Man of Yu's Hill.

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22 Wu Shi (*zi* Quchen 去塵) was a native of Xiuning, and a man who, according to Qian, "loved to roam the famous mountains and waterways" (好遊名山水), for which, see *Liechao shiji xiaozhuan* 列朝詩集小傳 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1983), Vol. 2, p. 636.

23 Wu Dazhen (*zi* Zhangyu 長宇; *hao* Zhangru 長儒), also a native of Xiuning.

24 No information about the first of the cousins mentioned here, Zihan, can be found, but Wu Wenli (*zi* Qufei 去非; *hao* Yunxin 芸心) was a native of Hangzhou.

Part VI

Rising at daybreak, I found the wind gusty and unruly. We selected the way of the Cloudladder 雲梯, where the wind blew against our faces, pushing us backwards, and then at our backs, knocking us prostrate. Hurled backwards and forwards, it felt as if I were being lifted by the armpits; I have never known wind to be of such strength. The end of the Cloudladder 雲梯 is the foot of Lotus Blossom Peak 蓮花峰, the path resembles the stem of a lotus, bending around and concealing itself in the belly of the peak. Where the steps end, the path bursts back out of the peak's belly; climbing is like following the lotus root up to its double stage of petals. As the wind became ever more severe, I was no longer able to drag myself upwards against it, so I sat cross-legged against a rock, and waited for the other climbers to arrive. We followed the path back down, but I longed to turn back, and every time we passed a rock or a pine my head would turn as if I had caught sight of an old friend. A monk said: "Amongst the Thirty-six Peaks there is not one from which it is easy to part. Why not hasten to the Temple of Compassionate Radiance 慈光寺, where one can call upon all of the various peaks, while one's hand never leaves the railing?"

Compassionate Radiance 慈光 is situated on a branch ridge of Heavenly Capital 天都, nestled up against Peach Blossom 桃花 and Lotus Blossom Peaks 蓮花峰. Cinnabar 硃砂, Blue Phoenix 青鸞 and Amethyst Peaks 紫石峰 stand on its left, while to its right, Folding Screen 疊嶂 and Cloud Gate Peaks 雲門峰 are both poised facing outwards. Pumen, the Master of Tranquillity, who had previously established a monastery at Bracing Mountain 清涼山, achieved a vision of Yellow Mountain while at meditation, and so from Bracing Mountain 清涼山 moved to this site. When he entered the gates of the capital, with powerful resolve and in touch with the unfathomable realms, the Empress Dowager Cisheng 慈聖皇太后[25] opened up the imperial treasury to the shaven-headed ones, and presented them with purple robes, pennants and staffs. The Emperor Shenzong 神宗 bestowed a name-tablet inscribed with the words "Compassionate Radiance" 慈光, and issued a decree of protection and support.

Today the temple houses a set of sūtras that Cisheng had adorned as a gift from the imperial house. There is a four-faced gold Buddha figure, in seven layers, with each layer containing four Venerated Ones, making twenty-eight of these in total. Each Venerated One sits on a Lotus Blossom Throne, and each throne boasts seven depictions of the Bodhisattva Cundi among its leaves. On each leaf there sits a Buddha, and of these there could not be fewer than ten thousand. All of this was put into effect by Cisheng and the imperial palaces.

Prior to the construction of this four-faced hall, Pumen crafted a model of it out of wood. Within its four corners and four beams not even the most trifling detail was neglected, and the model is still stored here today. Pumen single-handedly created the

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25 Empress Dowager Cisheng (1546–1614) was a concubine of the Longqing emperor (1537–1572; r. 1567–1572) and mother of the Wanli emperor (1563–1620; r. 1573–1620), referred to here as the Emperor Shenzong; for a short English-language biography of this woman, originally surnamed Li 李, see DMB, Vol. 1, pp. 856–859.

monastic presence on this mountain, establishing here the burning lamp. At that time, as the imperial palaces bestowed their compassionate favour, this temple bulged with treasures from within the four seas, truly transporting the heavenly realm of Tushita down to this world of man. The transformation of a wasteland of thorn and brushwood into a Buddha-realm was a marvellous achievement indeed.

These days, with military unrest daily more worrying, and famines raging year after year, the tolling of the great fish bells has all but ceased, and there is barely even enough coarse grain to go around. Recalling the drums and bells that would ring out from the Palace of Eternal Faith 長信宮, and counting up the monasteries that once stood in Luoyang, one cannot but sigh for own's ruined and disordered age. Such, indeed, was the cause of Li Gefei's 李格非 lament over the famous gardens.[26]

Pumen's stūpa sits at the rear of the Temple of Compassionate Radiance 慈光寺. The white rocks have all been worn down; rinsed smooth by a stream of floating peach blossoms that winds its way around in front of the stūpa. In comparison to this, one can see that the graveyards of the world of man, with their tomb mounds that look like the Qilian mountains 祁連山, are truly contemptible.

On this evening, I once again bathed at the Hot Springs 湯池, and lodged at Peach Blossom Source Hermitage 桃花源庵. The mountain monk who had accompanied me could not bring himself to stay, and as he solemnly took his leave, I sent word to Heavenly Capital 天都, Lotus Blossom 蓮花 and the other peaks, just as the men of Wu

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26 This is a reference to Li Gefei's (*zi* Wenshu 文叔; 1041?–1101) celebrated "Account of the Famous Gardens of Luoyang" ("Luoyang ming yuan ji" 洛陽名園記), written in 1095, in which Li describes nineteen of the celebrated gardens of the former capital, before adding this important commentary: "Luoyang lies at the centre of the world. It holds the strategic pass between Mount Yao and Min Lake, and sits astride the access point to Qin and Long; and was the old stamping ground of Zhao and Wei. So it is a place that is bound to be contended over from all four quarters. When the situation in the world is normal, then this all ceases, but if there are disturbances Luoyang is the first to experience war. This is why I hold that the prosperity or decline of Luoyang is an indication of whether the world is well governed or in chaos. For in the Zhenguan (627–649) and Kaiyuan (713–741) periods of the Tang dynasty there were reputed to have been more than a thousand residences and palaces built by senior ministers and imperial relatives in the Eastern Capital (of Luoyang). When chaos and disruption set in, and these continued in the miseries of the Five Dynasties (907–960), the lakes and pools, bamboos and trees were trampled by the carriages of war, and abandoned to become a wasteland. The high pavilions and great gazebos were consumed in smoke and fire and turned to ashes. They were annihilated and destroyed with the Tang dynasty itself, and not a wrack remained. That is way I hold that the rise and fall of these gardens is an indication of the prosperity or decline of Luoyang. So if the good government or chaos of the world may be known since they are indicated by the prosperity or decline of Luoyang; and if the prosperity or decline of Luoyang may be known since they are indicated by the rise and fall of its gardens, then my writing of this Record of Famous Gardens has surely been to some purpose," for which, see Philip Watson (trans.), "Famous Gardens of Luoyang by Li Gefei: Translation with Introduction," *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes* 24.1 (2004): 38–54.

say, "I will be waiting for word of thee." Wang Zemin 汪澤民[27] of the Yuan era wrote, "Lodging at the Springs Temple, I heard the sounds of the birds, chirping away as if echoing each other in song, now *presto*, now *largo*. This bird is called the Mountain Singing Thrush 山樂鳥, and off the mountain, there is not one to be seen." I was just then experiencing my own "Southern Shore parting,"[28] so when I heard them, I felt a tug at my wretched heartstrings. I bade farewell to Yellow Mountain, and it took a day's effort to return home.

Yellow Mountain Travelogue ("Huangshan youji" 黃山游記)

By Shi Runzhang (1618–1683)

The poet, scholar and sometime official Shi Runzhang 施閏章 (*zi* Shangbai 尚白; *hao* Yushan 愚山) was a native of Xuancheng 宣城 in present day Anhui who, in his prose and poetic engagements with Yellow Mountain, expressed a somewhat proprietorial interest in it. Much celebrated for the benevolence of his administration as intendant of the Hu-Xi Circuit 湖西道 in Jiangxi, Shi was later to sit for and pass the special 1679 *Boxue hongci* 博學宏詞 examinations, whereupon he was appointed to the Hanlin Academy to work on the composition of the *History of the Ming*. Having once served as an examiner for the 1658 Shandong provincial examinations at which the writer Pu Songling 蒲松齡 (1640–1715) earned his Flourishing Talent degree, Shi was later immortalized as a clever and upright judge in a story entitled "Rouge" ("Yanzhi" 胭脂) in Pu's *Strange Tales from a Chinese Studio* (*Liaozhai zhiyi* 聊齋誌異).[29]

The crowning glory of all the mountains south of the Yangtze River is Yellow Mountain. It rises four thousand *ren* high, so that even Eyes of Heaven Mountain 天目山 to the west of Hangzhou would barely reach its ankles. Long ago it was called Blackmount 黟山, but it acquired its current name, so the story has it, as it is here that the Yellow Emperor's sacred ceremonial tripods are to be found. On the eighth day of the eighth month of the Renzi year (1672), I arrived here from Wanling 宛陵, lodging

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27 Wang Zemin (*zi* Shuzhi 叔志; 1285–1355).

28 The phrase used here (南浦之別) derives from a line in "The River Earl" ("He Bo" 河伯), the eighth of the "Nine Songs" ("Jiuge" 九歌) of the *Chuci* 楚辭 which, in David Hawkes's translation, reads: "Eastward you journey, with hands stately folded,/ Bearing your fair bride to the southern harbour," for which, see David Hawkes (trans.), *The Songs of the South: An Anthology of Ancient Chinese Poems by Qu Yuan and Other Poets* (Penguin, 1985), p. 115. Over time, the "Southern Shore," as we have rendered it, became a symbol of separation.

29 For a short English-language biography of the man, see ECCP, p. 651. For a translation of Pu's story, see John Minford (trans.), *Strange Tales from a Chinese Studio* (London: Penguin Books, 2006), pp. 408–420. Jonathan Chaves translates a number of Shi's Yellow Mountain poems in his *Every Rock a Universe: The Yellow Mountains and Chinese Travel Writing*, including his "A Chant for Yellow Mountains: Presented to Cao Binji" ("Huangshan yin: zeng Cao Binji" 黃山吟贈曹賓及), a poem that contains a line, in praise of his young friend Cao Fen 曹鈖 (b. ca. 1655), "In exploring the mountains his sole endeavour—to be the mountains' scribe;/ Each and every rock and stream to record and annotate" (尋山直欲作山史一石一泉皆記注), that could apply equally to all four of the authors translated here.

beneath Cinnabar Peak 硃砂峰. I bathed in the hot springs, before proceeding on to stay at Peach Blossom Source 桃花源. There we encountered rain, delaying us for a full three days. I looked over White Dragon Pool 白龍潭, the waterfall of which is truly spectacular.

When the rain finally let up, I espied, from the monastery at the hot springs, a cliff inscribed with the calligraphy of Luo Longwen 羅龍文,[30] the famous maker of ink, before we set off, by way of Temple of Compassionate Radiance 慈光寺, to pay my respects to Old Man Peak 老人峰. As dusk approached, I reached the first pinnacle of the central peak, scrambling up ladders and along wooden catwalks, until, as if emerging from the depths of a well, I found myself at Mañjuśrī Cloister 文殊院. That night, a splendid moon hung suspended in the sky. When dawn arrived, I ascended Lotus Blossom Peak 蓮花峰, my stomach pressed hard up against the rock face as I groped my way up the last little distance. Once there, I perched upon a cliff for a good long while. Then I proceeded several *li* westwards, through Turtle Cavern 鰲洞, to stay the night at Point-at-the-Moon Hermitage 指月菴 on Alchemists' Terrace 煉丹臺. Here, too, we encountered rain and mist, and the air turned bitterly cold. On the fifteenth day, again the rain let up, and I proceeded by way of Flew Here Peak 飛來峰 and Lion's Forest 獅子林 to West Sea Gate 西海門, whence through the various sights of Now-I-Believe-It Peak 始信峰 and Stalagmite Promontory 石筍矼. As the sun set, I became grandly drunk and, singing away, gazed up at the moon from Illumination Crest 光明頂. At dawn the next day, we took the north path to Cloud Valley 雲谷 and returned to Hot Springs Mouth 湯口 by way of Desolation Keep 蕪塞, taking a side-track in order to see Nine Dragon Pool 九龍潭. I slept in a monk's cell beneath Alms Bowl Peak 硃盂峰, and the next day, departing the mountain through Hot Springs Mouth 湯口, I returned home.

A fellow guest asked for an account of my trip, to which I replied, "I made none, for just as Yellow Mountain proved no easy journey, neither does the journey make for easy telling.[31] Even whilst in exile in Liuzhou, Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元[32] of the Tang found something aesthetically pleasing in the sight of every single hill and dale he

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30   Luo Longwen (*zi* Hanzhang 含章; *hao* Xiaohua 小華; fl. 1540s) was a political associate of the notorious Grand Secretary Yan Song 嚴嵩 (1480–1565).

31   For the scholar-gentry elite of imperial China, if movement throughout empire was necessitated by their bureaucratic careers (both the serving in office and the going into exile), their peripatetic lifestyles also, however, increasingly, afforded them both aesthetic and scholarly opportunities. At the same time, once one had acquired something of a literary or artistic reputation, such travel imposed upon one the obligation to capture in text or image some record of one's trip. We are told, for instance, that when visiting Hermitage Mountain (廬山) for the first time the great Song dynasty writer Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101) resolved not to write any poems about it, such was the "eccentric beauty of its peaks and valleys" (山谷奇秀). Fortunately for us, he found that he could not resist the importunate requests of the monks of the mountain, upon whom he was dependant both for their hospitality and their local knowledge, thus producing a number of poems, one of which included the immortal couplet: "Of Hermitage Mountain I cannot make out the true face,/For I am myself lost in the heart of the very place" (不識廬山真面目只緣身在此山中). One notes that as he toured the mountain he was reading the account of it written by his friend Chen Lingju 陳令舉 that had recently been sent him (且行且讀).

32   The prose writings of Liu Zongyuan (*zi* Zihou 子厚; 773–819) written whilst in exile earned him (posthumously) a place as one of the so-called Eight Masters of the Tang and Song.

happened upon. There are any number of mountains famous for their peaks, of which only a bare few are at all extraordinary; and yet Yellow Mountain has a full thirty-six peaks of note, which draw themselves up ten thousand *ren* to prick at the firmament above, and each one of which stands aloof like a jade official tablet held high above a minister's head. Every one of these peaks is, in and of itself, deserving of the fame accorded to the sacred Marchmounts. There are still other clusters, several score of peaks making one together, with pines cupped in the crannies of their rock, writhing and twisted into forms now bizarre, now noble, so that even were one to be blessed with a hundred eyes, one could not take in all their various manifestations. Again, in the mists that swirl out from the caves and grottoes, all is light and dark by turns, and when dark, even the glare of the sun seems smudged. Thus, some travellers stay ten long days and more upon the mountain, but see not a single peak, only to leave with all their fondest hopes thwarted.

And so it is, that, for no two men are the sights afforded by this mountain the same. For my part, I was favoured with several clear days. So when I climbed up to Mañjuśrī Cloister 文殊院, then, I saw arrayed on either side of me both Heavenly Capital Peak 天都峰 and Lotus Blossom Peak 蓮花峰, both of them standing as upright as a screen. Of all the throng of other peaks, none dared boast their peer. From here the path led north-westwards. And stooped, we wound our way upwards like clambering ants, emerged from the foliage, and looked straight across to Heavenly Capital 天都, now seemingly as close at hand as if it were an object sitting upon one's desk.

Then there was Lotus Blossom Peak 蓮花峰, a peak that from a distance resembles Nine Blossoms Mountain 九華山, or Hermitage Mountain 盧山; and then, Now-I-Believe-It Peak 始信峰, where the stone face fell away like the cliffs of a gorge and pines reached out to tug at one's arms, while below could be seen Scattered Blossoms Dell 散花塢, embroidered criss-cross in yellow and cinnabar; and Alchemists' Terrace 錬丹臺 and Seagate 海門, where we faced a bottomless gully with gushing spires and steep walls upon which appeared a thousand forms of man and demon, bird and beast, or objects of manufacture; or Stalagmite Promontory 石筍矼, where stood a thicket of swords, here and there like companions dallying on their way and exchanging confidences, or clustering to throw up a feathery thatch in quivering rows; or Illumination Crest 光明頂, poking like a hat from the broad forehead of the 'Anterior and Posterior Seas' 前後海. To the east of the Crown, it is called Anterior Sea 前海, and to the west, Posterior Sea 後海; as the clouds lie seething, the many protruding peaks come and go like islets washed by the ocean's swell. When the sky clears after a long fall of rain, the clouds return to the valleys, piled ten thousand layers thick. This is called the 'Spreading of the Sea' 鋪海, and the traveller will not necessarily have the good fortune to strike it. But on the night of the mid-autumn moon, I was perched on Illumination Crest 光明頂 howling in harmony with the heavens, the moon at my eyebrows. Only the sight of the 'Spreading of the Sea' 鋪海 could have added to my joy. As it happened, the wind rose and the clouds flew by, casting the mountains and valleys into shadow. All was altered a hundredfold each instant, and in these metamorphoses the sights yielded me their soul.

"Mountain scenes like these, with their highland mists and shooting rainbows, the sunlight glinting on snow and ice, the oddly shaped and the wondrously coloured, and their countless moods and faces—were such scenes to have moved a Li Daoyuan 鄺道

元[33] to write of them, or a Xie Lingyun 謝靈運[34] to sing their praises, could even their brushes have managed to convey each nuance of pregnant emotion, or enumerate all to the last detail?"

My interlocutor asked, "Yellow Mountain sounds so vast and so very extraordinary, but it is also rugged and perilous in the extreme; don't one's feet get calloused in the climb?"

I snorted, saying, "Access to the immortal's isle of Penglai 蓬萊 is guarded by treacherous waters; and Xihua 西華 has ravines of a thousand feet which can only be scaled on the end of a rope. Now Yellow Mountain is the Heavenly Emperor's capital, home to crowds of Immortals, and not even snakes or tigers make their lairs there. It does not welcome climbers. In all the billion years since antiquity, it only became accessible once the monk Pumen had opened up some trails. Now we are lucky enough that we can sightsee there, taking in all the wonders that it offers. And you, Sir, would have it defiled by horse and carriage so that it can become some bauble for the facile gratification of the senses?" My visitor's jaw dropped, and a stunned silence ensued.

I bathed in the Hot Springs and then departed, my soul as light as if I was borne on a wind drawn chariot. I was first importuned for the record of this travel by Master Cheng Shou 程守 and was accompanied on it by Masters Hong Meizhou 洪美周 and Xu Xuehuai 許雪懷. On a number of occasions, when the ladders and trails came to an end, Master Jiang Zhu 江注 strode ahead into danger.[35] I relied on his fearlessness, and so dubbed him my "Yellow Mountain guide and teacher."

A Record of My Trip to Yellow Mountain ("You Huangshan ji" 游黃山記)

By Yuan Mei (1716–1798)

Yuan Mei 袁枚 (*zi* Zicai 子才; *hao* Jiangzhai 簡齋, Cunzhai 存齋, Suiyuan 隨園), born in Hangzhou, became the most important poet of the eighteenth century. Also a prolific essayist, letter writer, critic, short-story writer, gourmet, and scholar, Yuan had a particular concern for both history and the source and function of poetry. Having been invited to sit the special *Boxue hongci* 博學鴻詞 examinations of 1736 and failed, Yuan Mei succeeded at the examinations of 1739 and was appointed to a post in the Hanlin Academy. His inability at Manchu, however, saw him appointed to a series of minor and local posts as District Magistrate. In 1752, Yuan Mei retired permanently from

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33 Li Daoyuan (ca. 466–527) was the author of the *Footnotes to the Classic of the Rivers* (*Shuijing zhu* 水經注), an important early geographical work.

34 Xie Lingyun (385–433) was an early and important landscape poet.

35 Jiang Zhu (*zi* Yunning 允凝; *hao* Ruomifang 若米舫), from She County in present-day Anhui, was a noted artist. He had been a student of his relative Hongren 弘仁 (1610–1664), the most celebrated of the Yellow Mountain artists.

office and for the remaining half century of his life he lived off his writings, managing to avoid entanglement in the various literary inquisitions that characterized his age. Throughout this period, with few interruptions, he lived in his garden, Suiyuan 隨園, variously translated as Harmony Garden or Garden of Accommodation. Ignoring the moralistic criticisms of a number of his contemporaries, Yuan Mei, a man committed to the education of women, gathered around him a group of talented female poets, publishing their writings under the title of his garden.[36]

Upon finishing a tour of White Mount 白岳 on the second day of the fourth month of the *Guimao* year (1783), I went to bathe at Hot Springs on Yellow Mountain. The spring waters were sweet and pellucid, and the rock face loomed above them. That night I slept at the Temple of Compassionate Radiance 慈光寺. The next morning, a monk told me: "From here on the mountain roads are jagged and treacherous. There is no room for a basket chair, and yet, should you walk, Sir, you would find it quite hard going. Luckily, there are certain local lads who are practised in bearing travellers on their backs. They are called 'Sea-horses' 海馬. Perhaps you should employ them." He brought five or six fine and sturdy youths to me, each of whom was carrying many yards of cloth. I laughed to myself, thinking: "So! Now I'm old and feeble, it's back to my swaddling clothes, is it?" Initially, then, I pushed myself obstinately onwards by foot; but once really exhausted, I was trussed up and mounted upon a man's back. I went thus, sometimes walking and sometimes carried, until we reached Cloud Nest 雲巢, where the track petered out. Then we trod the rungs of a ladder instead. Above, a thousand peaks pricked at the sky; below, the Temple of Compassionate Radiance 慈光寺 was lost at the bottom of a vast vat. That evening, we arrived at Mañjuśrī Cloister 文殊院 and slept there.

The next day dawned wet and very cold, so that even by midday, everyone still wore heavy furs and huddled besides the brazier. The clouds tumbled in and took possession of the room, and in an instant, all was an inchoate blur, so that two companions sitting together could only be distinguished by their voices. When the cloud lifted, I walked to Stand-in-the-Snow Terrace 立雪臺. There grows an ancient pine, its body flung to the west, and its head facing the south, where it pierces a rock and emerges from a fissure on the other side. The rock seems alive, and hollow, so the tree can lie concealed within it and become one with it. Or else, it seems that the tree dares not grow upwards, fearing the heavens; so that while it is several arm-spans round, it is not two feet high. Thus also innumerable other pines. In the evening, the sky above was clear, and all the peaks nodded and dropped like a brood of children. Yellow Mountain is renowned for its 'Anterior Sea' 前海 and 'Posterior Sea' 後海. Here, with a turn of the head, we took in both at once.

The following day, turning left and descending from the terrace, we traversed Hundred-Step Cloud Ladder 百步雲梯, and the track disappeared again. Suddenly we saw a rock shaped like a vast "Atlas" turtle, its mouth gaping open. There being nothing else for it, we walked into the turtle's mouth, and passing through its belly and out its

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36 For a short English-language biography of this man, see ECCP, pp. 955–957.

back, found ourselves in another world altogether. We went up to Alchemists' Terrace 鍊丹臺 and climbed Illumination Crest 光明頂, which stands triangulated with Lotus Blossom Peak 蓮花峰 and Heavenly Capital 天都峰, three lofty peers set like three feet of a caldron. Buffeted by the wind, we could not stand, but fortunately the pine needles were spread two feet thick and proved very soft, so that we could sit. In the evening we went and stayed at Lion's Forest Temple 獅子林. Taking advantage of what sun remained, we climbed Now-I-Believe-It Peak 始信峰. There are three peaks. From a distance one sees two standing jammed together, but if one peers hard enough, a third lies hidden behind them. These peaks are high and perilous and overlook a "bottomless stream." When I stood on the brink with my toes hanging over a couple of inches, the monk hauled me back in alarm. I laughed, saying:

> "It wouldn't have mattered if I'd fallen anyway."
> "How so?"

