



Book Reviews

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Book Reviews

Georges Condominas (ed.), *Formes extrêmes de dépendance; Contributions à l'étude de l'esclavage en Asie du Sud-Est*. Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1998, 582 pp. ISBN 2.7132.1271.5. Price: FRF 380.

PETER BOOMGAARD

During the last two decades, slavery, serfdom and debt-bondage in Southeast Asia may not have been neglected entirely as research topics for historians, but they have not received the scholarly attention due to them either. After the publication of the rightly acclaimed volume edited by Anthony Reid in 1983*, to my knowledge there have been no other book-length studies of Southeast Asian slavery until the appearance of the bulky collection being reviewed here.

There are 22 articles in this collection. They cover the following areas: Burma (Bénédicte Brac de la Perrière), Burma/Malaysia (Jacques Ivanoff), Malaysia (Luis Filipe Thomaz), Thailand (Andrew Turton, Suthavadee Nunbhakdi), Cambodia (Marie Alexandrine Martin, Khin Sok, Alain Forest), Laos (Amphay Doré), Vietnam (Daniel Léger, Nguyễn Tùng), Borneo (Antonio Guerreiro), Java (Bénédicte Milcent), and the Philippines (Esteban Magannon). There is also a surprising number of articles on Madagascar, an island which has cultural links with Southeast Asia (Philippe Beaujard, Dominique Rolland, Jean-Pierre Domenichini and Bakoly D.-Ramiaramanana). In addition there are two articles on more or less adjacent areas, Rajasthan in India (Henri Stern) and Sichuan (Szechwan) in China (Lu Hui), one theoretical article (John Kleinen), and an introduction and conclusion from the editor.

So clearly there is a strong emphasis on mainland Southeast Asia and on areas where the French were influential. As the Reid volume focused on island

* Reid, Anthony (ed.), 1983, *Slavery, bondage and dependency in Southeast Asia*. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press.

Southeast Asia (and Malaysia) and regions under Dutch or English influence, this redresses the balance. Another characteristic feature of the book is that it contains quite some material from the period before the arrival of the Europeans, also in contrast to the Reid volume. The interpretation of these older, often epigraphic sources is fraught with difficulties, and several articles in this collection therefore deal mainly with terminological questions. This may be somewhat boring for the non-specialist, but further research does depend on a clear understanding of the meaning of the terms referring to bonded labour which are found in the sources. I think it is fair to say that most of the contributions to *Formes extrêmes de dépendance* stay quite close to their sources.

The Condominas volume is a very rich collection of articles. As the editor has been quite 'liberal' (there is enormous variation in length, and at least one article does not really deal with 'extreme forms of dependency'), the contributions do not have much in common in terms of approach, point of departure, and so on. The introduction and the conclusion, although certainly interesting, are too brief to compensate for this lack of unity, so that scholars in a hurry may find the book somewhat frustrating. Those looking for detailed and solid documentation regarding slavery and related phenomena in Southeast Asia, on the other hand, will be pleased with the large majority of contributions to this volume. Personally I was disappointed with the article on Java, the area with which I am most familiar, and I do not think that those looking for information about slavery on that island are well served. Fortunately, however, the chapter in question is not at all representative for the volume as a whole. I would also like to mention my favourite article in the collection, Jacques Ivanoff's contribution on the Moken 'sea nomads', a piece which tells a story and tells it well.

The date of publication given on *Formes extrêmes de dépendance*, 1998, is rather misleading, as the contributions date mostly from the late 1970s and early 80s. Although some attempts have been made to bring the collection up to date, the bibliographies of the articles hardly contain references dating from after 1985. So in fact the Reid and Condominas volumes originate from the same period, the early 1980s, and taken together they provide the student of slavery, serfdom and debt-bondage in Southeast Asia with an excellent starting point for further research.

Michel Picard, *Bali; Cultural tourism and touristic culture*. Singapore: Archipelago Press/Didier Millet, 1996, 232 pp. ISBN 981.3018.94.1.

PETER M. BURNS

Bali represents many things to many people: followers of Edward Said might see it as quintessential Orientalism, a place given its social construction and identity by outsiders. Structuralists, agreeing with Selwyn's (1996) interpretation of tourists as essentially chasing myths, might place Bali at the heart of myth-making territory. In the wider world of tourism planning and planners, Bali has been lauded as having a culture that 'is exceedingly strong, resilient, adaptable, and in many ways sophisticated, and can effectively absorb and integrate tourism' (Inskeep 1991:391). The latter is not, as we will see, a view shared by Michel Picard.

