	WEDNESDAY, 14 JANUARY 2015
09:15 - 09:30	REGISTRATION
09:30 - 10:00	WELCOME AND OPENING REMARKS
	MICHAEL FEENER, Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore
	JOSH GEDACHT, Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore
	AMRITA MALHI, University of South Australia
10:00 - 11:15	KEYNOTE ADDRESS I
	CHAIRPERSON MICHAEL FEENER, National University of Singapore
10:00	Catching up with Oneself: Islam and the Representation of Humanity
	FAISAL DEVJI, University of Oxford, UK
10:45	Discussion
11:15 - 11:45	MORNING TEA
11:45 – 13:15	PANEL 1: MARITIME WILD SPACES IN THE 17 TH AND 18 TH CENTURIES
	CHAIRPERSON PHILIP FOUNTAIN, National University of Singapore
11:45	Military Labour Markets Around the Java Sea: Sheiks, Shrines and Martial Cults
	SIMON CARLOS KEMPER, Leiden University, The Netherlands, and Gadjah Mada University, Indonesia
12:05	Middle Eastern 'Ulama' and the 'Wild Spaces' of the Seventeenth Century Indian Ocean: Sufis, State and Transnational Networks in Projects of Religious Homogenization in Early Modern Southeast Asia and the Maldives
	ANDREW PEACOCK, University of St Andrews, UK
12:25	<i>Keyi Mappila</i> Muslim Merchants of British Colonial Malabar: Making of a Coastal and Vernacular Cosmopolitan Order
	SANTHOSH ABRAHAM, Indian Institute of Technology Madras
12:45	Discussion
13:15 – 14:15	LUNCH
14:15 – 15:45	PANEL 2: COLONIALISM, CONFLICT, AND COSMOPOLITANISM
	CHAIRPERSON RONOJOY SEN, National University of Singapore
14:15	Law and Politics in the 'Benighted Lands': Frontiers of Colonialism on the Malay Peninsula
	AMRITA MALHI, The University of South Australia
14:35	Re-casting the Wild: Mapping 'Islamic Cosmopolitanism' in Urban Aceh
	JULIE NICHOLS, The University of South Australia
14:55	The 'Shaykh al-Islam of the Philippines' and Coercive Cosmopolitanism in an Age of Global Empire
	JOSHUA GEDACHT, National University of Singapore
15:15	Discussion
15:45 – 16:15	AFTERNOON TEA

	WEDNESDAY, 14 JANUARY 2015
16:15 – 17:25	PANEL 3: INTELLECTUALS, ISLAM, AND THE NATION
	CHAIRPERSON CÉLINE CODEREY, National University of Singapore
16:15	Writing Cosmopolitan History in 19 th Century China
	JESSICA CHEN, Stanford University, USA
16:35	Swaying between Umma and China: The Survival Strategies of Hui Muslims during the Modern Period
	TATSUYA NAKANISHI, Kyoto University, Japan
16:55	Discussion
17:25	END OF DAY ONE
18:00	CONFERENCE DINNER (FOR SPEAKERS, CHAIRPERSONS, AND INVITED GUESTS ONLY)

		THURSDAY, 15 JANUARY 2015
09:30 -	- 10:45	KEYNOTE ADDRESS II
		CHAIRPERSON JOSHUA GEDACHT, National University of Singapore
	09:30	Islamicate Cosmopolitanism across Wild Spaces and East Maritime Southeast Asia
		BRUCE LAWRENCE, Duke University, USA, and Fatih Sultan Mehmet Vakf University, Istanbul
	10:15	Discussion
10:45 -	- 11:15	MORNING TEA
11:15 -	- 12:25	PANEL 4: COSMOPOLITANISM BETWEEN EMPIRES
		CHAIRPERSON KEIKO TOSA, National University of Singapore
	11:15	Muslim Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Empire
		SEEMA ALAVI, University of Delhi, India
	11:35	Trans-Imperial Muslims: North Caucasus Refugees in the Ottoman Empire and the Making of Ottoman Pan-Islamism
		VLADIMIR TROYANSKY, Stanford University, USA
	11:55	Discussion
12:25 -	- 13:25	LUNCH
13:25 -	- 14:35	PANEL 5: SUFI COSMOPOLITANS
		CHAIRPERSON JOSHUA GEDACHT, National University of Singapore
	13:25	Global Islamic Circulations and Sufi Tariqa in Thailand
		CHRISTOPHER M. JOLL, Chiang Mai University, Thailand
	13:45	Sufi Cosmopolitanism and the Subversion of Colonial and Postcolonial Enclosures:
		The Life and Afterlife of Habib Noh SYED MUHD KHAIRUDIN ALJUNIED, National University of Singapore
	14:05	
14:35 -		BREAK
		PANEL 6: GLOBALIZATION AND CONTEMPORARY IMAGININGS
14:50 -	- 16:20	
		CHAIRPERSON AMRITA MALHI, University of South Australia
	14:50	Indonesian Islamic Intellectuals' Engagement with Globalized Ideas: The Role of 'Cosmopolitan Norm-Entrepreneurs' in the Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah
		ALEXANDER R. ARIFIANTO, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore
	15:10	Afghan Trading Networks: Yiwu and Beyond
		MAGNUS MARSDEN, University of Sussex, UK
	15:30	The Pirates of Zamboanga: The Underworld of Cosmopolitan Imagination in the Southern Philippines
		JOSE JOWEL CANUDAY, Ateneo de Manila University, Philippines
	15:50	Discussion
16:20 -	- 16:50	AFTERNOON TEA
16:50 -	- 17:30	GENERAL DISCUSSIONS
	17:30	END OF CONFERENCE

KEYNOTE ADDRESS I

Catching up with Oneself: Islam and the Representation of Humanity

FAISAL DEVJI

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In this lecture I want to look at the way in which Islam comes to provide the species with its subjectivity in modern times. Beginning with the example of how those who participate in global forms of militancy attempt to speak in the name of humanity, I will go on to consider the prehistory of this claim among Muslim thinkers in nineteenth and twentieth-century South Asia, and conclude by reflecting upon the consequences of such efforts to represent mankind.