> "If the stream is bottomless, then there should also be no end to one's fall. You'd just float and float, until you threw down your bedroll who knows where. Besides, even if there was a bottom, it would still take an age to get there. There'd surely be a few seconds in which to effect an escape. It's a shame we've no rope—I'm sure that with a plumb-line we'd find it isn't that far down after all!" The monk had a good laugh at that.

The following day, we climbed the greater and lesser Cool Clear Terraces 清涼 臺. Below, peaks jutted up like writing brushes, like arrows, like bamboo shoots or bamboo groves, like halberds and the masts of boats; as if the Emperor of Heaven had taken all the weapons in his armoury and scattered them over the earth in play. As we ate, threads of white silk began winding themselves around the trees and the monk said delightedly: "The clouds are 'Spreading the Sea.'" At first a fuzzy mist, all melted silver and frayed brocade, then thickened after a time into a single mass, which left bare the horns of the blue-green mountains. The whole resembled bamboo shoots and chunks of meat standing in a great dish of congealed lard. Before long, the mist lifted, revealing countless clusters of peaks as they had been before. I sat there above the pines, harshly broiled by the sun, until a cloud suddenly rose up to make a shady canopy. Only then did I realize that clouds too have their own "Ranks and Orders," or higher and lower, and are not all of one class.

The daylight thinned towards twilight, and we set off towards West Sea Gate 西海 門 to watch the sunset. The grass grew higher than man, and the road again dwindled, so we had to call several dozen fellows to mow a path before we could move on. To the east, peaks were arrayed like screens; in the west, they rose with abrupt savagery from where they skewered the earth; and in the middle were a few score in a higgledy-piggledy hodge-podge, like Jade Terrace 瓊臺 of Celestial Terrace Mountain 天臺山. The flaming sun was ready to drop, and a single peak met it head on, hesitating between gulping it down and holding it aloft. I was perforce sans hat, lest the wind whip it off, sans socks, lest they be drenched; dared not use my cane, for fear it sink into the soft sand, nor glance upwards for fear that the rock might collapse and crush me. Craning my neck back and forth, eyes darting all ways at once, I wished I could transform myself into a billion bodies and visit every peak in turn. My "Sea-horse" mount went as swift

as a gibbon, careering headlong onward; and the mountains, as if taking their cue from us, also took helter-skelter to their heels hurtling by blurred like a surging tide. Weird peaks awaited in the chasm underfoot, and the consequences of a single wrong step did not bear contemplation. But since things had already come to such a pass, quaking timidly was of no use, and should I reign my mount in, I would think myself a coward; so, there was nothing doing but to place my life in his hands and let events follow their own course. I felt the downy weightlessness of immortality. When the Huainanzi 淮南子 speaks of "…the gall bladder giving rise to the clouds," it speaks the truth.37

On the Ninth Day of the month, we made a turning descent behind Heavenly Pillar 天柱峰, passed White Sand Promontory 白沙矼, and came to Cloud Valley 雲谷, where my family had a sedan chair waiting to meet me. In all, we had walked more than fifty *li* and spent seven days in the mountains.

Acknowledgements

Biographical Notes

Duncan M. Campbell has taught (Chinese language, modern and classical; Chinese literature, modern and classical; and aspects of Chinese history and civilisation) at the University of Auckland, Victoria University of Wellington, and the Australian National University in Canberra. In 2015, he was the Curator of the Chinese Garden with The Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens in San Marino, USA. He had yet to make it to Yellow Mountain.

Stephen McDowall (PhD Victoria University of Wellington) is Senior Lecturer in History at the University of Edinburgh. Slowly recovering after contracting Covid-19, he is currently spending much time engaged in the noble pursuit of 'recumbent travel'.

Michael Radich formerly taught at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand, and is now Professor of Buddhist Studies at Heidelberg University. His Harvard Ph.D. (2007) was entitled "The Somatics of Liberation". He is author of *How Ajātaśatru Was Reformed* (2011), and *The Mahāparinirvāṇa-mahāsūtra and the Emergence of Tathāgatagarbha Doctrine* (2015). He was a Humboldt Fellow in Hamburg (2015), and Shinnyo-en Visiting Professor of Buddhist Studies at Stanford (2019).

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37 Chen Guangzhong 陳廣忠 （ed.), *Huainanzi yizhu* 淮南子譯注 (Changchun: Jilin wenshi chubanshe, 1990), p. 304.

SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND INCLUSIVE RECOVERY AFTER THE KUMAMOTO EARTHQUAKES

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Abstract

Disasters change the societies in which they occur and lead us to question norms which might otherwise be taken for granted. Beyond the physical damage inflicted upon infrastructure and injuries to human bodies, the social impacts of stress and conflict are sometimes the most severe, and often hidden, results and causes for prolonged existential suffering. The focus of examining the Kumamoto Earthquakes is to look at an example of how social exclusion formulated following a disaster in contemporary Japanese society, and also to examine the actors that provided aid and integration for marginalized people. This example aims to provide a more comprehensive understanding of how conflicts within and between communities can formulate in different cultural and social settings and explore ways of addressing a multitude of social problems that can occur in the aftermath of disasters and adverse situations.

Background and Context

On April 14 and 16 2016, two earthquakes with a magnitude of 7, and thousands of smaller tremors ranging from 1-6 over the following weeks (during this time, the ground literally did not stop shaking), struck Kumamoto Japan. This resulted in hundreds of thousands of residents of Kumamoto city and several of its outlying villages needing to stay in temporary shelters, usually in school gymnasiums and other public buildings. While these shelters were officially accessible to all residents, certain people faced discrimination or were made to feel uncomfortable and resorted to living in cars or unsafe places, in some cases for several months. Those who were not registered as staying in official shelters were often not able to access food, toilets and other aid eventually provided by the local and national governments. Also due to highways, train lines and the airport being severely damaged, food and other supplies became extremely scarce across the prefecture. Many areas were without water, gas and electricity for weeks or months.

Of the people who frequently were excluded in shelters, residents with physical or mental disabilities and those caring for disabled family members faced severe discrimination. Foreigners, single mothers and low-income families were also frequently excluded leading to social conflicts in many communities. As of April 2017, one year after the disaster, 47,168 people were still living in official temporary housing (government provided trailers) (Sakuma, 2017). While five years on the number of

residents in temporary housing was down to 64 households and 184 individuals (*Kumamoto Prefecture*, 2021), the people who remained in temporary housing years after the disaster were generally those who had limited mobility, especially elderly and disabled residents.

In the case of contemporary Japan, the suspension of normalcy and routine in everyday life caused major disruptions in the relationships between members of communities. This condition of existential crisis due to uncertainty and the ensuing social changes have played out in a particularly unique way in the context of the Kumamoto earthquakes, not only in the immediate aftermath but also in the years following the disaster.

Point of Observation

I had come to live in Kumamoto shortly before the earthquakes, after being offered a job at a local university. While I had only recently moved to Japan and was somewhat isolated as an outsider in this rural part of the country, I was fortunate to have made friendships early on with several community members who would become key in using informal networks to respond to local needs. Shortly after the disaster I also moved into a community share-house, *Nagaya,* which was organized by a local artist who would later become a community leader involved in the response and recovery process. Over the following two-years that I resided in *Nagaya*, the house became a centre in Kumamoto for outsiders, marginalized community members and those involved in recovery activities on an unofficial level. The accounts in this paper are based on my observations through participation with local social networks and stories collected from community members that I came to know during this period.

My own dual experiences as a foreigner, but also a lecturer at the local university, situated my observations from a unique social position. In some cases the fact that I was viewed as an outsider gave me access to certain situations while in others it was limiting. My official position within the society also provided me with a certain degree of (undeserved) social privilege and access to people who otherwise would have likely ignored me, at the same time my position as a researcher could in some circumstances have resulted in distrust from marginalized residents who had become warry of official institutions.

Social Roles and Hierarchies

People tend to imagine themselves as part of a community through socially constructed notions of identity which are dependent on the exclusion of 'others' who are not part of the community (Anderson, 2006). In situations of extreme stress and institutional fragility social fragmentation can result in the stigmatization of individuals deemed to be outside of the community. Language used to identify people as belonging to a specific group and the exclusion or non-recognition of those who do not constitutes what Bourdieu calls symbolic violence (1989, 1991). Non-recognition allows for the

legitimation of social exclusion as it normalizes the non-belongingness of the outsider. While language and narrative are often defining tools in driving and contributing to social fragmentation during adverse situation, they can also be used to recreate or solidify cohesion in communities divided by conflict (Rickard, 2014).

Politicized language is used in many nations classify non-citizens into categories of 'desirable' and 'undesirable' foreigners, often referring to undocumented or illegal immigrants, or simply those who do not belong (Suzuki 2019). Japan during the late 1980s revised its policies on immigration to allow for the importation of foreign labour while also maintaining political rhetoric of a homogeneous society. As the number of foreign residents in Japan has grown steadily, and is projected to grow exponentially in the coming decades, both media and legal policies have frequently portrayed foreigners as dangerous and causing crime (ibid). Government and media campaigns to increase tourism since the 2000s, coinciding with contradictory policies to combat 'foreign crimes,' have contributed to the imagined dichotomy of 'desirable' and 'undesirable' types of foreigners and the systematic social exclusion of the latter.

Social formations in contemporary Japan have contributed to what has been described as a 'conformist society' (Hendry, 2019). This is to emphasize that people are expected to behave in a predictable way, institutions are built on the notion of predictability and children are taught not to disrupt the harmony of the larger community from a young age. Japanese society has undergone major social changes since the post war reconstruction, to some degree the perception of 'conformity' in contemporary Japan can be viewed as the result of the failure of major labour movements during the 1960s and 70s, and the government's response to popular calls for radical change by student groups during the same period (Garon, 1998). Subsequent reforms and control over education and media have resulted in an increasingly strict imagination of how one should exist as a member of society.

Japanese concepts of privacy are unique and need to be given context to understand how social conflicts can develop in crisis situations. Distinctions between in-groups or that within the home *uchi*, and out-groups *soto* or outside are necessary for understanding how to interact with others. Separations between public and private behaviour are also important in forming appropriate ways to perform in society, one's true or private-self, *honne*, as oppose to, *tatemae*, public-self or 'masked' and behaviour which is expected by society. While this may be viewed as hypocritical or dishonest from a non-Japanese perspective, a strict separation between that which is private and what one presents to the outside world is necessary for maintaining social harmony in Japanese culture (Hendry, 2019). Failure to fall into expected roles, such as obtaining a 'respectable' job in a company or as a civil servant, or forming a nuclear family, may also be viewed as sources of shame, particularly in conservative areas.

While strict orders of hierarchy and social rules are commonly understood as part of the Japanese worldview, social exclusion and alienation that may characterise some of the more ridged elements of Japanese society are not necessarily phenomena rooted in traditional culture. Tsing (2016) describes the extreme social changes in Japanese society that accompanied mass urban migration following recovery from World War

II into the economic bubble of the 1970s and 80s, the detachment from community and sense of anomie that are associated as some of the more negative aspects of contemporary Japan are in fact more closely aligned with more recent changes and expectations in society. "The economy of spectacles and desires flourished, but it became detached from life-course expectations. It became hard to imagine where life should lead and what, besides commodities, should be in it" (ibid; 263).

These notions may to some extent explain how in the case of Kumamoto some individuals and families viewed as different were marginalized and rejected. Japanese media and education have increasingly emphasized a shared identity (or mythology) of Japan as a homogeneous society. The rise in xenophobia and nationalistic views present in political rhetoric coincides with a rapidly aging society and a low birth rate, contributing to common feeling of impending crisis. Despite more recent discussions of diversity and multiculturalism as positive advances, these ignore that there have long existed many people with diverse ethnic heritage and mixed backgrounds in Japan, although their lives have largely been hidden from public view (Shimoji & Ogaya, 2019).

In shelters, where entire communities of hundreds of people would need to share a common space for an indefinite amount of time, the harmony and predictability that usually facilitated social interactions is suspended, and matters which would normally be considered as private were exposed. The embarrassment of showing inner-household matters including marriage problems, loud children and disabled family members. The exposure to one's neighbours and community was cause for existential stress for many people and for some, a source of shame. Many adults also faced temporary or long-term unemployment due to the earthquake, which was not only a financial hardship but an embarrassment for themselves and their families. As a result, in some cases men who had lost their jobs would stay away from shelters leaving their families behind to create the impression that they had work. Such instances also caused stress within the families of victims, and social deterioration in the community.

In the case of minority or marginalized residents, the experience of an unwelcoming and socially uncomfortable atmosphere was a common cause of feelings of exclusion from official shelters and aid.[1] Elderly staying in shelters in some cases discouraged those with young children who might cause noise and disturbances. Single mothers were an especially vulnerable group as they faced multiple levels of discrimination within the community and were often viewed as shameful, particularly those who were not Japanese (Sakuma, 2017).[2] Those who could not register in government shelters,

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1   The concept of *kuuki* 空気, literally air, refers to the social atmosphere and the unspoken meanings should be interpreted by others.

2   In Kumamoto immigrant single mothers faced particularly severe problems such as discrimination and administrative access to aid, research by the legal organization Kumastaka published in the report by Sakuma 2017 focuses on their situations specifically.

such as those without identification documents or address as well as minorities,[3] were often denied access to through official means.[4]

Perceptions of Disaster and Social Change

Much work on disaster recovery has focused on infrastructure and administrative responses, however resilience after disasters is often rooted in the ability of the community to respond not only to physical but also social needs in order to restore the well-being of residents. In cases of disaster recovery in Japan, advanced infrastructure and technology along with a strong centralized government response are often credited with the society moving past catastrophes. However, overwhelming evidence has indicated that community and civil society have played a much greater role in both immediate and long-term recovery than administrative responses, and that more serious social problems or an inability to recover have occurred where local networks have been lacking (Aldrich 2012, 2013, 2016).

Aldrich (2012) notes that following the 1923 Kanto Earthquake which destroyed 40 percent of Tokyo and the surrounding areas, communities with higher levels of social cooperation were able to recover quickly, while residents with fewer connections in their communities were at greater risk for being unable to understand procedures for accessing aid and more likely to engage in illegal activities. Neighbourhoods of Tokyo and Yokohama which had higher numbers of rallies and political demonstrations also showed more resilience in terms of coordination between residents and their eventual return following the disaster (ibid). In contemporary Japan, where voicing dissident political views is discouraged and political participation as well as civil society activism is viewed with suspicion, social workers and those who become informally active in providing aid or advocacy are often themselves marginalized (Pharr, 2003).

Contrary to mobilizing community for social recovery and inclusion disasters have often resulted fear and hysteria. Following the Kanto Earthquake in 1923, thousands of *Zainichi* Koreans living in the Tokyo-Yokohama area were violently massacred following rumours of vandalism and destruction. Following the Great East Japan Earthquake and Fukushima nuclear disaster in 2011, rumours of foreigners looting and rioting spread fear and distrust among residents displaced by the disasters. While rumours generating

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3   Most of the foreigners who were difficult to locate or assess their situations were workers on the Technical Intern Training Program (TITP visas). Mostly from Vietnam, China and the Philippines. Because they are very restricted by their visas and employers they are often hidden in isolated areas, in factories and farms, and it was difficult to get information about their situations because many local residents do not actually know that they exists.

4   One organization in Kumamoto city, Kumamoto International Foundation (KIF), opened their facilities to operate as a shelter specifically for foreigners. This was very helpful especially for international students, researchers and other migrants and minorities living in the city. Unfortunately there was difficulty in spreading information widely, and the TITP workers who are the most marginalized group, were very difficult to locate as their movement and communication was restricted by their employers or brokers.

fear and violence did not significantly occur following the Kumamoto earthquakes, with the exception of falsely spread stories of a lion escaping from the local zoo (*Japan Times* 2017), anxiety from the disaster and uncertainty in the evacuation shelters did create tensions between and in some cases exclusion of certain residents.

There is a history of social fragmentation and the exclusion of marginalized community members following disasters in Japan. In the years following the disasters of March 11, 2011 discrimination of evacuees from the affected region of Fukushima has become a largely ignored social problem, as many people who tried to resettle in other parts of Japan have at times been perceived as 'dirty' from radioactive contamination or as taking advantage of social welfare regardless of if they were actually receiving compensation or not. Schisms within communities of evacuees also developed as different policies were applied to 'forced evacuees' who were ordered to leave the restricted area, and 'voluntary evacuees' who chose to leave areas they feared maybe contaminated (Harada, 2019). Similarly social exclusion following widespread methylmercury poisoning in the town Minamata in southern Kumamoto Prefecture during the mid-twentieth century. Harsh discrimination of victims and their families over the effects of industrial pollution and those who received compensation/recognition, and those who did not, caused deep divisions and social fragmentation in Minamata that remain today.

Solidarity Networks for Social Inclusion

In Kumamoto city a majority of the population stayed in shelters for safety, although many marginalized residents chose to stay, in often unsafe, homes or other places. While official shelters are to be provided with basic needs such as food, water and toilet facilities, the delivery of supplies to Kumamoto was limited due to the destruction of connecting highways and the local airport. The delivery of supplies to shelters was also complicated by a lack of preparedness of the local government in terms of facilitating who would be in charge of such tasks and how they should be implemented. As a result many shelters housing hundreds or thousands of residents often where without food and supplies for days. In some cases groups of young people, in their twenties and thirties, set up soup kitchens outside of shelters and other places where people were staying using camping equipment. While the hot meals were usually appreciated by the hungry and depressed residents staying in the shelters, there was occasionally suspicion as to why people would cook for free, especially when foreigners were involved in the volunteer groups. In some instances the local management of certain shelters rejected non-government food aid provided by volunteers, even at times when no food had been delivered to the residents, and on some occasions called the police to question and threaten the participants.

Volunteer groups had no formal structure or official authority in the community, they spontaneously formed in response to the need in their communities. The participants in volunteer activities themselves came from a range of backgrounds and were often unemployed or part-time workers, although several of them were social workers but participating in a non-official capacity. As they did not fall into standardized social roles of authority, their mobilization relied on their pre-existing

social networks within the community. Many were individuals who had been involved in social support and advocacy of minorities and socially disadvantaged residents, and themselves lived on the margins of society as their own occupations or lifestyles were outside of what is considered as socially acceptable. While some individuals became leaders of volunteer groups in certain areas, there was no formalized hierarchy and decisions were usually made based on negotiation between community members. This is in stark contrast to the top-down structure of Japanese politics as well as to the administrative access to official aid such as shelters where the decisions required approval through channels civil servants.

Axt has examined how certain groups of foreigners in Kumamoto were able to exercise agency in initiating relief activities following the earthquakes through informal social networks (2020). While many foreign residents were expectedly marginalized in the aftermath of the disaster, in some cases it was precisely through informal and unofficial networks, which many foreigners in Japan by necessity must make, that they were capable of making significant contributions to the society when it was needed most.

Marlo came to live in Japan in 2002, originally from Indonesia he attended university in Australia where he met his wife and later moved to her hometown, Kumamoto. At the time the population of foreigners, and particularly Muslims, living in the area was quite small and scattered. During the early 2000's more international students and researchers would come to study at local universities and the number of foreigners working in industry in Kumamoto gradually increased. Marlo and other Muslims founded Kumamoto Islamic Center (KIC) as a social group to pray together and in 2012 acquired a building to use as a Masjid next to Kumamoto University. Over the years the Muslim population in Kumamoto grew from around 40 to 200 with many coming from Pakistan, Bangladesh, Indonesia and Malaysia. Although KIC offered support and a formal gathering place, the community remained isolated as most members did not speak Japanese and local knowledge of Islam was limited, many of the neighbours were suspicious and fearful, particularly as images of IS (Islamic State, ISIS, ISIL) were widespread in Japanese media leading to misperceptions of Muslims. Following the earthquakes in 2016 KIC received large donations of food, sanitary items and money from the Muslim community throughout Japan which was delivered directly and without delay or complications as they had completely independent and unofficial networks. KIC used the Masjid as a shelter for their members as well as a storage facility for what became an excess surplus of food and supplies. Wanting to reach out to the local community Marlo began to contact shelters which he knew were short on supplies but was turned down out of fear. After working with some local Japanese volunteers through Kumamoto International Foundation (KIF) to help as intermediaries several shelters as well as encampments of people living in their cars accepted donations from KIC members. This was the first time as Marlo recalls that KIC had established friendly communication and improved reputation with the local community. For Marlo, the earthquakes changed the dynamics for the Muslim community in Kumamoto from an isolated group of foreigners having little connection to the local Japanese residents to a positive presence in the society. He now is often asked to speak on behalf of the Muslim community and provide outreach about the issues facing marginalized foreign workers.

Social Conflict and Inclusion in a Rural Setting

Nishihara Village is a small community near the volcano Mt. Aso and close to the epicentre of the earthquake. As a rural and mountainous area, Nishihara faced considerable destruction following the earthquakes such as dramatic geographic land shifts and bridges collapsing, as well as becoming severely isolated to the extent that some areas, such as Ōgirihata, were only accessible by helicopter. Most residents relocated to the community shelter in the gymnasium of the village elementary school. Although many residents with social disabilities, and those who did not want to live in the exposure of the shelter chose to stay living in cars or outdoors.

Sansho was a 30 year-old *rakugo* artist but without regular employment, who grew up in the Nishihara. Living in Kumamoto city at the time, Sansho immediately returned to Nishihara following the earthquakes, bringing with him tents and camping equipment. Through a loose network of friends, local farmers and other young people without regular employment, Sansho negotiated to use several fields of farmland as Base Camps, areas where displaced families could live in their cars or tents together as a community. Ongoing tremors and heavy rains followed throughout the weeks after the initial earthquakes casing landslides and other hazards which required extra protection for those living outdoors.

As store shelves quickly emptied and supplies ran out throughout the affected areas, residents in shelters waited for government provided rice and food. In rural areas such as Nishihara deliveries of supplies took considerably more time to arrive than in Kumamoto city. In the week following the earthquake, Yoshinoya a chain for *gyūdon* (a common fast-food of meat on rice), sent trucks to deliver prepared food to shelters which was among the first hot meals to reach the village (SoraNews24, 2016). As the trucks delivered food to the official shelter, residents living in the camps approached but were turned away as they were not officially registered as staying in the shelter. This led to deeper schisms in the community adding to the resentment felt by many due to discrimination and exclusion. As conflicts in the community continued to become more severe and the situations of those in the camps more desperate, Sansho was able to facilitate the delivery of food first through members of his personal network sharing supplies and then through negotiating donations from businesses around Japan. In time he was also able to acquire portable toilets and sanitation facilities as donations for the thousands of residents who were living in the camps.

Becoming an important community leader and relied on in the months and years after the disaster, Sansho and the group of local volunteers he recruited, eventually formed a loosely-structured organization for continuing rebuilding and recovery projects, although he remained officially unemployed and continued living in the camp among displaced residents. Sansho remained living in Nishihara after Base Camp had finally been taken down, and continued to be known as a local leader and volunteer. Years after the disaster he continued to be called on by marginalized residents, particularly the disabled and those who would be placed in temporary housing. Despite

his role as a community volunteer supporting many people his work would not be recognized by the municipality in an official capacity.[5]

The projects that he has facilitated in the years since earthquake have included rebuilding of damaged homes and businesses as well as the restoration of a local Shinto shrine. He has also coordinated flower planting projects throughout Nishihara, as well as community festivals and social events. He would later establish a drive-in theatre in the village, building a huge screen in a field overlooking Kumamoto city. Eventually his drive-in theatre events became well-known throughout Kyushu after he created events in other communities which had been damaged by heavy rain and flooding in 2020, with more communities responding positively to such activities following the COVID-19 pandemic. While Sansho's projects seemed to shift in nature, from providing immediate logistical disaster relief for marginalized victims to recreational activities, they aimed to include all members of the community and were instrumental in repairing divisions. His various activities targeted both less-visible and vulnerable residents such as disabled people and children suffering from trauma related to the earthquakes, to provide psychological relief as well as social inclusion for those who had been marginalized.

