



Centre of SOUTH ASIAN STUDIES

ANNUAL REPORT, 2014-2015



Professor C. A. Bayly, 18 May 1945 to 18 April 2015



**UNIVERSITY OF
CAMBRIDGE**

It was an extremely sad concatenation of events that my first year as Director of the Centre was also the year of Chris Bayly's untimely and tragic death. Numerous obituaries have attested to Chris's contribution to scholarship and his role as an inspirational supervisor of graduate research. Here I wish only to record, on behalf of the staff of the Centre of South Asian Studies and the Committee of Management, our deep debt of gratitude to Chris for his years of leadership at the Centre, which saw us through a period of considerable change. Chris oversaw the Centre's move from Laundress Lane to the Alison Richard Building as a part of the new School of Human, Social and Political Science and negotiated its new relationship with the School of which it is now a part. All of this was achieved with minimal disruption to graduate students and to our scholarly visitors. Chris helped to establish the MPhil in Modern South Asian Studies, now in its sixth year, which continues to flourish. For these achievements, for his intellectual example, as well as for his friendship to so many members of the community of South Asianists in Cambridge, we remain deeply grateful.



C.A. Bayly

In my role as Director I have, with the support of the Committee of Management, sought to give the Centre a more 'Asia-facing' direction, deepening our ties, formal and informal, with institutions and universities in South Asia. To this end, we have planned tie-ups and joint activities with BRAC University in Dhaka, the Lahore University of Management Sciences and Jawaharlal Nehru University. The Centre looks forward to these connections leading to productive partnerships that support the research of graduate students and faculty across our universities.

Another aim has been to enrich the established weekly seminar series, for so long a central part of the Centre's programme. The establishment of named lectures each term, each of which is named after the Centre's previous directors, has given us an opportunity to invite eminent speakers, particularly from overseas. It was a great pleasure to welcome Dr Sunil Amrith of Harvard, Professor Willem van Schendel of Amsterdam and Professor Prasanna Parthasarathi of Boston College to deliver the inaugural Benny Farmer, Gordon Johnson

and Raj Chandavarkar Lectures respectively. The annual Kingsley Martin Lecture, a highlight in the Centre's annual calendar, was delivered this year by Professor Mrinalini Sinha on 3 June 2015.

A landmark this year has been to set up a Charles Wallace Burma Trust visiting fellowship from Myanmar, and to welcome this year our first fellow, Tin Naing Win.

Another new direction has been to give, in the Centre's programmes, greater prominence to initiatives that go beyond the purely academic, and have wider implications for policy and public affairs. To this end, the Centre has established a relationship with Camvol, which places, guides and advises young Cambridge students who wish to do voluntary work across South Asia.

We hosted a round table conference in Cambridge with Conciliation Resources, a non-governmental organisation that has worked consistently to develop programmes and policies strengthening better understanding between developing countries of the subcontinent. To take these goals forward, the Centre organised an extremely successful panel at the Cambridge Festival of Ideas, which explored the common ground between India and Pakistan in terms of environmental resources and challenges, trade and economic growth, and state formation and geo-politics. Chaired by Anatol Lieven, the panel travelled to the Hay Festival in May 2015, where it was warmly received as part of the Cambridge University Series.



*Ornit Shani, Joya Chatterji, Kamal Munir and Bhaskar Vira
India and Pakistan, the common ground
Hay Festival, May 2015*

The Centre was delighted to welcome Shekhar Pathak, the celebrated environmental activist, whose lecture on Himalayan lakes and ecosystems explained the tragic recent floods and their consequences. Other distinguished guests included the High Commissioner of India, His Excellency Mr Ranjan Mathai, and the High Commissioner of Singapore, Her Excellency Ms Foo Chi Hsia.

Our plans for the Centre's 50th anniversary next year are taking shape. Three main events are envisaged. The first is to host the British Association for South Asian Studies Conference in April 2016. The second will be a special issue of *Research Horizons*, which will feature the Centre prominently, and discuss the University's research on, and links with, India. The third will be the launch of a new website.

