Conceptualising ‘Friendship’

30 September – 2 October 2010

PROGRAMME

Convenors:
Carla Risseeuw, IIAS / Leiden University
Silvia d’Intino, CNRS, Paris
Tazuko van Berkel, Classics, Leiden University

Sessions:
Contemporary approaches in East and West
South and Southeast Asian Traditions
Greco-Roman Antiquity

Its meaning and practice in time and place

International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) www.iias.nl | iias@iias.nl
PROGRAMME

Conceptualising ‘Friendship’, its meaning and practice in time and place

30 September – 2 October 2010

Venue:
Academy Building, Rapenburg 67-73, Leiden

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INTRODUCTION TO THE CONFERENCE

Conceptualising ‘Friendship’,
its meaning and practice in time and place

30 September – 2 October 2010
Leiden, the Netherlands

The three-day conference will involve contributions from the field of Philosophy, European Classical Antiquity; studies on South and South East Asian classical texts and the social sciences on contemporary East and West. Geographically the focus is on Asian and Euro-American cultural traditions and practices. Contributions on ancient classical sources, middle age; recent history and contemporary are welcomed.

Sessions:
(a) South and Southeast Asian traditions
(b) Greco-Roman Antiquity
(c) Contemporary approaches in East and West
(d) Friendship and Crisis

The conference will be completed with a round table discussion of all participants to plan for future publication and possibilities of further cooperation. One or more publications are planned.

Introduction

Although a term like ‘friendship’ can be called universal, in the sense that it finds its local, varying expressions in time and place, in many respects it remains an elusive concept. In anthropology for example, it seems even more evasive than the much analyzed and debated concept of ‘kinship’. The local moralities in which ‘friendship’ is embedded are contextual and shifting. To find appropriate concepts to express its fluidity and shades of permanence becomes a genuine challenge. Still, universally it tends to be seen as a valuable relationship of some kind.

The aim of this conference is to further our understanding of the various meanings and practices that can be attached to the term ‘friendship’ both in different social and cultural contexts and historical periods. Which are the semantic implications and the specific terminology attached to this concept in Asian and Euro-American languages?

Further shades of ‘friendship’ tend to be articulated within a wider set of relationships and moralities; also one language can articulate differing conceptual meanings but also provide more nuances in naming styles of friendship.

The term ‘friendship’ functions merely as an overall catchword – not more. The English term is by no means a culturally neutral concept. It tends to carry as prerequisites that bonds of friendship should be ‘voluntary’ and ‘intimate’ and be marked by an ‘absence of ulterior ends’. Only when these conditions are met, is a friendship experienced to be ‘sincere’ and valuable. Sincerity is seen as the most exclusive and highly valued form of expression ‘friendship’ can take. The morality that any form of ‘instrumentality’ in friendship somehow dilutes the quality of the relationship in some way follows naturally from this view. The English term also implicitly involves some base of ‘equality’ between friends, which need not be universal.
As will be discussed in the session on European Classical Studies the pre-Christian Western notions of friendship, especially the Greek ‘philia’ and Roman ‘amicitia’, are influential concepts shedding light on existing preconceptions about ‘modern’ Euro-American friendship. Nevertheless apart from the risk of inadvertently conflating apparently similar concepts, direct lines of continuity cannot be easily drawn. Distinguishing between historical lines of (dis)continuity and mere conceptual similarity is complex and requires analysis and debate.

In *The Theft of History* (Cambridge University Press, 2006) the anthropologist Jack Goody draws attention to the continuing Eurocentric or occidentalist biases in much of western historical writing on the West. In this work, Goody points to the prevailing tendency among many western authors/scholars to claim certain central concepts (and ‘virtues’) like ‘democracy’, ‘capitalism’, ‘individualism’ and also certain emotions such as ‘love’, as exclusively ‘western inventions’, created out of ‘western’ historical traditions. He attempts to discredit this teleological way of thinking, which he views as equally overrating the element of continuity in European history as well as underrating parallel developments and contributions in other cultures. Contributions from Islamic, Arab societies, from the East (China, India Japan and others) and also from oral cultures tend to remain unconsidered.

In reconsidering today the ideal of ‘friendship’, Goody’s analysis will provide a source of inspiration, when debating the variety of concepts and shifting practices and meanings of ‘friendship’ in both East and West.

Convenors:

- Prof. Carla Risseeuw, anthropologist, IIAS Research Fellow / Leiden University (Overall convenor and session convenor on friendship in contemporary East and West).

- Dr. Silvia d’Intino, Indologist, Senior Researcher CNRS, Paris (Session convenor on Classical Asian sources and traditions).

- Tazuko A. van Berkel, researcher Classics, Leiden University (Session convenor Classical Western (ancient Greek and Latin) traditions).
As in Western classical cultures, we found in Asian traditions a discourse on friendship, a theoretical approach. Of the “five relationship” (wulun 五倫) in Confucianism — the five bonds that men in society were to observe and promote — the fifth one, friendship (you 友), was unique. It was neither a family bond, nor a state bond. Trust and trustfulness were the values associated to it. W. Lai (1996) states that friendship “was not a central concept in China”, because of the high hierarchical approach of the society and its institutions. Yet, friendship appears as the only social bond that could be voluntary and non-hierarchical, and it is thus possible to look at friendship relation as a refuge from the hierarchy of the system.

Different practices of friendship lead to a specific vocabulary, reflecting a particular socio-historical context. Looking at this context will help to better grasp the implications of the idea of friendship, at a personal private level and inside a larger social context. As a power of relation on which solidarities may grow up, friendship tends to go over canonical schemes and to put itself as a ‘cross-relation’.

The ‘civic friendship’ (politikè philía) theorised by Aristotle in Nicomachean Ethics as the principle of any society, reflects a social ideal, appears to be similar to the concept of friendship developed in Ancient India. In the Laws of Manu strong bans delimit the arena of friendship, and shed light on the high value of this relationship. To kill a friend is described a major crime. However, who is the friend in this ancient society? As a rule, the term sakhi indicates someone of my own clan (sakhā); but he may also be a simple ‘ally’ for a chosen community temporary united for a battle or a common scope. Better than sakhi and sakhya, another Sanskrit term, mitra, illustrates this ‘contractual friendship’, marked by specific rituals, as the gifts’ exchange, symbolizing reciprocity always to be reaffirmed (Gonda 1973).

Along with this model, literary sources show that the notion of friendship invests particularly the religious context. The intimacy between Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa, e.g., in the Bhagavad-gītā offers a model of ‘pure friendship’, which goes beyond the limits of human relationship.

Indo-European languages highlight a common heritage concerning the idea of friendship. Following É. Benveniste (1969), different terms as Gr. φίλος, Lat. civis, Skt. śiva, śeva, pointed to the same category, with social implications and emotional values. The notion of friend is originally associated with that of ‘guest’: more precisely, it indicates the friend is the ‘foreign guest’ (xénos), receiving, throughout the hospitality, the same rights as the ‘cives’. The most eloquent example of a ritual of ‘friendship’, says Benveniste, is the wedding, where the bride riches husband’s house as a guest, and becomes a friend to all the family. Here “the emotionality cannot be separated from the vivid awareness of the social group and classes proper to Indo-European societies” (Benveniste 1969, vol. I: 337).

While exploring different rituals of friendships, the question of the relationship between friendship and memory emerges. Reflecting on Western classical models of friendship, J. Derrida (1995) observes that the need for a past, a vital relation to a past, is a main feature of friendship. Does friendship have a genealogy? How a given community elaborates the memory of its friends (praises, commemorations, etc.)?
This session will focus on the emergence and development of different ideas of friendship in different Asian traditions; the values (hospitality, reciprocity, familiarity, etc.) each culture attached to it; the impact of the socio-historical context on the development of a specific idea of 'friendship'; the rituals and practices adopted to create a 'friendship' and to corroborate it.

References:

The shaping of European friendship?

TAZUKO A. VAN BERKEL
LEIDEN UNIVERSITY

In Euro-American societies, definitions of friendship, despite their differences, invariably contain the prerequisites that bonds of friendship be “voluntary” and “intimate” and marked by an “absence of ulterior ends”. Several developments in the social sciences have raised awareness of the historical and cultural variation in descriptions of friendship, increasing our understanding of the non-universal nature of factors such as intimacy and spontaneity. Moreover it has reopened the question how bonds of friendship are related to other social relationships that involve long-term commitment such as family ties.

In Classical Studies, the so-called “Anthropological Turn” (KONSTAN 1997, p.3 ff.) instigated by the work of MOSES FINLEY (1954) has reopened the question what it is that defines social relationships in Greco-Roman Antiquity giving rise to divergent interpretations. Whereas some scholars emphasize the diachronical continuity of “Western” friendship, contending e.g. that friendship in the Greco-Roman world is characterized by “a relative autonomy comparable to the status it presumably enjoys in modern life” (KONSTAN 1997, p.5), others, following Finley, claim that prerequisites such as “voluntariness” and “absence of ulterior ends” are typically products of “commercial societies” (SILVER 1990) and are not applicable to Greco-Roman antiquity. In general, social historians of Greco-Roman antiquity suffer from a double bind, for the hard-won awareness that European conceptualizations of emotions and social relations are not naturally universal easily provokes the contrary reproach for propagating an equally misplaced sense of historical “uniqueness” (e.g. GOODY (2006), 26-67). Hence, the topic of Greco-Roman friendship has proved to be a field of tension indicative for the divergent views on the place of Classical Studies in an academic world that, in the wake of the “Black Athena controversy”, attempts to shed off the remainders of a Eurocentric worldview.

As Classical Antiquity witnessed the rise of the genre of “friendship literature”, moral-philosophical reflection on the phenomenon of friendship, as well as descriptive textual material from a variety of genres ranging from comedy and oratory to poetry, we have an exceptional wealth of textual source material that enables us to reconstruct how “friendship” was experienced in antiquity. It is against this backdrop that we propose to devote one of our sessions to pre-Christian Western notions of friendship, especially Greek philia and Roman amicitia, with due regard to political, economic and religious factors, accounting for historical continuity as well as discontinuity.

In this session we hope to gain from the interdisciplinary interaction and to lay bare the historical and cultural contingency of some of the preconceptions and presuppositions that are prevalent in the study of modern Euro-American “friendship”. At the same time we hope to shed some light on the origins of the Western conceptual apparatus that is applied in definitions and descriptions of friendship.