Faisal DEVJI is University Reader in Modern South Asian History. He is the Director of the Asian Studies Centre. Dr Devji has held faculty positions at the New School in New York, Yale University and the University of Chicago, from where he also received his PhD in Intellectual History. Devji was Junior Fellow at the Society of Fellows, Harvard University, and Head of Graduate Studies at the Institute of Ismaili Studies in London, from where he directed post-graduate courses in the Near East and Central Asia. He is a Fellow at New York University's Institute of Public Knowledge and Yves Otramane Chair at the Graduate Institute in Geneva. Dr Devji is the author of four books, *Landscapes of the Jihad: Militancy, Morality, Modernity* (2005), *The Terrorist in Search of Humanity: Militant Islam and Global Politics* (2009), *The Impossible India: Gandhi and the Temptation of Violence* (2012) and *Muslim Zion: Pakistan as a Political Idea* (2013). He is interested in Indian political thought as well as that of modern Islam. Devji's broader concerns have to do with ethics and violence in a globalized world.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS II

Islamicate Cosmopolitanism across Wild Spaces and East Maritime Southeast Asia

BRUCE LAWRENCE

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My paper will address three issues: naming, structuring and tracing Islamicate cosmopolitanism. First, I will argue that the most accurate and productive qualifier is not Muslim or Islamic but Islamicate. 'Muslim' applies to actors, individual and collective, within the ummah, while 'Islamic' evokes the norms and values that project Islam as an ethical and metaphysical ideal for Muslims. 'Islamicate' exceeds both 'Muslim' and 'Islamic', locating the Muslim experience across time and space, or what Hodgson calls, 'the venture of Islam', in multiple communities preceding and competing with pre-modern Muslim empires and now majority Muslim nation-states.

Second, in assessing the end of empires and the rise of the modern West, the Islamicate lens helps us understand how cosmopolitanism functions through the expansive arc of metacities. Metacities serve as nodes of cosmopolitan networks throughout the Islamicate world. But more than cities Islamicate is also the aggregate of the pre-Islamic civilizations in the Afro-Eurasian oikumene and what comes to be deemed Islamic. It includes Semitic, Indic and Sinic literary and scholarly productions in Arabic, Persian, and other languages. What needs to be stressed, above all, is the capacity of Islamicate civilization to absorb and integrate features of past and neighboring civilizations.

And finally while many regions participate, there is a hierarchy of regional value within Islamicate cosmopolitanism. It is the Indian Ocean region, rather than MENA – the Middle East and North Africa –that has given Islam its particular civilizational shape, making Islamicate cosmopolitanism a vital category for contemporary as well as historical analysis. Through its presence in the Indian Ocean, Islam has become a pan-Asian cultural agent. Not only metacities but also those in-between or wild spaces allow us to trace the influence of durative Muslim presence in the beliefs and practices of millions of Asians, from Central to South to Southeast Asia. It is there that we find the principal custodians and carriers of the cosmopolitan networks that mark and also exceptionalize Islamicate civilization.

Bruce LAWRENCE (Phd, Yale University, 1972) is Professor of Islamic Studies Emeritus at Duke University, where he taught for 40 years until he retired in 2011. His current position, since Fall 2012, is Adjunct Professor in Civilization Studies at Fatih Sultan Mehmet Vakf University, Istanbul. His research interests include: Institutional Islam, especially in Asia; the Religious Masks of Violence; Contemporary Islam as Abrahamic Faith and Religious Ideology; Islamicate Cosmopolitanism; the Unique Role of the Qur'an across time as Arabic Text, Divine Revelation and Cultural Marker in multiple contexts. Among his nineteen books, some are authored, others co-authored, and still others edited or co-edited. They include the deep history of the Koran/Qur'an: *The Qur'an – a Biography* (Grove/Atlantic, 2006); *Chain of Violence – an Anthology* (with Aisha Karim; Duke University Press, 2007); *New Faiths, Old Fears* (Columbia University Press, 2002); and *Sufi Martyrs to Love* (with Carl Ernst; Palgrave Press, 2002). He is also planning two other monographs, one *The Koran in English* (Princeton University Press), the other *Who is Allah?* (UNC Press). The latter will be published in Spring 2015. In addition to a manifesto for Wiley–Blackwell on *Islamicate Cosmopolitanism,* he is also completing the *Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Islamic Spirituality,* to be co-edited with Vincent J. Cornell.

Military Labour Markets around the Java Sea: Sheiks, Shrines and Martial Cults

SIMON CARLOS KEMPER

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Islam, war and Jihad; today one can often find these three terms juxtaposed. Prejudice on terrorism, Salafis and dicatorships keeps the association alive. Four hundred years ago, the Dutch East India Company (VOC) made similar refutations of 'Islamic priests', devil worshippers and other 'creatures' on the path of war. This story, however, comes with a twist; for the VOC relied on Muslim warriors as much as it fought against them. During the second half of the seventeenth century, the VOC joined forces with recently converted Islamic polities like Mataram and Bone. For both, the Company served as a final rescue against either ongoing insurgence on Java or suppresion by a neighbouring realm in South Sulawesi. Yet, the brawn of the VOC was not superior technology or discipline. Desertion among the European troops ran high whereas equipment was so scarce that soldiers often marched barefoot. Rather, a major appeal was their ability to recruit but also consort with troops all over Nusantara, many of them Muslim. They were able to tap into the large number of mobile martial groups crossing from realm to realm and island to island. First, Makassarese (e.g. Captain Daeng Matara), Moluccan (e.g. Captain Jonker) and similar captains were recruited and located in and around the central VOC harbour Batavia. Later, however, it became increasingly common to boost the army through alliances during campaigns. Rather than Batavian policy, these on-field alliances appear intended by the Islamic overlords whom the Company was backing up; the Sunans and Sultans. Question arise on the nature of warfare in this region. Were these fraternizations inspired by classical notions of Quranic justice or were they based on the mystical charismas of commanders? Was there an Islamic cosmopolis binding these groups or did they all yield their krisses for the sake of local glory? These are important questions when judging on the degree to which the VOC was 'enclosing' Islamic warriors. I will attempt an answer through setting out the main traditions of early modern Sulawesian and Javanese warfare and connecting them to the Dutch campaigns around the Java Sea between 1666 and 1686.