The MPhil in Modern South Asian Studies continues to attract excellent students from all over the world. This year, ten lively students from many different backgrounds and countries took the course. All graduated, two with distinction and three with high pass marks. Ananya Mishra received the Prize for Best Overall Performance in the MPhil and Roohi Hussain was awarded the C.A. Bayly Prize for the best dissertation. We are deeply grateful to academic colleagues from faculties and departments across the University who teach on the course, despite other heavy commitments. In particular, I would like to thank Tahir Kamran, Allama Iqbal Fellow, who has helped the Centre, the MPhil and our graduate students in countless ways, giving them endless time and energy, and David Washbrook, who has been a mainstay of the new core course of the revised MPhil programme. We thank the Malaysian Commonwealth Studies Centre for supporting our MPhil programme, which enables us to remain competitive and attract the best and brightest students.

Devika Singh, Smuts Fellow, leaves the Centre at the end of this year, and I thank her for her contribution to the Centre, particularly for her stimulating teaching. Edward Anderson, a fourth-year PhD student in History at Cambridge, whose dissertation is on Hindu nationalism in Britain, has been elected to replace her from 2015 to 2018. We look forward to welcoming Edward, a graduate of the MPhil in South Asian Studies, back to the Centre.

The work of the staff of the Centre - Kevin Greenbank, Barbara Roe and Rachel Rowe - has, as always, been outstanding. Their commitment going well beyond their formal duties: their support for the MPhil students, PhD students and visiting scholars from around the world is quite remarkable. The Centre would be a shadow of its vibrant self without them.

Joya Chatterji

Events at the Centre

The Centre's weekly seminar programme included speakers from a variety of institutions. Topics this year included *Murder at London Zoo: race, masculinity and empire*; *Transfigured landscape: the spectre of Kashmir and Bombay cinema*; *Urdu migrant literati and Lahore's culture* and *New Buddhist Nationalism in Sri Lanka and Myanmar*. A full list of seminars for 2014-15 can be found at the end of this report.



The Indian High Commissioner, Mr Ranjan Mathai (above, right) visited the Centre in October and met students and staff over lunch

A book launch was held in the Centre's library on 31 October for Omar Shahid Hamid's novel *The Prisoner*.

On 1 November the Director, Dr Ornit Shani, Dr Bhaskar Vira and Dr Kamal Munir participated in a panel discussion 'India-Pakistan: the common ground' as part of the Festival of Ideas. The discussion looked at commonalities between the two countries in the India/Pakistan divide, finding common ground in terms of development, economic growth and research, where a spirit of co-operation brings benefits for all. The same panel travelled to the Hay Festival in May to continue their discussion.

There were film screenings of *The World before her* and *Birth 1871: history, the state and the arts of denotified tribes of India* and a joint film screening with the Centre of Development Studies of the *Gulabi Gang*, a film by Nishtha Jain.

In February the Centre held a lively panel discussion at Clare Hall on 'the 2015 Delhi elections: what do they tell us about Indian democracy?' The panel included Dr Rochana Bajpai (SOAS); Dr Mukulika Banerjee (LSE); Dr Shruti Kapila (Cambridge); Dr Lisa

Mitchell (University of Pennsylvania) and Dr Ornit Shani (Haifa University) and was chaired by Dr Ramnarayan Rawat (Smuts visiting Fellow and University of Delaware).

The Singapore High Commissioner (Ms Foo Chi Hsia (High Commissioner Foo)) and Mr Mak Yong Yang (Second Secretary) visited the Centre in March and met students and staff over coffee.

MPhil in Modern South Asian Studies

The MPhil completed a successful sixth year. Of the 26 offers made, 10 students matriculated. This year's students came from Britain, India and the USA.

One student intermitted but the remaining 9 were awarded the MPhil degree. 2 students achieved the mark of Distinction, 3 achieved High Passes and 3 a Pass. Dissertation titles included 'Social entrepreneurship in India and transformational leadership. A Comparative case study'; 'A study of the *Tadhkira Gauthiya*: the changing configurations of Sufism in nineteenth century South Asia'; 'From tribal to Adivasi identity in the song cultures of Odisha 1900-present' and 'inventing Gorkhaland; late colonialism and the emergence of regional politics in Darjeeling, 1907-1948'.

Feedback from students was generally positive and comments included 'Very satisfied, really enjoyed the course and learnt a lot' and 'I think the core course is well-balanced, and it helps us form an overview of the history and status quo of the South Asian sub-continent'.

Students were particularly enthusiastic about the language classes, one commenting 'Most fascinating thing about the Urdu part of the course was how quickly I learned to master the language' and another 'Really enjoyed learning Urdu and thought classes were well structured. Excellent blend of grammar, standard vocabulary, colloquialisms, and cultural references gave full exposure to the language'.