While some people remained living in shelters and cars for up to six months after the earthquakes, most of the displaced residents in Nishihara were eventually moved to temporary housing units which were situated in agricultural fields. Hundreds of metal trailers were erected in rows to house the thousands of displaced residents, in the fashion of a military camp, where families who had lost their homes could apply to stay for a limited time. The local municipality is in charge of managing the temporary houses and determines who is eligible to stay in them based on the level of damage to residents' homes. The government encourages residents to move out from the temporary housing units as quickly as possible and sets deadlines for demolishing them. The temporary housing 'village' is situated in a remote 'hidden' area and the small trailers are crowded closely together, making them inconvenient and uncomfortable places to live. Most residents successfully moved from the from the temporary houses within a year of moving there. As residents moved away, units were demolished and the 'village' shrank. Four years after the earthquakes, there are still a few hundred people remaining in the temporary houses, those without the ability to leave (Nippon, 2018).

Mikiko was one of such victims, her home was classified as 'half destroyed' by the government to determine the amount of compensation she was entitled to, but was completely unliveable. In her mid-sixties Mikiko lives with her mother who is in her eighties. Both women suffer from severe physical disabilities and are extremely limited in their mobility. Following the earthquakes they felt unaccommodated for and rejected in the official shelter so stayed living in her car with her mother and cat for months. After eventually moving into the temporary housing she found that she was unable to open

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5   An official community care-taker, or *minsei iin* 民生委員, would normally undergo a process of appointment by local officials such as a mayor. This role would be recognized in an official capacity and normally be given to someone of high social status such as a teacher or police officer.

the door to the tiny unit allotted for her and her mother due to her limited movement. Sansho and his volunteers built ramps and railings in her housing unit and around the temporary housing area, but no such provisions were made by the municipality. As residents moved away and housing units were removed, Mikiko and her mother were forced to move from one tiny unit to another, a difficult and stressful tasks considering their disabilities, but aged and unable to work, they had few options. While Mikiko is severely limited, she painstakingly researches her legal rights and public policy and raises awareness of the situations of people unable to move on after hardships, and those who are socially and politically marginalized. Her work has made her a leader and organizer, but had not made her popular in the community. While she has successfully improved the conditions of people living in the temporary housing and especially those suffering from disabilities, many have accused her of being troublesome and in many ways her work to improve the situations of herself and others has made her more isolated. In the context Nishihara and the temporary housing she is a known voice of resistance to a government that wishes to disappear anyone raising inconvenient concerns, but she is also punished for raising her voice.

For Mikiko, the Japanese society that she sees on television, or even the nearby town Ozu where she is brought just 20 minutes by car for medical appointments, are totally different worlds, drastically contrasting from the uncertainty and unsettledness of her daily life. This psychological state speaks to the continued hidden suffering that those who are silenced by society are forced to live with. As time passed her physical condition has further deteriorated, three years after moving into the temporary housing she cannot stand or walk without the use of a walking frame. She feels tired from having to constantly explain her situation and the social situations of the community to bureaucrats, in Japan civil servants are frequently rotating in their positions and local information is often not shared between then, thus she finds herself needing to constantly repeat herself. This causes her frustration as it is a reminder that things are unlikely to change for future generations. Mikiko emphasises the disfunction of strict bureaucracy and conservative society which favours *kenjōsha* 健常者,[6] able-bodied persons, as she and other people with disabilities are constantly made to feel unwelcome and as if they are a burden. She emphasises that those who exists in the society who cannot be the 'same' as others are expected to remain conveniently silent in 'equal suffering' and that people who raise their voices are punished. While she suffers she does not do so in silence, and is an outspoken voice for those who cannot speak out.

Civil Society and Social Reconstruction in Uncertainty

These brief examples aim to illustrate the hidden social problems which can be exposed in times of crisis, as well as impressive and innovative ways in which people who might otherwise be considered as 'social outcasts' use and develop grassroots networks in order to accommodate and create *alternative-communities*

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6   *Kenjōsha* 健常者 is used as an antonym of 'disabled person'.

for the inclusion of marginalized people. Japan is an advanced capitalist nation with highly developed infrastructure for disaster prevention, nevertheless the social needs of people are often not addressed. Growing socioeconomic inequality through rapid development and neoliberal reforms have resulted in a divided civil society and the denial of social citizenship to certain individuals (Saitō, 2006). Perceived differences between groups (male/ female, youth/ elder, regular/ irregular workers, disabled/ non-disabled) are accelerated through lack of contact between people in other categories leading to increasing distrust and antagonism between them. Rapid social changes and uncertainty make individual's social positions unstable and produces constant anxiety and anomie as well as a detachment toward others which contribute to *bundan shakai*, the divided society (Shiobara 2019). The social conditions which generate stress and anxiety can be amplified in adverse circumstances, and can be driving forces in existential crisis and suicide.

The experiences described above show ways that individuals negotiate life and get by in precarious situations when they do not fit in, or are excluded from, the ridged and uniformed bureaucratic systems that make up contemporary Japanese society. They also point to further overlooked structural violence present in Japan which normalizes the punishment of nonconformity and allows for minorities and other vulnerable people to easily 'fall out of society.' Close ties and cooperation between banks, large corporations, and local and national levels of government maintain the rigid top-down power structure that tightly controls almost every aspect of Japanese economic and administrative life (Pharr, 2003). Media and education follow and reinforce this model closely resulting in the expectation that the system and government will take care of society without active public engagement. As a result political participation, community activism or deviating from a certain set of expectations is highly discouraged and frowned upon. Following the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake and following nuclear catastrophe in Fukushima, public frustration with lack of transparency and refusal to take responsibility closed a certain distance between politics and the public. Informal social movements have increasingly taken on roles in sustaining communities and have often been transformed into permanent organizations with fixed duties in society. Even as NGOs and informal groups play more vital roles in providing public services, especially for marginalized communities in Japan, civil society is excluded in politics and decision making to an extent far greater than other developed democracies (Aldrich 2013).

Developing resilience through community cohesion is vital for recovery, especially in situations where official institutions are overwhelmed following disasters. By understanding the social problems that have occurred such as in the uncertainty of post-earthquake Kumamoto as well as the civil society response that has led to wider social changes in several communities, this aims to give insights into resilience building in contemporary Japan. Attention is needed in addressing social conflicts and the needs of vulnerable populations following disasters. By understanding the social challenges faced by certain communities we can better address vulnerabilities and move beyond disaster response towards community recovery and social inclusion.

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Biographical Note

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DISSEMINATING 'WORLD' CHILDREN'S STORIES TO THE ROOF OF THE WORLD: RE-READING CHILDREN'S CLASSICS THROUGH THE TIBETAN TRANSLATION

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Abstract

The alleged world classic or famous children's stories are usually Eurocentric, despite titles such as 'world' and 'classic' that carry a suggestion of inclusivity and universality. *World Famous Children's Stories* (འཛམ་གླིང་གྲིས་སྤྲང་གྱགས་ཅན།), a series of translated children's books, demonstrates unquestionable Eurocentrism as the series disproportionately selects stories from countries such as France, the UK, Germany, and the US. Meanwhile, alteration and hybridisation often occur in the process of translation, thus more marginalised voices, such as the Tibetan voice, are woven into the otherwise Eurocentric World Famous Children's Stories. It is critical to deconstruct Eurocentrism; however, the failure to hear the local voice amidst the dominant one results in a performative reiteration of power; that is, it makes the powerful more powerful and the powerless more powerless. In this essay, I offer a cultural reading of World Famous Children's Stories as an alternative beyond the victim's tale. On the one hand, the alternative view recognises the impact of cultural dominance on the World Famous translation project. On the other hand, it presents the much overlooked power of the marginalised local.

Keywords: children's stories; translation; Tibetan; Western; world; Homi Bhabha

བྱ་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལད་མོ་ཡིན། ལད་མོའི་ནང་ནས་སུ་མཁས་ཡིན།

All things are a matter of imitation.
It is about who imitates best.[1]

Tibetan proverb

Tibetan children's literature is for the generation who can shape the future of Tibetan society. Peter Hunt argues that children's books are 'important educationally, socially, and commercially' (1). In this respect, the significance of children's books in the Tibetan language is self-evident. Tibetan children's literature has a considerable impact on children's books in the Greater Himalayan Region. Most Tibetans live in the southwest of China; however, this does not confine Tibetan children's literature to the space

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1   The English translation is by the author of this essay.

of China's ethnic minority literature. Historically, the translation and transmission of Tibetan Buddhist scripts standardised the written Tibetan language across many Himalayan regions.[2] Andreĭ Vostrikov compares 'the Tibetan literary language' in Himalaya to 'Latin in medieval Europe' (9).

World Famous Children's Stories (འཛམ་གླིང་བྱིས་སྒྲུང་གྲགས་ཅན།) is a series of Tibetan children's books that was published in 1993, in an era when China embraced the Reform and Opening-up policy (改革开放).[3] Westernisation comes along with modernisation, and the Tibetan region encountered Western cultures through a nationwide modernising project. In this essay, the main question I address is 'how do we read the role of the West in projects such as *World Famous*?' I offer an alternative reading of *World Famous* through the lens of Homi K. Bhabha's cultural theory and argue that the local has agency because the West could not replicate Western children's stories in Tibet without concessions. For example, despite referring to the same character, the three names *Snow White*, *baixue gongzhu* (白雪公主), and *kanghar semo* (གངས་དཀར་སེམས་མོ་) are not identical. It seems that translation could carry the local culture forward via interstice or contingent differences. This essay provides a counternarrative to the often simplified relationship between the source and target cultures of a translation project such as *World Famous Children's Stories*.

It is important to see the Eurocentrism in the *World Famous* edition, but it is equally crucial to resist the total vilification of Western children's stories. The translation of *World Famous* is beneficial for Tibetan children in terms of literacy and language education. The translation project provides Tibetan children with reading material in their native language. The nature of the project is inherently different from horrendous actions such as child abuse and child labour. Thus, it is important to moderate the level of criticism accordingly while answering the question 'who benefits from it?' By addressing this question, my essay takes inspiration from Kaupapa Māori research. One of the key principles of Kaupapa Māori (by Māori, with Māori, for Māori), 'for Māori' advocates for research to be conducted that is beneficial to the Māori people of New Zealand (Walker, Eketone and Gibbs 333). It is effective in tilting cultural marginalisation back towards equity and balance. This approach can be used to understand the role of Western children's stories in the making of Tibetan children's literature. Reading affects children's education and personal identity. What is positive *for* Tibetan children increases the vitality of the Tibetan community in the long run.

Contextual Information about Tibet and Tibetan Children's Literature

The Greater Himalayan Region is situated at the threshold of East, South, and Central Asia. The land stretches around seven million square kilometres and provides livelihoods for a population of roughly sixty million. It is a place of great importance for Asians as it is 'the Water Tower of Asia' and a cluster of 'biodiversity hotspots' (Xu *et al.* 521).

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2   It is worth mentioning that spoken and written Tibetan differ greatly. The spoken form contains multiple dialects and accents, some of which are mutually unintelligible.

3   I offer an English translation of book titles that do not have an established translation.
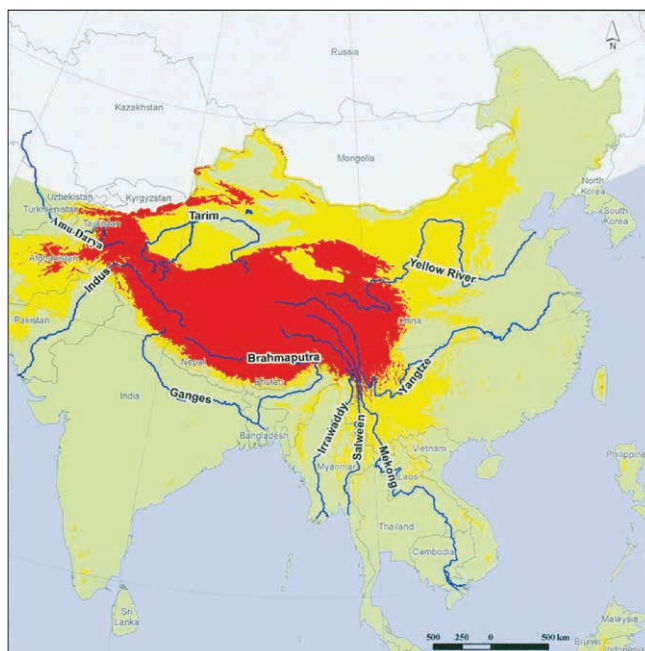
Figure 1: Map of the Greater Himalayan Region (Xu *et al.* 521).

The Tibetan people comprise the diverse ethnicities who reside in this area. Hence, Tibetan children's literature rightly pertains to Asian children's literature when taking the geographical and cultural milieu of Tibet into account. Despite being Asian geographically, linguistically, and culturally, Tibetan children's literature rarely appears in the current scholarly discussion of Asian children's literature.

In addition, Tibetan children's literature remains a *terra incognita* in the Anglophone sphere of Asian Studies. Readers of this essay might have little information about Tibetan children's literature. So far, only eight papers (in Tibetan and Chinese languages) have been published on this topic. Most scholars do not read them due to the language barrier and data accessibility. Without information on Tibetan children's literature, scholars may see *World Famous* as simply a branch from the trunk of Western children's classics. A decontextualised reading of *World Famous* might enhance the prevailing narrative of how Western civilisation conquers the roof of the world. It is thus necessary to show the context of Tibetan children's literature. Though Tibetan children's literature emulates the Western concept, cultural borrowing through translation is not mere duplication. Therefore, I will provide a brief overview of Tibetan children's literature as follows.

The earliest children's books in the Tibetan language were published in the 1980s. In general, the making of literature as age-classified commodities, books for children, takes place in a modern and mercantile society. In the case of Britain, Matthew Grenby

writes that 'A literature specially for children had become securely established, both culturally and commercially, by the accession of Victoria in 1837' (137). In non-diasporic Tibetan society, intellectuals initiated the making of Tibetan children's books in the 1980s. Tibetan children's literature stands within the larger framework of modernisation. The transition into a modern childhood elevates the importance of literacy education, and the demand for children's books increases drastically.

The shift in the translators' role might mirror the adaptive changes that occurred in this period. *World Famous Children's Stories* uses a new term for translators, *yig sgyur* (ཡིག་སྒྱུར་), which means 'person who converts words.' Translators in modern Tibet thus become 'invisible storytellers,' as Lawrence Venuti and Gillian Lathey define the role of translators in Western culture. This concept contradicts the traditional social status of translators. In Tibetan Buddhist culture, translators obtain a conspicuous position with the honorary title *lo tsa ba* (ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་). Lotsāwa Rinchen Zangpo, the great translator, is esteemed in Tibetan culture and history as his statues are present in monasteries. The honour of being a Lotsāwa is no longer available for translators who engage with modern and secular translation projects.

The status quo of childhood and literacy education in Tibet's past determines that translation of Western children's stories, instead of Tibetan orature, attribute more to the making of Tibetan children's books in its early period. Charles Alfred Bell recorded that in 1920 Tibetan children spent 'most of the day out of doors' either playing or working (216). He recalled how Tibetan children, when they were nine years old or younger, helped their parents by taking care of siblings, herding yaks and sheep, collecting cow dung for fuel, and getting water from faraway wells and springs (213). Clearly, reading books in a domestic space was not a social norm for most Tibetan children in the past. Moreover, most Tibetans were illiterate, since only children from aristocratic and wealthy families had access to education. The memoir of a former aristocrat states that there was no public school in Lhasa, and the lady from the prominent Tsarong (ཚ་རོང་) family went to school in Darjeeling (Taring 46, 67).[4]
 Literacy education mostly depended on private tutoring, home schooling, and overseas education. Alternatively, monasteries could provide literacy training for laymen, and 13 per cent of Tibet's population were monks (Bass 1). Still, only 29 per cent of monks from Mey College of Sera Monasteries studied Buddhist texts systematically, while the rest spent more time doing chores (Goldstein 21). Later, from the 1950s to the 1970s, Tibetan children experienced social turbulence, hunger, and language loss.

Before the 1980s, most Tibetan children encountered literature through oral, auditory, and visual forms. Memoirs of Tibetans validate the importance of orature,

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4   I use part of the author's name here; however, it is not her family name. Tibetans relinquished their lineal or tribal names and have used names that carry Buddhist meanings. Thus, most Tibetans have one name, and the custom of first and family names is not a norm in Tibetan culture. Children are named either by parents or by respected monks. Before socialist reforms, Tibetan aristocrats had names that resembled the frequent combination of first and family names. However, aristocrats' 'extra' names were not exactly family names. The 'extra' names usually referred to their mansion or the place where their manor was or were an honorary title that was given by the local regime.

as stories are 'passed down from nomadic parents to their children' (Dhompa 82).[5]
 Additionally, the use of Buddhist-related materials blurs the line between literature used for religious purposes and for educational entertainment. When children reached the age of eight or nine, many could recite Buddhist scripts such as 'The Deliverer' (སྒྲོལ་མ་) and 'Clearing of Obstructions from the Path' (བར་ཆད་ལམ་སེལ་) (Bell 201).
 Children could also recite a vast body of proverbs from poetry anthologies, such as *A Jewel Treasury of Good Advice* (ས་སྐྱ་ལེགས་བཤད་) and *Water-Tree Treaties* (ཆུ་ཤིང་བསྟན་བཅོས་) (Bell 211).[6] Both adults and children enjoyed Tibetan opera, an art form that tells stories by combining acting, singing, dancing, acrobatics, and dialogue (Bell 210). Peter Hunt regards children's literature as 'texts for children,' a definition that enables the texts to be 'any form of communication' (3). However, Buddhist scripts and classic poems are not purposely designed *for* children.

Modern book reading is very different from this traditional literary experience of Tibetan children, so when children's books arrived in the Plateau, they were seen as a localised foreign concept. The mindset of considering Tibetan culture as backward and useless also discouraged people from exploring the historical meaning and value of childhood and children's literary experience from the past. Hence, I understand the initiation of Tibetan children's literature as non-indigenous. Within the context of modernisation, Tibetan children's literature is a cultural production initially established through translation. Early Tibetan children's books were translations of Western children's stories. I have managed to obtain sixteen Tibetan children's books that were published in the 1980s and 1990s while on field trips and by gathering online data. Apart from two books, *The Flying Frog* (སྦལ་པ་ནམ་མཁར་ལྡིང་པ་; 1980) and *Secrets of the Crystal House* (ཆུ་ཤེལ་པོ་བྲང་གི་གསང་བ་; 1980), they are anthologies: *A Collection of World Children's Stories* (འཛམ་གླིང་བྱིས་པའི་སྒྲུང་གཏམ་ལེགས་གཏམས་; 1981), three books of *Selected Folktales from the World* (འཛམ་གླིང་རྒྱལ་ཁོག་ཁག་གི་དམངས་སྒྲུང་; 1987), eight books of *World Famous Children's Stories* (1993), *Essence of World Children's Stories* (འཛམ་གླིང་བྱིས་སྒྲུང་ཉིང་བསྡུས་; 1996), and *Selected Famous Children's Stories* (གྲགས་ཅན་བྱིས་སྒྲུང་ལེགས་བཏུས་; 1999). Except for *Selected Famous Children's Stories* (English to Tibetan), the other books are translated from the Chinese language.[7]

Theoretical Framework: Cultural Hybridity

It is problematic to view Tibetan children's literature through the lens of linearity. Seeing time and space as linear might displace Tibetan children's literature into 'the tired old "Westernisation" story' (Dombroski 50). The Westernisation narrative generates an invalid

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5   Dhompa is the author's hometown; it is not an aristocratic name. I use it in the reference instead of the whole name. Nowadays, some Tibetans add their hometown in their names, using the pattern of an aristocrat's name.

6   I quote the English titles of two Buddhist scripts in Bell's book.

7   The role of Chinese-to-Tibetan translation is significant in Tibetan children's literature. It is a complicated topic that fits into a larger research project. My essay focuses on the niche of how *World Famous* represents the cultural interaction between Western input and Tibetan response.

comparison between Tibet and the West as follows: Tibet is 'backward,' and it is catching up with the more 'advanced' West along a linear path. In such a comparison, *World Famous* becomes a 'parody' of the 'original' Western writing. This narrative is a way of othering: the future is fixed in the story of how they (Tibetans) become more like us (Westerners). Indeed, the West is technologically more advanced and economically better off, and Tibetan children's literature could benefit from learning the craft of Western children's stories. However, a quantified competition between two bodies of literature is an invalid social Darwinist comparison. Tibetan children's literature is a non-linear, non-binary, and hybrid cultural production that results from the negotiation of power, time, and space.

Criticising the translation as an example of Western dominance within a flawed victim-versus-bully narrative is also consequential. In a neoliberal and individualist world, the victim's tale rarely brings about empathy and change; instead, the dominant group often consumes the victim's tale in a self-benefiting fashion. As a result, minorities are often essentialised and then magnified into one word: *problem*. Linda Tuhiwai Smith writes,

> One of the sites where different knowledges about indigenous people intersect is in discussions on 'The … (*insert name of indigenous group*) problem'. This was sometimes expressed as 'The … question'. The 'indigenous problem' is a recurrent theme in all imperial and colonial attempts to deal with indigenous peoples. It originates within the wider discourses of racism, sexism, and other forms of positioning the Other. Its neatness and simplicity gives [*sic*] the term its power and durability. (90)

In recognition of such a tendency, a non-binary approach becomes a counter-measure to the problematisation of Tibetans in the West. Within the spectrum of 'The Tibet Problem,' the Tibetan region is imagined as a place that is full of conflict and struggle, a narrative that is flawed because it generalises a vast region and diverse peoples. A contemptuous outlook results, as follows: the victim becomes a victim because it is weak and useless, whereas the bully is powerful and capable. The feeling of contempt focuses on one element, resulting in a twisted perception. The problem narrative disempowers Tibetans as their achievements are dislocated and their capacity is questioned and depreciated.

Children's literature is a cultural production, and its research '*is* cultural studies,' as Seth Lerer emphasises (9). Homi Bhabha understands culture as formless, transformative, and perpetually mobile. In *The Location of Culture*, he tells the story of an exchange between local Indians and an English missionary during the British colonisation of India. Indians localised Christianity, a mimicry in which Bhabha sees the confluence of different cultures into a *hybrid* borderline margin. More importantly, Bhabha considers the localisation of the Bible by Indians as a mockery of the seemingly authoritarian British and a challenge to 'the binary opposition of racial and cultural groups' (296). Such a challenge is significant as it breaks 'the grounds of cultural comparativism', namely, the basis of constructing a 'superior' culture via a 'homogenous national culture' and 'contiguous transmission of historical traditions' (7). It not only opposes the belief in a certain culture's so-called purity but also deconstructs the linear and binary comparisons between cultures.

Eurocentrism in *World Famous Children's Stories*

The *World Famous* series is important because it was the largest translation project in Tibet Autonomous Region during the 1990s. It is a collection of eight illustrated books that contain over a hundred stories. (See the list of stories that follows the conclusion of this essay.) In the first and second books of *World Famous*, the illustrated stories are often less than ten pages long, with an average length of seven pages. In the fifth book, stories range from twenty to forty pages long. At a time when children's books were new and scarce, this collection served the reading demands of children as they developed literacy and reading skills over time. *World Famous* was a popular series in China, and it was reprinted in both Tibetan and Chinese languages. It covers a large corpus of well-known children's stories. For example, the third volume includes 'Alice in Wonderland,' 'The Water-Babies,' 'Pinocchio,' 'The Wonderful Adventures of Nils,' and Oscar Wilde's 'The Happy Prince' and 'The Selfish Giant.'
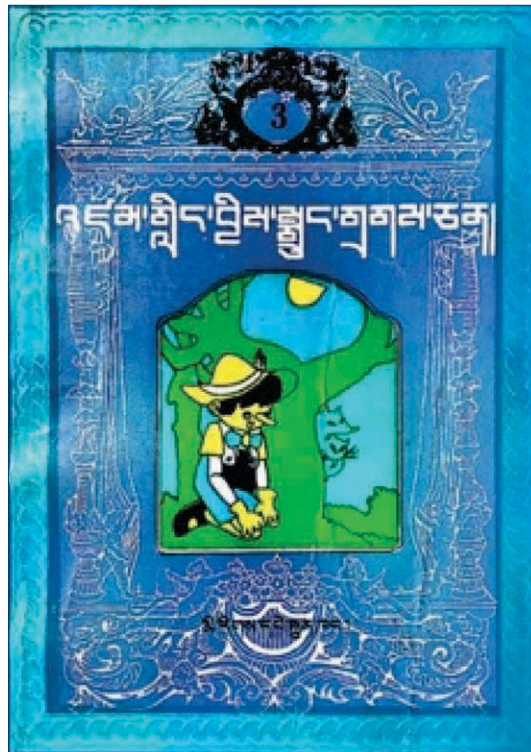

Figure 2. Cover of *World Famous* (vol. 3).