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1 The “Black Athena”-controversy was instigated by MARTIN BERNAL’S eponymous monography that contends that since the nineteenth century, scholars of classical antiquity have inflated the role of ancient Greek civilization in the political, cultural and scientific developments that have been decisive for European history, while neglecting the wider context of Greek achievements and downplaying the contacts with Phoenicia and Egypt. BERNAL has labeled this accepted interpretation of the cultural history of Ancient Greece as the "Aryan model", devised by nineteenth century scholars affected by the development of racism and anti-Semitism, as opposed to the "Ancient model" that acknowledges the influence of the eastern Mediterranean on Greek culture. M. BERNAL, Black Athena: the Afroasiatic roots of classical civilization. Vol. I: The fabrication of Ancient Greece 1785-1985, London (1987)
friendship as outlined above. The focal point of this session will be the conceptual architecture of the key-concepts that define and describe ancient friendship. Among the core values and central notions we suggest:

- changing conceptions of personhood and the self/other-distinction, and their implication for questions of altruism, choice (ascripted vs. achieved relationships);
- changing conceptions of reciprocity and its centrality in the construction of friendship, its relation to “commitment”, its implications for questions of “instrumentality” interwoven with political structures (egalitarian ideologies vs. institutionalized forms of patronage);
- the implications of changes in social, political and economic structures for conceptions of “personal space” or the sphere in which “personal relations” are cultivated; the public/private distinction, conceptions of the family (e.g. philia the Greek term for “friendship” also covers the “ascripted” relationships within the family);
- changing valuation of emotions (e.g. intimacy) and emotionality (impulsiveness) in friendships: to what extent are social relationships defined and organized in terms of emotions?
In these two sessions the aim is to discuss and compare interpretations of - what we – at this preliminary stage - call ‘friendship’. Although the meaning may appear self-evident, when more thought is given to this concept, historical and cross-cultural differences and shifts in meaning emerge.

Among anthropologists and social historians, the concepts of ‘family’ and ‘kinship’ seem to have been predominant, pushing a concept such as ‘friendship’ into the background. In contrast to ‘kinship’, ‘friendship’ seems to have been considered too ‘fluid’, ‘private’ and lacking in ‘social structure’ to theorize about. It was once even apologetically characterized as a topic “too narrow and too rhapsodical to be worthy of a work unto itself” (Blosser and Bradley, ix, 1997).

Nevertheless, exceptions are found, as Bell and Coleman’s ‘the Anthropology of Friendship’ (1999). The authors point out the potential overlap of kin and friends as well as to the specific high flown ideals of freedom, flexibility and creativity attached to “Western” (particularly middle class) views of friendship (14, 1997). Moreover, at times glimpses of an emerging debate can be found. For example, among social historians and anthropologists the goal of the recent study ‘The Friend’ by Alan Bray (2003) was to re-shape existing analysis of ‘the history of the family’ since the Late Middle Ages in Northern Europe.

In the sessions on ‘Contemporary Contexts of Friendship in East and West’, we are seeking contributions about ideals of friendship as well as how these are enacted. How are friendships formed and celebrated? How are misunderstandings or conflicts in such relationships handled? How are continuity and discontinuity expressed? What expectations and obligations are bound to the relationship? Although not often articulated, friendship tends to rest on different underlying images of the social world and specific ideas about conviviality; sociability; (in)-equality, intimacy, sexuality, trust, (dis)continuity, reciprocity and in- and exclusiveness. Borders of family intimacies can resonate in the shaping of friendship relations. Likewise, borders of gender, age, caste, class, (in)-equality can and do facilitate or inhibit the emergence of forms of friendship. In other words, extensive cultural scripts of friendship do exist, even though they are not easily articulated. In addition, languages worldwide differ substantially in their degree of idiom to express a variety in meaning and practice in friendship relations. See for example Mayfair Mei-lui Yang’s well-known book: ‘Gifts, Favors and Banquets, the art of social relationships in China’ (Cornell, 1994), which discusses the differing shades of friendship besides the well-known ‘Guanxi’ or Martin W. Huang’s recently published ‘Male Friendship in Ming China’, (Brill, 2007).

The elusiveness of the concept can also be traced in increasing present-day mobility, leading to (new) varieties of cross-cultural friendships. In such contexts people can have or share the experience of realizing or enacting various scripts of friendship alongside their own.

It is also a context in which shifts in meanings and practices of friendship and forms of bonding can be created. Likewise, the rapid increase in urban space world-wide can impact on a person’s networks and the arenas of sociability where friendship can be given shape (“... the triumph of privacy and discipline in the modern West”: Jeff Weintraub, 1997: 20). Much less is known about this theme of shifts in
(personal) relationships in the rapidly rising South and South East Asian metro poles.

The arenas of ‘sociability’ and/or ‘sociality’ within which forms of bonding as friendship are contextualized and enacted in differing settings are relevant in order to understand the (unsaid) contours of shaping much of the matter-of-fact ways of ‘being social’, ‘style of relating’, ‘bonding’, ‘ways of keeping company or distance’ as well as ‘managing conflict’. Although not directly dealing with ‘friendship’, the existing subtle and well-documented studies of social historians about ‘sociability’, most of them situated in West European history, could be mentioned in this context (for example: Brown, 2006; Whyman, 1999).

In recent studies in anthropology on the other hand, the relative lack of existing idiom in the discipline, to describe and understand ‘relationships’, compared to the extensive existing literature on ‘personhood’ has been pointed out. (Overing and Passes, 2000; Ingold, 1996: 62/7). In this context, the well-known anthropologist Marilyn Strathern points to what she terms the conceptually “huge investment…in the language and imagery of individuals and groups”, whereas it is the “fresh ways” of speaking “about the complexities and ambiguities of relationships that is needed” (2005: 27).

With the contributions to these sessions, we aim to improve insight into the scope of existing studies in this field and bring concerned scholars together and stimulate further debate and knowledge of each other’s work. We hope to deepen insights into the cross-cultural and historical diversity of meanings given to relationships between ‘friends’ of a kind. Presentations can be both more analytical in their approach and the presentation of the results of specific case studies. Historical contributions (from approximately 15th century onwards) analysing shifts in meaning through time as well as contributions dealing with the challenge of comparison will be especially welcomed.

References:
PROGRAMME

Thursday 30 September 2010

8.30 – 9.00
Registration

9.00 – 9.20
Opening:
- Philippe Peycam, director, International Institute for Asian Studies, the Netherlands
- Carla Risseeuw, anthropologist, Research Fellow, IIAS / Leiden University, the Netherlands

SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIAN TRADITIONS

Convenor: *Silvia D’Intino*, Indologist, Senior Researcher CNRS, Paris, France

9.20 – 9.30
*Silvia D’Intino*
Introductory Remarks

CHAIR: *Silvia D’Intino*, Indologist, Senior Researcher CNRS, Paris, France

9.30 – 10.20
KEYNOTE SPEAKER
*Charles J-H Macdonald*, senior Research Fellow - Emeritus (Directeur de Recherche Emerite), CNRS, France
*The Strength of a Weak Link: Friendship*

10.20 – 11.00
*Govinda Chandra Rath*, G. B. Pant Social Science Institute, University of Allahabad, India
*Friendship as an Epitome of Moral Binding: Analysis of the Views of the Indian Sanskrit Text, the Panchatantram*

11.00 – 11.20
Coffee

CHAIR: *Jonathan Silk*, Professor of Buddhist Studies, Leiden University Institute for Area Studies, the Netherlands

11.20 – 12.00
*Aloka Parasher-Sen*, University of Alberta, Canada
*Friendship Beyond Pleasure – The Indic Context through the Prism of Early Buddhist Thought*

12.00 – 12.40
*Ranjini Obeyesekere*, Princeton University, USA
*Forms of Friendship in a Medieval Asian Society as illustrated in three stories from the Buddhist Jataka Collection*

12.40 – 13.40
Lunch
GRECO-ROMAN ANTIQUITY

Convenor: Tazuko van Berkel, Classics, Leiden University, the Netherlands

13.40 – 13.50
Tazuko van Berkel
Some Introductory Remarks

CHAIR: Tazuko van Berkel, Classics, Leiden University, the Netherlands

13.50 – 14.40
KEYNOTE SPEAKER
Gabriel Herman, Hebrew University, Israel
Greek Friendship and Human Nature

14.40 – 14.50
Short break

14.50 – 15.30
Aurélie Damet, L’Université de Paris 1, France
Tensions in the familial Greek philia

15.30 – 16.10
Bernadette Descharmes, Technische Universität Carolo Wilhelmina Braunschweig, Germany
The Theatre of Friendship: Fifth century conceptions of philia presented in Greek tragedy

16.10 – 16.30
Coffee

CHAIR: Adriaan Rademaker, Classics, Leiden University, the Netherlands

16.30 – 17.10
Albert Joosse, Utrecht University, the Netherlands
A new conception of friendship: The journey to wisdom in classical Athens

17.10 – 17.50
Tazuko van Berkel, Leiden University, the Netherlands
Valuing Coins, Coining Values. Friendship after Money
Friday 1 October 2010

**THE CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT: APPROACHES TO THEMES OF FRIENDSHIP IN EAST AND WEST**

Convenor: Carla Risseeuw, IIAS / Leiden University, the Netherlands

**CHAIR: Carla Risseeuw, IIAS / Leiden University, the Netherlands**

9.30 – 10.20
**KEYNOTE SPEAKER**
Allan Silver, Columbia University, USA
*Historical Vicissitudes of Friendship Ideals: Utility, Interest and Personal Solidarity*

10.20 – 11.10
**KEYNOTE SPEAKER**
Martin W. Huang, University of California – Irvine, USA
*Contested Meanings of Friendship in Late Imperial China*

11.10 – 11.30
Coffee

11.30 – 12.10
Ying Hu, University of California – Irvine, USA
*To Keep a Promise: Friendship, Death, and Mourning*

12.10 – 12.50
Adam Sutcliffe, Department of History, King’s College London, United Kingdom
*Friendship in the European Enlightenment: The Rationalization of Intimacy?*

12.50 – 14.00
Lunch

**CHAIR: Martin W. Huang, University of California – Irvine, USA**

14.00 – 14.40
Kapitolina Fedorova, European University at St. Petersburg, Russia
*The Concept of ‘Friendship’ in Russian: between Subject and Object*

14.40 – 15.20
Kanako Akaeda, Kyoto University, Japan
*Women’s Intimate Relationships as Romantic Love: A Historical-Sociological Study of Women’s Friendship in Modern Japan*

15.20 – 15.40
Coffee

15.40 – 16.20
Brij Tankha, Department of East Asian Studies, Delhi University, India
*Exploring the Bonds of Friendship in Japan*

16.20 – 17.00
Nita Kumar, Department of History, Claremont McKenna College, USA
*Friendship in contemporary India*
Saturday 2 October 2010

**THE CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT: APPROACHES TO THEMES OF FRIENDSHIP IN EAST AND WEST**

**CHAIR:** Brij Tankha, Department of East Asian Studies, Delhi University, India

**9.30 – 10.10**
Andrew Lambert, University of Hawaii, USA  
*Friendship East and West: Confucian thinking about ‘ethical’ friendship*

**10.10 – 10.50**
Wei-Cheng Chu, National Taiwan University, Taiwan  
*The Utility of “Translated” Friendship: For the Chinese Society, Past and Present*

**10.50 – 11.30**
Kyoko Inagaki, Kyoto University, Japan  
*Community of Memory: friendship in girls’ schools in pre-war Japan*

**11.30 – 12.40**
Lunch

**FRIENDSHIP & CRISIS**

**CHAIR:** Martine Guichard, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Germany

**12.40 – 13.20**
Fabienne Martin, GECKO, University of Nanterre, France  
*The Forging of Bonds: Using friendship as a way of rehabilitating for leprosy communities in North India*

**13.20 – 14.00**
Panitee Suksomboon, Thammasat University, Thailand  
*Phuean (Friends), Phuean Thidi (Good Friends) and Phuean Sanit (Close Friends): Dynamics and Shades of Thai Friendship among Thai Women in the Netherlands*

**14.00 – 14.20**
Coffee

**14.20 – 15.00**
Natascha Gruber, University of Vienna, Austria / University of California at Berkeley, USA  
*Friendship Manifesto*

**15.00 – 15.40**
Leonidas Karakatsanis, University of Essex, United Kingdom  
*Friendship through enmity? Reflections from the Turkish-Greek encounters*

**15.40 – 17.00**
Closing remarks. Final round table coordinated by Tazuko van Berkel, Silvia D’Intino and Carla Risseeuw
ABSTRACTS IN ORDER OF PRESENTATION
CONCEPTUALISING ‘FRIENDSHIP’,
ITS MEANING AND PRACTICE IN TIME AND PLACE

SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIAN SOURCES AND TRADITIONS

Charles J-H Macdonald, CNRS, France

The Strength of a Weak Link: Friendship
In a previously published essay (Macdonald 1999) I concluded that friendship was best expressed in one ethnographically documented instance in island Southeast Asia as a kin relation. At the same time, and for the same people, I also concluded that friendly relations were the rule between kin and nonkin alike. My analysis was based on several institutional dimensions (particularly name types, kinship system and oral literature) and the conclusion I reached was that a separate and specific institution of friendship did not exist but that the spirit of friendship permeated all social relations among the people I was studying (the Palawan people in the southern Philippines).