MPhil graduation party. Saumya Saxena, Ananya Mishra, Aditi Ratho, Camille Danvers and Aishwarj Kumar

The Centre thanks the following for generously contributing many hours to hold seminars with, and to supervise the dissertations of, students: Dr Sunil Amrith, Dr Patrick Clibbens, Dr Leigh Denault, Dr Shailaja Fennell, Dr Tahir Kamran, Mr Aishwarj Kumar, Dr James Laidlaw, Dr Elisabeth Leake, Dr Annamaria Motrescu-Mayes, Professor Christopher Pinney, Dr Devika Singh, Dr Vincenzo Vergiani, Dr Bhaskar Vira and Dr David Washbrook.



*Kevin Greenbank, Anique Newaz, Tejas Hargudkar,
Joya Chatterji, Roohi Hussain and Ananya Mishra*

Roohi Hussain was awarded the C.A. Bayly Prize for the best dissertation of 2014-15. Roohi will be studying for the PhD degree in History at the University of Kent at Canterbury. Ananya Mishra received the Prize for Best Overall Performance in the MPhil in 2014-15. We hope to see Ananya back in Cambridge studying for the PhD in the future.

The External Examiner stated in his report: ‘The programme is clearly very demanding and intensive and produces work of remarkably high calibre. The individually-tailored Hindi/Urdu component is clearly enthusiastically taught with a great deal of dedication to the task. The range of options is good and students are given early feedback through short book reviews which provide valuable guidance on writing styles that may be appropriate to later coursework. The dissertations are impressive in their intense engagement with their topics. Clearly the previous stewardship of C.A. Bayly set extremely high standards and these have undoubtedly been maintained under Professor Chatterji.’

Barbara Roe

Library and Archive Report

This was a busy year for the South Asian Archive and for the Centre's Library. Work continued on the digitization of the photograph collections. A team of volunteers from the National Association of Design and Fine Arts Societies are working on the collection and we hope to have a significant number of images available on the website in the near future.

At the University Library (UL) some spectacular South and Southeast Asian photographs and artwork in the Royal Commonwealth Society (RCS) collections were digitized. These can be viewed on [Cambridge Digital Library](http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/collections/rcs) (<http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/collections/rcs>).

Burmese collections were the focus of research interest for visits by Tin Naing Win (Charles Wallace Visiting Scholar from Yangon, Myanmar) and Ron Graham (Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto) and three fabulous Burmese fabric maps dating from the 1860s held in the UL were digitised with funding from the Anstuther Literary Trust for Rare Books. These are now being conserved. You can view them at: <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/search?keyword=burma%20maps&page=1&x=0&y=0> .

Thirty-six Company paintings from Tiruchirappalli, Tamil Nadu in the RCS collections were also digitised and conserved. Painted on mica in 1869, they had become too fragile to handle. View them at: <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-RCMS-00352/1> and read about their conservation: <https://specialcollections.blog.lib.cam.ac.uk/?p=9876>

At the Centre of South Asian Studies work has continued on the catalogue of the archive papers. This work should be completed by the end of the next academical year, in time to go up on the re-designed website which we are hoping to launch soon.

The Archivist made a film about the diaries in the C.A. Whitehouse Collection in conjunction with the Communications Office – the film was released recently and will be followed up by an article in the University's *Research Horizons* magazine. We have also featured in CAM magazine in the Easter Term.

The Archivist spoke at the South Asia Archive and Library Group (SAALG) at the Salvation Army International Heritage Centre in London in January and at a conference about the teaching of Partition in British schools in Coventry, along with Dr Kamran. He spoke about the Centre's oral history collection and what it reveals about the movements engaged in the struggle for independence at the Festival of Ideas in November.

Our Librarian too hosted an event at the Festival of Ideas in October - a show-and-tell session and exhibition entitled 'Hidden Hong Kong' with the Map Department at the UL. She also held a series of workshops for History students (undergraduates and graduates) using the RCS photographic collections, and gave numerous one-to-one and small group induction and research skills sessions to graduate students and visiting scholars. She is a member of the SAALG Steering Group and represented the Centre in Paris at the SAALG-SEALG conference on French connections with South and Southeast Asia in July. She is active on social media, tweeting and blogging about archives and special collections.

In February the Librarian and Archivist hosted a research day for graduate students on the MA Photographic History and Practice course at De Montfort University. The Archivist

also visited India just before Christmas, giving presentations in Delhi, Lucknow and Chennai and meeting with a number of archivists and collection holders during his stay. The archive was visited by Mr Ranjan Mathai, the Indian High Commissioner in October.