As a result of the recent contracts drawn between Leiden University and Gadjah Mada University, **Simon Carlos KEMPER** is now able to conduct his PhD research at not one but two universities. This created the wonderful opportunity to study the early modern Islamic polity Mataram from Yogyakarta itself; the kraton heartland. Yet, his topic is not tied to the court, but largely concerns power struggles occuring outside it and involving groups from all over Nusantara. Simon studies the warfare destroying the Central Javanese sawahs and devastating its population. The bloodshed, however, contributed to religious myths as well. The charisma of warlords, the diversity among their followers and the itineraries they took all prove crucial in explaining the movements of Islam in this era. Both the sources of the Dutch East India Company and the Javanese and Sulawesian court chronicles contain many insights on these matters. Complemented with a geographical analysis of troop movements, they hold to key to understanding the patterns of mystic warfare.

Middle Eastern 'Ulama' and the 'Wild Spaces' of the Seventeenth Century Indian Ocean: Sufis, State and Transnational Networks in Projects of Religious Homogenization in Early Modern Southeast Asia and the Maldives

ANDREW PEACOCK

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The seventeenth century represents a watershed in integrating some of the 'wild spaces' of the Indian Ocean into the Islamic umma, and research by Azra Azyumardi has pointed to the importance of networks of émigré Southeast Asians in the Middle East in forming Southeast Asian Islam. However the role of migrant 'ulama from other Arab lands in both projects of enclosure and attempts to homogenise belief and practice in newly Islamised (or Islamising) areas of the seventeenth century Indian Ocean has to date received relatively little attention (partial exceptions are the work of van Bruinessen on Kurani's disciples and Ho on Hadrami 'ulama'). In this paper, I survey the evidence for the activities of Middle Eastern 'ulama' in attempting to remodel belief and practice in Islamising Indian Ocean societies, in particular at Banten in Java, in Aceh and in the Maldives, with particular attention to members of the Qadiri Sufi order, examining how local rulers such as the sultans of Banten sought to harness these projects for their own hegemonical ambitions. A case study is provided by the complex figure of the Syrian 'alim Muhammad Shams al-Din, a descendant of 'Abd al-Qadir Jilani, whose activities are attested in an Arabic chronicle of the Maldives but have to date gone unnoticed by scholarship. In the mid to late seventeenth century, Muhammad Shams al-Din travelled to India, the Maldives and Aceh, propagating the Qadiri order as well as promoting the more rigorous application of the shari'a. In Aceh, Muhammad Shams al-Din gathered significant support from political elites and played a major political as well as religious role, while in the Maldives he even installed himself as ruler, pointing to the breakdown of the state vs. non-state dichotomy in this 'wild space'. Qadiri proselytizing thus simultaneously acted to enclose local Islamic practice but also to link Muslim communities in Southeast Asia and the Maldives with one another as well as with India and the Middle East. Through this example, the paper aims to address questions of the nature of Islamic cosmopolitanism, and of its relationship to processes of enclosure, acculturation and homogenization in the seventeenth century Indian Ocean world.

Andrew PEACOCK is Reader (roughly equivalent to Professor in US system) in Middle Eastern Studies at the School of History, University of St Andrews, UK. He holds an MA in Arabic and Persian from Oxford University and a PhD in Oriental Studies from the University of Cambridge. His research ranges across the mediaeval and early modern Islamic world in both the Middle East and Indian Ocean, with Arabic, Persian and Turkish as his primary research languages. His most recent publication is (ed. with Annabel Teh Gallop), *From Anatolia to Aceh: Ottomans, Turks and Southeast Asia* (Oxford, forthcoming Jan 2015), and he is also the author of three monographs dealing with Islamic history and numerous articles. He was director of a major British Academy-funded research project, *Islam, Trade and Politics across the Indian Ocean* which attempted to address issues of Islamic cosmopolitanism over the 16th-20th centuries through the prism of Ottoman/Turkish-Southeast Asian relations (see www.ottomansoutheastasia.org).

Keyi Mappila Muslim Merchants of British Colonial Malabar: Making of a Coastal and Vernacular Cosmopolitan Order

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"It was necessary to protect the Moplahs who are a very useful merchant class for their own benefits and that of the Company"

(Abercrombie to Dick, Secret and Political Department Diaries, February 29, 1792).

The above statement was written in the year 1792 by Abercrombie; the Governor of Bombay, in the *Secret and Political Department Diaries* of English East India Company. The subject of this colonial report was the *Keyi Mappila* Muslim merchants of Malabar Coast who were one of the few early modern Indian merchant groups which succeeded in carving out a powerful political and social configuration of their own in the western coast of the Indian Ocean. The *Keyis* today consists of several branches of families and remain as a cultural unit of Islamic community of Kerala. The above British colonial remarks proclaimed the evolvement of a curious, ambivalent and symbiotic relationship of mutual dependence and advantage of manipulation and exploitation between the English and Indian *Mappila* Muslim merchants of the newly annexed district of Malabar of EEIC.

This paper examines the dynamics of identity formation of *Mappila* Muslim merchants of Malabar in the Indian Ocean. Growing importance of local merchants in the Indian Ocean trade during the eighteenth century created a space for them in the indigenous society through which they could create a new identity for themselves as the new social elite and patrons of local institutions, art and culture. There were scholarly attempts to analyse the Islamic community within the broader pan-islamic framework of Asia. This framework had attempted to see the Islamic ideology as a distinct socio-political identity that invariably put the Mappila Muslims in the position of a distinctive 'religious community' opposed to the Christian Europeans and the Hindu locals. The present paper deviates from this anachronistic approach of a so-called 'religious frontier' that divides Kerala between *Mappila* Muslims and a more indigenous Hindu local society. The issue to be addressed here is the social and normative environment in which the *Mappila* Muslim merchants lived. The study examines the social nature of the *Keyi* family of Tellicherry and attempts to suggest that the *Mappila* Merchants of Malabar in the eighteenth century did not constitute a single political interest group organized under a distinct Islamic identity but were segmented into various factions, functioning as intrinsic components of an Indian Ocean cosmopolitan socio-political order.