I may not have realized at the time the theoretical relevance of the non-hierarchical dimension of friendship, which is to cross social barriers while creating an emotionally strong and socially weak link between two persons. In a number of essays written at a later date (Macdonald 2008, 2009), I have tried to demonstrate that a certain type of human communities are not social in the usual sense of the term but constitute fellowships based on an open-aggregated and anarchic principle. For this type of communities friendship and personal affinities are of the essence. Cooperation, trust and solidarity within the community are conditional upon the creation of such links based on personal interaction. In social systems where ranking is pervasive, friendship can be construed, among other institutions, as a “temporary autonomous zone” (Bey 2003) or as an element of anti-structure.

In my presentation I shall explain this in greater detail using a large spectrum of comparative data, including examples from South and Southeast Asian cultures. I shall use and develop a conceptual framework (including such notion as conditions of felicity, organic complexity, and weak links) within which the concept of friendship becomes fully meaningful.

Govinda Chandra Rath, G. B. Pant Social Science Institute, University of Allahabad, India

Friendship as an Epitome of Moral Binding: Analysis of the Views of the Indian Sanskrit Text, the Panchatantram
The Panchatantra (also spelled Pañcatantra or Pañca-tantra) consists of five books of animal fables and magic tales (some 87 stories in all) that were compiled, in their current form, between the third and fifth centuries AD. It is a 'niti shastra' or textbook of 'niti' - 'wise conduct of life'. The original stories were written in the Sanskrit prose by the author Pandit Vishnu Sharma, which was later translated into Arabic language around 750 AD and found its way to Europe through oral folklore channels by way of Persian and Arabic translations. It substantially influenced medieval writers of fables.

It begins by saying that the King Amaramshakti of Mahilaropya in South India had three mischievous sons, namely Bahusakti, Ugarsakti and Anantshakti. All three of them were absolutely stupid and uninterested. Seeing his three sons absolutely disinterested and indifferent to education the king called upon the ministers and...
said, "As you know that my three sons are absolutely disinterested towards knowledge and lack common sense and understanding, looking at them I can't even enjoy this big empire and its happiness." Realizing the grave of king's concern, one of them, Pandit Vishnu Sharma assured him to teach and make his sons disciplined within six months. The king put them in his charge, who taught them all about politics, administration and morals through a series of stories or fables. The Panchatantra got the shape out of these stories. These stories are fables based mostly on animals which always end with a moral. The animals portray a constant character, e.g. the lion is always strong, the fox is always cunning etc. These stories illuminating the qualities of human nature are as relevant today in the space age, as it was written centuries ago.

Pandit Vishnu Sharma adopted five strategies to educate the sons of the king. Each strategy is designated as one tantra. Thus there are five *tantras* or volume consisting of these stories. The first tantra is about differences between friends, *Estrangement of Friends* (Mitrabhed). It begins with a story of two friends (lion and a bullock). A greedy jackal creates differences between them by employing evil means. All the other stories of this part are interrelated and follow in a sequential manner. The second *tantra* is about union with friends, *Winning of Friends* (Mitrasampraptih). The second tantra begins with a story Chitrangreeva- the pigeon and Hiranyak- the mouse. The intelligent mouse helps Chitrangreeva in releasing himself along with the other pigeons from the net of a fowler. This section sheds light on the importance of friendship. The third tantra stresses on the importance of being aware of a friend, who was formerly an enemy. Friendship of former enemy is untrustworthy, *Of Crows and Owls* (Kakolukiyam). The fourth tantra specifies the importance of a man's presence of mind during emergencies, *Loss of Gains* (Labdhapranasham). The fifth tantra explains the importance of discriminative intelligence in accomplishment of one's task, *Rash Deeds* (Aparikshitkarkam).

The present paper will elucidate about the moral structure of the friendship which a society inherits in common and how it has wider existence in private to public domains. The discussion will move around the examples and its implications in time and spaces.

**Aloka Parasher-Sen, University of Alberta, Canada**

**Friendship Beyond Pleasure – The Indic Context through the prism of Early Buddhist Thought**

Entwined to the basic understanding of friendship in early Buddhist thought is an ethic that goes beyond love, pleasure and mutual benefit. This ethic in turn, is deeply rooted in the larger conceptual understanding of the ‘Other’ being in a deep relationship with the ‘Self’ that characterizes the larger Indic sensibility of understanding human nature.

In the first half of this paper we shall unfold the way the early Buddhist (Theravada) textual traditions defines *metta* (friendliness, friendship). Attaining and cultivating *metta* is explained at various levels beginning with the Self, followed by the various ‘Others’ (teachers, friends, guests, strangers etc.) to ultimately to engulf all Beings of the Universe. In moving beyond the philosophical parameters of this concept, it is our aim in this section to assert that *metta* is also rooted in the laukika or world of the everyday to enable an establishment and understanding of relationships that went beyond both established hierarchies and mere individual friendship.

In the next half of the paper we discuss the cultural and historical context of the mid-first millennium BCE India to carry forward the argument. A new political and social environment of the period necessitated engagements with issues of stability and chaos, war and peace, harmony and conflict, governance and disorder that churned out forms of discontent and conflict. Against this backdrop it becomes pertinent to evaluate the concept of *metta* within the broader concerns of the Buddhist way of engaging with society. In other words, we argue that these ideas in
fact, grew out of an experiential world of the times that had thrown up special challenges for the society of the times.

However, as central and critical to this paper, we deem it fit to move beyond the simplistic understanding of friendship as rooted only in worldly concerns of the exigencies of life and pleasure. Rather, for any society the complex philosophical nuances that define a friend (good and evil friend), in this case, for an ideal Buddhist practitioner, have to be located in the deeper ethos of that tradition and its historical context. The Indic world of this period thus provides us with its own way in which these ideas on friendship (through the prism of Buddhism) developed and were implicated in the larger theoretical issues of defining the new ‘citizen’ and her/his ethical being the emergence of a space defining relatively new notions of hospitality and exclusion and finally the concomitant difficulties in defining the ‘Other’.

Ranjini Obeyesekere, Princeton University, USA

The Concept of Friendship as Described in Three Jataka Tales
My paper will discuss three stories from the Jataka Collection, a compendium of Buddhist folk stories some of which date back to the 2nd Century BCE. The collection as it exists today was compiled, scholars believe, between the the 1st and 5th centuries CE. Since that time it has been translated back and forth into many languages and has become part of the popular culture of the Asian Buddhist world.

The three stories I have selected are from a 14th century CE Sinhala text and focus around the theme of ‘friendship’. They deal with three different forms of the concept as experienced in medieval Indian and Sri Lankan societies.
Gabriel Herman, Hebrew University, Israel

Greek Friendship and Human Nature
I propose in this lecture to investigate the sentiments and social bonds that were designated most commonly (but not exclusively) in ancient Greek by the noun *philia*, or qualified by the adjective *philos, -e, -on*. By this I mean the entire spectrum of human behavior which experts today call co-operative, kind, loving, or interpret as 'foster[ing] the well-being of others, usually at some immediate cost to the actor' (Robert A. Hinde, *Bending the Rules* (Oxford 2007) 9 - in contradistinction to selfish assertiveness and enmity.

Using recent insights in behavioral biology, evolutionary psychology and kindred disciplines, I shall try to evaluate the role that sentiments and social institutions structured by *philia* played at four critical junctures of Greek history: (a) the transition from the pre-*polis* world to the world of the *polis* in the course of the seventh century B.C.; (b) the outbreak of civil wars, throughout the Classical and Hellenistic ages; (c) the formation of democracy in Athens; (d) the conversion of the Greek world to Christianity, mainly in the course of the fourth century A.D.

Modern behavioral sciences’ advances in the understanding of human nature place us in a better position now than ever before to discover how a universal human feature (*philia* can almost perfectly be rendered as “prosociality”), when subjected to rational analysis and conscious control, became involved in the creation of a peculiar, if not unique, society and culture.

Sandra Citroni Marchetti, University of Florence, Italy

Amicitia and philia: bases for an assimilation
The main reason why we may speak of a Graeco-Roman tradition of friendship is that the cultural elaboration of the concept developed in Greece was subsequently taken up in Rome (cfr. above all Cicero’s *Laelius*). This phenomenon is seen as the engrafting of the concept of a virtuous, ideal friendship (the Greek *philia*) onto the custom of a utilitarian friendship largely devoid of ethical values (the Roman *amicitia*).

It should be underlined, however, that in his *Laelius*, Cicero praises true friendship by referring to characters who are Romans, and furthermore are not private figures involved in a search for new values, but fully engaged in the life of the State. There may actually have been some historical reasons for Cicero's decision to set the possibility of an assimilation between *philia* and *amicitia* amid the best social and political tradition of Rome. Roman friendship has an affinity in its origins with Greek friendship. *Philia* came into being, and received its first statutory identity, within the sphere of the aristocratic *polis*. It connected the members of the upper class in common forms of behaviour, which were classified as virtuous, and were associated with the field of affections; this codification (which is confirmed for us by the *Corpus Theognideum*) was developed without being contradicted by the subsequent philosophical and literary tradition. Also *amicitia* connected in common forms of behaviour the members of the upper class, that is to say, people who considered themselves to be of equal status: as regards the level of ethical idealisation and the affective dimension, there are no documents for the period prior to Greek influence. This affinity of origins, and the fundamental continuity that the Romans perceived in their history, lead us to conclude that the cultural phenomenon by which the two kinds of friendship were assimilated was not a simple graft.