The Centre's Library continues to grow - 222 new titles were purchased or donated - and we are particularly grateful to our donors and the Smuts Memorial Fund for a library grant. At the UL, our Librarian was awarded a Wellcome Trust Research Resources Award for the conservation and digitisation of WWII records of civilian internment on Singapore in the RCS collections, and a Smuts library grant for the digitisation of photographs from Singapore and Sri Lanka.

Not surprisingly, perhaps, the Centre receives very large numbers of enquiries by email from researchers across the world, as well as by personal visitors to the Alison Richard Building. During 2014-15 the Librarian alone answered 1495 such enquiries and both Librarian and Archivist find it difficult to keep abreast of and catalogue the fascinating new books and archives acquired. Fortunately, they rather like being busy!

Rachel Rowe
Kevin Greenbank

People

Dr Tahir Kamran



Dr Kamran came to the end of his fifth and final year as Allama Iqbal Fellow at the Centre. He again taught classes for the core course and marked essays, dissertations and Urdu language scripts for the MPhil in Modern South Asian Studies. Three students studied for the MPhil under his supervision.

He published two Journal articles 'Lockwood Kipling and the Establishment of Mayo School of Arts' in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, CUP, Volume 25(2015) and 'The pre-History of Religious Exclusionism in Contemporary Pakistan: Khatam-e-Nubuwwat 1889-1953', *Modern Asian Studies*.

Dr Kamran also published a book chapter 'Shari'a, Shias and Chishtiya Revivalism' in an edited volume entitled *The Shia in Modern South Asia: Religion, History and Politics*. He also completed a monograph 'The Colonial Lahore: City and Beyond', a project in collaboration with Ian Talbot which will be simultaneously published by Hurst & Company, OUP, London and Penguin India in 2016.

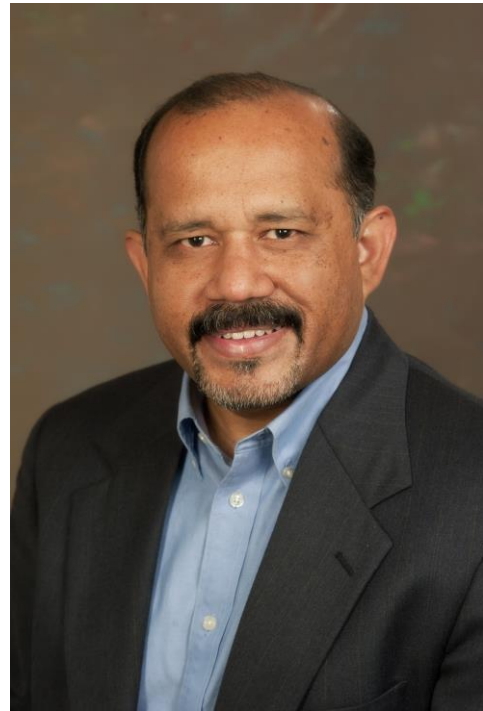
In September Dr Kamran visited Coventry with the Archivist to participate in a workshop on the teaching of Partition in primary schools in the UK. He was keynote speaker at the book launch of *Medina in Birmingham, Najaf in Brent: Inside British Islam* by Innes Brown, which was held at SOAS.

In April Dr Kamran gave a seminar entitled *Urdu migrant literati and Lahore's culture* at the Centre.

Staff and students at the Centre were sad to say goodbye to Dr Kamran when he returned to Lahore in June. Always available to talk to students, his intelligence, kindness and wit will be missed by all of us and we look forward to his future visits.

Dr Ramnarayan Rawat

Dr Ram Rawat joined the Centre in August 2014 as the Smuts Visiting Fellow in Commonwealth Studies. Dr Rawat is an Associate Professor of History at the University of Delaware and lives in Philadelphia. As Smuts Fellow at the Center, Dr Rawat was completing his second book project, 'Parallel Publics: A New History of Indian Democracy.' It outlines the role of Dalit groups in introducing innovative ideas and practices in the history of liberalism in India. In addition to Smuts, the second book project has received generous support from the American Council of Learned Societies' Charles A. Ryskamp Research Fellowship, and from the American Institute of Indian Studies' Senior Fellowship. Dr. Rawat benefitted greatly from discussing and sharing his work with members of the Centre.