Santhosh ABRAHAM received PhD in History from University of Hyderabad, India in 2010 and currently working as the Assistant Professor in History in the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences at Indian Institute of Technology Madras (IITM), Chennai, India. Abraham's research interests include *Studies on Muslims of Early British India, Indigenous Resistances to Colonialism, Colonial Law, Social and Cultural History and Colonial Psychiatry*. Abraham's recent publications include, *'Constructing the Extraordinary Criminals: Mappila Muslims and Legal Encounters in Early British Colonial Malabar'*, (Forthcoming in *Journal of World History*, Volume 25, Issue 2-3, December 2014, University of Hawai'i Press) and 'Formal Writing, Questionnaires and Petitions: Colonial Governance and Law in Early British Malabar', *Indian Historical Review* (Sage International), Vol.40, No.2, December 2013, pp.285-305.

Law and Politics in the 'Benighted Lands': Frontiers of Colonialism on the Malay Peninsula

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This paper addresses the location of the British colonial boundary, and the politics of location in the space beyond the boundary, on the Malay Peninsula during the 1890s.

In 1895, Hugh Clifford, a colonial administrator, travelled to Terengganu and Kelantan, two independent Malay states which remained outside both Malaya and Siam. In his later writing, Clifford referred to these states as the 'Benighted Lands'.

This label assisted Clifford in mapping liberal colonial notions of law, government and politics on to the Peninsula's geospatial surface. The Benighted Lands lay beyond the reach of projects of colonial governmentality, and Clifford found them to be sites of a conduct of public life whose rules he found corrupt and malign.

Indeed, these lands represented a space beyond the political as Clifford understood it: they formed a region of refuge for insolent rebels driven by corruption, venality and 'Muhammadan fanaticism'. Clifford could find no political explanation for why such rebels would be feted in these lands as anti-colonial holy warriors.

Clifford's writing reveals that he recalled this space as benighted precisely because it remained unenclosed and ungoverned by the global liberal geo-culture. As such, it hosted a Muslim subjectivity that was imagined in ways that remained beyond Clifford's comprehension.

Amrita MALHI is a Research Fellow in the International Centre for Muslim & non-Muslim Understanding at the University of South Australia. She is interested in the global and local processes of enclosure and circulation which have shaped subaltern subjectivities under colonial rule. Her doctoral research focused on the production of 'Muslim' as a planetary solidarity in colonial Malaya. Amrita is also interested in forests and borderlands, locations beyond the urban and agrarian sites in which processes of colonial and national identity-production have been concentrated. Amrita's PhD thesis was awarded the 2010 J.G. Crawford Prize for best graduate work in the humanities and social sciences at the Australian National University.

Re-casting the Wild: Mapping 'Islamic Cosmopolitanism' in Urban Aceh

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Early modern Aceh has been characterised in written and spatial histories typically as a composite territory of warring fiefdoms comprised of local militia in addition to European powers exploiting the perceived anarchy. To what extent has conflict in Aceh contributed to a concealment of vibrant cosmopolitanism and its agency in the production of modern urbanism? This paper re-casts the notion of a wild warring Aceh and shifts the focus firstly, to the Islamic cosmopolitan nature of the seventeenth century urban settlement. At that time, Aceh was represented as a dynamic site of knowledge sharing with new ideas stemming from a rich socio-religious base whilst exhibiting many built forms devoted to these principles. Secondly, in dwelling on the significant original Baiturrahman Grand Mosque, the paper highlights how buildings display mutual benefits for local communities', European and other visitors to the region, as objects of interactions and disseminations of new technologies which contribute to the production of a distinct and evolving Southeast Asian urbanism. Drawing on Anthony Reid and Ito Takeshi's study of a rare 1645 map of the Aceh settlement, together with other scholarly accounts of the events, design and rebuilding of the Baiturrahman Grand Mosque in the late 1880s, the discussion hints at the emergence of an alternate and understated urban history. The mosque's final demise followed by its subsequent resurrection under Dutch instruction reveals another version of Islamic cosmopolitanism at play. Thirdly, in spite of the wild and violent background to these developments, evolving and shifting forms of Islamic cosmopolitanism, endured in Acehnese religious spaces and in representations of settlement from the "Golden Age" into the nineteenth century. Finally and tentatively this paper identifies some preliminary connections between modes, processes and knowledge systems in the making of graphic representations, and built form spanning the incarnations of the mosque. In addition these processes may be seen as reflective of a reciprocal and understated cosmopolitanism, empowering as a mode of sharing ideas for the production of urban space.

Julie NICHOLS lectures in architecture and environment with her main research interests bridging fields of urban history and theory, urban cartography and urban design. Julie has recently published her first book titled "Maps and Meanings: Urban Cartography and Urban Design." This publication traces the changing role of the map in influencing the creation of settlements in Southeast Asian and European cities from 17th & 18th centuries to considering 21st century urban design practice. This research reflects Julie's cross-cultural professional and academic experience in addition to interdisciplinary research interests, enabling a unique mix of expertise. Current and future work focusses on interactions of the intellectual histories around Islam and colonialism in urban Aceh, Batavia and Melaka in the early modern period, studying the Enlightenment technologies and ideas which enabled transitions into modernity and the emergence of modern urbanism in European and Southeast Asian worlds.

The 'Shaykh al-Islam of the Philippines' and Coercive Cosmopolitanism in an Age of Global Empire

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In 1913, an American colonial governor in the Southern Philippines, John Finley, travelled to distant Istanbul to recruit a "modern Mohammedan" who could "be brought to…aid the government in successfully combating the vicious habits" of the local Muslims known as the "Moros." Armed with a petition from the local Filipino Muslim community and his own colonial agenda, Finley arranged to bring back a bureaucrat from the Ottoman office of the *Shaykh al-Islam*, a Palestinian named Shaykh Wajih Zayd al-Kilani. Shaykh Wajih's odyssey from the Ottoman capital to the Philippines produced a transnational sensation, reverberating across colonial and Muslim networks from Mecca to Singapore, from the remote islands of Sumatra and Mindanao to the capitals of Manila and Jakarta, Washington and The Hague. In turn, the dissemination of this story came to embody the tangled realities of global empire. News of Shaykh Wajih's voyage on American gunboats spread from diplomatic communiques and Filipino Muslim petitions to religious reformist newspapers across the Indo-Malay world. Muslim reporting even attracted the notice of Dutch officials and the infamous colonial scholar, C. Snouck Hurgronje.