Michel Picard has been engaging with the elusive and paradoxical world of Bali for over two decades and this book must surely be the pinnacle of that research, and it is all the better for being a rare work in tourism: research based on a longitudinal study.

While Picard's work may seem conventional to anthropologists, it is, in the context of tourism literature, quite radically opposed to the orthodoxy where Bali is promulgated as a happy marriage between commercial tourism and culture.

The power of Picard's book is to journey beyond the polarity of these two views and set the debate on Bali at a much higher level. The book is borne, as Picard claims 'out of a dissatisfaction with the way in which questions are commonly formulated when international tourism penetrates a society' (p. 8). Quite so, and the arguments endorsing this view are clearly reflected in Picard's seven chapters and the brief but eloquent concluding section.

Through clear explanation of the multiple layers and meanings of Bali's culture he strips away the myths surrounding commonly held views of the 'success' of cultural tourism, bringing home his central message: that Bali's culture was heavily influenced by the Dutch colonial rulers in the 1920s and that the people of Bali were 'Balinized' as a result of social control mechanisms designed to stifle political agitation and to create a front against militant Muslims in Java.

Picard wrestles with a number of increasingly difficult ideas, juxtaposing insider views (as one would expect from an anthropologist) with outsider views (a mix of Indonesian officials, foreign planners and tourists), eventually leading us to the conclusion that exchange, within a touristic context, permits (even forces) 'the transmutation of cultural values into economic values' (p. 102).

And yet for all the close analytical scholarship, Picard seems never to lose sight of his role as a teacher: 'the Balinese not only are required to be Balinese, but they must be worthy representatives of "Balinese-ness"; they must become signs of themselves', he remarks with irony (p. 196) after leading us through the complex arguments of cultural renaissance.

Does all this mean Picard is unashamedly anti-tourist (à la Turner and Ash's *Golden Hordes*)? Not so: he recognizes the economic imperatives, but sets them against the backdrop of cultural politics.

This is an important book. It will provide fascinating reading for scholars of the region and cultural anthropologists seeking an explanation for tourism's socio-political dynamics.

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1996 *The tourist image; Myths and myth making in tourism.* London: Wiley.

Michael Prager and Pieter ter Keurs (eds), *W.H. Rassers and the Batak magic staff.* Leiden: Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, 1998, 152 pp. [Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde 29.] ISBN 90.71310.79.5.

ANDREW CAUSEY

M. Prager and Pieter ter Keurs have brought to light an important and interesting manuscript by Willem Huibert Rassers (1877-1973), former curator and director of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde. Rassers' article was written between the years of 1939 and 1941 (although he continued to amend and edit the work in later years), but was not published in his lifetime. Some years after his death, the manuscript was found by Prager and Ter Keurs languishing in the archives of the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde. Because of the quality of Rassers' previous scholarship and writings, and because the manuscript addressed a topic that was not well represented in the literature about the Bataks of North Sumatra, the editors proceeded to have the work translated (by Dr. Robert Wessing) and published.

The two excellent introductory chapters by the editors do more than preface Rassers' work on the Batak staff, for they also provide background inform-

ation and history that are essential in understanding his thoughts and arguments. Prager begins by giving a succinct account of the Leiden School, that group of Dutch anthropologists and linguists (of which Rassers was a prominent member) whose research focused on structuralist themes. Prager continues the chapter by describing Rassers' lifelong interest in unearthing evidence supporting the theory that various forms of Indonesian expressive culture (*wayang* theatre, poetry, folklore, material artifacts, and the like) contain within them traces of ancient autochthonous social structure. After a concise explanation of the Leiden School's methodology based on the notion of a 'field of ethnological study' (FAS), Prager contextualizes Rassers' work in light of subsequent research on the Batak.

Ter Keurs' chapter, which is just as vital to the book as Prager's, reveals for the reader how Rassers' intellectual background shaped the theoretical position of his researches on the connections between Indonesian material objects and social structure. The chapter by Ter Keurs also shows why Rassers chose the magic staff of the Batak as a prime example on which to test his theory.