Our vision of *amicitia* as utilitarian and distant from ideals and affections should probably be reconsidered, also on the basis of the documents of Cicero’s period. The letters written by Cicero and his friends contain effusive expressions, which
apart from the question of their sincerity) reveal a need to accompany their interactions with signs of mutual affection. In the different, more serene, context of Pliny’s letters, his daily concern to be useful to his friends is accompanied by a non-emphatically expressed, but pervasive, sense of affection.

Aurélie Damet, L’Université de Paris 1, France

**Family tensions in Greek philia**

In Classical Greece, family ties were based on a variety of facts and mental images. On the one hand, such bonds were said to be biological and indestructible. Aristotelician essays on « natural » bonds – eg. *Nichomachean Ethics* and *Eudemian Ethics* – may provide a proper definition for innate familial *philia*. parents loved their children as an extension of themselves, like their own bodies’memories. Aristoteles considered *philia* as issued from the *oikia*. *Oikia* was the very first context that produces *philia*.

On the other hand, *philia* and family ties depended on utility and produced a set of rights and duties. Both Plato and Xenophon’s writings (*Lysis* and *Memorables*), in comparison with Athenians lawsuits, help analyse the way this built *philia* has developed. Tragedies explore one particular phenomenon that emphasizes the fragility of familial ties: separation. Characters can interact violently after a long-term separation. In rather a paradoxical manner, recognition scenes show that unknown or forgotten blood ties may recreate a spontaneous *philia* that prevents relatives from hurting each other.

The philosophical debate between Plato and Aristotle, fuelled by the observation of kin quarrels in Athenian lawsuits, shows that family *philia* was intensely disputed. Plato destroyed biological bonds in his *Republic*, in order to recreate an artificial *philia* shared by thousands of fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters as kinship categories, whereas Aristotle highlighted the effectiveness of biological and natural bonds.

Innerfamily *philia* was also affected by rivalry and contest situations. Maternal and paternal branches did not share the same roles in children upbringing. Mother and father, according to Aristotle, do not provide equal love, because of the physical imbalance: mothers were supposed to be closer to their children, because they had suffered childbirth. However, women can also display more attachment to their native family, that is to say father and brothers, than to their new family, husband and children. This case was depicted in many myths, where women like Althea or Procris murdered their new *oikos*, to show solidarity to their siblings. Antigone is another example, claiming that blood ties overcome the bonds of marriage.

Therefore, kin *philia* in Classical sources is a multifaceted notion. Nature and culture generate conflicts that could affect the harmony of the whole *oikos*.

Bernadette Descharmes, Technische Universität Carolo Wilhelmina Braunschweig, Germany

**The Theatre of Friendship: Fifth century conceptions of philia presented in Greek tragedy**

Without a doubt, our most important sources for the research on friendship in classical antiquity are Aristotel and Cicero. But next to philosophy, there are other genres offering rich material for an analysis and understanding of ancient friendship conceptions. My paper will focus on Greek tragedy, and it will approach the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides from a rather historical perspective. It will illustrate fifth century conceptions of *philia* and its practices, assuming that *philia* comprises both friendship and kinship.

Tragedy is a political medium and presents practices of *philia* in a dynamic context, in which standard prospects are being put to the test. The plays discuss
matters of trust, reciprocal obligation and betrayal and thus offer the opportunity to closely analyse the constituents of *philia* along the standards of the fifth-century audience. So, my paper will investigate the elements of *philia*, such as trust and reciprocity.

Reciprocity proves as basis of any *philia*-relationship and appears as the key concept, since it is realised in various ways. Not only is it expressed by mutual love, but also by ritual practices, the giving of gifts, care, and help. A number of examples can be drawn from the texts to illustrate the complexity of reciprocal obligation and generosity. There are Antigone and Teucer who insist on the lamentation and burial of their brothers, there is Demophon who protects the children of Heracles and there is Pylades who helps Orestes to revenge his father, to mention only a few. The practices performed by those figures are presented as acts that demonstrate intimacy, prove solidarity and create identity. However, there are also protagonists that subvert these ideal standards by refraining from help and support, and by betraying their friends (*philoi*). Nevertheless these figures show us *ex negativo* the importance of reciprocal help, that constitutes the concept of *philia* as the most central, integrating force within the Greek *polis*, in which the ethic “Help your friends and harm your enemies” is well represented.

So, we will not only gain insight into the specific Greek conceptions of friendship, but we will also find that we have to dismiss the idea of a fifth century equivalent to our “Western” ideal of friendship as a bond free of reciprocal obligation.

Albert Joosse, Utrecht University, The Netherlands

A new conception of friendship: The journey to wisdom in classical Athens

There exists between wisdom and friendship a mutual implication, in the minds of many, as is evidenced in ancient Greek descriptions of that which is in life most worth aspiring to. Naturally, then, new ideas about the place of wisdom in life’s hierarchy bring new conceptions of friendship with them. In this paper I argue that in the increasingly intellectual culture of 5th and 4th-century Athens, philosophers come to substitute a conception of friends as fellow travellers towards the clear heights of knowledge in place of one in which friends form a stationary circle in mutual provision of the goods of life, being themselves among those goods of life.

When Greeks in the west of what is now Turkey start to develop a taste for speculation, bookish learning, and the brilliance of rapid argument, the notion of wisdom itself receives new meanings. From being the fruit of a life’s worth of experience, digested in consideration, it becomes the attainment of a vantage-point of abstraction, in which one perceives the enduring principles that shape the world and one’s culture. And so wisdom becomes a goal, rather than a means, of life.

The common theme of traditional Greek wisdom literature on friendship, meanwhile, is how to live well with one’s friends, or how to treat them well. Constructions of wisdom as something highly theoretical change this focus, since they attribute much more value to wisdom in itself. Where this leaves friends is at first an open question. Thus Xenophon’s 4th-century wisdom books place full weight on obtaining wisdom, recommending it in traditional terms as that by which one will best deal with one’s friends; but what use he has for friends remains unclear. It is in the Platonic Academy that a more specific conception of wisdom causes a reversal of its relation with friendship. The so-called *First Alcibiades* argues that the knowledge of self that Apollo enjoins at Delphi – essential element of both traditional and philosophical wisdom – can only be acquired *via* one’s equal, a line of argument that is echoed in Aristotle’s famous theory of friendship. If the path to so lofty a goal is open to humans at all, it must be through a shared journey. This understanding of friendship has been integral to Western traditions ever since.
Valuing Coins, Coining Values. Friendship after Money

Friendship is a historical variable: the way people think and speak about friendship can be affected by drastic sociohistorical changes. One such fundamental transformation is the invention and spread of coin money in the Greek world (the 6th century BC) and the subsequent development of a disembedded economy in the Classical polis. In this paper I will argue that this development has had far-reaching consequences for the conceptualization of friendship, φιλία, in the Greek world. From the Dark Ages onwards, long-term interpersonal bonds are predominantly conceived in terms of reciprocity (Konstan, Blundell, Millett, Herman). Events such as the return of favors and the exchange of benefits serve to create lasting ties of gratitude and obligation. However, the increasing monetization of the Greek economy (Schaps) and Greek thought at large (Seaford), produce a new notion of reciprocity that rapidly becomes more and more prevalent in popular thought: the commercial transaction, i.e. the simultaneous exchange of equivalent goods that does not necessarily yield a lasting relationship between the participants. Reciprocal exchanges become potentially ambivalent, allowing for multiple interpretations of the same exchange events, and yielding conflicting understandings of the relationships based on these.

The demarcation problems caused by this ambiguity provoke new cultural constructions of reciprocity in friendship: as distinct from, opposed to, compatible with or reducible to, monetary transaction. In my paper I will demonstrate on the basis of examples from oratory, philosophical prose (Xenophon, Aristotle) and comedy (Aristophanes) how the variety of diverging conceptualizations of friendship in the Classical Period can all be seen as reactions to the challenge posed by the increasing monetization of Greek society. With the aid of Bourdieu’s notion of méconnaissance, it will be shown that these conceptualizations all involve a construction of (1) the nature of gratitude and obligation as distinct from a Debtor’s Paradigm of Obligation (Card), and of (2) the nature of cooperation as distinct from, coercion (cf. Smart).

My analysis also intends to shed new light on a tendency we see by the end of the Classical period when the demarcation problems of reciprocity appear to have subsided: reciprocity gradually loses its appeal as an explanatory model for understanding friendship (Konstan), in favor of intimacy and frankness—a development that suggests a parallelism with the retreat of friendship to the private sphere as a consequence of the advent of market society in 18th century Europe (Silver).
THE CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT:
APPROACHES TO THEMES OF FRIENDSHIP IN EAST AND WEST

Allan Silver, Columbia University, USA

Historical Moments of Friendship Ideals in Western Culture:
Warrior Society, the Renaissance, Liberalism
Modern theory and culture distinguish between utility, interest, instrumentality, and calculative relations on the one hand, and those of friendship, centered on sincere intimacy and trustful self-disclosure, on the other. However, personal gain and intense friendship were highly compatible in many historical settings. The disinterested “pure gift” is a heroic, exceptional ideal before it becomes a secular ideal of personal friendship in modern bureaucratic and market societies. Drawing on historical examples from the Hebrew bible, the European Renaissance, the onset of civil society in the eighteenth century, and material on modern friendship ideals, the paper seeks to recapture conceptually the historical compatibility of gain and interest with friendship and its contrast with modern criteria of moral worth in friendship.

Martin W. Huang, University of California – Irvine, USA

Contested Meanings of Friendship in Late Imperial China
The late Ming period (approximately 1550-1644) was a time when friendship was pursued and celebrated with unprecedented enthusiasm in Chinese history. There was almost an explosion of friendship discourses at that time. However, there was also an increasingly strong anxiety over the meanings of friendship and its social implications at the same time. After a brief look at the history of the concept of friendship in early China and some related philological issues, the paper moves to focus on how the meanings of friendship as a very broad concept were contested and negotiated in late imperial China. There appeared to be a substantial overlapping between friendship and other explicitly hierarchical relationships such as patron-client relationship and teacher-student relationship (Confucians often compared a good friend to someone who could be a moral exemplar or a teacher). Qualities, such as “equality” or “intimacy,” so essential to the understanding of friendship in the modern West, were seldom considered elements defining a friendship at that time. Instead, it emphasized “trust,” “reciprocity” and “loyalty,” qualities that could also be found in those much more explicitly hierarchical relationships. However, in practice, especially during the late Ming period, friendship did carry the potential for a more egalitarian relationship and this was what made some orthodox Confucians wary. When one treated a friend as an equal, it will give rise to challenges to certain aspects of the basic late imperial social structure, which was largely defined by a strict Confucian hierarchy. However, it was not until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when China was directly confronting the influx of Western influence that some intellectuals began to underscore the “modernization” potential of friendship as a social relation and its association with the concept of equality. Although this paper concentrates on friendship among men, I will also briefly discuss its differences from “female friendship,” as historians have recently reminded us that late imperial Chinese women pursued friendships with other women much more actively than we have been led to believe so far.
To Keep a Promise: Friendship, Death, and Mourning

This paper is a case study of the friendship between three Chinese women who were active in the early years of the twentieth century, Qiu Jin (1875?-1907), well known for being beheaded for her involvement in anti-government uprisings, and Wu Zhiying (1868-1934) and Xu Zihua (1875-1935), Qiu’s sworn sisters who braved political persecution to give her a proper burial.