This paper will examine the entanglements and contestations that marked Shaykh Wajih's sojourn as an example of "coercive cosmopolitanism." I will argue that the "Shaykh al-Islam of the Philippines" episode generated optimism among both the colonizers and colonized that a globalizing world could promote not only the "true path of Islam," but also nurture affinities between Muslims and non-Muslims. Indeed, such enthusiasm inspired American governors, Ottoman officials and Muslim reformers alike—thereby appearing to augur a new cosmopolitan moment in imperial-Islamic relations. Yet, this paper will also contend that decades of pacification freighted such encounters with a heavy weight of mistrust and mistranslation, engendering accusations of treachery, nefarious plotting and naiveté that ultimately drove Shaykh Wajih from the Philippines after a mere two months. He would die a few years later in the United States while seeking re-entry to Manila. In sum, Shaykh Wajih's travel through the knotted pathways of transnational empire encapsulated the possibility and peril of an age of coercive cosmopolitanism.

Joshua GEDACHT received his MA and PhD in History from the University of Wisconsin-Madison in December 2013. Dr Gedacht's research examines the relationship between colonial era war-making, Islamic networks, and the reconfiguration of religious connections in Indonesia and the Philippines. His dissertation, Islamic-Imperial Encounters: Colonial Enclosure and Muslim Cosmopolitans in Island Southeast Asia, 1800-1940, considers the ways in which colonial wars of conquest in Sumatra and Mindanao engendered paradoxical dynamics of exclusion and inclusion, disconnection and reconnection, that contributed to the remaking of Southeast Asian Islamic networks. Dr Gedacht has written a book chapter on colonial massacres and Muslims in the Southern Philippines, and he plans to publish articles on discourses of *perang sabil* (holy war), the role of nodal port cities in colonial war-making, and the value of comparison to understanding Islamic-imperial encounters. During his time at Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, he will also be adapting his dissertation into a book manuscript.

Writing Cosmopolitan History in 19th Century China

JESSICA CHEN

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This paper suggests that we understand cosmopolitanism among Muslims in 19th century China as the ability to situate oneself in relation to both Chinese and Islamic history. I analyze the intellectual project of Li Huanyi's 1874 *Words and Deeds of Past Islamic Luminaries* (Ch. *Qingzhen Xianzheng Yanxing Lue*). Li was an active participant in the Chinese imperial system and had never left China. However, he attempted to present a universal history that addressed "two poles" of authority—one residing in the Chinese court and the other in the Prophet Muhammad.

The first portion of the paper provides an overview of how 19th century Sino-Muslim authors framed history before Muhammad to enable a shared narrative between China and Arabia. Examples include equating Adam with the Chinese figure Pan Gu, and the Chinese Fu Xi with Noah's youngest son Yafith, who came east to establish Chinese civilization after the flood.

The bulk of the paper focuses on the biographies within Li Huanyi's text. Li begins his collection with the Companion of Muhammad Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas, who he believes was sent by the Prophet to China. For Li and other Sino-Muslim authors, Waqqas' journey from Medina to the court in Chang'an provides the crucial spatial and temporal link joining the Prophet Muhammad with the Chinese court. The other accounts in Li's collection show how this tradition of Muslim service to the Chinese empire continues from the Tang to Qing dynasties.

I argue that for Li, Islamic history after Muhammad *is* Chinese history. This suggests that Islamic history is not immovably bound to some "core" or "center." Rather, it is always being reconstituted in new ways according to where that heritage is being invoked. In this case, Li's intellectual project joins the Chinese court with the successors of Muhammad's Companion Waqqas. His cosmopolitanism lies in his ability to consolidate multiple historical traditions and animate them in a single timeline.

Jessica CHEN is a doctoral candidate in Religious Studies at Stanford University. Her research interests include the localization of Islam and the social and literary history of Muslims in China. She has completed training at the Inter-University Program in Beijing, the Middlebury Arabic Language School, and the Persian Critical Language Program in Tajikistan. Jessica's dissertation, "Muhammad's Legacy in China: Islamic Narrative and Self Understanding," analyzes historical writing by Hui Muslims in 19th century China to see how they construct the past and situate themselves within Chinese and Islamic civilizations. Her project addresses larger issues of how community is defined through the stories we tell about the past.

Swaying between *Umma* and China: The Survival Strategies of Hui Muslims during the Modern Period

TATSUYA NAKANISHI

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During the modern period, Chinese Muslims expressed their relationship with the *umma* (the ideal single universal community of Muslims), sometimes negatively, and at other times positively, according to the given historical situation. By shifting their affiliations between the Islamic world and China, they sought to survive in Chinese society while being its integral but ethnically particular constituent.

However, remarkably, their involvement in Islamic cosmopolitanism did not always serve to secure their religious particularity, but rather in some cases it even helped to prove their "Chinese-ness." In my presentation, I would like to shed light on this point, by examining some discourses of representative Chinese Muslim intellectuals.

First, I will analyze some articles by Xue Wenbo and other writers in a Chinese periodical, written after July 1939 during the second Sino-Japan war. These articles suggested that Chinese Muslims were affiliated with the "Muslim nation." I argue that this suggestion aimed to confront the assimilation policy formulated by the President of the Republic of China, Jiang Jieshi, who, in July 1939, prohibited the designation of "Muslim nation." In addition, I point out that the suggestion in question was made also in the context of exhibiting Chinese Muslims' allegiance and their contribution to the Chinese nation — the same context in which their defense of China against Japan was described as part of the *jihad* for the global *umma*, and their Muslim ethnicity was highlighted as the very factor that attracted sympathies for China from other Muslims all over the world.