Dr Rawat also gave a talk, 'From Untouched to Untouchable: The History and Politics of Naming,' from his second book project at the Centre in November, 2014. A revised version was published in *Indian Economic and Social History Review* (2015) titled, "Genealogies of Dalit Political: Transformation of *Achhut* from 'Untouched' to 'Untouchable' in early-twentieth century North India."

Dr. Rawat delivered the prestigious Smuts Memorial Fund Lecture, "Parallel Publics: An Indian history of democracy," in May 2015 at Trinity College. Chair of Smuts Managers and Professor of Geography, Dr Ash Amin chaired and introduced the speaker. The Director, Professor Joya Chatterji, offered a formal response to the Lecture. It was followed by questions from the audience. The Lecture concluded with a reception at Trinity College.

During his tenure as Smuts Fellow at the Centre, Dr Rawat was invited for presentations at the University of Edinburgh, SOAS, University of London (two talks), Kings College, London, Georg-August-Universität Göttingen (Germany), London School of Economics, and a conference in Delhi.

Dr. Rawat's first book, *Reconsidering Untouchability: Chamars and Dalit History in North India* (Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2012 & Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011), is the recipient of Joseph Elder book prize awarded by American Institute of Indian Studies and received 'Honorable Mention' in 2013 Association of Asian Studies Bernard S Cohn book prize. He has co-edited the *Dalit Studies* which is being published by the Duke University Press in April 2016.

Dr Devika Singh

Dr Devika Singh completed her third and final year at the Centre as Smuts Research Fellow in Commonwealth Studies.

In Michelmas and Lent terms she convened and taught her option course 'Modern art and society: Appropriating modernism in twentieth-century India' for the MPhil in Modern South Asian Studies.

From September 2016 she will be a fellow at the Centre allemand d'histoire de l'art in Paris. We wish Devika every success for the future.



Dr Tin Naing Win



Dr Tin Naing Win arrived in Cambridge in April to take up his appointment as the Centre's first Charles Wallace Burma Trust Visiting Fellow. His research project was entitled 'Excavating historical, artistic and significant values in Myanmar manuscript maps held in British libraries: recollecting and retaking of map sources for Myanmar' and had five ultimate objectives: to examine original cloth maps and manuscript maps of Myanmar held in British libraries; to analyse and interpret the map sources; to study maps as historical, cultural and artistic artifacts; to recollect and bring back digital copies of old Myanmar maps kept in British libraries; to preserve and disburse the rare maps in Myanmar.

During his three month visit to Cambridge he was able to collect a number of Myanmar primary historical maps only available in British libraries and never studied before. All the maps collected, particularly rare cloth maps, are very valuable and important, not only for historical research but for Myanmar

The South Asian Studies Seminar Series, 2014-15

Michaelmas Term 2014

- 8 October **Professor William Gould (University of Leeds)**
Film screening: 'Birth 1871', followed by Q&A session with the film makers
- 15 October **Dr Sunil Amrith (Birkbeck, University of London)**
The inaugural Dr B.H. Farmer Seminar: *Crossing the Bay of Bengal: the rise & decline of a South Asian Region*
- 22 October **Dr Heonik Kwon (Trinity College)**
Conceptualising Asia's postcolonial Cold War
- 29 October **Professor Niraja Gopal Jayal (Jawaharlal Nehru University)**
Indian citizenship: a century of disagreement
- 5 November **Dr Ramnarayan Rawat (Smuts Visiting Fellow and University of Delaware)**
From untouched to untouchable: the history and politics of naming
- 12 November **Professor Deepak Nayyar (Jawaharlal Nehru University)**
The Republic of India: between hope and despair
- 19 November **Dr Ornit Shani (St John's College, Cambridge and Haifa University)**
Rewriting the bureaucratic colonial imagination in the preparation for India's first elections
- 26 November **Professor Srirupa Roy (University of Göttingen)**
Being the change; the Aam Aadmi Party and the politics of curative democracy
- 3 December **Dr Jonathan Saha (University of Bristol)**
Murder at London Zoo: race, masculinity and empire