The three protagonists belong to the last generation of literati women well versed in the traditional arts and wrote poetry and calligraphy with as much ease as women of their class had done for six hundred years in late imperial China. Despite their shared social class and cultural upbringing, they responded to the changing times differently: Qiu as a sword-wielding revolutionary, Wu as a classicist, and Xu as an educator. Their friendship was formed amidst social upheavals of the time and found its most poignant expression in Wu and Xu’s burial and mourning for Qiu Jin.

My study traces the formation of their emotional bond from the initial rituals of presenting family genealogy, to the exchange of poetry and intimate gifts, and ultimately to the weight of a promise to a dead friend. I examine this friendship amidst the radical social changes of the time, a friendship that both continues the existing pattern of women’s network of late imperial China which has drawn recent scholarly attention (Widmer 2006, Mann 2007), while also reflecting an emerging pattern that we associate with modernity, the most pertinent elements being the vastly increased mobility as well as public visibility of women. Thus, although all three women were from the Yangtze Delta, they travelled widely and frequently; rather than a network based on the extended family and local identity as has been the case up to mid 19th century, their friendship circles went well beyond the provincial or even national boundaries.

Conceptually, this case allows me to address a core issue in feminist scholarship on friendship, i.e., how to deal with difference/conflict among women, as female friendship has traditionally emphasized commonality and mutual identification (Eichenbaum and Orbach 1987, Norris 1998). For the difference between Qiu, Wu and Xu was a significant one, that of political alliance during a highly politicized time, and to fulfill their promise to their friend meant that Wu and Xu had many occasions to reflect upon what their divergent paths meant to their friendship.

Friendship in the European Enlightenment: The Rationalization of Intimacy?

The eighteenth century has widely been seen as the key period of transition in European norms of friendship. According to Michel Foucault it was in this Enlightenment era that unrestrained intimacy between men began to be seen as problematic, and became subject to both institutional and philosophical discipline. The influential social historian Alan Bray, influenced by Foucault, has also argued that it was in this period, in England at least, that flexible premodern notions of friendship, in which the encompassing of an erotic dimension was not regarded as a crucial line of distinction, largely gave way to more rigid and ‘rationalized’ norms of interpersonal relations.

In this paper I will explore and critique the arguments of Foucault, Bray and others, arguing that the western European debate on friendship in the Enlightenment was more complex and contested than they suggest.

I will pay particular attention to eighteenth-century French radical thinkers such as Helvétius and the Marquis d’Argens who, influenced by materialist philosophy, sought to deflate idealized views of selfless friendship and to show that all human relationships were ultimately driven by calculated self-interest. On closer
examination, however, their views of friendship were less consistent, and less
coldly rational, than some critics have assumed. The complex political connotations
of friendship became particularly significant in the revolutionary era at the end of
the century, when it became both the sentimental underpinning for solidarity
among equals – ‘fraternity’ – and widely invoked as the guiding spirit of attempts to
forge solidarity across cultural differences, by becoming ‘friends’ of Jews or non-
European slaves. Despite the widespread aspiration in the eighteenth century to
place private intimacies under public and analytical scrutiny, the nature of
friendship continued to resist neat codification or definition.

Kapitolina Fedorova, European University at St. Petersburg, Russia

The Concept of ‘Friendship’ in Russian: between Subject and Object

Any social study can approach its object only through different types of texts, be it
historical documents, interview data, questionnaires, or even researcher’s notes
about his or her observations. These texts reflect (and create in due course) the
way people tend to speak about social phenomena we are trying to investigate.
Meanings and speech patterns change at all times confusing researches but, at the
same time, providing them with the extra key for the phenomenon in question.

The purpose of this paper is to study ‘Russian friendship’ through the linguistic
analysis of the speech practices used in the modern Russian society regarding
corresponding words – ‘friend’ (drug, podruga), ‘be friends’ (druzhit’), and
‘friendship’ (druzhba). The research is based on two main sources: the data from
the Russian National Corpus (www.ruscorpora.ru) and transcripts from the
interviews obtained during various sociological projects. Different aspects of
modern Russian friendship in its verbal realisation are analyzed: the way friends
talk; the way people talk about friends; the way people talk about friendship.

Being at the same time linguistically reciprocal and polyvalent, friendship can be
seen as complicated conglomerate of attitudes and relations. To be ‘friends’ means
to share many ‘things’, and the one of the crucial importance is their ‘common
language’, a special code worked out during the years of their communication.

At the same time the ‘friendship’ is exclusive: the word ‘friend’ is used not to
include the addressee in the circle of friends but rather for exclusion from this
circle. In friendly communication people seldom name each other ‘friends’, their
friendship is a sort of background necessary for successful communication but not
exposed to reflection. Naming someone’s addressee the ‘friend’ can occur in those
speech acts where the ‘friendship’ becomes problematic, or in the ritualized
contexts.

Using different appellative forms of word ‘friend’ is divided between private and
public spheres, and those from the ‘official’ language can appear in the ‘private
language’ only as a part of ritual or ironic language play.

As for the word ‘friendship’, there is even more clear distinction between
interpersonal, intimate friendship and the friendship we can call ‘political’. Whereas
the former is valuable, ‘human’, and belongs to the private communication, the
latter is instrumental, ‘non-human’, belongs to the official communication, and is
treated as indubitably ‘bad’. These types of friendship tend to differ in their
‘grammar behaviour’: personal friendship usually acts as a subject, whereas
political friendship is more likely to serve as an object.

Kanako Akaeda, Kyoto University, Japan

Women’s Intimate Relationships as Romantic Love: A Historical-
Sociological Study of Women’s Friendship in Modern Japan

An intimate relationship between the same sex is often seen as homosexual love, or
just as friendship. That tendency which uses “homosexuality or friendship” model is
based on a simplistic dichotomy, while female intimacy has been thought as having
more successive dimensions with respect to maternal affection or friendship itself.
In modern society, where the separation between the public and the private should be discernable, intimacy may be put into the private sphere. Furthermore, it has been argued that the private sphere was formed by “romantic love ideology” which consists of the trinity of sex, love, and marriage. However, maternity and female intimate relationships were not always harmonized. This is typically realized when asking whether “plastic sexuality,” which is free from reproduction and located at the center of romantic love, was practiced by women. In modern Japan, intimate relationships among students at girls’ schools have been addressed using the viewpoint of a “morally correct” friendship or “deviant” homosexuality, but their practice of intimacy should be recognized as a form of romantic love. Such an intimacy was accepted as one of the steps toward sound growth, but on the contrary, it was classified as “deviant” after their leave from school, and also seen as incompatible with maternity. Such a viewpoint finally led to the stereotyped notion of the “old miss.”

From 1920s to 1930s, many topics were seen or several ‘cases’ occurred as to women’s friendship. I would like to argue what the friendship meant at that time through the investigation of these cases and the text of the works of Nobuko Yoshiya, who was a popular writer especially among students at girls’ school, and has been said to be lesbian. She often depicted intimate relationships between women in her books. Many of them were called ‘S romances’. In this case, ‘S’ is taken from the first letter of ‘sister.’ S relationship prevailed among young women and has been considered as a ‘mere’ friendship. However, it seems too intimate from today’s viewpoint. I would like to examine why this type of relationship had emerged in early modern Japan and why it disappeared later.

Brij Tankha, Department of East Asian Studies, Delhi University, India

Exploring the Bonds of Friendship in Japan

Research on the notion of friendship in Japan is scarce, the private was rarely touched upon by pre-modern writers, and this carries on in some ways into the modern era, but is possible to re-construct how individuals interacted socially and the nature of these ties. In this exploratory essay I would like to think about friendship not in terms of personal and intimate as opposed to public and social but as a bond formed through shared values, concerns and interests and look at the period from the late eighteenth century to the early twentieth to see how the idea of sociability played out in Japan to test the proposition that the strengthening of personal autonomy based on self-control, moral self-governance, authentic self-making and the post Enlightenment commitment to free choice in the West made friendship possible. (Deutsch quoted in Bell and Coleman p8)

The paper will look at two moments, one in the early years of the nineteenth century when Japanese were becoming aware of the dangers the West posed, through the diaries of Matsuura Takeshiro (1818-1888), traveller and explorer to see how these networks functioned to build a community based not kinship or region but a shared culture and objectives in facing the new challenges. The second moment is when Japan has been transformed economically but faced with social challenges, thinkers and activists seek to find new ways of building social bonds. In particular through the lives of individuals such as the Buddhist priest and journalist Mori Saian (1871-1938), Kanno Sugako, (1881-1911), one of the early women advocates of sexual equality, and Nishimura Isaku (1884-1963), a designer and thinker who sought to build an egalitarian community, it is possible to see track a new sensibility that questions ideas of gender, class and nation as supported by the state.

Much of the debate on modernity in Japan has been framed within the context of late development where Japan rapidly transformed its economy but social relations continued to be bound by feudal attitudes. However, as Harry Harootunian has argued, the time lag thesis ignores the problem of uneven development central to capitalist modernity. Japan in fact probably lagged behind only the US, which has
never questioned its status as a completed modernity. (Harootunian p.113). Social theorists such as Kon Wajiro (1888-1973) and Aono Suekichi (1890-1961) tried to grasp the nature of this social transformation. Kon, an architect who conceived of a discipline called kogengaku or the study of the modern in 1920, looked at how people lived in this new situation. Aono Suekichi, a social researcher explored the problems of the ‘salary man’ or white collar worker and his new life in the metropolis. These writings provide a way to think about the contours of the shape sociability took in the new Japan.

I argue that these ties, both among unrelated men and women and between relatives had begun to emerge in the pre-modern period but the capitalist transformation of Japan and the international linkages, including it own colonial empire, created new bonds, bound by affinity but shaped by ideas of class and gender were created and were, indeed part of wider global networks. These ties provide a way to think about developments in other parts of Asia within global framework of modernity rather then divisions which posit a well defined individualism in the West and contextuality and the situational in the East.

Nita Kumar,  Department of History, Claremont McKenna College, USA

Friendship in contemporary India
In this paper I am partly interested in the discourse of friendship in South Asia. This discourse arises partly in the double movement of a mimicry of the West, and a reaction to it, with a discovery of something the polar opposite, the essence of the “East” distinguished from the essence of the “West.” Thus, while ideas of rationality, progress, and equality are discursively part of colonial education, there is a retreat from it also, into a more ‘authentic’ self.

But I am interested in a double movement myself, speaking in my paper about both discourse and the experience of friendship.

I look at the case of a few elite and a few working class families and their schools, to ground the enquiry of what friendship is (as both discourse and experience) on a sociological base, of socialisation and education, both in the family and in school.