Second, I will investigate an Arabic work by Ma Anyi written in 1905, which labeled China as *dar al-harb* (the area where the Islamic law was not in force), and explained how Chinese Muslims had to practice Islam in compliance with the orders of Chinese governors. I will show that he, unlike Xue Wenbo, mapped Chinese Muslims as being outside the territory that the *umma* had to guard against aggressions, and thereby paradoxically intended to ensure their Islamic righteousness.

Tatsuya NAKANISHI, born in 1976, has been a scholar of the intellectual history of Chinese Muslims for over 15 years. In 2005, he withdrew from the Doctoral Course in the Graduate School of Letters at Kyoto University, Japan, after completing the Course requirements. In 2008, he received the PhD degree in Letters from Kyoto University. In 2009, he was appointed Research Fellow of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science. Since 2012, he has been a Program-specific Assistant Professor of the Hakubi Center for Advanced Research in Kyoto University. In 2013, he wrote and published a book in Japanese, titled *"Chuka to taiwa suru isuramu* (Islam holding dialogues with the Chinese civilization)," which focused on how Chinese Muslims had adapted Islam to Chinese society during the 17th–19th centuries. For this, he was awarded the Suntory Prize for Social Sciences and Humanities in 2013.

Muslim Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Empire

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The paper highlights the role of Maulana Imdadullah Makki (1817-1899), an 1857 fugitive who re-located himself in Mecca, in carving out a Muslim cosmopolitanism. It brings his biography, journeys and intellectual forays together to show how he used the temporal moment of the mid 19th century 'age of revolts', and the spatial connectivity offered by British and Ottoman imperialisms and re-configured them to his own particular interests. Locating Imdadullah in the connected histories of the British and Ottoman Empires it views his in-house cosmopolitanism as a form of public conduct that was shaped by Islamic learning that cultivated urbane civility as Muslim universalist virtuous conduct. This was a form of cosmopolitanism enabled by imperial networks and heavily influenced by the socially diverse port cities of the Indian Ocean, which Imdadullah accessed via them. The paper argues that this cosmopolitanism was a form of trans-nationalism that strived to unite the Muslim community (umma) globally via consensus. In this respect it was a response to the 'official nationalism' of Empires that were hardening borders and identities in the high period of imperialism.

Seema ALAVI is a Professor of History at University of Delhi, India. She specializes in early modern and modern South Asia, with an interest in the transformation of the region's legacy from Indo-Persian to one heavily affected by British colonial rule. She has written books on the military and medical cultures of the region from the early modern to modern times. Her most recent book is *Islam and Healing: Loss and Recovery of an Indo-Muslim Medical Tradition, 1600–1900* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009). Her new book *Muslim Cosmopolitanism in the age of Empire* is to be published later this year from Harvard University Press, USA. Alavi earned her PhD from the University of Cambridge in England. She has twice been a Fulbright Scholar and a Smuts Visiting Fellow at Cambridge and was a visiting scholar at the Harvard-Yenching Institute. She has also been at the Radcliffe institute at Harvard as the William Bentinck-Smith Fellow in 2010. She wrote *Sepoys and the Company: Tradition and Transition in Northern India, 1770–1830* (Oxford University Press, 1995) and co-authored with Muzzafar Alam, *A European Experience of the Mughal Orient: The I'jaz-i Arsalani* (*Persian Letters 1773–1779*) *of Antoine-Louis Henri Polier* (Oxford University Press, 2001). She edited *The Eighteenth Century in India* (Oxford University Press, 2002) and serves on the editorial board of several journals, including *Modern Asian Studies, and Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

Trans-Imperial Muslims: North Caucasus Refugees in the Ottoman Empire and the Making of Ottoman Pan-Islamism

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In the 1860-1914 period, between one and two million Muslims from the Russian Empire's North Caucasus region arrived in the Ottoman domains and were resettled throughout the Balkans, Anatolia, and the Arab provinces. The Ottoman Empire at the time was undergoing a Pan-Islamic ideological shift during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II (1876-1909). His government successfully used Muslim refugees to improve the empire's Islamic image internally and externally.

Religious diversity in North Caucasians' settlements complemented that of the empire as a whole. Refugees from the Caucasus practiced various forms of Islam. Most Circassians, from the Northwest Caucasus, had embraced Islam only a century earlier, whereas some communities of Daghestan, in the Northeast Caucasus, converted to Islam during the Arab conquests in the eighth century. The religious worldview of migrants was also informed by Sufi practices, local Ottoman religious traditions, and Pan-Islamic sentiments. The Ottomans incorporated immigrant *'ulama* into the empire's religious elite and fostered their role as mediators between the state and refugee communities. The Ottoman government used religious rhetoric to justify and promote migration and resettlement, and the "Islamic factor" - moving from *dar al-harb* to *dar al-islam* - was an important motivation from refugees' perspective.

Vladimir TROYANSKY is a doctoral candidate in Ottoman and Modern Middle Eastern History at Stanford University. He is interested in refugee and migration studies, and the interaction between and across the Ottoman and Russian empires. His dissertation explores resettlement of North Caucasus refugees in the Ottoman Empire between 1860 and 1914. In 2014/15, he is conducting archival research in Turkey, Jordan, Bulgaria, Georgia, and Russia, with support from the Social Science Research Council's International Dissertation Research Fellowship (SSRC-IDRF) and as a fellow at the American Center of Oriental Research (ACOR) and the American Research Center in Sofia (ARCS). Vladimir completed his undergraduate degree in Arabic and International Relations at the University of St Andrews, Scotland. His Master's degree is in Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies from the University of Edinburgh, UK. He previously lived and studied in Syria, Egypt, and Israel.