Rassers' document (the second half of the book), entitled 'On the Batak magic staff', is an exploration of the possible social meanings of the distinctive multi-figured woodcarvings, called *tunggal panaluan* or *tunggal malehat*, used in pre-Christian times by the Batak *datu* (shaman/healer). Because Rassers' line of reasoning is intricately conceived yet also wide-ranging, it is difficult to summarize without oversimplifying it. In essence, he says that the Batak kinship system, which most accounts describe as being unequivocally patrilineal, may once have been balanced with an important matrilineal aspect that atrophied over the eons. Remnants of the ancient matrilineal order can still be seen, he says, in cultural features that retain a strong sexual dualism: the marriage system which traces both mother's and father's clan name and the conceptual distinction between gifts that are considered to be either *piso* (knife/male) or *ulos* (cloth shawl/female), to give two examples. Rassers suggests that the carved Batak staff with its textile-wrapped head-dress is a concrete icon of masculine-feminine duality not only because the figures carved on it are of both sexes, and because male and female attributes are combined (for example, carving and wood from the male world and weaving and thread from the female world), but also because the staff was used both as a weapon of protective and destructive magic (male) and as an instrument to attract rain, thus increasing soil fertility (female).

While Rassers' search for such dyads may be productive in understanding certain aspects of Batak social structure and material culture, his push to find the same sort of male-female duality in Batak pre-Christian religious beliefs may reach too far. The final section of his work is concerned with discovering how two kinds of spirits, *tondi* and *begu*, might fit into the dyadic system,

and furthermore whether two categories of spiritual leader, *datu* and *par-baringin bias*, might also reflect the patriline-matriline balance. These propositions are not as well grounded in ethnographic data as are the previous sections, and as a result are less persuasive.

Despite the fact that Rassers' research is dated and his writing style dense, students of Batak culture and religion, and of Indonesian social structure, will find in this book much to argue with, respond to, and ponder.

James J. Fox and Clifford Sather (eds), *Origins, ancestry and alliance; Explorations in Austronesian ethnography*. Canberra: Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 1996, viii + 336 pp. ISBN 0.7315.2432.2. Price: NLG 52.50.

CYNTHIA CHOU and SHOMA MUNSHI

This volume is the third in a series of publications from the Comparative Austronesian Project, a research programme spearheaded by the Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University. Offering a wide range of perspectives on origins, ancestry and alliance across a broad sweep of Austronesian societies, it encompasses studies from Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, Micronesia and Polynesia.

By referring to ideas of origin and ancestry as 'founding' ideologies in Austronesian societies, the contributors to this volume analyse how issues of hierarchy and equality are created, imagined and maintained. In order to comprehend discourses of the present and the past in a fruitful way, it is imperative to locate threads of the past like ancestry, place and alliance and tie them together in order to 'construct' the present. This access to the past via historicity forms the backbone to the volume – something clearly emphasized by James Fox in his lucid and tightly argued introduction, which lays the foundations for the subsequent papers.

Remarkably, these papers 'may be taken to present a broad cross-section of Austronesian societies whose separation can be interpreted to represent a dispersal over a period of some 3000 to 4000 years' (p. 4). The editors have selected and arranged the contributions meticulously, achieving a balance of coverage across the Austronesian-speaking world and drawing out similarities and differences among the major linguistic subgroups. What each of the

ethnographic studies in the volume highlights is how in tracing ancestry back to the past, Austronesian discourse on origins always utilizes botanical metaphors: one's 'roots', for instance, grow and regenerate towards 'young leaves' at the tips of 'branches' (p. 199).

All of the contributors cogently explore how these botanical metaphors 'conflate temporal and spatial modes of comprehension' (pp. 8-9). This in turn relates to ideas of precedence, another theme developed throughout the volume. What is pivotal in the analyses is the dual aspect of the notion of precedence, which connotes priority both in time and in position, rank or status. These interpretive notions of precedence as discourse and practice are intertwined with the concepts of origins, ancestry and alliance which are developed throughout in this volume.