It seems that the West represents the world, because Western children's stories are prominent in this collection. The editors of the anthology arrange the stories chronologically. Each story has an introduction that highlights the author's country of origin for a semblance of world. However, Figure 3 below presents a summary of those introductions in *World Famous*, and it shows a hierarchy of representation that results from power difference.[8]
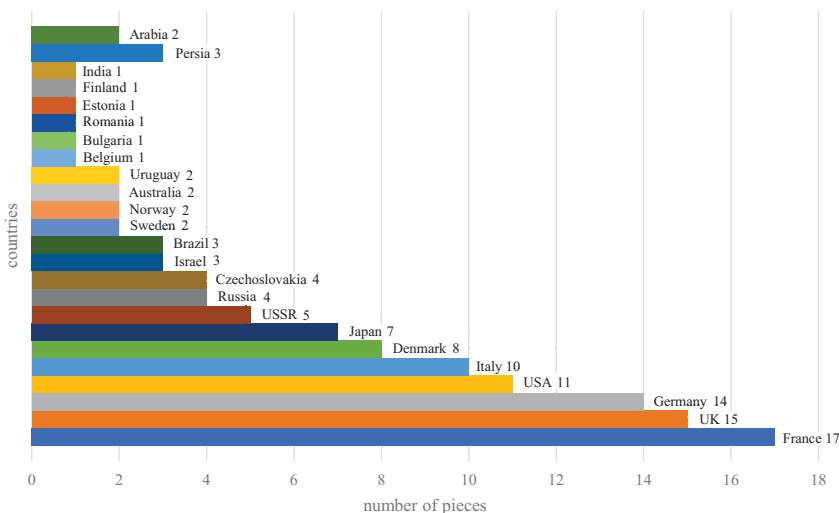

Figure 3. Countries of origin and number of stories in *World Famous*.

Evidently, stories in *World Famous* could not represent the world as those stories are by and large of European origin. More than eighty per cent of the stories are Western.

Werner Friederich describes the term *world literature* as 'a presumptuous and arrogant term' because it deals with less than 'one quarter of NATO-nations' (455). Stephen Owen comments, 'this "world poetry" turns out, unsurprisingly, to be a version of Anglo-American modernism or French modernism, depending on which wave of colonial culture first washed over the intellectuals of the country in question' (28). The presence of non-Western stories has been largely determined by Eurocentric discourse. For example, five Arabian folk stories are selected due to the popularity of *One Thousand and One Nights* (*Arabian Nights*) in Europe and America. With 'quite false portrayal,' Antoine Galland's French translation of *Arabian Nights* (1704–1717) initiated the West's internalisation, alteration, appropriation, and interlocution of the

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8   The appearance of Arabia, Persia, and the USSR might reflect how Chinese scholars, such as Chen Bochui (陈伯吹) and Ren Rongrong (任溶溶), select a representation of world children's stories. The Tibetan version of *World Famous* is based on the Chinese volumes edited by Chen and Ren.

Arabian folktale (Al-Rawi 292). The Chinese translation of *Arabian Nights* appeared during the May Fourth Movement (五四运动) through the rendering of either French, English, or Japanese versions of the story (Ouyang 7).[9] Other stories from non-European countries come from writers who are famous in Europe, such as Krishan Chander from India and Horacio Quiroga from Uruguay.

Localising *World Famous Children's Stories*: The Meaning of the World

The meaning of world literature is different for Westerners and Tibetans. This difference is generated by an empowering process of localising *World Famous*. Goethe's *Weltliteratur* is probably the origin of world literature in the West; it embodies his interest in works and cultures 'outside the realm of the masterpiece' (Damrosch 9). For Westerners, world literature means something non-Western; as Timothy Brennan writes in his article 'World Music Does Not Exist,' so-called world music is 'local or regional music that either does not travel well or has no ambition to travel' (47). Emer O'Sullivan discusses the topic of world literature in children's literature. She uses the term *contact and transfer studies* to note 'comparative studies of translation, reception and influence' (19).

World literature is not only about 'a work's source culture' but also 'about the host culture's values and needs', and it functions as 'windows on the world' (Damrosch 14). As a result, the meaning of the term *world* changes according to the person who resides at the house and looks through the window. The local and global become each other's foreign entities. Accordingly, the way Tibetan and Western intellectuals perceive world literature has similarities and differences. The outlooks are similar in that they both cast their vision outward and set the other as the world. They are different because, for Westerners, the world in world literature represents a marginalised literary body.
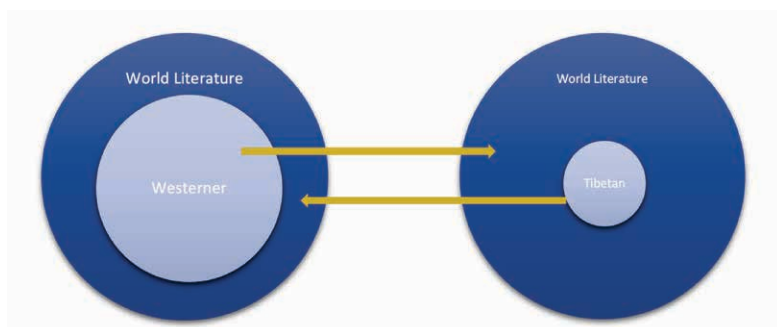
Figure 4. Different meanings of world literature in Western and Tibetan cultural groups.

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9   The May Fourth Movement in China started in 1919 with student protests. The younger generation was frustrated with the Treaty of Versailles as it allowed foreign (Japanese) occupation of territories in China's Shandong province. The May Fourth Movement is also called the New Culture Movement as it promotes Western values and cultures.

The purpose is to learn the unknown and the marginalised to diversify Western culture. However, for Tibetans, the world in world literature is a dominant literary body that mostly comes from the global north. The purpose is to fulfil the Tibetans' wish to understand cultures that are powerful, popular, and vigorous at present.

Localising *World Famous Children's Stories*: Translation as Creation

Translation is not merely a mechanical decoding process: it is a way of localising the source text by creating a newness. The stories in *World Famous* are translated by Tibetan intellectuals for Tibetan children. The four translators who completed this translation project are Sonam Dorji (བསོད་ནམས་རྡོ་རྗེ།), Loden (བློ་བཟུན།), Trinle (འཕྲིན་ལས།), and Yangzom (གཡང་མཚོམས།). Tibetan scholars who take part in a modernist project do have a voice, as Dan Smyer Yu argued with the phrase 'forgetting as remembering'; it is about how some Tibetan elites depart from the past to advocate a 'modern empowerment of future Tibetan citizens' (159, 164). The pursuit of modernisation is about speaking 'the language of the powerful' (Yu 168). Moreover, Yu puts forward the idea of how Tibetans execute the power of speaking in public with 'the voice of the dominant that speaks through them' (168). *World Famous* represents a powerful language because those stories come from the dominant global north. The project is about Tibet's participation in the modern world by responding to the legalisation of children's rights as an active member of the world. *World Famous* was published after the international and domestic legalisation of children's rights. The UN General Assembly reached an agreement on the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1989 and enacted it in 1990 (United Nations). A year later, the National People's Congress (全国人民代表大会) promulgated the Law of Protection for Minors in the People's Republic of China (中华人民共和国未成年人保护法) (Li 106).

Furthermore, the writing in *World Famous* embodies a mode of self-empowerment: a self-transformation that utilises 'the language of the powerful' (Yu 168). *World Famous* represents a novelty in Tibet, as its texts are revolutionary compared to traditional Tibetan literary writing. To suit young readers better, translators adopted colloquial language and conversational style. The colloquial style of *World Famous* is based on the Lhasa dialect. Table 1 presents a comparison between the two styles; one excerpt is a paragraph about the seven dwarfs from Snow White, and the other is a classical Tibetan poem that children often recite.

The change in textual style is part of the modern Tibetan literature movement, which began in the 1980s. It audaciously challenges the notion of Tibetan literature and the way of writing. Modern Tibetan literature addresses the incompatibility between a drastically changed society and an age-old way of writing (Kāvya poetry), which came to the Tibetan cultural zone in the form of 'cultural borrowings' (Hartley 35).

Table 1. Textual comparison between *World Famous* (Snow White) and *Sakya Legshe*.[10]

World Famous Children's Stories (vol. 2, p. 9)	An Examination of the Wise (Stanza 12)
ས་ཐད་དེ་ སྲུབ་རྗེས་ཁད་ཆུང་གི་འདག་པོ་མི་ཆུང་བདུན་ལོག་སྐེབས་ དེ་སྟུམས་ཞུ་བདུན་སྤར་འཕུལ་ཅ་ལས་ལྦོ་ལྦོ་གཏོང་མཁན་བྱུང་བ་ ཤེས། མི་ཆུང་དང་པོས་ ་འདི་ཀུན་བཀུན་སྐར་ལ་སྡོད་མཁན་ བྱུང་འདགག་ གཉིས་པས་ ་འདི་ཁ་ལག་བཟས་འདགག་ གསུམ་པས་ ་འདི་མེན་པོ་བཟས་འདགག་ བཞི་པས་ ་འདི་ཚལ་བཟས་འདགག་ ལྔ་པས་ ་འདི་སྤྲ་མ་སྤྱད་འདགག་ དྲུག་པས་ ་འདི་གྲི་ཀུན་སྤྱད་ འདགག་. བདུན་པས་ ་འདི་ཇ་རག་བཏུངས་འདགག་ཅེས་བ་ཤད།	ཤེས་རབ་ལྡན་པ་མགོ་སྐོར་ཡང་།། བྱ་བའི་ཆ་ལ་རྨོངས་མི་འགྱུར།། གྲོག་ཆགས་མྱོག་མ་མིག་མེད་ཀྱང་།། མིག་ལྡན་གཞན་ལས་ལྟག་པར་མགྱོགས།།
When it is dark outside, the seven dwarfs come back home. They light seven oil lamps and see someone has touched their stuff. The first dwarf says, 'someone sat on my chair'; the second goes, 'my food is taken'; the third, 'my bread is gone'; the fourth, 'my vegetable is eaten'; the fifth, 'someone used my spoon'; the sixth, 'this person used my knife'; the seventh, 'the person drank my wine.'[11]	Even if the wise are deceived, They are not confused about what they do. Although ants are sightless, They are speedier than creatures with eyes. (Davenport 38)

The translation of *World Famous* not only embraces the writing style of modern Tibetan literature but also alters the 'original' version as much as possible. The changes occur in the margin of language translation, which inevitably creates loss, amplification, and alteration of meaning. For example, the name of Cinderella is translated as 'the ash girl' (གོ་ཐལ་བུ་མོ།) in Tibetan; Little Red Riding Hood varies as 'the little one who wears a tiny red hat' (ཞུ་དམར་ཆུང་ཆུང།). Rapunzel's name turns into the memorable but meaningless name *o ju* (ཨོ་རྗུས།). The title 'Pinocchio' is translated as 'the note of a sudden encounter of a wood person' (ཤིང་མིའི་ཐོ་འཕྲད་ཟིན་ཐོ།). The Wonderful Wizard of Oz becomes 'the divine consort of the jade meadows' (གཡུ་གཤངས་ལྷ་ལྕམ།).[12] The Little Match Girl is 'the little

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10 I translated the paragraph from 'Snow White,' and the other translation is from John T. Davenport's *Ordinary Wisdom: Sakya Pandita's Treasury of Good Advice*.

11 I offer a literal translation with the aim of keeping the writing and wording styles of the Tibetan text.

12 The Chinese titles of the stories mentioned above are 'The Grey Girl' (灰姑娘) and 'The Little Hat' (小红帽). Rapunzel is *woju* (莴苣; rapunzel the plant's Chinese name). 'Pinocchio' is 'The Adventure of a Wooden Puppet' (木偶奇遇记); 'The Wonderful Wizard of Oz' is 'The Fairy Trace on the Green Field' (绿野仙踪); and 'Mary Poppins' is 'Aunty Mary Poppins' (马利波平斯阿姨).

girl who sells matches' (བཙའ་སྤ་འཚོང་མཁན་གྱི་བུ་མོ་ཆུང་ཆུང་); The Princess and the Pea is 'the princess on a pea' (སྲན་མའི་སྟེང་གི་སྲས་མོ་); The Little Mermaid is 'the daughter of the sea' (རྒྱ་མཚོའི་བུ་མོ་); Mary Poppins is 'sister Mary Poppins' (ཨ་ཅག་མ་ལེ་པོ་ཕིན་སེ་).

The comparisons indicate that Tibetan 'parody' is not entirely powerless in the face of the 'original' Western version. Clare Bradford studies the role of Western culture in Indigenous Australian children's literature. Bradford opposes the view of considering Western culture as 'a vast and powerful sea,' one which 'will always engulf small, local and marginal bodies of water' (207). Accordingly, Western influence on Tibetan children's literature cannot be summarised with a clearly defined oppressor-versus-oppressed narrative.

Conclusion

This essay discusses the Tibetan translation of children's stories in the 1980s and 1990s, with the *World Famous Children's Stories* series as an example. I provide a cultural reading of translation in the early years of Tibetan children's literature. The Chinese version of *World Famous* is a direct inspiration for the Tibetan translation project; however, this essay focuses on the interaction between Western influence and local Tibetan response. As Tibetan society changed in the 1980s, it urgently needed to adapt to the modern world. The context generated a need for a modern childhood and children's literature in the Tibetan region. *World Famous* is a response to that urgency. While Eurocentrism is overt in the stories that appear in *World Famous* and the impact of Western children's literature is present in the creation of Tibetan children's books. Yet the harm of whiteness in *World Famous* is less severe than oppression that is more brutal and detrimental. The promising influence of children's books on literacy and literary education should not be undermined by the sentiment of antagonism. In addition, the West could not wipe out the local without leaving residue. When compared with the 'original' writing, the Tibetan version of *World Famous* becomes 'a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite' (Bhabha 122). This momentary interstice between imitation and localisation empowers Tibetans when they consume *World Famous Children's Stories*.

For a small cultural group, the visibility of local agency depends on seeing the subtle resistance that intertwines with the dominant Western voice. From an angle of cultural reading, I argue that translated Tibetan children's stories such as *World Famous* mirror Tibetan modernity, a much misunderstood phenomenon in the West. In light of Homi Bhabha's theory, I show the local's capacity in cultural borrowing with the recognition of culture's fluidity. Thus, I complicate the view of seeing the *World Famous* project as a burden from the West upon a voiceless victim. A timely engagement with the world is critical for the survival of Tibetan culture.

In the 2000s, the quantity of Tibetan children's books has increased noticeably. Translations from English or Chinese children's books are still major inputs; however, translators try to synchronise with the globalised children's book market, offering Tibetan translations of more recent children's books, such as the *Harry Potter* series. Source texts have become more diverse, beyond a few NATO countries. Local cultural input

has increased in Tibetan children's literature, with writers adapting Tibetan folklore, poems, epic, and riddles. Authors also have written creative stories for children in the Tibetan language. The aspiration of the Tibetan translators in an acknowledgement in *World Famous* might have been proven:

> We would like to extend our heartfelt gratitude to Mr. Ricard Puramu from the U.S. as we received his donation through the Gongtang Fund. His altruistic donation and genuine compassion contribute to this wonderful publication, *World Famous Children's Stories*. His great deeds benefit Tibetan children as they could enjoy children's stories. May their reading of these stories give them wisdom and strength to fly around the whole globe.[13]

Emma Kruse Va'ai, a Samoan writer, considers how the combination of local children's stories with Western children's classics shapes the future of Samoan children 'within and beyond the blue horizon (32).' Similarly, the stories in *World Famous Children's Stories* teach Tibetan children much about foreign cultures so that the horizon of Tibetan children goes beyond the snowy mountains of Himalaya.

Stories in *World Famous Children's Stories*[14]

Story	Author
Kalila and Demna	Ibn al-Muqaffa
The Priest and Weasel	Ibn al-Muqaffa
Pigeon	Ibn al-Muqaffa
One Thousand and One Nights: Sinbad the Sailor	
Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves	
Reynard the Fox (Le Roman de renart)	Mme. Mad H.-Giraud
Baron Munchausen	Raspe
Sleeping Beauty (La Belle au bois dormant)	Charles Perrault
The Fairies	Charles Perrault

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13 My translation. As I could not find information about the sponsor in English, the name of the donor is transliterated according to the Tibetan pronunciation. The Tibetan text is ༈ ཨཱུ༌ཀ༌རིའི་ རྨ་ཞབས་རི་ཁྲ་ཌི་ཕུ་ར་མུ་ལགས་ནས་ ༈ གུང་ཐང་འགྲོ་དོན་ཚོགས་པ་བརྒྱུད་ཁོང་གི་སྐྱབས་བསམ་དཀར་བའི་རྒྱུ་འཛིན་ལས་འཛིན་བྱིང་བྱིས་ སྟོང་གྲགས་ཅན་གྱི་དཔེ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་དཔེ་བའི་ཚོགས་འདི་ཉིད་བསྒྲུན་སྤུ་གཤིན་ཕན་སྲིང་ཚར་གྱི་ཞལ་འདེབས་གཏང་ཕྱུང་བར་འདི་ནས་སྙིང་ཐག་པ་ ནས་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེ་ཞུ་རྒྱུ་དང་ཁོང་གི་རྣམ་པར་དཀར་བའི་དགེ་བ་དེའི་པོ་ཕྱལ་གྱི་བྱིས་པ་ཐུག་པའི་ཚོགས་རྣམས་ཕྱིས་སྤྱང་སྟང་པ་དེའི་འཛུ་ འཕུར་ལྡངས་སྐྱོང་ཀྱི་དགལ་ད་ར་ག་ཏུ་སྐྱོང་ཏེ་བྲོ་གྱོས་སྤང་རྟིའི་རོ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་མཛུ་ལས་རྟང་པ་དྲག་པའི་ཚོགས་རྣམས་ག་སོ་རྫུང་ག་གཤུགས་སྟོབས་ སྣུགས་པར་རྒྱས་ནས་ག་ལའི་ཕྱོགས་མཐའ་ཀུན་ཏུ་འཕུར་ལྡིང་གི་ཤེད་འཛིན་གར་ལ་རོལ་གྱུར་ཅིག .

14 This chart is created by the author of this paper according to the book series *World Famous Children's Stories*.

Story	Author
Ricky of the Tuft	Charles Perrault
Little Tom Thumb	Charles Perrault
Puss in Boots	Charles Perrault
Beauty and the Beast	Gabrielle-Suzanne de Villeneuve
The Nutcracker and the Mouse King	E.T.A. Hoffmann
Snow White	The Brothers Grimm
The Frog Prince	The Brothers Grimm
Town Musicians of Bremen	The Brothers Grimm
Cinderella	The Brothers Grimm
Little Red Riding Hood	The Brothers Grimm
The Brave Little Tailor	The Brothers Grimm
Rapunzel	The Brothers Grimm
Little Muck	Wilhelm Hauff
Heart of Stone	Wilhelm Hauff
The Tale of the Fisherman and the Fish	Alexander Pushkin
The Ugly Duckling	Hans Christian Andersen
The Little Match Girl	Hans Christian Andersen
The Princess and the Pea	Hans Christian Andersen
The Steadfast Tin Soldier	Hans Christian Andersen
The Wild Swans	Hans Christian Andersen
The Emperor's New Clothes	Hans Christian Andersen
The Nightingale	Hans Christian Andersen
The Little Mermaid	Hans Christian Andersen
The Black Hen	Antony Pogorelsky
Folk Fairy Tales and Legends	Božena Němcová
The Story of the Pig	Ion Creangă
The Gorgon's Head	Nathaniel Hawthorne
Mr. Wind and Madam Rain	Paul de Musset
The Water-Babies, A Fairy Tale for a Land Baby	Charles Kingsley
Alice's Adventures in Wonderland	Lewis Carroll
Uncle Remus (Br'er Rabbit)	Joel Chandler Harris

Story	Author
Pinocchio	Carlo Collodi
Abeille (Honey-Bee)	Anatole France
The Wonderful Sheep	Andrew Lang
The Selfish Giant	Oscar Wilde
The Happy Prince	Oscar Wilde
The Wonderful Adventures of Nils	Selma Lagerlöf
The Wonderful Wizard of Oz	L. Frank Baum
The Frog Went Travelling	Vsevolod Garshin
Peter Pan	J.M. Barrie
The Wind in the Willows	Kenneth Grahame
The Blue Bird	Maurice Maeterlinck
The King of the Golden River	John Ruskin
The Mermaid and the Red Candles	Mimei Ogawa
The Life of a Useless Man	Maxim Gorky
The Alligator's War	Horacio Quiroga
The Giant Turtle	Horacio Quiroga
The Story of Doctor Dolittle	Hugh John Lofting
Winnie-the-Pooh	Alan Alexander Milne
The Postman's Tale	Karel Čape
Pictures from the Insects' Life	Karel Čape
Yan Bibiyan	Elin Pelin
La Patte du chat	Marcel Aymé
Le Cerf et le chien	
Mary Poppins	Pamela Lyndon Travers
The Golden Key/The Adventures of Buratino	Aleksey Nikolayevich Tolstoy
Stuart Little	E.B. White
Charlotte's Web	E.B. White
The Story of a Fox	Josef Lada
Rainbow Flower	Valentin Kataev
The Little Prince	Antoine de Saint-Exupéry
Gimpel the Fool and Other Stories	Issac Bashevis Singer

Story	Author
The Jamun Tree	Krishan Chander
Pippi Longstocking	Astrid Lindgren
Karlsson-on-the-Roof	Astrid Lindgren
Kitune to Budou	Johji Tsubota
Moomins	Tove Marika Jansson
The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe	C.S. Lewis
The Adventures of the Little Onion	Gianni Rodari
Gelsomino in the Country of Liars	Gianni Rodari
The Cake in the Sky	Gianni Rodari
Tinarina	Gianni Rodari
A Violet at the North Pole	Gianni Rodari
The Tear of the Dragon	Hamada Hirosuke
The Adventures of Dunno and his Friends	Nikolay Nosov
Contes à l'enfant né coiffé	Béatrix Beck
The Yellow Woodpecker Farm and Reforming Nature	José Bento Renato Monteiro Lobato
When the Robbers Came to Cardamom Town	Thorbjørn Egner
The Canary Prince	Italo Calvino
The Little Geese	Italo Calvino
The Happy Man's Shirt	
Digit Dick on the Great Barrier Reef	George Leslie Clarke Rees
The Little Witch	Otfried Preussler
The Robber Hotzenplotz	Otfried Preussler
Taro the Dragon Boy	Miyoko Matsutani
Three Jolly Fellows (Naksitrallid)	Eno Raud
The Cricket in Times Square	George Selden
James and the Giant Peach	Roald Dahl
Wolf (No-No Academy)	Rieko Nakagawa
The Enormous Egg	Oliver Butterworth
The Baker's Cat	Joan Aiken
A Necklace of Raindrops	Joan Aiken
Conrad: The Factory-Made Boy	Christine Nöstlinger
Momo	Michael Ende

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PROBLEM SOLVED OR PROBLEMATIC? NEW ZEALAND AID AND DAIRY DEVELOPMENT IN SRI LANKA

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Abstract

Dairy development in Asia is seen, on the one hand, as a means to improve economic, health and food security issues. Further, New Zealand's aid investment in dairy development in Asia is linked to trade interests and supports market growth. On the other hand, it is argued that dairy consumption and production should be reduced to respond to global climate change and potential negative health impacts in countries with traditionally low dairy consumption. This paper explores the perceptions and implications of a New Zealand-funded aid project in Sri Lanka, which is increasing dairy production to improve rural livelihoods. Data was collected during five weeks of qualitative, case study research with female, conflict-affected farmers in Sri Lanka. I argue that better understandings of the impacts of dairy development should be informed by local perspectives, and, I draw attention to the potentially problematic implications of increasing reliance on dairy production for livelihoods, such as environmental degradation and gender inequalities. I highlight areas of dissonance between local understandings of the impacts of dairy development and global discourse on sustainable development. This research, therefore, contributes to robust information upon which development policy-makers and practitioners – government and development organisations – can base effective, sustainable development in Asia.