The family would like to monopolise all power. For one of its members to have a ‘friend” means for the family to ask, “What is this friend’s family background? Are the two families compatible? Can they have an equal exchange?” The unelaborated ‘exchange’ here refers to perhaps the most basic of matters in South Asian thought, the exchange of food and bodily substances, such as sweat and tears, and when needed in emergencies, blood and other internal matter. At the same time, the belief in one’s “nature,” regardless of class, gender, or other background, states that there can be a circumstantial coming together of two people to form bonds that go against all rational calculations. For both these reasons, of family politics and the escape route of “nature”, friendships in South Asia can be very selective, but once made, seen as destined to be solid and permanent. It is significant that contemporary media gives a lot of weight to the value of such a relationship, practically balancing multi million dollar productions on it.

The school teaches a superficial equality, using many consistent and inconsistent arguments derived from its colonial and nationalist history. Its practice and hidden curriculum is best understood in the context of modern schooling everywhere. I use examples from the other society I know well, the USA, to highlight certain universalities in the role of peer groups and hierarchies in school locations.

My conclusion suggests that at present at least, the family and the community is more strident than the school in its control over individual choices. The experience of friendship in South Asia remains determined by the values taught by the family, and now by a conservative media, and not by the teachings of a weak school system. Curiously, the discourse remains as before, imitative of the West
and also fundamentalist, but has now new commercial power behind it, as “India” and everything “Indian,” including its values, becomes a selling brand.

**Andrew Lambert, University of Hawaii, USA**

**Friendship East and West: Confucian thinking about ‘ethical’ friendship**

In the Western tradition, friendship and ethical conduct are sometimes theorised in ways that imply a conflict between the two. In this paper, I draw on the Chinese Confucian tradition for an alternative conception of friendship that might alleviate this tension.

A familiar friendship ideal, as described by Aristotle, Cicero and Montaigne, is that of a relationship, necessary for individual flourishing, of deep and mutual knowledge, concern and commitment between two individuals. But the same tradition criticises, as ‘unethical’, action based on a heightened sensitivity to a limited number of particular others, but which remains indifferent to the wider population – action usual taken to be the basis of friendship.

The Christian tradition (Aquinas, Kierkegaard) offers another conception of friendship, as a relationship one can enjoy with all people, through the medium of God. Such friendship is ‘ethical’, since its basis is an undifferentiated love of humanity. However, this account of friendship is ‘watery’, ignoring the value of particular and intimate relationships.

An unappealing choice looms: close friendships that are unethical or ethical friendships removed from everyday experiences and emotions.

To clarify this ambivalence towards the ethical status of friendship, I draw on Confucian and Neo-Confucian (Cheng Hao, Wang Yang-Ming) conceptions of personal relationships and ethics. I argue that, in this tradition, personal relationships, including friendship, are themselves theorised as a basic component of ethical conduct.

I explore this idea in two ways.

Firstly, it is an ethical ideal that people be habituated to see the world around them in terms of a framework of possible personal relationships. Friendships are not based on relational properties that inhere between autonomous individuals such as similarity, difference, admiring or liking (pace the Greeks), nor from common humanity; instead, they are pragmatically developed by doing one’s best (忠 zhong) with each particular person one encounters. Friendships are ‘found’, not ascribed by tradition or chosen voluntarily.

Secondly, such friendship is characterized not by the degree of immersion in the particularities of another, but by the disposition to engage widely with others. This less personal but more widely experienced friendship is one constituted by social interaction and events rather than individual character, thus enmeshing personal life and the wider social community. As a result, such idealized friendships both contribute to personal flourishing and are also ethical: they bring the personal joy of shared events and interaction, while also reflecting a concern with collective interests or harmony (和 he).

This vision of friendship is worth further investigation since it is also a realistic view of how many modern friendships are conducted. These are often constrained by and responsive to multiple social considerations and other relationships, which it would be unethical to ignore. Yet they are still satisfying relationships.

**Wei-Cheng Chu, National Taiwan University, Taiwan**

**The Utility of “Translated” Friendship: For the Chinese Society, Past and Present**

While people familiar with the old tradition of Western friendship may lament its modern, much less sanguine substitute, it is actually thought-provoking, from an Asian perspective, to see “friends” become one of the most predominant forms of
(categorizing) human relationship in the West. For it is still not the case in the East, at least not nominally. By this I mean any acquaintances venturing beyond a chance encounter in the West would be introduced simply and naturally as "friends," whereas similar relationships in the East, if introduced as such, would be begging for questions and demand to be more specified or subsumed under any of the existing hierarchical relationships. Obviously, the free-floating (because socially uninstitutionalized and ideologically non-hierarchical) "friendship" now current in the West remains a disturbing mode of association in the East, as it is still regarded as out of bounds and thus eyed suspiciously.

In this sense, the situation nowadays in the East—or to be more precise, in the Chinese society—is really not that far from late-Ming China, when progressive thinkers sought to mobilize, among other things, the rhetoric of friendship for an unprecedented challenge to the imperial ethical order. Even more interestingly, it also came with the opportune introduction of Western thoughts on the subject, i.e. by the pioneering Jesuit missionary in China, Matteo Ricci, who selected and translated the Western classical discourse on friendship (see On Friendship: One Hundred Maxims for a Chinese Prince [2009]) and effected a certain confluence with the native theorizations.

It is crucial to go back at this juncture to this late-Ming encounter between the East and the West on the issue of friendship, because recently there has been a great revival of interest in the old forms of Western friendship, both as a discourse and a practice—the most notable examples of which are no doubt Jacques Derrida's Politics of Friendship (1994) and Alan Bray's The Friend (2003)—and many in the East are entertaining the idea of appropriating this abundant literature for local interventions. It is believed that a historicized examination of such a precedent would alert us to the different contexts in the East and the West, both in the past and the present, so as to space out the essential metacritical distance that would help us clarify the respective agendas of these Western theories and determine their eventual utility when "translated" into the Chinese context.

Kyoko Inagaki, Kyoto University, Japan

Community of Memory: friendship in girls' schools in pre-war Japan

This report outlines the features of friendship among students of Japanese girls' schools in the pre-war period and analyzes the social impact of such friendship in the context of modern Japanese culture.

For Japanese women in the pre-war period friendship during their school days, especially during their high school days, had a special meaning and status. The number of students admitted to girls' high schools, which were often the only high school level educational institutions available to women at that time, had been steadily increasing since the Meiji period. Whereas the typical course for women was to move from under their parents' wings straight into marriage, girls' schools introduced to their lives an alternative time and space with a certain degree of freedom. Those experiences introduced students to new perspectives on the life of women. A unique culture, which differed from the formal culture of girls' schools, emerged in pre-war girls' schools and was fundamentally supported by the friendship among the students.

Four distinctive features of friendship among students emerged from surveys of girls' schools alumni conducted by the author and from historical documents. Their friendship was one of the most important elements of their school life. It laid the foundation for forming common views and feelings through both daily correspondence and readers' columns in magazines. It also persisted after graduation and even after marriage, through their correspondence, the activities of volunteer groups, study circles etc., confirming each other that a community of memory is still alive. Therefore, such a community of memory was not a place where women simply became nostalgic but where the realities of their experiences could be shared as a lived memory.
This unique community of memory supported by friendship has formed and maintained a cultural stream distinct from the formal educational culture of girls’ schools for making good wives and wise mothers or the individualized concept of self-cultivation in boys’ schools. Currently such cultures of girls’ schools and boys’ schools are losing their status as dominant cultures, so the rediscovering of the informal culture of friendship maintained by girls’ schools alumni as an alternative social relationship, which transcends beyond generations, social classes, and gender, is suggestive in viewing the social connotations of friendship in modern Japan.
FRIENDSHIP AND CRISIS

Fabienne Martin, GECKO, University of Nanterre, France

The Forging of Bonds: Using friendship as a way of rehabilitating for leprosy communities in North India

India shelters many self-formed leprosy communities inhabited by persons affected by leprosy, but also by their descendants whom, although in good health, are considered from a sociological point of view as “lepers” themselves. In my thesis, I took one of these communities located in Jodhpur, in Rajasthan (northwest India) as research subject. I showed how this group was formed on the basis of common-shared experiences, i.e. of the illness itself and its medicalized treatment, of suffering from stigmatization and exclusion, and how it was attempting to re-insert itself into Indian society.

My contribution will focuss on an understanding of how friendship, as a category of social bonds, is perceived and expressed, and how it contributes in resocializing individuals who have experienced a break in their relationships with their initial caste. This entails a close examination of what characteristics are at work in friendship patterns and how these function in rebuilding a kinship system. It also means questioning why friendship is efficient insofar that it allows excluded individuals from a variety of castes to group together. Friendship and, to a certain extent, kinship, remain cognitive categories with vague definitions that can cover a wide range of contents and relationships. What I am interested in here is to get a grasp on what concepts underlie friendship and how they are mobilized in forging common bonds.

As a result, this should allow us to question how in India sameness and otherness are distinguished and confronted within these processes with the systemic caste organization and its all alterities englobing principle.

Panitee Suksomboon, Thammasat University, Thailand

Phuean (Friends), Phuean Thidi (Good Friends) and Phuean Sanit (Close Friends): Dynamics and Shades of Thai Friendship among Thai Women in the Netherlands

Among scholars of migration, migrants’ kinship and friendship networks tend to be considered unchanging and self-perpetuating. In other words, once these ties are established, they are presumed to be sustained automatically. Moreover, these linkages are apparently characterised as reliable and cohesive; the assumption is that pioneer migrants willingly and invariably offer all kinds of aid and that the newcomers can consistently draw upon these networks connection as a vital source of assistance. Little attention has yet been paid to dynamics, intimate aspect and local meanings of kinship and friendship among migrants. In the case of Thai women’s marriage migration to the Netherlands, most women do not have family members living in the Netherlands and are unable to have frequent face-to-face contact with their natal families. Their friendship with other female counterparts is more important and substantial than it would be if they had remained in Thailand.

However, many women expressed their hesitation to enter into these instant friendship relations. Why is that the case? And what are obligations among these Thai female friends? This paper aims to study formation, continuation and fracture of friendship among Thai migrant women in the Netherlands. It applies the concept of ‘relatedness’, as proposed by Carsten (1995; 2000), to analyse the fluid, informal and sometimes conflictive attributes of the women’s everyday friendship relations. This paper also examines the gradations of friendship among Thai women in the Netherlands, which can be expressed in nuanced local (Thai) words such as khon ruchak (acquaintances), phuean (friends), phuean thidi (good friends) and phuean sanit (close friends). These expressions signify different levels of contact,
obligation and emotional involvement. Compare with the study of kinship, sociological and anthropological studies have apparently little interest in cross-cultural analysis on the concept and practices of friendship. This paper compares Thai and Dutch ‘sociality’ in terms of establishing and continuing friendships and reveals the Dutch spouses’ misinterpretations of the Thai wife’s sustaining of mutual assistance with her Thai friends.