The first three contributions (Bellwood, Siikala and Sudo) can be considered to form a trilogy insofar as they all examine the critical importance of a 'founder-focused ideology' and how this is created, interpreted and maintained. One of the important contributions which Bellwood makes to this discussion is the concept of 'founder rank enhancement' – a 'process whereby junior founders moving into relative or absolute isolation (such as a new island, previously inhabited or not) could establish senior lines, aggrandize their resources and attempt to ensure methods of genealogical inheritance which could retain privileges for their descendants' (p. 19). Siikala and Sudo enter the discussion at this point and refine it by creating both a spatial and a temporal narrative of social relationships. They link genealogy and journey (Siikala) as well as migration (Sudo) by examining these as alternative modes for arguing rights of precedence which are indicative factors in determining local rank and status.

In the next two contributions; Sather and Yengoyan focus on societies which have long been perceived as egalitarian. Both show that autonomy and equality do not preclude a search for prestige and renown. There follow four papers (by Fox, Lewis, Vischer and Grimes) focusing on eastern Indonesia and examining, in different ways, the discourse and practice of precedence and its connection to the notion of origin. Fox and Lewis re-examine ideas of alliance. Fox introduces the terms 'progenitor' and 'progeny' (p. 133) in order to clarify the analysis of indigenous categories. Lewis expands on Fox's theme by examining the internal precedence of progenitrix lines. Vischer takes the same kind of argument further still, looking at contestation and shifts in preference in connection with the performance of ceremonies that link and differentiate various domains. Grimes uses the configuration of houses to analyse cultural concepts of origin and source, making the incisive point that similar forms of discourse on origins do not necessarily translate into similar practices of precedence. Pannell's paper also forms

part of this broader discussion on the politics of the contestation of precedence, which she examines in the context of the village level of a modern bureaucratic administration:

The concluding trio of papers (by Biersack, Bulbeck and Frake) deal with historical themes. Biersack and Bulbeck examine how hierarchical transformations and the legitimation of political change were underwritten by the complexities of ranking schemes and the politics of matrimonial practices. Frake looks at the 'cultural construction of the social fields of hierarchy' (p. 316) and aptly concludes the volume by demonstrating 'the interconnections between horizontal and vertical social differentiation in human society' (p. 324).

Our ability to discuss this volume mainly as a piece, without providing detailed commentary on individual contributions, is due in no small measure to the success with which Fox's outstanding introductory chapter identifies and ties together the common themes of the diverse contributions. *Origins, ancestry and alliance* is a valuable collection of specialized anthropological research. To recommend it to a general readership, on the other hand, would be more difficult, since some prior knowledge of the issues under discussion is essential in order to make full use of the book. But this flaw, if it can be called that, is minor. *Origins, ancestry and alliance* analyses the very foundations of Austronesian societies in an ambitious, creative and wide-ranging study which introduces important new concepts and ideas.

Serge Tcherkézoff and Françoise Douaire-Marsaudon (eds), *Le Pacifique-Sud aujourd'hui; Identités et transformations culturelles*. Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1997, 405 pp. ISBN 2.271.05468.0.

H.J.M. CLAESSEN

In this sizeable book a number of French anthropologists, all working in the Pacific area, present their views on the present state of social and cultural developments in a number of societies situated more or less in the southern part of the Pacific Ocean. All of the authors have done extensive fieldwork here, and their descriptions are based on a thorough knowledge of the region and the literature dealing with it. So there is every reason to applaud the publication of this work. At the same time, however (and unavoidably, in my experience, in collection volumes of this type), *Le Pacifique-Sud aujourd'hui* also has some serious shortcomings. In the first place, the South Pacific is represented in an uneven way. No fewer than six chapters are devoted to Papua New Guinea, Australian Aborigines get one chapter, the Tonga Islands

two, West Samoa is discussed in a very lengthy chapter by Tcherkézoff, and the Tuamotu Islands and New Ireland also have one chapter each. Not only is there under- and overrepresentation, then, but several societies that can be considered part of the South Pacific area are not represented at all (for example: French Polynesian islands such as Tahiti, and the Marquesas Islands). The editors explain that circumstances beyond their control prevented some specialists from making a contribution; in view of these omissions, nevertheless, the title appears too ambitious. Other omissions, moreover, could easily have been prevented: the lack of maps or an index, for example. One must be very much at home in Papua New Guinea, indeed, to have an idea where the societies under discussion are located. And why, finally, are most of the articles so long? For who has the time nowadays to read such a lengthy volume?