Keywords: aid; dairy development; gender and agriculture; sustainable development

Introduction

The pressing need to meet food demand and provide livelihood opportunities for a growing population are complex global issues, and are among the most significant development challenges in Asia (Ahuja *et al*., 2014). Dairy development contributes to potential solutions to these challenges. As world leaders in dairy production, it is suggested that New Zealand's dairying expertise can be used to improve efficiency in other countries. Dairy development projects, funded by New Zealand's Aid Programme, have been established with the goal to increase productivity and production which improves economic livelihoods and provides food security.

In Asia at the time of this research in 2018, the New Zealand Aid Programme (NZAP) was runnning dairy projects in Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Myanmar and the Philippines. The NZAP sees its involvement in dairy development as a way to contribute to the Sustainable Development Goals, the overarching framework for global development

efforts. Dairy development is recognised for its potential to improve economic, health and food security issues in these countries, where farmers can increase dairy production and sell milk to increase their incomes. While the economic objectives and impacts of dairy development projects are clear, there are other aspects of their implementation that need to be addressed, notably their environmental and social impacts. This paper, therefore, highlights areas of tension relating to environmental factors in a case study of a dairy project in Sri Lanka, and it, further, considers the relevance of these issues with regard to gender.

New Zealand's involvement in dairy development through the Aid Programme is directly linked to New Zealand's trade interests. Trade tensions, including global recalls of Fonterra products, contamination scares and protests against Fonterra (which widely affected Fonterra's international markets, and especially Sri Lanka), preceded a bilateral agreement in 2013 for New Zealand to support dairy development in Sri Lanka to build the domestic dairy industry.[1] The agreement created a more favourable trade environment between New Zealand and Sri Lanka by supporting both governments' priorities to expand the Sri Lankan dairy market (MFAT, 2013). One dairy development project through the NZAP Partnerships Fund, the Wanni Dairy Project, had already begun in 2012 and a further two complementary activities followed.

Fonterra, New Zealand's largest company and the world's largest dairy exporter, formed an official partnership with the New Zealand government in 2014 to support dairy development projects in developing countries under the rubric of aid (so far, dairy projects have been established in 10 developing countries). Dairy growth potential in New Zealand and Western markets is constrained due to environmental limitations of production and already high consumption, whereas developing countries are targeted for both market and production expansion potential (Fonterra, n.d.; Gerosa & Skoet, 2013: 30). More broadly, therefore, dairy development projects support Fonterra's strategy to increase dairy production and consumption in developing countries.

It is widely agreed that it is necessary to adapt today's food production systems to address the environmental limitations of production and additional climate change impacts, which if unmitigated, will exacerbate the already formidable food security needs of the population on the planet (Amjath-Babu *et al.*, 2017; Meadu *et al.*, 2015). Effective strategies that meet such complex issues have real potential to contribute to sustainable development. Dairy development projects, however, have the potential to produce complex and contradictory outcomes; increasing dairy production can provide economic opportunities and improve food security, but issues of environmental degradation, climate change, and health impacts in the context of increasing consumption may emerge (Braimoh *et al.*, 2016; Gerber *et al.*, 2013; Muehlhoff *et al.*, 2013; Steinfield *et al.*, 2006). It is important, therefore, for effective and sustainable development practice to be informed by an understanding of the multiple impacts of any intervention, and by the perspectives of recipient communities.

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1   New Zealand exports 95% of its dairy production, which contributes 3.5% to GDP (NZIER, 2017). In other words, Fonterra's performance, and its contribution to the domestic economy, is highly dependent on international trade.

The dairy development project selected as a case study for this research, the Wanni Dairy Project, originated in the post-conflict zone in Sri Lanka to address the needs of the community in rebuilding their livelihoods. Nearly three decades of ethnic conflict between 1983–2009 devastated the people, environment and economy, and the additional impact of the 2004 Boxing Day tsunami along the east and south coasts affected worst those already afflicted by conflict. The specific location selected for this research, the Mullaitivu District, has been intensely affected. As one participant in this research said, "There is not anyone here who has not experienced trauma" (Mullaitivu local, personal communication, October 2018). Moreover, it has been argued that women in the north and east have been affected by the war and its aftermath more than any other group in Sri Lanka (ICG, 2017b). Access to Mullaitivu was restricted to foreigners by the Sri Lankan government until 2015, thus, scarce academic research has been done in this area.

Methodology

The acknowledgement that livelihoods are underpinned by a range of social, environmental and economic factors necessitates a holistic approach. This research, therefore, adopts a sustainable livelihoods approach and gender lens that integrates social, environmental and economic contributors to sustainable livelihoods in its investigation of locally-embedded experiences of dairy development. This qualitative approach is "inherently responsive to people's own interpretation of and priorities for their livelihoods" (Carney, 1998: 4), and it recognises the importance of micro-level research to inform deeper understandings of attitudes and perceptions, which affect behaviour and thus development outcomes (Ellis, 2000; Morse & McNamara, 2013; Scoones, 1998). Moreover, understandings of dairy development (and development as a discipline) tend to be male-centric (Kishwar, 2014). It is important that gender approaches in dairy development receive attention, particularly in the vulnerability contexts of rural livelihoods, as interventions that are aimed at improving women's welfare but fail to also address broader gender issues can have unintended consequences.

Understandings of the issues (and potential issues) of dairy development are predominantly represented by agricultural actors, governments, scientists and academics; are typically focused at the macro- and meso-level; and are reliant on quantitative data. This research, therefore, employs a qualitative methodology using interviews, observation and photovoice methods, which addresses a gap in the literature on subjective, lived experiences of participants in dairy development projects. I carried out field research over a five-week period in October and November 2018. I collected data from two categories of participants; female dairy farmers located in Mullaitivu District who are involved in the Wanni Dairy Project – who I refer to as the primary participants; and other informants who were involved in dairy development in Sri Lanka, including non-governmental organisation (NGO) staff, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT), academics and local dairy farmers. I used purposive sampling to identify the primary participants for this research, with support from the local partner development organisation. The primary participants provided in-depth data for this research and other participants were interviewed to provide additional information on the project and to add depth and context to the understandings derived from this research.

I held seventeen semi-structured interviews, five of which involved in-depth interviews, photovoice and observation with the primary participants, and the rest of which involved semi-structured interviews and observation with various project stakeholders and local dairy farmers. Photovoice is a qualitative method that asks participants to take photos that highlight their experiences to reflect research themes (Aitken & Craine, 2005). I asked the five primary participants to take photos of things that were important to them on their farms and on a later day we discussed these photos and what they meant during a photo review that formed part of the semi-structured interviews. Thus, photos provided valuable stimuli for in-depth semi-structured interviews. Narrative helped to define the imagery and add depth. Using a combined approach that draws on interview and photovoice as well as personal reflection and literature enables researchers to gradually interpret the meaning of phenomenon (Creswell, 2013).

An interpreter was required for most interviews and all primary participant interviews. The language barrier was a challenge for data collection and subjected participant's experiences to another layer of interpretation. One of the major benefits of the interviews being held via an interpreter, however, was that it allowed me to formulate more thoughtful responses to questions while participants were speaking (and often participants would also add further detail after the interpreter relayed their answers). This slower rhythm enabled me to explore questions in greater depth than in interviews carried out in English that were often fast-moving. I found that observation and written reflection on interviews and interactions proved instrumental in shaping the overall picture and analyses because of the language limitations and the unsuitability of using an audio recorder for all interviews.

Findings

Environmental factors

Dairy expansion by major Western dairy producers and governments has exhausted environmental resources in many developed countries. Dairy development in developing countries – both in aid and trade contexts – utilises developing countries' resources to continue global dairy industry expansion (de Alwis, 2018). In the Wanni Dairy Project, this is seen by growing the role of dairy production, processing and consumption in a previously isolated region that, notwithstanding the current prevalence of poverty, represents more broadly the market potential in Sri Lanka's growing economy. A major component of Fonterra's global expansion strategy is focused on managing the supply chain and processing milk into powder and a range of dairy products. As a development partner, Fonterra can strengthen relationships, build supply for processing, and promote consumption in its priority markets to support its expansion strategy. Investment in dairy development, even in impoverished regions, can influence longer-term shifts that support global dairy expansion. Notwithstanding the benefits for recipient communities, it has been argued that dairy development can also be understood to disproportionately benefit developed countries' interests (Mawdsley *et al.*, 2018).

The New Zealand Government describes dairy development initiatives as a 'triple win': they produce food, reduce emissions and build resilience to climate change (MFAT, 2018a). Intensifying dairy production in Sri Lanka has economic potential for farmers, however, the environmental impacts, especially in the long-term, are less clear-cut. Donaghy (2015 cited in MFAT, 2016: 15) notes that "Government and milk processors appear in agreement that upscaling smaller farms is the solution to meeting the demand for milk" and MFAT (2016: 18) states that "farmers will be encouraged to undertake operational expansion". Industry stakeholders are working together to promote this expansion in the Wanni Dairy Project.

One of the most important environmental questions that this research on the Wanni Dairy Project raises is the extent to which dairy development will increase the scale of dairying and overall livestock numbers. Farmers described the acquisition of the high-yield cow as the key factor affecting practice and livelihoods. "Because of the jersey cow, that is why I am doing this [dairying] and it is good because I am selling the milk, I can buy my children's things and soon I want to grow [my farming practice] […] it is possible because of this cow," (Farmer, personal communication, October 2018). As farmers are focused on maximising their livelihoods, all farmers in this research planned to acquire more high-yield cows and they continued to keep indigenous breeds in addition. This common thread was captured well by one farmer's comment: "If I have more money, then I can buy more cows – I want to increase the number of cows," (Farmer, personal communication, October 2018).

Despite ambitions to acquire more cows, farmers I spoke to believed that they have a shortage of land for the number of cows being farmed, in order to achieve optimal farm sustainability. Paradoxically perhaps, only one farmer wanted to acquire more land. "I have a shortage of land. If I have five cows then I need five acres of land. Then I can plant the grasses and everything and I can keep it in a good position. My aim is to buy land and do farming very well before I die. It's my dream. I want to make it real,"(Farmer, personal communication, October 2018). It is clear that economic and environmental bottom lines are often in direct competition with each other, as they often are in Western contexts. The environmental impacts of herd growth and intensification are often not well understood in developing countries, however, as dairying knowledge is typically situated within small-scale production (Tarawali *et al.*, 2011). Nonetheless, these farmers considered environmental sustainability highly important and some expressed a desire for more support to improve farm sustainability (for example, some farmer's wanted to know how to develop biogas production – a process that turns manure into energy).

Some farmers reported that they have changed their practices to care for the high-yield cow but not adopted these changes for indigenous breeds because of the high labour demands. "I have to keep this cow tied up all the time, and I am spending every afternoon foraging for food. I can't collect enough food for all, so the [other cows] will roam." Another farmer shared her frustration: "I have been spending all morning today just caring for this calf. The jersey calf requires a lot of extra care because it is not suited to this climate." The productivity gains achieved by the high-yield calf are accompanied by the increasing challenges of labour intensity.

It was unclear in this research how farmers planned to adapt to increasing labour demands that came with larger herds, but investment – for example, in milking automation or hired labour to collect feed – would be necessary to enable feasible scale increases. It seems plausible then, that farmers may increasingly look to commercialise aspects of dairy production. Some experts believed that there would be an increase in medium-scale farms and commercial processes, however, others believed that commercial dairying would be no more viable than the current system (NGO representative, personal communication, October 2018). Commercialisation of dairy production – far from a clear trajectory for the Wanni Dairy Project, but a possibility – involves private sector actors, who provide technology, infrastructure, training and access to market activities. Fonterra, as a private sector stakeholder in NZAP dairy development initiatives, has a vested interest in the Wanni Dairy Project.[2] Fonterra staff had visited the Wanni Dairy Project model dairy farm, processing plant and offices the week prior to my field research and regular communication and exchange of ideas occurs between Fonterra and development actors with the view to potentially working together in future.

Expansion and intensification of dairy production may replace other less profitable livelihood strategies – prompting transition, rather than diversification, in the long-term – thus increasing reliance on dairying for livelihoods, which raises potential economic and environmental vulnerabilities (Tarawali *et al.*, 2011). Although farmers and project staff had plans for intensifying production and diversifying livelihood strategies to increase resilience, many of the farmers I interviewed said their land is unsuitable for diverse crops because it has poor drainage. Cultivation is therefore limited to very few vegetable or legume crops, rice (usually for home consumption), and grasses for animal feed. Some farmers must forage for animal feed. Further, because the unpredictable climate and rainy season, and prolonged droughts come at a significant cost to crops and livelihoods, farmers' focus is on increasing their livestock and dairy production for income rather than strengthening an integrated farming system per se.

The integrated nature of farmers' livelihood strategies is central to maintaining an environment in which resources are in balance as production increases – as has been the case for over a thousand years of dairying in Sri Lanka – but this appears to be in potential conflict with farmers' priority to intensify livestock farming (de Alwis, 2018). Scholars have noted that the displacement of traditional values, which include the interdependence between livelihoods, agriculture and the environment, has occurred in Sri Lanka as farmers increasingly look to the economic benefits of commercialising farming systems (de Alwis, 2018; Tarawali *et al.*, 2011). Despite a focus on integrative farming practices in the Wanni Dairy Project, the impacts of dairy farming on environmental factors – particularly with regard to plans for intensified production –

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2   Fonterra also runs their own model farms in Sri Lanka, and Sri Lanka is a major trade market for dairy products.

appear to be only partially understood by farmers and project staff in this research.[3] Farmers and local project staff in this research described only positive environmental impacts and did not identify any risks. "We have CO_3 grass also. We are giving calcium supplements and cattle feed. We buy it from outside. It's an integrated system. Cows have a positive impact on the land. We are also using manure as fertiliser. There is no negative impact on the land. I am happy," (Farmer, personal communication, October 2018). Yet potential adverse environmental impacts of dairy development in Sri Lanka are identified as: declining soil and water quality and biodiversity due to intensification, increasing farm size and establishment of new farms; pollution of waterways; loss of forest and habitat due to land conversion; and increased pollution from processing plants (MFAT, 2015b: 48).

Cross-cutting environment and climate change impacts of the Wanni Dairy Project at the end of phase one are evaluated as 'good'. However, phase one did not target the mitigation of environmental impacts (MFAT, 2017b: 28). Phase two activity design documents for the Wanni Dairy Project note that, "there is insufficient weather, soil and water data and benchmarking. This has resulted in a lack of knowledge of land use optimisation, disaster risk reduction, water management, environmentally-friendly land management, and climate change adaptation" (MFAT, 2016: 8). It is, therefore, important that baseline monitoring occurs in the Wanni Dairy Project to measure environmental impacts over time. Policy documents for phase two indicate that this is an area that should be developed, and an informant indicated there were plans to establish soil baselines (MFAT, 2016).

In this research, I observed what appears to be a disconnect between the planned expansion of smallholder dairying and its inherent environmental impacts because they are considered relatively small. Integrated, smallholder farming systems in Sri Lanka are considered to be "generally benign" for the environment and so it is claimed that "the contribution of smallholder dairying to climate change in Sri Lanka is insignificant" (MFAT, 2015b: 48, 49). This is despite acknowledgement of the inherent environmental impacts of dairy production, processing and distribution and that those in poverty depend most on the ecosystem (MFAT, 2016: 36). It is argued that the 'utmost care' in which the environment in Sri Lanka was traditionally utilised is in 'complete contrast' to New Zealand where the dairy (and meat) industry's focus on profit has resulted in environmental destruction (de Alwis, 2018). It can be seen as paradoxical, then, that powerful New Zealand development actors are in a position of expertise on

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3 In the Wanni Dairy Project these include: introducing high-yield breeds; educating farmers on practices that increase milk yields such as better feed varieties and utilising cattle shelters; promotion of an integrated farming system (combining crop production and animals) to enhance soil and biodiversity; and utilising existing farm resources such as manure and composting systems to reduce reliance on industrial chemical fertilisers, among other strategies.

WCDO identified communicative challenges with farmers around the importance of reducing dependence on external outputs. The economic result of environmental factors is key, and the Government subsidises industrially-produced fertiliser, for example, so farmers still want to use it to maximise crop yields.

environmental factors of dairy farming, when New Zealand's farming has been to the considerable detriment of the environment (MFE & Statistics NZ, 2018).

This research suggests that the farmers I interviewed have a low understanding of climate change. Climate change is understood by these farmers to refer to weather changes that are experienced in the local context, rather than global processes that relate to rising global temperature. Asked about climate change, one farmer said, "The rainy season came too early and ruined my crop preparation, and the drought is a big problem. Last year I lost a lot of crops," (Farmer, personal communication, October 2018). Farmers recognised that extreme and unpredictable weather events are becoming more regular and affecting their livelihoods, particularly through crop losses, and anticipate that these are going to continue and worsen, but did not discuss these in relation to climate change. When asked whether they thought the weather problems are worsening due to climate change, one farmer said, "These problems have been happening since the tsunami." Agricultural production is seen to be affected by impacts of climate change (even though climate change is not attributed as the cause), for which livestock increases farmers' resilience, but livestock's role in contributing to climate change was not considered.

The New Zealand Government's claims that dairy development will reduce emissions are largely based on the assumption that, because high-yield breeds and better practices improve dairy production efficiency, farmers can produce the same amount of milk as they are currently producing with lower emissions by using high-yield breeds and adopting better practices. This is true to an extent. However, neither dairy development initiatives nor the New Zealand or Sri Lankan governments intend to maintain current production levels. Dairy development initiatives are explicitly aligned with goals to *increase* production. This research, moreover, identifies farmers' intentions to increase livestock numbers in order to further increase production, which will increase emissions. If farmers do indeed shift away from integrated farming systems, which often complement jungle production (foraging), the loss of carbon sequestration is a further potential negative environmental impact (Geiger, 2014 cited in de Alwis, 2018).[4] Despite the production efficiency gains that are possible, it appears unlikely that the Wanni Dairy Project will contribute to emission reductions over the medium- to long-term. As dairy development projects can be an important first step towards mitigating the negative environmental impacts of dairying (Parikesit *et al.*, 2005), there is an opportunity for the Wanni Dairy Project to provide better support and information about environmental issues of dairying to farmers.

In sum, there are, on one hand, limited understandings of climate change and livestock's contribution to greenhouse gas emissions in the Wanni Dairy Project. On the other hand, dairy development is seen to increase farmer's resilience to the impacts of climate change. The implications of increased and intensified dairy farming on climate change are little considered in the Wanni Dairy Project despite a large literature on the

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4   The expansion of larger, intensified farms contributes to deforestation of jungle that reduces carbon.

negative environmental impacts of dairying and an ongoing focus on global commitments to sustainable development. The environmental destruction caused by Western dairy production for economic gain and the findings of this research, which indicated farmers' desires to expand dairy production and livestock numbers, raise the issue of increasing scale and expansion of dairy farming. The role of private sector actors, and commercialisation processes, which play a key role in global dairy development, may increase in the Wanni Dairy Project as they increasingly support opportunities to expand dairy production in developing countries. Importantly, farmers in this research highly valued environmental factors. Consideration of the full environmental impacts of dairy development initiatives is a fundamental responsibility of macro-level development actors who are supporting livelihood changes. It is critical that the impact of dairy development projects in developing countries on environmental factors – both local and global – receives adequate attention to ensure that short- to medium-term development outcomes are not at the expense of the environment and long-term livelihoods.

Considerable concerns over environmental issues of dairying in New Zealand, include water and soil quality, and climate change.[5] Dairy expansion in the north and east of Sri Lanka, however, is primarily seen by the governments of New Zealand and Sri Lanka as an effective way to achieve economic growth and address poverty. There is relatively limited consideration of environmental impacts of dairying in this context, despite the role of dairy development initiatives in increasing the number of and reliance on livestock for livelihoods, which is inherently connected to natural resource use. In particular, climate change is at the forefront of global environmental concerns, the impacts of which affect social, equity and livelihood factors (Steinfield *et al.*, 2006; Braimoh *et al.*, 2016). Impacts of climate change, such as rising sea levels, temperatures, and the intensity and frequency of weather events, are already being experienced around the world but exceedingly greater challenges are anticipated (*Ibid.*; IPCC, 2019). Sri Lanka and New Zealand, as island nations and as largely reliant on agricultural production, are particularly vulnerable to climate change impacts. Farmers' livelihoods will be disproportionately affected in the coming decades, increasingly so in developing countries with additional vulnerability factors (Raney *et al.*, 2009). Women (and children), moreover, bear the burden of environmental deterioration (Goebel, 2003) and natural disasters (Gaard, 2015) as they have fewer resources as a result of inequities.

Gender impacts

Women play a key role in small-scale dairy production (Boros & McLeod, 2015). Dairy development can contribute to outcomes that support gender equality, and thus gender equality is a target of the NZAP's dairy development. Agricultural research often focuses on and generalises men's experiences, yet, many aspects of women's

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5   Livestock are a major contributor to total agricultural greenhouse gas emissions. Livestock produce methane (CH_4) that is mainly created by cattle respiration (enteric fermentation) (39%) and excretion (manure) (25%), as well as nitrous oxide (N_2O) (14%) that is mainly due to nitrogen fertiliser in agricultural soils (Braimoh *et al.*, 2016: xiv).

experiences are distinct (Mosse, 1995). Further, the reliance on quantitative data in research is argued to be inadequate for analysing feminist concerns (Jayasinghe & Lakshman, 2011). Jayasinghe and Lakshamn (2011) demonstrate that qualitative understandings to explore connections between market and non-market household activities reveal the burdens and impacts of economic and social inequality for women in Sri Lanka. Another study in Sri Lanka shows that women tend to farm differently to men, using more progressive approaches, which means they often have smaller herd sizes but higher productivity (Tharsinithevy & Sivarajah, 2011). Women, however, tend to make less profit than men for various reasons including the need for women to spend more on labour to meet the physical demands of farming, and women engaging in more non-market activities than men (*Ibid.*).

The legacy of war continues to impose hardships on Tamil-speaking women in the north and east of Sri Lanka, in a highly patriarchal context that is shaped by ingrained social and cultural practices (ICG, 2017b). Development initiatives, therefore, face the limitations of often operating within societal systems that perpetuate inequalities. Class and gender biases, and issues of patriarchal subordination, land reform and agrarian production restrict the potential for change in the status of women through dairy projects in many places (Sharma & Vanjani, 1993). There are now a number of female-headed households in Sri Lanka as women, who are widowed or whose husbands are disabled, have been compelled to take on new roles and social engagements as household structures change. These household structures, however, are assumed to be relatively more vulnerable than traditional male-led household structures (Vasudevan, 2013). This sense of vulnerability is exacerbated by the severe emotional and physical trauma that these households have experienced during the war; adverse political, social and economic factors; and that single women have an added burden of responsibility to balance income-generating work and other important household work.

Women's involvement in dairy farming can nonetheless contribute to improved gender equality through improved livelihoods and social status (Boros & McCleod, 2015). Whether or not livestock is owned by women, dairying income is mostly received and used by females in Sri Lanka (Tharsinithevy & Sivarajah, 2011). Improved rural livelihoods as a result of dairying are usually because of increased diversification of livelihood strategies or because women who were previously not earning began dairying to support their households (*Ibid.*). Women in households with a higher degree of poverty often have more equal opportunity to participate in income-generating activities due to necessity (MFAT, 2016: 35). Women in this research have experienced empowerment, financial independence and improved wellbeing as a result of extra income earned by increasing dairy production. These factors contribute to reducing the significant economic vulnerability and deprivation experienced by conflict-affected women.