Natascha Gruber, University of Vienna, Austria / University of California at Berkeley, USA

Friendship Manifesto
Picking up on the ancient Greek notion of friendship and the concept of ‘living with friends’ I try to explore in my paper what the idea of ‘Civic Friendship’ could mean in our contemporary times. In my paper I attempt to discuss the idea of ‘friendship’ as a legally acknowledged and supported form of a relationship model and option, equivalent to marriage, same sex marriages and civil unions.

The postmodern time, and I refer here mainly to the European and the Western hemisphere, has in recent times seen many cultural changes regarding personal relationships, family and kinship organization. An erosion of traditional models of marriage/family as well as recent reproduction technologies, create new options for relationship and family organization and people find themselves in more and more multi-relational bonds and relations. I argue that concepts of partnership, family and kinship can be conceptualized also independently from biological categories and ‘romantic’ ideals, based on sexuality (marriage as a sexual, reproductive union). I will question why sex/sexuality should be considered the foundational basis for committed, supporting and caring relationship pacts.

Of course also paradoxes arise: the main argument against the idea of ‘institutionalizing friendship’ is that the very idea of rights and expectations towards a friend, if these were introduced within the context of a “registered friendship” would erode and annihilate friendship as such. If we think at the classic concepts of friendship, as the one in Aristotle for example, this is a valid point as well.

My presentation will be more a ‘manifesto’ or a ‘concept sheet’, since my intention is first of all to bring my idea of Civic Friendship into the discussion for the conference.

Leonidas Karakatsanis, University of Essex, United Kingdom

Friendship through enmity? Reflections from the Turkish-Greek encounters
Could enmity operate as the most vibrant stimulus for friendship?

Arguing that a concept like friendship supersedes the mere categorization of a specific personal practice and, on the contrary, oscillates between the personal and the collective, the philosophical, the theoretical, the institutional, the ordinary and the political language, this paper focuses on questions about the relation between enmity and friendship. Drawing on my recent PhD thesis on Greek Turkish rapprochement, the aim of this paper is to disentangle the ways in which in enmity can hold the position of a name-proper for friendship i.e. providing the very conditions of possibility for a reconfiguration of the meaning of the concept of friendship it self.

Looking at the case of Turkish – Greek conflict, one of the most long standing national conflicts at the margins of the European continent, a conflict which have infused sedimented feelings of enmity between the respective societies, it appears that a discourse centered on friendship has been extensively used as a remedy for this ‘problematic’ relation. During the last 30 years “Greek-Turkish friendship” gradually became a central point of reference of every pro-rapprochement initiative, practiced in various multifaceted ways; “friendship” was translated into
claims for peace and disarmament, was performed during festivals and town twinning projects, became a name for several established “friendship” associations; friendship was turned into a contested and debated signifier, appraised by some as the absolute end of the Greek-Turkish conflict, or vehemently criticized by others as an act of treason. Furthermore, actual personal friendships themselves, between Turkish and Greek activists, politicians, intellectuals became the most vibrant element of the wider discursive phenomenon of such a “friendship” within a context where, as stated above, the surrounding collective feelings of enmity between the two societies were the dominant norm.

In contrast to -but also in a creative exchange with- Carl Schmitt’s ideas about the relation between the ‘friend and the enemy’ as an existential binary relation, this paper argues that practicing friendship in the politics of rapprochement brings about a much more complex, interdependent and even aporetic relation between the two concepts which forces us to rethink friendship itself.
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Tazuko Angela van Berkel is a PhD candidate in Greek Language and Literature at Leiden University (The Netherlands). She is writing a dissertation on the impact of the monetization of the Ancient Greek World on conceptions of friendship and reciprocity during the Classical era (5th and 4th century BCE). Other research interests include the sophistic movement (esp. Protagoras of Abdera), the Second Sophistic (esp. Dio of Prusa) and ancient mathematics (Eudemus). Her paper examines some of the conceptual difficulties that arise in Classical Athenian discourse on friendship as an effect of the increasing monetization of Greek culture.

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Wei-cheng R. Chu is Associate Professor of English at the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures, National Taiwan University, and known to be one of the most prestigious scholars of "lesbian/gay/queer" (tongzhi) studies in Taiwan and in the Chinese world.

His previous research interests lied mostly in the critical convergences or “intersections” of postcolonial/racial/national/global and gender/sexuality issues, and his most recent project focuses on the philosophy of love and friendship discourse/praxis, both in the Western and the Chinese contexts.

He has published widely in Chinese, acted as the President of Cultural Studies Association (Taiwan), a Fulbright Scholar and Visiting Scholar at the Center for the Study of Gender and Sexuality, New York University, and is currently a member of the critical collective formed around the journal Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies as well as the Editor-in-Chief of Chung Wai Literary Quarterly.

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Bernadette Descharmes teaches Ancient History at the Technische Universität Braunschweig (Brunswick - Germany). She mainly works on Athenian culture and society. From 2006-2009 she was scholarship holder and member of the Research Training Group “Friends, Patrons, Followers” in Freiburg. In her dissertation she studied revenge practices, conceptions and loyalties as depicted in Attic tragedy. Her paper will give insight into the “Theatre of Friendship”, in which loyalty, betrayal and revenge are central issues.

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Her areas of research and teaching include: Continental Philosophy, Epistemology, Critical Theory, and Social Philosophy. Her current study on Friendship / Civic Friendship Natascha Gruber conducted within the framework and context of her research within Gender Studies.

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Gabriel Herman is Full Professor of Ancient History at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He has held visiting fellowships at Churchill college, Cambridge, the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton; and the Institute for Research in the Humanities, Madison, Wisconsin. He is the author of Ritualised Friendship and the Greek City (Cambridge, 1987), Morality and Behaviour in Democratic Athens. A Social History (Cambridge 2006), and numerous articles on Greek social history. His book Morality and Behaviour in Democratic Athens was awarded the Polonsky Prize for Creativity and Originality in the Humanistic Disciplines.

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Nita Kumar was trained in History and Anthropology, primarily under Bernard Cohn, at the University of Chicago, where she earned her PhD in 1984 in History. Her topics of research have been: artisans, modernity and urbanism in India; education: its history, management, curricula, ethnography; the arts; families, communities and children; and the methodologies of History and Anthropology. She has taught at the Universities of Chicago, Michigan, Brown and Yale, apart from other visiting positions, and is the Brown Family Chair of South Asian History at Claremont McKenna College at present.

Her publications include *The Artisans of Banaras* (1988); *Friends, Brothers and Informants* (1992); *Women as Subjects* (edited, 1994); *Lessons from Schools* (2001) and *The Politics of Gender, Community and Modernities* (2007). She is active in education and heads a non-profit ngo called NIRMAN (www.nirman.info) that is based directly on her research. She is presently
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Kyoko Inagaki is Professor at the Graduate School of Education, Kyoto University, Japan. She works in the field of sociology of education and historical sociology of culture. She has led various research projects on classroom interaction in secondary schools and schoolgirls' culture and the representation of them, from the Meiji era to the present. More recently, she has launched a comparative study regarding the recollection of one's schooldays in Britain and Japan in the age of nationalism. In this paper Inagaki will deal with nostalgia of girls' schools graduates in pre-war Japan, especially regarding their lives and friendship, maintained still today as "communities of memory".

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Andrew Lambert is currently finishing his PhD in Philosophy at the University of Hawaii, USA. His research focuses primarily on contemporary ethical theory and Chinese philosophy, particularly Confucian thought. He is interested in the relationship between conceptions of moral conduct and friendship. He has been a visiting scholar at Peking University, Beijing, China and at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, and is also a former Japanese Government Mombusho scholar, researching the ethical issues of organ transplantation at Kyoto University, Japan. His most recent publication concerns the ethical life of the football fan, published in the 'Philosophy and Soccer', part of Open Court's Philosophy and Popular Culture Series.

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He holds a Ph.D. and a Doctorat d'Etat from the Sorbonne and has done extensive periods of fieldwork in the Philippines (mostly in Palawan island) and South Central Vietnam among the Raglai. Charles J-H Macdonald has in recent years published several books and articles on the topics of suicide, Christianization in Asia, naming practices, anthropological theory, and anarchy. He is currently writing a book on open-aggregated, anarchic communities. Prior to that he has extensively published on Palawan and Raglai ethnography, on mythology, social structure, religion and rituals, kinship, and various other topics.

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She is the author of a book on ideology and philosophical themes in the work of Plinius the Elder (Plinio il Vecchio e la tradizione del moralismo romano, Pisa 1991, pp. 308) and of a book on political, sociological and psychological aspects of Roman friendship (Amicizia e potere nelle lettere di Cicerone e nelle elegie ovidiane dall'esilio, Firenze 2000, pp. X+405). She has also studied several aspects of moral philosophy in Latin poets (esp. Horace, Juvenal) and prose writers (esp. Cicero, Seneca). She has given talks on these subjects at international meetings in Europe and USA. She has just finished a new book on Plinius the Elder (La scienza della natura per un intellettuale romano, Pisa, forthcoming).

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Fabienne Martin is a post-doctoral research fellow at Nanterre University, France. Her Ph.D. in Social Anthropology focused on a self built leprosy settlement located in Jodhpur, Rajasthan, India: its history, the way this group of people took shape on the basis of common-shared experiences, and how it is attempting to re-insert itself into Indian society. After her Ph.D., she received a fellowship from Fyssen Foundation and joined the Centre for Human Sciences, New Delhi, India, to work on the categories of friendship and kinship in the leprosy people’s processes of resocialization. She has also been Lecturer in Social Anthropology at Nanterre University during three years.

She has published several books' chapters and articles on her fieldwork among leprosy people in India; her book on the everyday life and community making of leprosy people is on press. She is responsible of a research programme from the ANR (the French National Agency for Research), that focuses on radical events and life reconstruction in India. In her paper, Fabienne Martin proposes to show how friendship allows individuals, excluded because of leprosy and heterogeneous by their birth status, to reconstruct bonds and recreate a group. Through comparing how friendship is used and thought of as a force of social cohesion, with its perceptions and expressions among lepers’ descendants, she will then bring out two friendship schemes.

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His research is in the areas of Tribal Identity, Land Transfer, Panchayati Raj, Human Rights, Tribal Development, Tribes in Indian Politics and Tribal Leadership. Besides he has nine years of earlier training in Sanskrit from primary school (Prathama) to graduation (Shastri) in Puri (Orissa) under the Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, New Delhi, with Vyakaran as a special subject. He completed a project on Water Cosmology and People’s Culture which is based on Sanskrit and oral sources, which is now in press under the sponsorship of Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, New Delhi. His present work, Friendship as an Epitome of Moral Bindings, is based on his old experience in Sanskrit. He proposes to extend it further and prepare a volume on history of India friendship.

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Anthropologist trained in ethnographic filmmaking and medical anthropology. Worked several years with leprosy patients, their families and communities; indigenous treatment, East Africa; on colonial history in relation to ‘race’; to shifting notions of property, inheritance and family in Sri Lanka, India, Kenya; current-day underdevelopment within home-based women’s industry and their organization (Sri Lanka). Currently working on issues of care, ageing, welfare, recent kinship theory and friendship (in the Netherlands) – preferably approached through cross-cultural/cross disciplinary research teams: 4-year study with Indian colleagues on shifting private and public relations within a retracting Dutch welfare state (2005); a 4-year comparative study on ageing in India, Netherlands and Sri Lanka (2008).
Invited fellow at Ochanumizu University, Tokyo (2002); UC Berkeley (2009) and currently advisory board member of University of Delhi-based research on Western welfare states. Has made several ethnographic films (Sri Lanka and Kenya), of which “The Wrong End of the Rope” (1988) received several international awards.