Global Islamic Circulations and Sufi Tariqa in Thailand

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Sufi orders (turuq, sg. tariqa) are an important element of Thailand's Islamic traditionalist majority which have received no scholarly attention. The reasons for this neglect are complicated. Beyond (non-negligible) methodological constraints and difficulties in attaining access to these carefully guarded communities, we can also observe a double marginalization. Islam in Thailand is located at the periphery of Southeast Asia's "Islamic arc" (Tagliacozzo 2013) and sufi orders have tended to be overshadowed by other Islamic movements in Thailand. These range from those violently resisting Bangkok's project of assimilation in the far-south since 2014, to the revivalist Tablighi Jama'at and reformist Salafiyyah that are now found throughout the country. This paper redresses such neglect by presenting a historical anthropology of Thai tariga based on fieldwork among sufi orders in Thailand since late 2012. I begin by introducing some of the most important sufi personalities who, during the twentieth century, returned from educational sojourns in the Middle East, Java, and Kelantan, with permission (ijazah) to initiate or revive a range of sufi orders in Central Thailand (Ayutthaya and Bangkok), the Southern Thai-speaking upper south (Pang-nga Bay and Songkhla), and parts of the Malay-speaking far-south (Narathiwat). I describe ways in which orders widely distributed throughout the Muslim World like the Qadriyyah, Shadhiliyyah, and Ahmadiyyah-Idrisiyyah, have been localized by Muslim communities in Thailand. I argue that successful doctrinal and ritual innovations are frequently championed by familiar people advocating and embodying something strange, and that the normalization of strangeness has sometimes been so successful, that devotees are frequently oblivious about the origins of the cosmopolitan orders that they are connected to. Finally, I point out that many of the dynamics discernable among Thai turuq have contributed to the growth of local revivalist and reformist movements. The variety of localized global turug that I present challenge a number of assumptions about the cultural geography of Islamic diversity in contemporary Thailand.

Christopher M. JOLL is a New Zealand anthropologist who has been based in Thailand since 2000. After ten years in Pattani, he shifted in 2012 to Chiang Mai where he is currently a visiting researcher at the Centre for Ethnic Studies and Development (CESD), Chiang Mai University. Although his interests are inter-disciplinary (anthropology, history, theology, Islamic studies), inter-religious (Islam, Christianity, and Buddhism), and trans-national (Thailand and Malaysia, the Indian Ocean), his principal ethnographic subjects are Thailand's Muslim minority. His first monograph, *Muslim Merit-making in Thailand's Far-south*, was published by Springer in 2011, and in late 2012 began work on a historical ethnography of sufi orders (*tariqa*) in Thailand. He is also a member of SEATIDE, a three-year research project funded by the European Union looking into dynamics of inclusion and exclusion in ASEAN.

Sufi Cosmopolitanism and the Subversion of Colonial and Postcolonial Enclosures: The Life and Afterlife of Habib Noh

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This paper examines the roles of Sufi cosmopolitans and their unique abilities in subverting, bypassing, undermining and, in some instances, neutralizing colonial and postcolonial enclosures in Singapore. My angle of vision is directed towards the life and afterlife of a revered saint, Sayyid Noh Al-Habsyi (1819-1866, or also known as Habib Noh). I show how Habib Noh's Sufi cosmopolitanism had enabled him to transgress the colonial order of things during his lifetime and posthumously. By "Sufi cosmopolitanism", I mean a style of thought, a habit of seeing the world and an everyday practice that were rooted in the ideals of Islam, which is that all men are part of a common humanity accountable to God and that Muslims are morally responsible towards everyone. Historically, to embrace Sufi cosmopolitanism was to exhibit a high degree of receptiveness to universal values that were embedded within one's traditions as well as to maintain an open attitude towards people from other backgrounds and their varied ways of thinking. The compelling power of Sufi cosmopolitanism was evidenced in the tolerance shown by colonial subjects and policing agencies towards Habib Noh's eccentric public behavior and his habitual shoplifting to feed the disenfranchised and the poor. Upon his death, Habib Noh's mausoleum lived up to his subversive persona and his Sufi cosmopolitan outlook. Stories about the saint's magical powers had forced the postcolonial government of Singapore to relinguish its plans to demolish Habib Noh's shrine. The Singapore state's eventual recasting of Habib Noh as an icon of Singapore's multiculturalism and the mausoleum as a heritage site further cement the ability of Sufi cosmopolitans and the myths that lived on after their demise to subvert the enclosures imposed by state agencies. The paper ends with reflections on how the encounters between Sufi cosmopolitanism and the colonial and postcolonial powers could further refine Nile Green's notion of Sufism as tradition of powerful knowledge, practices and persons.

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Indonesian Islamic Intellectuals' Engagement with Globalized Ideas: The Role of 'Cosmopolitan Norm-Entrepreneurs' in the Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah

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Throughout the past century, there were numerous intellectual encounters, engagements, and syntheses between Islamic and Western political and socio-economic thoughts. These globalized ideas, ranging from nationalism, liberalism, secularism, to Islamic fundamentalism, have shaped and influenced the thinking of 'cosmopolitan norm entrepreneurs' within Islamic organizations. In Indonesia, these 'norm entrepreneurs' tend to come from the nation's two largest Islamic social movements, the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. Both have an institutional presence in Indonesia for nearly a century and thus, have had extensive engagements with these global ideas and adapted responses to them in different historical and socio-cultural contexts.

This paper analyses how NU and Muhammadiyah intellectuals have engaged with these globalized ideas and developed syntheses within their groups to develop responses to prevailing globalized ideas in mid-to-late 20th century. It analyzes the thoughts of 'cosmopolitan norm entrepreneurs' within the two Islamic organizations by comparing the political thoughts of Wahid Hasyim (1914-1953) and Abdurrahman Wahid (1940-2009) from the NU with Hamka (1908-1981) and Syafii Ma'arif (b. 1935) from Muhammadiyah. It highlights how through these thinkers integrate Islamic and Western global ideas on the issues democracy and state-religion relations, as responses to different historical contexts: ideological conflicts over Indonesia's political future and religion-state relations during the 1950s and 1960s and democratization and religious tolerance in Indonesia in the 1980s and 1990s

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Afghan Trading Networks: Yiwu and Beyond

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Based on ethnographic fieldwork with merchants of Afghan background in various settings across the former Soviet Union and in China, this paper investigates the significance of the Chinese city of Yiwu for the global trade in low-grade commodities. The global trade in such commodities is often understood by anthropologists as a form of bottom-up globalization. While there is a great deal to merit such an approach, anchoring the study of the Afghan trading network in the backgrounds and self-understandings of the individuals who make it up, refuses a stark division between globalization from below and from on top. Instead, such an ethnographic approach brings attention to the ways in which commercial personnel involved in globalizing processes actively conceive of themselves as being a particularly unique type of international actor formed out of a multiplicity of historical trajectories. The paper seeks to theorise Afghan traders' understandings of themselves as 'international' actors and even 'diplomats' in relationship to recent work within and beyond anthropology on 'Islamic cosmopolitanism'.