Paradoxically, while dairying can increase women's economic and social resources, potential negative environmental impacts of dairying (including environmental degradation and climate change impacts) will disproportionately affect women as they continue to have fewer resources than men to deal with these challenges. Marriage institutions, socially constructed responsibilities, and patriarchal ideologies of domination, colonialism and exploitation limit women's access to natural resources,

mobility, participation in decision-making, and knowledge and power (Gaard, 2015). Women in developing countries may often be the ones who face more work to collect water, fuel and fodder; are majority of the world's hungry; and may experience additional workloads due to male urbanisation (when environmental deterioration limits rural work).

Furthermore, women – whose household roles often remain constant despite increased workloads as a result of dairy development – are far more likely to die in natural disasters (which due to climate change will increase in frequency and intensity) than men due to a lack of warning, being confined to homes and trying to protect children (Gaard, 2015). If women survive, they face increased likelihood of sexual assault, and if they die, the loss of mothers leads to increased infant mortality, early marriage of girls, neglect of girls' education, sexual assaults, trafficking and child prostitution (*Ibid.*). It is, therefore, important to understand that the specific environmental risks identified in the Wanni Dairy Project, of which it appears there have thus far been insufficient mitigation and monitoring activities, raise additional concerns about cross-cutting issues of gender inequality.

In sum, gendered understandings of the impacts of dairy development are essential. This research provided insights into women's experiences of improved access to resources but also considered how the potential negative environmental impacts of the Project may disproportionately affect women. These forms of tension between economic, social and environmental resources and risks require attention in order to fully understand the interconnected impacts of dairy development.

Conclusion

The Wanni Dairy Project in Sri Lanka aims to solve the livelihood problems of conflict-affected farmers by increasing dairy production and efficiency, and to improve New Zealand's trade relations with Sri Lanka by growing the dairy market in Sri Lanka, and Asia more broadly. However, there are problematic aspects of the impacts of dairy development due to their interconnections and complexities. This research explored nuanced, local perspectives, which have been largely absent from the discourse on dairy development and aid, and offer a valuable lens through which to consider New Zealand's development impact in Sri Lanka as an aid donor for the Wanni Dairy Project.

By offering an insight into the lived experiences of female farmers, this research contributes to the representation of local development stakeholders and the information upon which development policy and practice can be based. This research allows us to critically consider how local perspectives on development and livelihoods intersect with global development concerns. It is vital that local experiences are understood by global development actors, such as donors and private sector actors, but also that local development practice is rooted in an awareness of global issues of sustainable development. Evidence of farmers' low understandings of climate change, for example, demonstrated the tensions between local and global knowledge and priorities, which may become increasingly problematic as the Wanni Dairy Project expands and increases reliance on dairy production for livelihoods.

A focus on the positive livelihood impacts of dairy development shows the Project's important contribution to solutions to the development issues faced in Northern Sri Lanka. However, the areas of tension between environmental and gender aspects of this research and the expansion of dairying in the Wanni Dairy Project addressed in this paper demonstrated the need for more complete understandings of the interconnected impacts of dairy development. Low understandings of environmental risks of the Project both by farmers and in the Project's implementation combined with farmers' priorities for dairying expansion highlighted the contradictory nature of dairy development, which can address some development issues but potentially exacerbate others. A gendered understanding underscored that women, moreover, will be disproportionately affected by such issues. These environmental and gender issues require closer attention than they have previously received as part of a holistic approach to development to ensure effective outcomes. Dairy development, and indeed sustainable development, is laden with tensions and trade-offs. Strong links that promote shared understandings between local and global development actors in New Zealand and Sri Lanka encourage positive development impacts and mitigation of potential negative impacts.

Acknowledgements

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Biographical Note

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HIMALAYAN ENVIRONMENTALISM:
BUDDHISM AND BEYOND

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Abstract[1]

Buddhist monks have become increasingly visible in environmental movements in the last few decades, including in Arunachal Pradesh, India, my fieldwork site. Monks in environmental protests have contributed to the popular representation of Buddhism as ecological. A review of existing literature suggests that what we are looking at is a re-interpretation of Buddhist traditional philosophy by modern environmentally conscious people and contemporary Buddhists. I argue that as anthropologists, we have to note that while Buddhism can help mobilise lay activism, local practices about the environment do not often overlap with Buddhist doctrine. I illustrate this through the example of the ban on yak meat in Arunachal Pradesh, which is linked to wider Hindu nationalist politics in India. Environmental activities in the Buddhist Himalayas cannot be understood simply through the lens of Buddhism and one has to adopt a more pluralistic approach that is accommodating of customs that do not fit within an imagined "environmental identity" (Sharma 2009). I propose Himalayan environmentalism as an alternative to Buddhist environmentalism, not to disregard the role of Buddhist belief but to show how Himalayan environmentalism goes beyond Buddhism in scope. Second, my intention is not to propose a uniform model for the Himalaya, but to point to the processes at work between culture, politics, and ecology, and to the role of power in fashioning environmental identities. I support my argument with empirical data from my own fieldwork and those of scholars working in other parts of the Himalaya.

Introduction

Buddhist monks have become increasingly visible in environmental movements in Arunachal Pradesh, Ladakh, Sikkim and other parts of the Indian Himalaya in the last few decades. Monks leading environmental protests have contributed to the popular

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representation of Buddhism as ecological. Building on scholars who show how the representation of Buddhism as eco-friendly is a modern reinvention, and drawing on my ethnographic insights from the Indian Himalayan state of Arunachal Pradesh, where I have done long term fieldwork, I argue that the idea of Buddhist environmentalism is a partial, even essentialist reading of the diverse phenomena of environmental practices in the Buddhist Himalaya.[2] I put forward the term Himalayan environmentalism in order to capture the plurality of practices rather than a singular religion-based environmental ethic.

Here, I am mainly concerned with understanding environmental practices among Tibetan Buddhist communities in the Indian Himalaya.[3] While this article arises out of my ethnographic work in Arunachal Pradesh, its focus is not limited to that region alone, and hence, I also draw on scholars who have written about other parts of the Himalaya. In ordinary life, people in the Buddhist Himalaya are very spiritual in terms of observing religious rituals and in professions of piety but also follow practices that may not fit well within an overarching religion-based environmental agenda. I bring in the example of the ban on yak meat in western Arunachal Pradesh since 2017, and show how the politics around bovine meat highlights the intersection of Buddhist environmentalism and Hindu nationalism in the Indian Himalaya.

Therefore, I propose Himalayan environmentalism as an anthropological response to the idea of Buddhist environmentalism. This is not to disregard the role of Buddhist belief in environmental conservation but to show how Himalayan environmentalism goes beyond Buddhism or any other religion in scope. I do not wish to propose a uniform model for the Himalaya, but to highlight the distinct economic and social relations between human and non-human nature in local ecologies which make a uniform environmental ethic for the Himalaya difficult to conceive.

Buddhist Monks and Modern Environmentalism

In the Tawang district of Arunachal Pradesh, monks were at the forefront of environmental movements related to hydropower projects between 2011 and 2016. In 2006, the Arunachal Pradesh state government signed several agreements with public and private firms for setting up hydropower projects in Tawang. The monks protested by conducting door-to-door campaigns in villages, organised rallies, and wrote open letters to the state administration challenging the construction of dams. They alerted the people to the dangers that dam waters posed to the local ecology and economy, to the threat to people's living habitats, and farm and pasture lands, and to Buddhist sacred sites, and

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2   In this paper, I use Buddhist environmentalism, ecological Buddhism, eco-Buddhism interchangeably to mean the fusion of modern environmentalism and Buddhist ethics. But I am aware that this synergy between the two have been presented in different forms in different contexts, for example, eco-Buddhism refers to an ecologically engaged form of American Buddhism which has risen to the fore in recent times (Harris 1995: 200)

3   Buddhists in contemporary India include the Tibetan Buddhists, comprised of mainly the Tibetan community-in-exile and other Buddhists in the Himalayan areas such as Ladakh, Himachal Pradesh, Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh, the Theravada Buddhists in Northeastern India, and the Ambedkarite Buddhists, or Dalits who converted to the Navayana sect of Buddhism founded by B.R Ambedkar (Geary and Mukherjee: 2017).

local flora and fauna, especially the black crane, thought of as an embodiment of the Sixth Dalai Lama, who was born in Tawang (Gohain 2017). As a result of their mobilisation, thousands of people turned up to participate in anti-dam rallies in 2012 – 2016.

The monks associated with the environmental protests were influenced by the environmentalist discourse prevalent in the Tibetan Buddhist circuits in India. The Fourteenth Dalai Lama has consistently endorsed care for the environment through Buddhist teachings and helped mould an environmentally conscious image for the Tibetan community-in-exile.[4] The organizations at the vanguard of the protests in Tawang – the Society for Development of Culture and Education (SDCE) and the Save Mon Region Federation had connections with Sera Monastic University in Mysore; and the leader, Lama Lobsang, an alumnus of Sera university, was encouraged by his mentor and contemporaries in the monastery networks to start the environmental movement (personal interview with Lama Lobsang, Delhi, 20 July 2019).

Monks have also led environmental campaigns in countries such as Thailand, Cambodia, and Myanmar where Theravada Buddhism is prevalent. Thai ecology monks gained fame in 1970s-80s by organising Tree Ordination and Long Life Ceremony rituals for rivers – ceremonies normally performed on human individuals – drawing on traditional Buddhist teachings as well as indigenous beliefs in spirits (Darlington 1998, 2007). The Thai monks in turn were inspired by the Engaged Buddhism approach started by Vietnamese monk, Thich Nhat Hanh, which advocates active intervention of monks in societal matters for a better future.

Modern environmentalists have often highlighted the connections between Buddhist ethics and their own philosophy. While the different schools of Buddhism – Theravada, Mahayana, and Vajrayana differ in their beliefs and approaches, all three schools adhere to the ideas of the four noble truths and the eightfold path.[5] They also share the Buddhist doctrine of dependent origination (*pratitya-samutpada*) or the idea that nothing exists in itself or by itself as a separate unit in time and space, but is dependent on a variety of conditions and is related to everything else in the world (Govinda 2019 [1956]: 312). Several Western environmental activists in the 1970s such as the poet Gary Snyder and the Norwegian mountaineer and philosopher Arne Naess compared the Buddhist concept of dependent origination with the environmentalist notion of the inter-dependence of earth's parts.[6]

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4   The Dalai Lama's message on April 22, 2020, on the 50th Anniversary of Earth Day was to highlight the connections between human action and the Covid-19 pandemic https://www. buddhistdoor.net/news/covid-19-a-lesson-in-universal-responsibility-dalai-lama-says-on-earth-day.

5   It is generally accepted that the three main schools of Buddhism are Theravada, Mahayana, and Vajrayana or Tibetan Buddhism (for this form developed largely in Tibet). The four noble truths are the truth of suffering (*dukkha*), the truth of the origin of suffering, the truth of the end or cessation of suffering, and the truth of the path to the end of suffering. The eightfold path is the fourth truth, which gives Buddhists a path (middle way approach) to end suffering.

6   Ian Harris shows how the founder of deep ecology, Arne Naess, a Norwegian mountaineer and scholar working in the legacy of philosopher Spinoza, wedded Spinoza's thought with Buddhism and the Buddhist doctrine of dependent origination, arguing that "there is a network of cause-effect relations connecting everything with everything" (Harris 1995: 204).

Environmentalism advocates an eco-centric rather than an anthropo-centric approach, that is the view that the needs of the earth, and not human needs, interests, or desires, should come first. This is related to the concept of bio-ethics, which states that nature has intrinsic worth regardless of its use value to humans; and hence, humans should have an ethical approach in their treatment towards plants, animals and all non-human nature (Pepper 2003:15). Arne Naess's concept of deep ecology distinguishes itself from shallow ecology by asking basic questions such as, do we really need all that we think we need? It urges radical social change, focusing on transformation at the level of individual consciousness, so that each individual changes their attitude, values and lifestyles. While modern environmentalism is not one school but many, all of them have in common the critique of existing social values and consumerism across all human societies, which has led to unfettered exploitation of nature's resources (Pepper 2003: 16). This critique of consumerism is seen to resonate with Buddhism's philosophy of non-attachment and simple living.

Dialogues between Western environmental thinkers and Tibetan Buddhist exile leaders in India in the 1980s led the latter to become reflexive about the role of their religious beliefs in modern environmentalism. The Dalai Lama's speeches and writings about the environment was instrumental in a Buddhist environmental ethic spreading to other parts of the Indian Himalaya, with Ladakh even hosting a conference Ecology and Principles for Sustainable Development in September 1986 (Huber 1997).

The representation of Buddhism as ecological and Buddhists as ecologically conscious is now widely available and accepted. Jataka stories, which are stories of the Buddha's previous reincarnations before he became a Boddhisatva are seen as environmental fables.[7] However, what do the canonical texts say about a Buddhist environmental ethic? Do classical texts verify the association of Buddhism with a modern environmental consciousness?

How true are the representations?

Many philosophers of Buddhism have shown that the representation of Buddhism as ecological is a re-interpretation of Buddhist traditional philosophy by modern environmentally conscious people. Ian Harris (1991) notes that with regard to the animal world, the canonical texts say that an individual Buddhist should respond with compassion to animals. This quality is increased for monks. Buddhist classical literature enjoins monks not to hurt animals, and to release animals caught in traps etc. These rules do not apply to the lay population.[8] Yet, the killing of animals does not lead

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7   For example, in a recent paper, "the Jātaka tales are presented as a beneficial discourse for creating ecological awareness among people" (Bhattacharjee and Sinha 2021).

8   Harris is mainly talking about the monastic way of life here. But Buddhism is also about the middle way or the eightfold path which prescribes an ethical way of living and is compatible with the goals of sustainable development and environmental protection. This enjoins simple living for lay individuals as well as monks and nuns. Harris's answer to this is that a mode of living cannot be equated with a definite ethic.

to monks being expelled from monastic life (sexual offences, homicide and theft do). Harris argues that the practice of non-injury to animals is valued for its instrumentality (good karma and better rebirth) and not for the inherent value of the animals.[9] Buddha was a meat-eater, and vegetarianism in Buddhism was a later addendum. [10]

With regards to the plant world the anomaly is even starker. The plant world is not part of the world of being (*sattva loka*). Another philosopher, Malcolm David Eckel (1998: 60-61) notes that Buddhist peasants, townspeople, and even monks preferred the civilized world of the village and city and feared the untamed jungle. In Buddhist texts, monks seek out forests as a locus for self-transformation through meditation. Rather than wild nature being valued for itself, however, it is a symbol of impermanence and the unsatisfactoriness of death and rebirth.

Harris therefore asks, "Are we really describing a phenomenon which naturally arises from the heart of the Buddhist tradition or simply- a series of compatible secular concerns which can be happily assented to by contemporary Buddhists?" (1991:110). A third philosopher Damien Keown makes the same argument, when he writes, "that the concerns of ecology are essentially modern ones, and the ecological problems we face today such as greenhouses gases and global warming are only intelligible against the background of a scientific understanding of the world. Until Buddhism updates its ancient cosmology, it is not clear how it will take part in a dialogue that is conducted in the vocabulary of modern science" (Keown 2007: 97) Keown agrees with Harris that Buddhism's ecological credentials arise more from Western green activists' agenda rather than from within Buddhism itself (Keown 2007: 98) Basically, these philosophers agree that ecological Buddhism is a reinvention of Buddhist traditional philosophy.

Studies on the historical and contemporary environmental practices of Buddhists corroborate this point. Scholars have pointed out that the capitalist destruction of forest and wildlife and rampant construction in some East Asian Buddhist countries do not bear out the thesis of an ecologically informed Buddhist ethic in practice (e.g. Eckel 1998). Tibetan societies historically practiced hunting for subsistence as well as commerce. Toni Huber (1997) argues that the representation of Tibetan Buddhism as a non-violent religion that prohibits the killing of animals is an essentialist representation of Tibetan people, largely disseminated by the Tibetan community-in-exile, and is related to a larger politics of identity, where green Tibetans are contrasted

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9   I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for bringing to my notice the role of intention in the theory of karma. If we take into account intention, then acts of kindness towards animals cannot be reduced to instrumental action as one can then discriminate between the intention of gain and altruism. Traleg Kyabgon argues that although most people understand karma to mean, simplistically, fruits of one's actions, it is more than that. Buddha emphasised that we are responsible for our own actions and the consequences of these actions are not fixed. But karma is more than the action performed. It is also the character formation that goes with it; that is, we should think about what kind of person we are becoming (Kyabgon 2015: 36)

10 Scholars have tried to explain the anomaly between the Buddha preaching kindness to animals and his own meat-eating habits by arguing that Buddha as a mendicant depended on public alms and had to eat whatever was provided, including meat (e.g. Bapat 2019: 2).

with ecologically destructive Chinese (Goldstein 1995).[11] It is not different from the essentialist depictions of tribal communities as being one with, and living in harmony with, nature (Huber 1997). Emily Woodhouse (2012) similarly shows how Buddhist people in Samdo invoked karma to explain their actions such as not killing animals and plants, as these actions accumulated merit. There is an instrumental value to being non-violent towards animals (Woodhouse 2012: 63). Woodhouse maintains that while people understood about the sufferings of animals and plants in the wheel of life, they still maintained a hierarchy between animals and man rather than the interdependence that Western ecology imputes to Buddhism.

However, it is important to recognise that Buddhism is not a monolithic tradition and that some strands or features of Buddhist moral teachings might be conducive to the development of an environmental philosophy (Keown 1999: 98). Damien Keown suggests that Buddhism is amenable to environmental concerns not on account of any ecological worldview or ideology, but because of its conception of human life, and, in particular, its account of what it means to live a good human life. In this sense, the Buddhist emphasis on compassion, self-restraint, non-violence, non-greed, and so on can provide the basis for an environmental "virtue ethic". Virtue ethics is about developing human potential and states of character to achieve a sense of fulfilment and long-term happiness (Keown 1997: 99).

Indeed, Ruben Habito (2007) tries to analytically adapt the four noble truths of Buddhism, which includes the truth of universal suffering or *dukkha*, to the present global environmental crisis. Habito maintains that we now live in a time of "global dukkha", of war, poverty and disease. Applying a Buddhist analytic, our first step would be to realise this fact; second, to identify its root causes in the ethos and institutions of modern life; third, to envision the end of global dukkha; and fourth is to take steps to bring about change.

Arguments such as Habito's above are very persuasive The Covid-19 pandemic has brought home to all the debilitating effects of human interference on the natural environment. I believe seeking and finding a Buddhist environmental ethic is also an affective response to find allies in our fight to save the environment.

Ecology, Everyday Practices, and the Yak Meat Ban

However, to romanticise any religion or indigenous belief system as being inherently ecological is to fall into the essentialist trap. In other words, when religion or indigeneity becomes the central anchor of an "environmental identity" (Sharma 2009), it not only hijacks the environmental movement to serve a politics of cultural identity but also glorifies and fixes the relationship between the human and non-human natural world as sacred or pure or compassionate. The entry of right-wing Hindu groups in the movement against the Tehri dam construction in Uttarakhand led to the discourse of green politics

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11 Post 1990s, this dichotomous representation between the ecologically-friendly Tibetan versus the ecologically-destructive Chinese has undergone a change, as there has been a creation of Tibetan environmental subjects who are aligned with Chinese conservation policies (Yeh 2014).

in the region merging with Hindu nationalist politics, where saving Ganga became a matter of saving Hindu cultural heritage (Sharma 2009). Fixing environmental identities goes against an anthropological understanding of reality.

Scholars who have urged an understanding of human and non-human relations through the lens of Buddhism – specifically Vajrayana Buddhism, and spirituality, cite evidence of the daily life of local Himalayan communities being molded by religion. For example, Elizabeth Allison argues for "environmental imaginaries" or a "place-based spiritually-generated perspective [which] places humans within networks to which humans and other living and non-living beings contribute and respond" (Allison 2015: 440). Drawing on her work in Bhutan and Nepal, she shows how religion infuses landscape and thought to the extent that climate crisis and natural disasters are interpreted as the doings of deities.[12]

I relate to this notion of a religious topography. In many parts of the Buddhist Himalaya, including in my fieldwork site of Monyul in western Arunachal Pradesh, places carry names that commemorate the passage of a holy person, or a religious revelation and bear imprints of religious events (Gohain 2020: 140). Mountains, rivers and waterfalls are worshipped as the abodes of deities. What I find problematic is the representation of the region as a homogenous Buddhist space, for it excludes and marginalises non-Buddhist people and practices. Fixing human and non-human relations through a religious environmental identity is similarly untenable. If we look at the everyday practices of communities in the Himalaya, we see not an imagined cultural universe or cosmology but the local, routine interactions and rituals associated with particular entities of the natural world that tie people, nature and religion into a complex. When local practices are in conformity with an imagined environmental identity, they are embraced and co-opted. When they clash with this ideal, they are sought to be ejected or neutralised.

Let me now turn to the case of the ban on yak meat in Monyul. Monyul is the collective name for the two districts of Tawang and West Kameng in Northeast India, where the Monpa communities are the predominant group. Monpa refers more to a geographical category (it means lowlander) with respect to Tibet and there are several sub-groups within Monpas. Living on the Indo-Tibetan borderlands, the Monpas shared cultural and commercial ties with both neighbouring Tibet and Bhutan, and was also part of the Tibetan state from 1681 for nearly three centuries (Aris 1980). In 1914, the British colonial government demarcated the Indo-Tibetan boundary, placing Monyul on the Indian side, but de facto Tibetan rule continued in Monyul until the postcolonial Indian government established its first political offices in the region in the 1950s. Following the India-China war of 1962, many of the former routes between Tibet and Monyul were sealed off. While most Monpas are Buddhists, some Monpa groups are considered inferior Buddhists by the others, while some others still adhere to the pre-Buddhist Bon customs. There are also non-Monpas groups who are recent converts to Buddhism and hence inhabit the fringes of the Buddhist cultural world.

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12 Another example is when in the wake of the coronavirus pandemic, a recent article claimed that fumigation rituals conducted by lamas and healers of Buddhist traditions in Sikkim ward off infectious airborne diseases (Bhutia 2021).

The yak figures prominently in Monpa life and culture. During the Losar festival, which is the Tibetan New Year celebrated by the Monpas, there are performances of the yak dance, accompanied by the ritual slaughter of the yak. Traditionally, yak was used as a pack animal for long distance trade with Tibet. Yak milk, cheese, butter were items of exchange in trade, especially by the yak-herding Brogpa communities among the Monpas, and yak meat was consumed as a valuable source of protein.

In the oral lore of Monpa communities, yak is invested with a high rank in the food hierarchy, where the ruling Bapu clans are said to have preferred yak and lamb, over the meat of *bree*, the female yak and *dzo*, the hybrid of yak and domestic cattle. One popular story narrates the search for a ruler in the country of the Monpas. In all the different versions of this story that I heard, the search party invariably comes across a group of children playing and they offer the children the meat of various animals, such as goat, lamb, and yak; the child who chooses yak meat over the others is immediately identified as belonging to the lineage of a ruling clan.[13] According to another oral narrative from the Bapu clan, if any cow fell down from the hillside and died, the Bapus would summon their Gila or servants to collect the carcass and consume the meat, suggesting that custom allowed the consuming, if not the killing, of bovine stock.