Lent Term 2015

- 14 January **Professor Chris Fuller (London School of Economics)**
Imperial empiricism and the decline of the Raj: caste, religion and official anthropology in the early twentieth century
- 21 January **Dr Lisa Mitchell (visiting Fellow at Clare Hall, Cambridge and University of Pennsylvania)**
Public space and the demand for recognition: lawful and unlawful assembly and the 'conditions of listening' in Indian history
- 28 January **Anjali Bhardwaj-Datta (University of Cambridge)**
The urban conquest of the periphery: re-gendering Delhi's urban villages
- 4 February **Professor Chandra Mallampalli (Westmond College)**
A Muslim conspiracy in colonial South India: Wahhabis in the Deccan, 1830-40
- 11 February **Dr Emma Mawdsley (Department of Geography, University of Cambridge)**
India's development cooperation: managing transitions, opportunities, challenges and uncertainties in the decade ahead
- 18 February **Professor Ulrike Stark (University of Chicago)**
Benares beginnings: print modernity, book entrepreneurs and cross-cultural ventures in a colonial metropolis
- 25 February **Dr Iza Hussin (Department of POLIS, University of Cambridge)**
The politics of Islamic law: local elites, colonial authority and the making of the Muslim State
- 4 March **Professor Willem van Schendel (University of Amsterdam)**
The inaugural Dr Gordon Johnson Seminar:
Rethinking (South) Asian Studies: spaces and inter-linkages
- 11 March **Professor Shohini Ghosh (AJK Mass Communication Research Center, Jamia Millia Islamia)**
Transigured landscape: the spectre of Kashmir and Bombay cinema

Easter Term 2015

- 22 April **Dr John Zavos (University of Manchester)**
Translating cultures of service in the diaspora: devotion as social action in the BrAsian city
- 29 April **Dr Tahir Kamran (Allama Iqbal Fellow, Centre of South Asian Studies)**
Urdu migrant literati and Lahore's culture

- 1 May **Professor Sanjay Subrahmanyam (UCLA)**
Modern Asian Studies Lecture: *One Asia or many?: views from connected history*
- 6 May **Dr Aditya Sarkar (University of Warwick)**
The antimonies of industrial relations: Bombay's mills, 1884-1897
- 12 May **Dr Anupama Rao (Columbia University)**
Ambedkar in his time and ours
- 13 May **Dr Akhila Yechury (University of St Andrews)**
Imagining India, decolonising l'Inde française, 1947-1954
- 20 May **Dr Matthew Walton (University of Oxford)**
New Buddhist Nationalism in Sri Lanka and Myanmar
- 21 May **Dr Ramnarayan Rawat (Smuts Visiting Fellow and University of Delaware)**
Smuts Memorial Lecture – *Parallel publics: an Indian history of democracy*
- 27 May **Professor Prasannan Parthasarathi (Boston College)**
The inaugural Dr Raj Chandavarkar Seminar
The natural wealth of nations: ecology and agriculture in nineteenth century Tamilnad
- 3 June **Professor Mrinalini Sinha (University of Michigan)**
Kingsley Martin Memorial Lecture – *The political in question: abolitionism in India's twentieth century*
- 10 June **Dr John Slight (St John's College, Cambridge)**
The colonial Hajj from India and Malaya
- 29 June **Professor Tanika Sarkar (Jawaharlal Nehru University)**
Intimate Violence: Age of Consent Controversies in Colonial Bengal

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CENTRE, 2014-15

Staff

Professor Joya Chatterji, Director
Dr K.M. Greenbank, Archivist
Mrs B. Roe, Administrator
Ms R.M. Rowe, Smuts Librarian for South Asian and Commonwealth Studies
Dr Devika Singh, Smuts Research Fellow

Members of the Centre's Committee of Management, 2014-15

Professor J. Chatterji	Director
Dr Ha-Joon Chang	Appointed by the Faculty Board of Economics
Dr S. Fennell	Co-opted member
Dr K.M. Greenbank	Co-opted member
Dr T.N. Harper	Appointed by the Faculty Board of History
Dr I. Hussin	Co-opted member
Dr T. Kamran	Co-opted member
Dr J. Laidlaw	Appointed by the Faculty Board of Human, Social and Political Science
Dr K. Munir	Co-opted member
Professor J. Prabhu	Appointed by the Faculty Board of Business and Management
Dr S. Sivasundaram	Co-opted member
Dr V. Vergiani	Appointed by the Faculty Board of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies
Dr B. Vira	Appointed by the Faculty Board of Earth Sciences and Geography
Dr D. Washbrook	Co-opted member

Visiting Fellows

Dr Tahir Kamran (Allama Iqbal Fellow)
Dr Ramnarayan Rawat (Smuts Visiting Fellow)
Dr Tin Naing Win (Charles Wallace Burma Trust Visiting Fellow)

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