Magnus MARSDEN joined Sussex in November 2013 from SOAS, University of London where he was Reader in Social Anthropology. He studied for his BA and PhD degrees at Cambridge University, where he was also Junior Research Fellow at Trinity College, Cambridge, and Graduate Officer in Research at the Centre of South Asian Studies, University of Cambridge.

The Pirates of Zamboanga: The Underworld of Cosmopolitan Imagination in the Southern Philippines

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In the illicit circuit of economic exchange down the sidewalks of Zamboanga and Sulu, music and images swept in by cross-border circulation of pirate media are re-materialising into other forms of imaginaries. Street-based media producers remade and remediated them into popular videos that imagine themselves as locally rooted Tausug community attuned to the moral wisdom of Islam, politically connected to the Philippine nation state, and enriched by global cultural flow. Viewed from the conceptual frame of "strategies of diversion" and "context of use" of the social life of things, this ethnographic presentation illustrates how the actually lived values of cosmopolitanism as acts of political openness and cultural flexibility are materialized into musical and filmic imaginaries by communities that some would otherwise dismissed as illegitimate others. These acts, as the paper would illustrate, manifest local capacities of diverting commodities from the tightly controlled zone of legal economy that regard music and images as financially valuable intellectual properties into a meaningfully valued medium of cultural expression and cosmopolitan engagements. On that note, such practices of remediation showcases a constituency conscious of their disposition as inheritors of trans-locally connected community aligned with the pre-colonial Southeast Asian emporium rather than a postcolonial zone of transgression in the age of globalisation.

While yet piracy allows the marginalized to partake in cosmopolitan relations, this paper also points to problems underlying a trans-locally oriented region walled in by the problems of social inequality, impoverishment, and rigid state borders and regimes that tightened the trans-border flow of goods and engagement of people. Without adequate means and with a consumer market of impoverished communities, Tausug media makers rely on pirate media to produce and share their sense of rooted cultural and cosmopolitan imaginaries. Such practice pry open an underworld where constituents yearning to imagine an inclusive local world lived out their ideals of belonging and connections by tapping systems of illegality. Their acts offer some ways of understanding how else cosmopolitanism are being lived in a manner that makes social and economic divide discernable, ethical issues evident, and moral differences glaring.

Jose Jowel CANUDAY is an Assistant Professor at the Ateneo de Manila University where he teaches legal, political, and visual anthropological methods in ethnographic research. He has engaged in the ethnographic study of variant forms of cosmopolitan engagements in the context of armed conflicts, civilian displacements, interreligious dialogue, and peace processes in the Muslim region of the Southern Philippines, On the basis of his work in the Southern Philippines, Jowel earned his doctorate in Social and Cultural Anthropology from the University of Oxford.

ABOUT THE CHAIRPERSONS

Céline CODEREY received her MA and PhD in Anthropology from the University of Provence, Aix-Marseille 1 (FR). Since completing her Master degree and especially during her PhD programme conducted at the University of Provence, Dr Coderey has studied the different conceptions of health/disease and the therapeutic practices existing in Rakhine (Myanmar) and issuing from Theravada Buddhism, astrology, traditional medicine, alchemy, local spirits cults, etc. With a postdoctoral grant from the Swiss National Fund, she had then conducted research at the Centre Norbert Elias of Aix-en-Provence, focusing on the implementation and appropriation of biomedical practices in Myanmar mainly in the field of reproductive health and mental health. In January 2014, Céline Coderey has commenced a one-year joint appointment as Postdoctoral Fellow in the Science, Technology, and Society Cluster in ARI and Tembusu College. She is currently conducting research on the contemporary dynamics and changes in the health field in Myanmar particularly in the sectors of HIV/AIDS and traditional medicine.

Keiko TOSA is Visiting Senior Research Fellow at the Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore. She is Professor of Area Studies (Southeast Asia) of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Japan. She received her BA and MA in Literature from Osaka University of Foreign Studies, and her PhD in Anthropology from Graduate University of Advanced Studies (Soken-dai). Her specialization is in anthropology with the focus on religions of Myanmar. She has been working on the belief of supernatural power and its relevant local knowledge which have been excluded from orthodox Buddhism in the course of modernization. Her current research focuses on the Buddhist missionary work and its impact on social welfare, education as well as on assimilation policy and religious conflict.

Philip FOUNTAIN is Senior Research Fellow at the Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore. He received his PhD in Anthropology from the Australian National University, and MSc (Geography) and BA (Geography and History) from Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. His research interests centre around emerging engagements between 'religion' and international aid and development. He is currently working on a number of projects, including the intersections between religion and disaster relief, religion and the politics of development (or, also, politics and the religion of development), logics of conversionary development, and the awkward relationship between anthropology and theology. He is also finishing off a monograph manuscript on the service work of the North American Mennonite Central Committee in the context of Indonesia. Recent published papers include 'Development Things: A Case of Canned Meat' and 'The Myth of Religious NGOs: Development Studies and the Return of Religion'.

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Ronojoy SEN is Senior Research Fellow at Asia Research Institute, and Institute of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore. He has worked for over a decade in leading Indian newspapers. He was last with The Times of India, New Delhi, where he was a Senior Assistant Editor on the editorial page. Dr Sen holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of Chicago and a BA in History from Presidency College, Calcutta. He has been a Visiting Fellow at the National Endowment for Democracy, Washington, D.C. and the East-West Center Washington, and Fellow of the International Olympic Museum, Lausanne, Switzerland. Dr Sen is the author of 'Articles of Faith: Religion, Secularism, and the Indian Supreme Court' (Oxford University Press, 2010; paperback 2012). He is the co-editor of 'More than Maoism: Politics, Policies and Insurgencies in South Asia' and 'Being Muslim in South Asia: Diversity and Daily Life'. He has contributed to edited volumes and has published in several leading journals. He also writes regularly for newspapers.