In Tawang, yak, and more commonly, beef was part of the normal diet in households till a few years ago, given the low availability and high cost of chicken and fish, procured mostly from the plains. Like everywhere else, the food of Northeast India and the Himalayan region are cultural adaptations to local environments (Tamang, Okumiya and Kosaka 2010). Diet and food preferences are a condition of the geographical location, climatic factors, and availability of plant and animal sources. Thus, people in higher altitude areas of the Himalayas have adapted to cereals and grains growing in cold, dry climates with less vegetables and more meat-based protein in their diets. While Hindus of the Himalayas avoid yak and beef, for others, these meats comprise important sources of protein.[14]

A brochure of the Department of Tourism, Tawang mentions that people cut yak and beef meat into strips and store them through smoking, curing, drying and fermentation techniques during winter months for later consumption.[15] Yak fat, smoked yak meat, yak sausages are common items of storage. During Losar, yak are ritually slaughtered before their meat is eaten, the ritual before the killing signaling the deep bonds between the yak and its owner. Remarking on the difficulty of making

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13 The source of these stories are different people I met during my fieldwork in Tawang and West Kameng. Another popular story is that of two buffalo brothers, one of which became a yak. One buffalo went to bring salt from Tibet and in the cold climate of the higher altitudes, grew long hair and never came back. The other buffalo continued to wait for his return and therefore, the buffalo always seems to be looking up. A variant of this tale is narrated by Jelle Wouters (2021: 27) in his account of yak herders.

14 Kancha Illiah (1996) argues that beef has constituted a cheap source of protein for the poor, lower caste people in India. This argument applies to beef eating in hilly areas too, where protein sources are minimal.

15 https://cdn.s3waas.gov.in/s39b70e8fe62e40c570a322f1b0b659098/uploads/2018/07/2018070315.pdf

a clear ontological distinction between yak, yak-herders, and the environment in the highlands of Bhutan, Wouters writes that instead of being pristine nature, "the highland is the result of active processes of place-making, resulting in a deeply socialised and carefully managed landscape that has co-evolved and co-shaped with herders and yaks for centuries" (Wouters 2021: 35). In Bhutan, people make a distinction between the animals they rear and the animals in the wild, and while there is an injunction on hunting the latter, people eat the meat of the reared animals.[16] Regarding a different part of the Hindu Himalaya, Govindrajan (2017) talks about inter-species relatedness being forged between rural women in Kumaon, Uttarakhand and their cows and goats through practices of sharing and care-giving. People share affective ties with their domesticated animals which is further cemented through bonds of gratitude when they use their meat to sustain them in difficult climes (Gagne 2018, Govindrajan 2017).

In the last few years, yak meat has been banned in the two districts of West Kameng and Tawang. According to my fieldwork sources, the ban started gradually.[17] While I could not verify the exact sequence of events, I was informed that the district administration in West Kameng issued a ban during April 2017, when the Dalai Lama visited the region. It was further enforced in the next month, Saga Dawa, a month in the Buddhist lunar calendar when people are not supposed to eat meat. The ban was extended the following month since a high-ranking Buddhist leader was visiting the region. In the meantime, the people became used to not finding meat in the markets. In July 2017, the district administrations in Tawang and West Kameng issued an official order banning the slaughter of cows and prohibiting yak and beef trade in the region, citing the religious sentiments of the majority Monpas and claiming that it is aligned with the Buddhist vegetarian ethic. This coincides with the beef ban imposed in many parts of the country by the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party government, which is also in power in the Arunachal Pradesh state government. The ban on meat in these two districts is ostensibly to deter non-Buddhists from killing, trading and selling beef or yak meat in these areas.

A local organisation called the Tangnyom Tsokpa (Tangnyom/Tib. btang snyoms means equanimity and Tsokpa/Tib. tshogs pa means society or association) – which has been involved in environmental awareness in the Monpa areas – has lent active support to the yak meat ban. The members of Tangnyom Tsokpa keep a close vigil in the marketplaces of Tawang trying to find out if anyone is slaughtering or selling meat and impose hefty fines of 20000 to 50000 rupees (upto 700 dollars) on those they find guilty. Lama Lobsang, the monk who was formerly involved in the anti-dam protests in Tawang, has also professed support for the yak meat ban.[18]

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16 I thank the anonymous reviewer for the observation that in Himalaya and Tibet, it is considered better to eat yak than other animals because they are large. This means that killing one animal will feed more people than killing many small animals like fish and fowl, and people appreciate what they consider to be a sacrifice by the yak.

17 I keep the names of my fieldwork informants in this case anonymous since the matter has become entwined with political interests.

18 https://thewire.in/food/arunachal-pradesh-tawang-buddhism-meat-ban

Apart from religious reasons, members of the Tangnyom Tsokpa and supporters of the yak meat ban cite environmental conservation as justification. Killing animals is seen as both anti-environmentalist, and antithetical to the Buddhist principle of *ahimsa* (non-violence). Tellingly, in his critique of Buddhist environmentalism, philosopher Damien Keown points to the difficulty of applying the Buddhist principle of *ahimsa* to real life situations arguing, "it is difficult to legislate [for vegetarianism] in abstraction from the particular circumstances. The consumption of meat may be necessary for dietary reasons in certain circumstances, and developing countries cannot be expected to abandon meat consumption, even when meat is a rarity" (Keown 2007: 108)

On 17 October 2014, at a meeting held in Liung Monastery, Dirang and attended by Panchayat[19] members, monks, senior public leaders, students leaders and thirty members of the Tangnyom Tsokpa, a resolution was passed to ban any form of animal slaughter and the hunting, trapping, fishing or poisoning of wild life in Dirang sub-division of West Kameng. The Tawang Forest Division too organized an environmental awareness programme at Zomkhang Hall, Tawang on 25 February 2017, attended by school children, government officials, and Panchayat members, which included among other performances, the seizing and consignment of wildlife parts to a fire in public view in the presence of the Executive Magistrate, a veterinary doctor, members of Tangnyom Tsokpa, and forest staff.[20]

I must mention here that yak conservation is not a new environmental initiative in Monyul. The Indian Council of Agricultural Research, an organisation under the Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India, set up the National Research Centre on Yak at Dirang in West Kameng in 1989 for research on sustainable development of yak-husbandry. Since 2008, I have stayed several times in the old guesthouse of the Yak Research Centre (there is a second, bigger guesthouse now), helped by a friend who works in the institute. He showed me around the yak farms at higher altitudes, managed by the centre, the diary processing unit, where yak milk products such as butter and cottage cheese are stored, and the crafts workshops where women weave caps, mats, carpets, jackets, bags etc out of yak wool. The centre recruits dedicated scientists and has published several important research papers on yak conservation and on the livelihoods of the Brogpa yak herders.[21] What is new in the discourse of yak conservation in Monyul, enforced by organisations such as Tangnyom Tsokpa, is the ban on yak meat.

While on the surface, people welcomed the yak ban, especially on social media, locally, there is public resentment and underground transactions as I witnessed during my field visits. People also brushed aside the activities of the Tangnyom Tsokpa as

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19   Village level grassroots governance system in India

20   http://www.tawangforest.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Newsletter%202.pdf

21   https://nrcy.icar.gov.in/index.htm

simply "political".[22] A Monpa friend told me during a phone conversation just as I was finishing this paper, "sab chal raha hain" ("everything goes on as usual"), explaining that yak and beef meat are available to those who look for it. My experiences also showed that yak and beef, although banned, can be availed by those people who wish to eat it. I saw momos made with yak meat apparently sourced from rural areas in 2017. Yak is not a symbol of ritual impurity here and is not frowned upon socially. People cite the Dalai Lama in telling me that Buddhists may eat meat but not kill animals. After the district administration in Tawang and West Kameng banned the slaughter of cows and prohibited beef trade in the region, including the sale of yak meat, the public consumption of these meats has dwindled considerably in the region. This is in sharp contrast to earlier years when yak meat would be sold openly on the road by traders.

Food Politics, Religious Environmentalism, and Hindu Nationalism

While the yak and beef ban in Tawang is justified through a Buddhist environmentalism, the ban clearly is in line with the cow politics, or "bovine nationalism" (Suresh 2018) of the present Indian government. Beef has increasingly become an important marker of a Hindu Indian national identity against non-Hindu (Muslim/Christian) others in contemporary India. It is a political symbol instead of a purely ritual marker. Despite scholarly debates on whether prohibitions on cow meat stemmed from its veneration as sacred or for its economic importance, neither side of the debate can be clearly proven. What is clear, though, is that cattle veneration is more rooted in nineteenth century than in ancient times, as a product of Hindu nationalism against both colonial rule and former Muslim rule (Staples 2018: 62). James Staples cites ample evidence to show that despite the ban on cow slaughter, India was the second largest exporter of beef in 2014, and that 70 percent Indians are non-vegetarian with beef being the second preferred item after fish in their diet. In present times, it appears that not simply cow-meat but meat eating in general is disapproved by a militant form of vegetarianism espoused by some Hindu nationalist leaders.[23]

Staples rightly argues that "the symbolic value of its (cow) flesh is highly contested" (2018: 60) and instead of generalising about why Indians do not eat beef, one has to explore the ground realities and practical considerations under which beef eating happens or is discouraged. For example, beef-eating is a positive marker of identity

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22 Beatrice Jauregui (2016: 116) notes in her thought-provoking ethnography of the Uttar Pradesh state police in India that implications of "political" in Indian everyday parlance is more than an inference to the machinations of politicians who try to exercise their will and choice on bureaucratic positions after they come to power. Apart from being about politicians' influence and the political interest of vested groups, the political carries a mix of context-based personal motive, structural (caste, religious, kinship ties) factors and one's rank and role in the official hierarchy.

23 This is seen, for instance, in the recommendation of one minister that eggs should be removed from the diet of school children in their mid-day meals provided by the government. https://lifestyle.livemint.com/news/talking-point/why-is-the-madhya-pradesh-govt-replacing-eggs-with-milk-in-midday-meals-111634529560395.html

for Dalit Christians in Andhra Pradesh wishing to assert their presence against Hindu hegemony (Staples 2018: 66). By 2011, however, beef as a symbol of oppositional identity politics against Hindu nationalism in Andhra Pradesh was on the wane, as people became more ambivalent about eating beef.

In contrast, eating beef and yak were part of the everyday food practices in Tawang and West Kameng and was not counted as oppositional politics. Yet, during my field visits in the winters of 2017 and 2018, I saw how people who had previously served beef freely now offered simple vegetarian meals or chicken at the most. I visited several homestays in these districts, where the hosts serve home-made vegetarian food in north Indian style; and only provide local dishes like *chhurpi* (fermented cheese), *zhan* (millet porridge) or *local liquors (ara* and *chang)* on demand. One homestay owner, Tsering (name changed) told me, non-Indian nationals often ask for and are served local fare, but "Indian tourists *alag hote hain"* (Indian tourists are different). They are very spiritual and follow many religious rules. Tsering said that they gave up serving beef because Indian tourists do not like it. Tsering was careful in wording his sentences, and justified the change in fare by saying that earlier alternatives to beef were not available but now there are alternate sources of protein such as fish and chicken, all coming from "*neeche*" (plains). In another homestay, rice, dal, egg curry, and vegetables (mostly potato) were served for both lunch and dinner, while breakfast had north Indian fare such as *parantha* (stuffed flat bread) and *aloo puri* (deep fried puffed bread and potatoes) on offer. Here, the hosts told me that they did not serve traditional Monpa cuisine such as fermented meats and cheese or bovine meat such as yak or beef. They justified their choice of menu by saying that most people prefer vegetarian fare. One of our host families was reluctant to open up about yak meat and even hesitated to serve us fried fowl but delightedly offered to cook yak fry and yak meat soup when we evinced interest in the traditional cuisine.

Here, it is neither resistance nor social mobility that is being asserted when people avoid introducing a bovine fare but rather a position of accommodation. While the hosts may prefer bovine meat, they would not serve it because of fear of offending Hindu Indian sensibilities, and more importantly, of violating the ban. It is a political position of not opposing, but rather, complying with the state stance. Writing about *akhuni* (fermented soyabeans), a popular fare in Nagaland and India's Northeast, Dolly Kikon (2015) states that it is often in the news for the wrong reasons, which is its smelliness that repel other people who are not used to it. This is a result of the food practices of dominant groups (north Indian/upper caste Hindu) being presented as the national cuisine while other food and diets are made marginal or erased. As we see in the case of the Monpas, beef and yak meat have become attached to a stigma, which is not merely because of a food ethnocentrism at work here, but also because of a religious environmentalism and the larger cow-politics in the current Indian nation-state. If akhuni is "less sophisticated", backward, and irritates the sensory aesthetics of non-consumers in mainstream Indian society (Kikon 2015: 321), yak is exotic and strange, and now in the current context of Buddhist environmentalism and Hindu nationalism, also outlawed.

In Arunachal Pradesh, another animal of the bovine species has attracted controversy. The *mithun* or bison found in Northeast India, and neighbouring Myanmar and Bangladesh, has a lot of symbolic value in the customary practices of many

Arunachali tribes. It is used as an important medium of bride price, and a mark of a household's prosperity. It is also the most preferred meat among a number of tribes in this state, especially the Abo-Tanw group of tribes consisting of Adi, Apatani, Nyishi, Tagin, Galo and Mishmi tribes of Arunachal Pradesh.[24] In 2016, a controversy erupted when Arunachal Pradesh Governor J. P Rajkhowa, finding a slaughtered animal outside Raj Bhavan, the state assembly house, mistook it for a cow, and suspecting political rivals of sabotage, sent images of its slaughter as evidence of breakdown of law and order in the state, and called for President's Rule in the state. Given the cow slaughter ban across many parts of the nation, this amounted to crime.[25] However, many local scholars (Rikam 2005, Gambo 2015) have pointed out the importance of the mithun in Arunachal Pradesh, and noted how it is often slaughtered as part of sacrificial rituals and its meat eaten.[26]

The yak and mithun episodes show how the bovine-centric cuisine of Arunachal Pradesh sits awkwardly in relation to a hegemonic Hindu cultural nationalism. In Tawang and West Kameng, therefore, it is cultural compromise at work, where Tibetan Buddhists of the Himalaya seek to display affinity with a Hindu majoritarian vegetarian ethos by declaring, "We are Buddhists. We do not believe in killing".[27] In doing so they allow themselves to be coopted into the narrative of Hindu nationalism.

We see a similar intersection of religious (Buddhist) nationalism and food politics in Bhutan, where Tshethar, the Buddhist practice of releasing animals destined for slaughter in order to accumulate merit, has now been officially adopted by the Bhutanese government as national legislation (Miyamoto, Magnusson and Korom 2021: 125). Tshethar – along with the Gross National happiness (GNH) – are both promoted by the Bhutanese government as practices derived from Buddhist doctrine, and held up

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24 Here Abo means father/forefather/ancestor and Tanw a proper name and the Abo-Tanw tribes are known as such because these tribes believe themselves to be the descendants of Abo-Tani whom they regard as their earliest (mythical) known ancestor (Gambo 2015).

25 https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/not-cow-but-mithun-a-sign-of-serious-trouble-in-arunachal-pradesh/

26 Arunachali academic Nabam Tadar Rikam (2005) has said that while most tribal communities of the Himalayan state rear mithuns, it is the most valued and sacred animal for the Nyishi community. Traditionally, the mithun figures prominently in the pantheon of powerful deities the Nyishis worship. The bovine-centric cuisine of Arunachal Pradesh leads Journalist Kai Friese to call it a case of exceptionalism. Describing his visit to the house of now departed politician Kalikho Pul, where he encountered several mithun skulls on display on bamboo poles all along the driveway, Friese writes, "Mobs of Hindus known as 'cow vigilantes' have murdered Muslims in recent years, accusing them of slaughtering sacred cattle. Yet here Mr. Pul's trophies represented respect for old gods and old ways of sharing the fat of the land". https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/24/opinion/india-election-modi-arunachal-pradesh.html

27 I had met and interviewed several homestay owners in December 2018. One of them, a young woman in her early 20s, whose name I withhold for anonymity, made this declaration. This is a common public attitude I observed among many people, including homestay owners. Once they realized that we were not there to censure their food practices, they opened up about their meat-eating preferences.

as markers of a Bhutanese religious national identity. Miyamoto, Magnusson and Korom (2021) show that this official stance against animal slaughter is not without its inconsistencies, for it upsets the local ecosystem as pastoral farmers, peasants and herders struggle for livelihood, abandoned animals run amok, and yet, meat-eating practices continue with imported stock from across the national borders. Scholars have pointed out more problematic aspects of the practice of animal release in other Buddhist countries in Asia, where it has been commercialised and regularised such that releasing animals requires hunters to first catch them; further, transfer and release of captured animals into different eco-systems lead to the creation of foreign invasive species as well as spread of new infectious diseases (Shiu and Stokes 2008: 189-190). Still, the state-supported vegetarian ethic has affected how people represent their food habits.

Not unlike the ordinary Bhutanese, the Monpas are keen to be seen to conform with the dominant political and cultural beliefs, leading to their public presentation of a vegetarian diet. They tend to justify their current rejection of beef and yak on grounds of religion, environment and health. "Beef, while considered good for strength and stamina, or framed as a medicine, cited in Ayurveda, was also seen as posing potential health risks", especially for diabetics or people with high blood pressure (Staples 2018: 69). I encountered similar views in Tawang and Bomdila that vegetarianism is good for health, the continued consumption of bovine meats notwithstanding.

A question here is how does one make a meat-eating community forgo this important part of their diet? When political and religious leaders advocate a meat ban, how are local people coaxed into participating in this belief? It is possible that by making the Himalayan people subscribe to an environmentalist ethic that prescribes vegetarianism, the district administrations of West Kameng and Tawang qua the Indian state, are practicing a form of governmentality, which Arun Agrawal (2005) terms "environmentality". Agrawal argues that when local communities are invited to participate in the governance of forests, wildlife, and natural resources, they internalise an environmental ethic. It is possible that recruiting local organisations such as the Tangnyom Tsokpa and giving them a surveillance role, is a step in this direction.

Going Beyond the Buddhist Framing of Human and Non-Human Relations

The entangled discourses around the yak ban, environmentalism and Buddhism in Arunachal Pradesh stem from a politics of cultural identity that is gradually spreading in the Buddhist Himalaya, where previously peripheral Himalayan border communities are now asserting their Tibetan Buddhist identity (Gohain 2020). They are mobilizing in support of campaigns that have as their main objective the preservation and promotion of Buddhist cultural heritage in the Indian Himalaya, such as the movements to get official recognition for the Tibetan Buddhist script and for the Tibetan medicine system in India, which is an important part of the Buddhist Himalayan heritage (Kloos 2016).[28]

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28 Several scholars, including Stephan Kloos have noted how Tibetan Buddhist medicine system has been appropriated as a traditional Indian medical system called Sowa Rigpa since the 2000s. Kloos documents this transformation that took place, involving much negotiation among conflicting Tibetan, India and Himalayan interests (2016: 21)

This form of cultural politics, led primarily by Buddhist religious leaders as well as some lay activists, has emerged among India's borderland Buddhists as a response towards their perceived regional marginalization, and as a counter-politics to carve out a distinct space for themselves within the larger Indian national identity. Paradoxically, these movements to reinvent Buddhism in India have gained momentum over the years with the support of the Indian state, for whom having loyal Buddhist subjects in these Himalayan borderlands serves the cause of national security (Gohain 2022, forthcoming). Buddhist environmentalism, in the context of the Indian Himalaya, is tied up with this form of cultural politics, with the survival and adaption of Buddhism in the modern world, and also, as I have shown, with the politics of Hindu nationalism.

But as anthropologists, what we should note is not a decontextualized religion coming to the rescue of environment. We should not accept without question the projection of a set of Buddhist beliefs onto local environmental practices. I must stress again that my intention is not to dismiss the mobilisation of Buddhism for environmental causes.[29] I do find a lot of value in the participation of Buddhist monks in environmental struggles, and agree with anthropologist Susan Darlington's suggestion that "by focusing one's intention on fulfilling the Buddhist teaching of interconnectivity rather than just making merit, monks and laymen have been able to make a real environmental impact" (Darlington 2016).[30] It is true that the environmental awareness spread by Buddhist religious leaders have had a real impact. What I am concerned with is the use of an essentialised religious identity to anchor these environmental struggles. It is important not to see religion or singular notions of culture as encompassing local practices and to understand that local practices are also part of a local ecology, in which life, livelihood, and environment are intertwined.

As anthropologist Georgina Drew (2014) notes with regard to the Hindu areas of the Himalaya, when women resisting dam building in Uttarkashi in Uttarakhand invoke the river Ganga, it is not a Ganga in a pan-Indian Hindu sense, but a Ganga that they know through the daily rituals and activities with the local water body. Although the local people merged their religious sensibilities with their environmental protest, it was not a blanket spirituality and hence, they expressed discomfiture with the activities of G.D Agarwal, activist involved in the Ganga Safai Abhiyan (Clean the Ganga) movement, who equated saving the Ganga from dams with safeguarding the Hindu faith. Agarwal's appeal to a pan-Indian Hinduism did not evoke the same response from the mountain people who considered him an outsider with no concern for local development and concerns.

This takes me to the second point, which is that insider-outsider dynamics play out in local environmental struggles. Citing her experience from Samdo in China, Emily Woodhouse (2012) states that local people prevented outsiders from cutting down or using the resources of these forests but took zero or minimal action against their own people who had broken norms on sacred land. According to Woodhouse, conflict over natural resources was purely about boundaries and access (2012: 53).

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29 I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for pushing me to clarify this point

30 http://chqdaily.com/2016/07/the-buddhist-approach-to-environmentalism/

This is borne out by similar observations on the Chipko movement in Uttarakhand which became famous as a local conservationist movement because of the image of the tree-hugging women. What is less advertised is that these women were not hugging trees to send a message against the felling of trees. Rather, they were conveying a message to the state and to contractors that the trees were not theirs (the contractors) to do what they will. In other words, they were staking their rights over the trees as a local forest resource.[31] Chipko was a local statement about the rights of local communities to the resources of the region (Rangan 2000). We see in Tawang too that the environmental struggle to oppose large dams contained the idiom of insider and outsider dichotomy, as local protestors argued that dam construction will bring in huge numbers of migrant workers from outside the state, who would threaten their culture and livelihoods (Gohain 2017).

Thus, in many areas of the Himalayas, even when people use Buddhist or Hindu values to articulate concern for the environment, they are simply voicing in a familiar framework their concerns about local customs, livelihoods, and ways of life that are under threat from climate change, state formation, infrastructure intrusion, or forced displacement. Closer anthropological investigations can reveal that local customs and ways of life are separate from religious prescriptions. As anthropologist Karine Gagne shows in her study of the relations between local Ladakhis and their natural environment, despite professing Buddhist values, the local people's concern for the environment is informed not by religion but by a "a practical ethics that stems from a deep attachment to, and respect for, their land and its gifts" (2018: xiii). While Buddhist doctrine may tell us about how Buddhism values animals, it alone cannot explain how Buddhist people in real life nurture an ethics of care through their practical knowledge of and engagement with the world.[32] Gagne argues that the ethics of care is not divorced from religion but not defined by it.

I go further to not only point to dissonances between textual Buddhism and the practices of Buddhists, but also to argue that when power and politics enter the picture, a politicised Buddhism may discriminate against practices that do not fit into its worldview. Attending to questions of how power enters into human and non-human relations and how politics shape the way in which we perceive and enact our equation with the non-human world are important to retain a critical perspective towards the role of religion in environment.

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31 Years after the Chipko movement attained international fame as a local conservationist movement, the Himalayan people of Uttarakhand had become disillusioned with the word conservation, as some reports claimed. "Chipko was essentially an economic campaign, a fight for local livelihood and when this was not achieved, the people became disillusioned. Now, even their traditional rights have been taken away and the forest guard is supreme." http://www.indiaenvironmentportal.org.in/content/41/chipko-an-unfinished-mission/

32 Gagne (2018) emphasises an ethics of care which is built on reciprocity and the practical character of how there is coexistence among human-non-human nature, not only in how animals sustain human lives through the food and labour they provide but also how animals play a role in the way affect enters knowledge (a mountain herder in following his flock not only gets to know the grazing routes but also develops an emotional bond with the landscape). She makes a distinction between ethics as practice and morality as duties and obligations.

The packaging of environmentalism as a kind of religious environmentalism specific to Indian (whether Hindu or Buddhist) value systems or the appropriation of local environmental protests to grand narratives of religion are tied up with nationalisms (Hindu nationalism or Buddhist nationalisms), which were also produced at a specific moment in history. As anthropologists, we must be cautious in applying or imposing them wholesale onto local lives and livelihoods, as this may be disruptive of the local ecology.