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Allan Silver (Professor Emeritus, Sociology) has published several papers on the historical development of ideas about friendship with implications for the distinction between utility and sentiment in social theory. He is also working on the origin of kingship in the Hebrew bible and the American experience of war in the last half-century.

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Dr. Panitee Suksomboon is a lecturer at Faculty of Sociology and Anthropology, Thammasat University, Bangkok, Thailand. She obtained her PhD’s Degree in Sociology from Leiden University, the Netherlands in 2009. Her dissertation focused on cross-cultural marriages and transnational families of Thai migrant women who married a Dutch man and moved to the Netherlands. In 2008, her paper was published on the journal Gender, Technology and Development. This paper examines the impact of remittances and ‘social remittances’ on the livelihood of the Thai migrant women’s family and their local community in Thailand. Her dissertation will be published as a book in 2011.

Adam Sutcliffe
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Adam Sutcliffe is Senior Lecturer in Early Modern European History at King's College London. He is a specialist in the intellectual history of western Europe from the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth century - the 'long Enlightenment' period. He is particularly interested in the intersection between Jewish and 'general' thought and in the political and philosophical significance of arguments relating to Jews. This is the subject of his monograph 'Judaism and Enlightenment' (Cambridge University Press, 2003). He has also recently completed work on a co-edited volume titled 'Philosemitism and History', forthcoming early next year from Cambridge University Press. He is also interested in history of attitudes to friendship in the European Enlightenment, which he has approached in relation in particular to attempts to theorise or to overcome boundaries of religious, cultural and gendered difference in this period.
Brij Tankha
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Brij Tankha, a historian of modern Japan, is currently a Japan Foundation Fellow and visiting scholar at Hitotsubashi University. His Ph.D led to A Vision of Empire: Kita Ikki and the Making of Modern Japan (Sampark, Kolkatta, 2003) where he explored ideas of nation and revolution in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. An interest in the new media produced an edited collection, Communications and Democracy: Ensuring Plurality, (South Bound Press, 1995).

He has been working on Asian conceptions of Asia and pan-Asianism in Japan and has co-authored, Narratives of Asia from India, Japan and China, (Sampark, Kolkatta, 2005) and edited, Shadows of the Past Of Okakura Tenshin and Pan-Asianism, (Sampark, Kolkatta, 2007 and Global Oriental, London). He is currently studying intellectual and social movements and religion and nationalism in modern Japan.

He is also an Honorary Fellow of the Institute of Chinese Studies, CSDS, and has organised international conferences on Japan and East Asia. He has an interest in Japanese films and translated, Sato Tadao, Mizoguchi Kenji no sekai) from Japanese into English Kenzo Mizoguchi and The Art of Japanese Cinema (Berg Publishers, 2008).

Ying Hu
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Hu Ying is Associate professor of Chinese literature at the University of California, Irvine. She is the author of Tales of Translation: Composing the New Woman in China, 1898-1918 (Stanford, 2000) and numerous essays on late Qing literature, feminist theory and translation study. She is currently completing a book manuscript on Qiu Jin (1875-1907) and her sworn sisters, a linked biography of three women, respectively revolutionary, artist, and educator, focusing on how they understood and intervened in the radical cultural changes that occurred in the early decades of 20th century China.
INTRODUCTION TO THE
INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR ASIAN STUDIES

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR ASIAN STUDIES

IIAS is a postdoctoral research centre based in Leiden and Amsterdam, the Netherlands. IIAS encourages the interdisciplinary and comparative study of Asia and promotes national and international cooperation. The institute focuses on the humanities and social sciences and on their interaction with other sciences.

IIAS acts as an international mediator, bringing various parties together and working as a clearinghouse for knowledge and information. Its activities include providing information services, setting up international networks, cooperative projects and research programmes. In this way, IIAS functions as a window on Europe for non-European scholars and contributes to the cultural rapprochement between Asia and Europe.

RESEARCH, FELLOWS AND AGREEMENTS

Research

IIAS is dynamic and versatile in its research programmes. Anticipating new developments, the institute aims to enhance broad, high quality knowledge on Asia. This is done in close cooperation with national and international partners through joint research projects on topics of common interest to Europe and Asia.

The International Institute for Asian Studies organises its research along programmes and various types of individual research projects. IIAS research is characterised by the facilitation for researchers and the thematic flexibility regarding long-term programmes, welcoming different academic disciplines and regional specialisations.

The institute’s network provides researchers and their projects an opportunity to ‘embed’ in an international, academic and non-academic, environment. IIAS maintains a balance between humanities and social sciences, and between ‘full-blooded’ science and ‘science for society’. On the one hand, IIAS supports programmes that unravel complex processes and provide points of impact for renewal and improvement, such as research in linguistics, literature, music and arts, media, history, and so on. On the other hand, IIAS is involved in research programmes that address and seek to solve societal questions, such as in research on regulation and governance, civil society, sustainable development, etc. All research programmes are jointly funded by IIAS and partner organisations within the Netherlands and abroad.

Fellows

In addition to those scholars visiting IIAS as part of agreements, a large number of researchers come to Leiden or Amsterdam to work on their individual projects as affiliated fellows. This provides an opportunity to make use of the extensive collections in Leiden (KITLV, Kern Library, and other specialised libraries), The Hague (National Archive) and Amsterdam (International Institute of Social History, for example). Others use their time to write up research findings or finish a manuscript.
Memorandums of Understanding
IIAS has many different kinds of international cooperation in the field of academic research and seminars. With three partners, IIAS has agreed an annual fellow exchange programme and/or joint conferences:

- Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), Beijing, China
- National Science Council (NSC), Taipei, Taiwan
- CAPAS, Center for Asia Pacific Area Studies (CAPAS), Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan

Professors
IIAS also appoints professors as part of an agreement with Dutch universities, foreign ministries and funding organisations. These IIAS affiliated professors teach at Dutch universities to strengthen existing BA and MA teaching programmes in Asian studies. Annually, IIAS hosts the following professors:

- European Chair of Chinese Studies, co-sponsored by the Ministry of Education, Taiwan
- European Chair of Malay Studies, co-sponsored by the Ministry of Higher Education, Malaysia
- Visiting scholar in Korean Studies, co-sponsored by the Academy of Korean Studies (AKS), Seoul, South Korea

The IIAS extraordinary chairs were established to stimulate Asian Studies at Dutch universities where Asian Studies is not a major focus or to stimulate specific fields of study at universities with a well-established reputation in Asian Studies. Qualified scholars are appointed professor for one day a week at the host university. IIAS provides the funding for the teaching replacement of the scholar at his or her home university.

- **Prof. Tak-Wing Ngo** is appointed at the Erasmus University Rotterdam to teach on the history of Asia (1 May 2008 – 1 May 2012).
- **Prof. Gerard Persoon** is appointed at the Institute of Cultural Anthropology and Developmental Sociology of Leiden University to teach on environment and development, with special attention to indigenous peoples in Asia (1 July 2009 – 1 July 2014).

Seminars
IIAS organises international lectures, workshops and conferences to disseminate and communicate the work in progress and results of research programmes and individual fellows. The seminars provide a forum for discussion on new developments within Asian studies or Asia-Europe relations. As part of agreements with institutes and organisations abroad, IIAS is also involved in joint conferences. Scholars affiliated to IIAS and partners decide on the themes.

Furthermore, IIAS facilitates the organisation of conferences of international associations for Asian Studies in Leiden:
- International Conference on Philippine Studies (ICOPHIL) in 2004
- Conference for the European Association of South Asian Studies in 2006
- 12th International Conference on Malay/Indonesian Linguistics (ISMIL) in 2008
- 12th International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists (EurASEAA) in 2008
INFORMATION SERVICES

IIAS Newsletter
The IIAS Newsletter is our freely distributed science-journalism broadsheet, with a circulation of 26,000. The IIAS Newsletter is not only a window on the institute but it provides a bridge between IIAS and the community of Asia scholars and the interested public worldwide. This quarterly covers Asian studies in the broadest sense: the humanities and social sciences, past and present, from Afghanistan to Japan. Besides research articles, book reviews, letters and opinion pieces, it includes announcements of projects, conferences and exhibitions. It can also be read online at www.iias.nl/newsletter.

IIAS Website
With an average of 23,000 page views a day, the IIAS Website is an important source of information on Asian studies. It contains up to date information on the institute’s activities and on Asian studies worldwide. IIAS’ internet infrastructure supports the web presence of research communities and the publication of interactive content on platforms such as the IIAS Network portal and New Asia Books.

PUBLICATIONS

IIAS has two publications series on Asia Studies at Amsterdam University Press. The IIAS Publications Series consists of monographs and edited volumes resulting from research projects conducted at IIAS. The series promotes interdisciplinary studies on Asia and comparative research on Asian and Europe. The ICAS Publications Series consisting of monographs and edited volumes, takes a multidisciplinary approach to issues of interregional and multilateral importance for Asia in a global context. The series stimulates dialogue amongst scholars and civil society groups at the local, regional and international levels. Both series have editorial boards and manuscripts are peer-reviewed before being accepted. IIAS invites book proposals on all subjects within Asia Studies.

IIAS publishes, in collaboration with several international publishers, monographs and edited volumes on research linked to IIAS activities. For more information and a full overview of IIAS publications, please see our website or contact us directly.

INTERNATIONAL NETWORKS

IIAS considers academic cooperation indispensable to top-level research. In the present environment of globalisation, distinctive national traditions of research and scholarship need to be brought together into complementary partnerships. IIAS therefore promotes, facilitates, and initiates academic cooperation at various levels – nationally as well as internationally – between different research groups and institutes.

European Alliance for Asian Studies
One of these networks is the European Alliance for Asian Studies (Asia Alliance): a cooperative framework of institutes specialising in Asian studies. This alliance was established in 1997 to establish scholarly excellence and mutual understanding in innovative areas of research and expertise on Asia.

Asia-Alliance activities include regular Asia Updates and jointly organised workshops and conferences. For further information: www.asia-alliance.org
International Convention of Asia Scholars
IIAS serves as the permanent secretariat for the International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS). ICAS was set up to enhance and deepen contact between researchers from Asia, Europe, and the USA working in Asian studies.

The International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS) and the Association for Asian Studies (AAS) will have a special joint meeting in Honolulu, Hawaiʻi (31 March – 3 April 2011). This not only to mark the 70th AAS Annual Meeting and the 7th Edition of ICAS certainly also to create a new inspiring platform for Asia Scholars from all disciplinary and regional backgrounds. For further information: www.icassecretariat.org

At a broader level, IIAS strives to link with other groups in society – including the business community, policy makers and the media – by making expertise on Asia available to non-academic organisations through updates and consultancy services.