But in rejecting these positions, we must not lose sight of our common agenda. How may we salvage environmental concerns by theorizing an environmental ethic based on practical concerns of everyday life that resist incorporation into larger schemes of religion and nationalism? I have a set of thoughts rather than a conclusive argument to end my paper.

From Buddhist Ecology to Himalayan Environmentalism

Conceptually, how do we frame an environmentalism that is not defined by any religion but by the practical character of Himalayan life? The Himalayan ranges subsume a great diversity of terrain and cultures, and hence, a practical Himalayan environmentalism rather than an esoteric, doctrinal, ecological Buddhism, can better capture the local environmental practices. That is, can we talk about a Himalayan environmentalism, which is plural and not essentialist like ecological Buddhism? And how can anthropology help in arriving at a concept of Himalayan environmentalism that is plural instead of a singular, essential construct. As ethnographers, through ethnography, we can facilitate the rethinking of a Himalayan environmental ethic that is not a pre-determined approach but a practical and context-oriented one, and one that is attentive to the political ecology and to the lived realities of ecological relations. What, in other words, can be done to develop a practical ethics that is inclusive (does not leave out religious others) and can be adopted while developing context-based practical lessons for environmental preservation?

This conceptualization is aligned with the new Himalayan humanities approach proposed by scholars (Yu and De Maaker 2021) as an inter-disciplinary study of the anthropogenic or human-induced qualitative changes in the Himalaya. Himalayan humanities is critical of the fact that the Himalayan environment continues to be seen solely as a natural resource and energy source and not as the home of diverse ecosystems, habitats, heritages, and indigenous ecological worldviews and environmental ethics (Yu 2021: 9). The concept of Himalayan environmentalism creates space for discussing local ecological worldviews without the constricting covering of religious tradition.[33]

Therefore, and this is the second point, Himalayan environmentalism should be unmoored from religious identity, because the identity-religion-environment nexus creates boundaries that are rigid. We should be more flexible in understanding

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33 I prefer to use the term local over indigenous because of the problematic connotations of the latter in the Indian context, where the official position is that it is difficult to assign the indigenous label to select communities in a country where there have been many waves of migration.

Himalayan environmental practices as not stemming from Buddhism, Hinduism or Islam and instead point to those breaks, or gaps, between a universalizing ethic attributed to a religion and the everyday, the routine and the particular. Moreover, the Hindus, Buddhists and Muslims in the Himalayan mountains are marginal to the more organized Hindus, Buddhists, and Muslims in the plains, with distinct social customs and cultural practices that stand apart. For example, the meat-eating practices of many mountain-dwelling Hindus in Uttarakhand are seen as not conforming to majoritarian Hindu caste ideas of purity and pollution. Respecting the customs of these marginalized Himalayan communities will mean that some of their practices, such as the bovine-centric diet among the highland Buddhists, need not be abolished in order to adhere to a religious-environmentalist ethic.

Third, the Himalaya consists of many sensitive, even disputed borderlands and hence, are zones of heavy militarization. Militarization has had many environmental ramifications in the mountains. Army settlements, sprawling firing ranges, roads, observation sites, and other infrastructure built for military use in higher altitude areas have meant the compression of spaces traditionally used for grazing yak. Military surveillance and restriction of movement have affected both yak and yak-herders, led to the loss of livelihoods for the Brogpa yak-herding communities, and made previous pasture lands unavailable (Gagne 2018, Gohain 2020: 151). According to yak researcher, R.N Goswami, the closure of the border roads in 1962 as a result of the India-China war, was a major reason for the decline of the yak population, for in the days of free trade between Monyul and Tibet, "yaks were used as transporters to carry trade items to the highlanders, but with the closing of the border, the yak lost its prime place as a transporter and yak-herders lost their prime source of income" (Goswami 2009: 6). Many Brogpas now work as seasonal agricultural labourers or construction workers for the Border Roads Organisation, the roads construction wing of the Indian army.

Illegal and unabated tree felling in Himalayan forests have led to a drastic reduction in the forest cover, and often, members of the border security forces are found complicit in timber smuggling.[34] Military presence and the infrastructures of state security such as roads, tunnels and so on built in the fragile Himalayan terrain have further exacerbated landslides, avalanches, and other environmental harm (David, Gamble, Roche and Gawne 2021). Gamble and Davis make a compelling argument for setting up demilitarised zones in high altitude regions, where borders do not work because landscape changes in these seismic zones lead to "geological surprises".[35] Demilitarisation would avoid much senseless loss of life, environmental destruction, and allow social and cultural exchange for the region's local communities. Can a Himalayan environmentalism recognize this common effect of militarization and thereby discuss steps forward to protect these ecologically sensitive spots through demilitarization and increased local control?

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34   https://www.downtoearth.org.in/indepth/of-barren-hills-and-barrel-smoke-29175

35   https://thediplomat.com/2020/06/the-big-lesson-of-the-india-china-conflict-borders-dont-work-at-high-altitude/

The concept of Himalayan environmentalism arises out of my dissatisfaction with paradigms that try to subsume local environmental struggles within a grand religious tradition, whether it is Hinduism or Buddhism. What value lies in imposing the image of ecological Buddhist on border communities of the Himalaya if it ends up imposing on and disturbing local ecologies? On one hand, we have growing concerns about the fragile Himalayan ecosystem, with its high seismic hazards, glaciers facing climate change and high altitudes prone to landslides. On the other hand, local ecological practices in this region have either been romanticised as native ecology or subsumed within major religious traditions, mainly Buddhism, while harmful incursions in the form of state security and private infrastructure expansion go on. I have tried to show that the paradigm of ecological Buddhism is not enough to describe the complex environmental practices in the Himalaya. To see people in the Buddhist Himalayas as being ecological Buddhist is to blindside the practices that have sustained these communities over years and centuries and maintained a balance between the social and physical environment, between the realities of livelihood, access and available resources.

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Biographical Note

Swargajyoti Gohain is an Assistant Professor of Sociology and Anthropology at Ashoka University, India. She has a Ph.D. in Anthropology from Emory University, U.S.A., and a Bachelors and Masters in Sociology from Delhi School of Economics, Delhi University. She has held postdoctoral positions in the International Institute for Asian Studies, Leiden, Netherlands, and the Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi. Before joining Ashoka University, she was an Assistant Professor in the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology Kanpur. She has been the recipient of Wenner-Gren Dissertation Fieldwork Grant, German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) Award, Charles Wallace India Trust award, Sir Ratan Tata Fellowship, and UGC's Junior Research Fellowship (JRF).

Swargajyoti Gohain's research interests include the anthropology of state and borders, culture and politics, development, infrastructure and ecology, and educational institutions in the Indian Himalayan region. She has conducted ethnographic work in Northeast India and the Himalaya. Her first book, *Imagined Geographies in the Indo-Tibetan Borderlands* (2020, Amsterdam University Press) concerns cultural politics among the Tibetan Buddhist Monpa communities of Arunachal Pradesh. She has also published several articles on the politics of language, development, state formation, and identity politics in Northeast India and the Himalayan region.

Reviews

Eli Elinoff, *Citizen Designs: City-Making and Democracy in Northeastern Thailand*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2021, 310 pp. ISBN 9780824884598.

Many of the countries in Asia might not be good examples of democratisation, but could represent the failure of political reform. Thailand has similar characteristics to other countries that have continued to have repeated crises with military interventions, failures in government, and a fractured society. The northeast region, called Isan, will be highlighted by focusing on the area as a significant source of conflict and resistance.

To understand the conflicting citizen designs which reflect the contemporary struggles over citizenship, the limits of democratic inclusion, and the complex effects of mass urbanisation in Thailand, Eli Elinoff, a political and environmental anthropologist from Victoria University of Wellington, investigated the railway squatter communities of Khon Kaen city, one of the major municipalities in Northeast Thailand. His study found that citizenship struggles in Khon Kaen reflect 'Citizen Designs' through the improvement of the physical spaces for settlements and residents' personal lives. It also enhances aspirations for political equality and better quality of life, which are engaged by residents, activists, and participatory architects as well as motivated by the socio-political challenges around them.

Elinoff brings us to his fieldwork research through the book entitled "Citizen Designs: City-Making and Democracy in Northeastern Thailand". Interestingly, Elinoff interprets the main state railway running through the city of Khon Kaen not only as infrastructure, but in other dimensions. For instance, the railway as capital represents urban growth and economic development. In another way, the railway as a community gives us a better perception of the diversity of residents living along the tracks. They share common interests in terms of their political agendas, ideas, and empathies. The railway and its related issues annex them together.

Under the anthropological approach with enriching ethnographic and historical material, this book comprises ten chapters divided into three main sections, namely 'Prototypes', 'Assemblies' and ' Fragmentations'. Elinoff clarifies interrelated concepts between design and politics, particularly the context of despotic urbanism after the 2014 military coup. Then, he provides background concerning the turbulent periods of Thai politics, which meshed with electoral competitions, mass demonstrations, state violence, and the aftermath of military rule that led to disagreement concerning the term 'happiness', which the Junta has defined and enforced on people for harmony restoration.

Furthermore, long-standing historical issues such as inequality, exclusion, and socio-political subordination have become the roots of conflict and resistance between Isan and the Thai nation-state. These experiences and socio-economic changes expose ideas of the democracy of everyday life. They encourage people's political awareness and promote a sense of belonging into their community affected by state and non-state investments as well as the expropriation of land paralleling the rail line. Besides,

he gives us the background of political situations and conditions that illustrate how people learned from the crises and used their experiences to get through the struggles of political life as well as to strengthen their political claims and legitimacy over urban space, including authoritarian retrenchment.

Elinoff inspires us to draw an imaginary political map that comprises various actors in terms of residents, activism, and other political organisers, including hierarchal authorities and numerous activities in cooperation and competition such as in protests, local meetings, and contentious arguments. Under discussion on citizen designs, it refers to "the entangled visions of citizenship, politics, and the good life these actors imagined, debated, built, and struggled over in the spaces along the tracks. Citizen designs were expressed in actual designs of houses and communities as well as in protests, local meetings, contentious arguments, and highly personal, future-oriented visions of the good life. " (p.10). It also lets us understand the relationships among infrastructures, nations, and citizens in terms of how they shape and impact others. Why does urban design necessitate supporting citizens' desire to promote democratic cities and citizens, including the redesign of democracy itself?

This book also provides fruitful guidance to answer why designing the city relates to the emergence and persistence of democratic citizens. Next, what means do the Thai state and communities use for enhancing their power over urban planning and design to locate rights and laws, including maintaining their existence? Lastly, how can the nation, the city, the house, and the body be a space to enact democracy for the citizen? Last but not least, Elinoff ends the book with the outcomes of political disagreement between democratic and undemocratic modes of governing and being. His contribution raises questions about how urbanisation spreads democracy and better local governance as well as how citizens' voices matter for developing plans and democratic values under military-bureaucratic polity.

Due to the various on-going contestations and unreconciled conflicts, it seems problematic for the poor, who lack both the financial and political resources to act cooperatively and think politically. It would be a considerable concern for promoting democratic urban governance nowadays. Similarly, urban design and city management in Thailand may not wholly support citizens' desires since they depend on the authorities who govern or dominate the city. For this, public participation and residents' disagreement are frequently disguised by forming a consensus under bureaucratic lenses. He states that "design without politics is not democratic at all, but instead another mode of policing" (p.235).

In conclusion, the value of Elinoff's work is that it opens up and enables a better understanding of the far more complex questions about citizenship and a city as a potential space of democracy. Although Khon Kaen City is a brilliant case for studying urbanisation and its challenges in transforming cities, including democratic transitions, it could not fully represent all cities confronted with different contexts. However, his analysis should be required reading to comprehend the current issues in Thai urbanised transformations and reconsider the socio-political changes within the city and across the country related to the sense of political life. Likewise, his arguments and methodology could be good models for future research.

Reviewed by SUTHIKARN MEECHAN
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Himadri Lahiri, *Asia Travels: Pan-Asian Cultural Discourses and Diasporic Asian Literature/s in English.* Bolpur: Birutjatio Sahitya Sammiloni, 2021. xxiii+271 pp. ISBN: 978-81-953067-8-7.

The present book is a critical venture into the study of travelling cultures in and from Asia. In three broad sections—"From Home to the World: Pan-Asianism and Diaspora," "Shadows in the Nations: Diasporic Perspectives" and "Settling Down in the Diaspora"—Himadri Lahiri examines the concept of Pan-Asianism and the diasporic literary narratives through the lens of Asian travel experiences. The book is unique in the sense that it brings together the study of fictional works produced by the diasporic Asian writers of Japanese, Chinese, Indian, Afghan and Pakistani descent, which is hardly found in a single volume on Asian Studies published in the recent years. It also discusses the Pan-Asianist cultural discourses of Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) and Okakura Tenshin (1863-1913). These thinkers were not diasporic but they had travelled extensively and their cultural associations led to the growth of Pan-Asianism in the first half of the twentieth century, particularly during the interwar period.

Lahiri views Pan-Asianism as a historical phenomenon and relates it to the history of the Asian diaspora in the twentieth century. Despite the differences among the different Asian communities, they are often portrayed as a group with common cultural traits. The book explores this perception from a Pan-Asianist perspective. First, Pan-Asianism is viewed as a cultural discourse that looks beyond the geo-political borders of nation and nationality. Secondly, in the diaspora, it serves as an index for distinguishing Asians from other ethno-cultural groups. The anthologies of Asian diasporic writings helped forging an 'Asian' identity in the face of white racism and served as a platform for consolidation. Lahiri calls Pan-Asianism "a transnational ideology" and "a geo-cultural theory" which analyse "the relationship between the 'self' and the 'other'" (ix). He explains the dialectics of the 'self' and the 'other' in the following definition of Pan-Asianism: "it is a discourse born out of a spirit of going out of the nation and coming back 'home' (often in metaphorical sense) with the urge to form a neighbourly relationship with the people of other nations in the continent of Asia" (ix).

Rabindranath Tagore, the first Asian to win Nobel Prize in literature, looked upon the concept of Asianism from cultural, philosophical and spiritual perspectives. He was against the Western ideology of aggressive nationalism and his travels abroad were "marked by an attempt to interweave nations of the world into a single web of belief in cultural interaction" (35). His concept of "Greater India" in his *Java Jatrir Patra* (*Letters from Java: Rabindranath Tagore's Tour of South-East Asia*) explains that he sought to discover the cultural similarities between the rites, rituals and mythological consciousness of India and the islands of Southeast Asia. With the passage of time and with the spread of anti-Imperialist nationalist movements, the concept of Pan-Asianism shifted from a cultural concept with spiritual corollary to a political concept exuding aesthetic and cultural activism.

This book is not about travelogues. It is about reading 'travel' as a trajectory for reaching out to the Asian voices in Asia and abroad: "The book is about travel, dwelling in travel, and sharing transnational solidarity with fellow travellers from the same continent—Asia. It is about going beyond national identity while on the route (in both literal and metaphorical sense)…" (vii). Lahiri explores travel as a trope of,

and facilitator for, an inter-cultural dialogue among the Asians in Asia and beyond. He examines the effect of "dwelling in travel" on the cultural identity and the social lives of the diasporic Asians. He also studies the impact of the political upheavals in the country of origin and the country of immigration, such as the Partition of India (Bapsi Sidhwa's *Ice-Candy Man* and Ranbir Sidhu's "Border Songs") and Japanese American Internment (Monica Sone's *Nisei Daughter* and Hisaye Yamamoto's "The Legend of Miss Sasagarawa"). All these aspects contributed significantly to the development of a distinct literary culture. Lahiri traces the development of Asian American literature and the politics of its institutionalisation. He finds in this history the seeds of Asianist ideology and links it up with diasporic aesthetics.

Immigrant cultural displacement plays an important role in the development of diaspora aesthetics. Lahiri observes that "[t]he idea of the diasporic subject as a rootless being gives birth to the image of a traveller" (57). The idea of 'embodying travel' (Amitava Kumar) dominates diaspora aesthetics, which the Asian American writers such as Jhumpa Lahiri, Bharati Mukherjee, Bapsi Sidhwa, Khaled Hosseini, Maxine Hong Kingston and Monica Sone represent in their works. They look forward and backward into the history of travel experiences of their respective communities. Their perspectives are shaped by either their own experiences of travel or the experiences of their ancestors. Their reception in the hostland and their existence in a multicultural matrix are embedded in the memory of travel.

In Bharati Mukherjee's *Jasmine*, an immigrant girl from rural Punjab in India not only enacts the myth of receding American frontier but also goes through a series of cultural rebirth (and death) by adapting to the changes she encounters. Her geographical displacement is juxtaposed with the changes in her first names—Jyoti-Jasmine-Jazzy-Jase-Jane—thereby representing her 'travel' as a site of shifting cultures. Lahiri observes that a diasporic individual's experiences of dwelling in the interstices of cultures promote "cultural citizenship" the scope of which is broader than legal or political citizenship (170). The varied experiences infer on the diasporic subjects a pluralistic vision, which is characterised by the propensity to 'cross borders' physically, metaphorically and even generically in literary representations. This is evident in Maxine Hong Kingston's "constant shifting of spatio-temporal focus in *The Woman Warrior* or *China Men*" (61) and in Amitava Kumar's *Passport Photos* (2000), the latter representing the postcolonial immigrant condition. While Kingston is of Chinese descent, Kumar is an Indian American. Yet, Kumar "like Kingston, blurs the genre boundary of his work by mixing up personal narratives, critical observations, photographs, border signs, poems and so on" (62). Khaled Hosseini's *The Kite Runner* (2003), a novel largely based in Afghanistan, conveys that a diasporic writer can challenge the stereotyped representation of his homeland in Western media by highlighting the cultural heritage of his people.

A remarkable feature of the present volume is its inclusion of the travel experiences of the lesser known Asian diasporic communities. The chapter on the diaspora of the Himalayan nations such as Nepal, Bhutan and Tibet which discusses the literary works of Kunzang Choden (of Bhutanese descent), Majushree Thapa (of Nepalese descent) and Jamyang Norbu (Tibetan) adds a different dimension to the scholarship on Asian diasporic literatures in English. The book reviews in the Appendices provide relevant information about some of the latest works produced by writers such as Tishani Doshi,

Lee Chiu San and others. This book is indeed a pioneering project in its endeavour to find out the connections between Pan-Asianism and the Asian diaspora. The book is recommended for postgraduate students, university teachers and scholars of Anglophone diasporic literatures. It is indispensible for research scholars interested in Asian American fiction.

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Jacqueline Leckie, *Invisible: New Zealand's History of Excluding Kiwi-Indians*,
    Massey University Press, 2021, 247 pp.

The Indian diasporic community which represents more than five percent of New Zealand's national population, has now got its own historian. Jaqueline Leckie in her first book *Indian Settlers: The Story of a New Zealand South Asian Community,* published in 2007, had charted the history of migration and settlement of this small settler community in New Zealand since the nineteenth century. It was a celebratory narrative, which recorded this southernmost Indian diaspora's courage, endurance, enterprise, their social and cultural life, and above all, their contributions to the national life in New Zealand. In this second book on the community, Leckie brings out their pain and sadness, their struggles and resilience. It is a story of incessant racial discrimination that these people have endured ever since they arrived in this country; and that sad saga continues even today. These discriminatory practices were or are not always violent or dramatic, but often institutional and subtle. But even this history of covert racism, Leckie argues, seriously disturbs New Zealand's self-image of being an inclusive and open society.

Leckie's *Invisible* is a bold challenge to mainstream New Zealand historians to acknowledge this unpleasant past. In the early post-war period, Australian historians acknowledged that there was a 'white Australia policy'. Leckie's book shows there was a "white New Zealand policy" as well, and she establishes that fact with evidence and documentation. She is not the first historian to point that out, but it is yet to be recognised in mainstream New Zealand historiography. This reluctance is either due to an attitude of denial, or because of an overwhelming focus on biculturalism. So, while the story of the Māori has been incorporated into the national history, the tales of historic discrimination against Asian minorities, like the Chinese and the Indians, have remained excluded, making them 'invisible' in the nation's past. This uncomfortable racist past, Leckie reminds us, needs to be acknowledged and addressed, rather than ignored.

The book starts with the little-known fact that the Indians arrived in Aotearoa in 1769, only a few months after James Cook. And so, their association with the land goes back to the earliest days of first contact between the Māori and the Europeans. Since then, many British East India Company ships touched the shores of Aotearoa, in search of timber and sealskin, and all these ships were manned by Indian *lascars* (sailors) and *sepoys* (soldiers). Some of them jumped ships and settled down in this land. Others in course of time came in search of fortunes, but their number remained small. In the nineteenth century Indian manual workers could be seen working all over New Zealand, contributing to its various development projects.

Their number remained small because from the late nineteenth century, like other white settlement colonies such as South Africa, Canada and Australia, New Zealand too endeavoured to raise immigration walls to stop Asiatic migration. But there was a problem. Unlike other Asians, the Indians were already British subjects, and Queen Victoria had promised them freedom to travel across the empire. So, London authorities blocked racist legislation from time to time. But the New Zealand government managed to bypass those objections, and in 1899 and again in 1920, subjected the Indians to immigration restrictions. These laws reflected a "White New Zealand policy", Leckie argues, although it was successfully hidden from international attention. These restrictions on the movement of Indians continued in various forms in the post-war period, until a new law opened immigration to all in 1987.

These restrictive immigration laws, Leckie shows, were in response to an emerging political consensus in favour of keeping New Zealand society white. Such racist attitudes were reflected in various forms of discrimination that the Indians faced at both institutional and community levels. This was incited by various racist organisations that began to appear from the early twentieth century, leading to the establishment of the White New Zealand League in 1925. It scared people about a possible deluge of Asian migrants who would destroy the New Zealand way of life.

At this point the enterprising Indians also appeared to be economic competitors. The devastating impacts of an economic depression could easily be translated into rhetoric of race. This led to various forms of discrimination in the workplace, as Leckie shows. There was a concerted attempt to nudge them out of the retail trade in fruits and vegetables. Some trade unions thought that the Indians were taking away jobs from the Pakeha workers and unfairly depressing wages; so, their members refused to work with them. New Zealand Army systematically excluded Kiwi-Indians on various excuses during both world wars, even though the few Indians who were accepted were showing exceptional bravery. For a long time, the Indians and other Asians did not get any old age pension.

Apart from such institutional racism, Leckie discovers various other forms of "casual and informal racism", such as name calling, imposing European names, denying rental housing, or not allowing access to certain seats in theatres. Compared to the Europeans, the Māori were more friendly and respectful towards the Indians. But this camaraderie was frowned upon and caused anxieties. Significantly, this book documents how such covert discrimination continues even today, although often in the form of passive aggression, betraying nonetheless the arrogance of white privilege. Sometimes it is also overt physical violence, such as the recent attacks on Indian dairy owners or the Christchurch mosque massacre of 15 March 2019.

Leckie's book also shows that the Kiwi-Indians, despite their small numbers, resisted such discriminatory practices through collective action. In this sphere, most remarkable was the role of the New Zealand Indian Central Association (NZICA), formed in 1926. It organised protests, wrote petitions, lobbied the government, and in many cases successfully secured redressal of their grievances. It is important to note that both books by Leckie on the Kiwi-Indian diaspora were sponsored by the NZICA.

So, this present book is as much to appeal to the collective conscience of the nation as it is to inform the Kiwi-Indian community of their arduous past and their courageous resistance and resilience.

This book is therefore not just for academics, but for the general readers as well. So, Leckie has skilfully integrated her metanarrative of racial exclusion with several microhistories on the margin. These are short parallel narratives on ordinary individuals and communities, and their extraordinary adventures, and achievements. These are accompanied by facsimiles of actual documents, newspaper reports and cartoons, and above all, plenty of interesting photographs from different periods. Like her first book, this one too is going to be appreciated by both scholars and interested general readers. Whether or not it will lead to any revision of the hegemonic historical narrative of the New Zealand nation is another matter.

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