Le Pacifique-Sud aujourd'hui opens with a valuable introduction by the editors in which the chapters are placed in a wider context. The rest of the book is divided into three parts. The first part presents cases of first contacts with the Western world and the reactions which these evoked. In Part 2, efforts to develop national identities are discussed. Part 3 describes the problems faced by the new nations of the South Pacific in the modern world. The quality of the chapters is consistently high. Godelier, the Nestor of the authors, discusses developments among the Baruya, distinguishing several phases in the process of their Westernization. The same method is applied by Juillerat with regard to the tribal Yafar. Peltier concentrates on the Sepik region, describing how the once exclusive men's houses disappeared as such while their form was preserved in modern schools and churches. Jeudy-Ballin describes how the forefather houses of the Sulka (New Britain) developed into a kind of cargo centre in which traces of the old ideology and elements of Christianity blended. Derlon concentrates on a specific type of cargo cult in New Ireland. Part 2 contains a chapter by Glowczewski on the relations between Whites and Australian Aborigines (references to the work done by scholars from Nijmegen University are lacking). Basing himself on the situation among the Anga, Lemonnier discusses the problem of how to make a socio-political unity of Papua New Guinea, where so many different languages are spoken. Bonnemère describes in detail the importance of language classifications for the social system of the Ankave-Anga, one of the Anga tribes. Chazine relates how archaeological research on the Tuamotu atolls has identified numerous sunken taro pits which are no longer used at present. The activities of the archaeologists raised the interest of several family chiefs who consequently started to plant taro again, thereby improving the food situation on the atolls. It is not clear why Chazine calls Jacob Roggeveen 'Roogveen' (p. 248), or why a number of older sources (varying from Darwin to Moerenhout) are

mentioned in footnotes but not included in the general bibliography. I like Chazine's article: short, and to the point. Part 3 opens with a chapter by Douaire-Marsaudon in which she compares Tonga, Wallis and Futuna with regard to the ritual functions of two categories of objects, food and valuables (tapa, mats). The Benguiguis write about modern Tonga, where tensions exist between the traditional hierarchical system and 'imported' democratic ideas. Tcherkézoff analyses the situation in Western Samoa, trying to establish to what extent the traditional cultural system, dominated by the *matai*, can withstand the influence of Western ideas. He believes that up to now the Samoans have succeeded in absorbing these ideas by placing them in a Samoan context. However, the introduction of the 'democratic' principle of majority rule, replacing the old ideal of political consensus, seriously threatens the *FaaSamoa*.

In summary: this is an important book about a number of societies in the South Pacific that are struggling to find their way in the confrontation with the Western world. It is a good sample of what French anthropologists have to tell their colleagues – but some of the authors could have been more sparing with their words!

Mayoury Ngaosyvathn and Pheuiphanh Ngaosyvathn, *Paths to conflagration; Fifty years of diplomacy and warfare in Laos, Thailand, and Vietnam, 1778-1828*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program, 1998, 270 pp. [Studies on Southeast Asia 24.] ISBN 0.87727.723.0.

Li Tana, *Nguyen Cochinchina; Southern Vietnam in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program, 1998, 190 pp. [Studies on Southeast Asia 23.] ISBN 0.87727.722.2.

Li Tana and Anthony Reid (eds), *Southern Vietnam under the Nguyen; Documents on the economic history of Cochinchina (Dang Trong), 1602-1777*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1995, xiii + 161 pp. [Sources for the Economic History of Southeast Asia 3.] ISBN 981.3016.69.8.

W.G. CLARENCE-SMITH

Here are three welcome additions to the sparse literature on the early modern history of Southeast Asia, which is especially thin for the southeastern quadrant of the Indochinese Peninsula. These books are all the more welcome because they rely heavily on primary materials written in Southeast Asian languages. They also throw some occasional light on Cambodia, one of the most obscure corners of the region in this period, and one which would benefit from a similar study.

Li Tana's revised doctoral dissertation on the southern Vietnamese state fills a yawning gap in writings on the country, and it is a godsend for any teacher of early modern Southeast Asian history, for it is clearly and analytically presented. The collection of documents, translated into English and prepared with the help of Tony Reid and others, is well illustrated and forms a useful adjunct to the thesis. Economic history is the focus of the collection of documents, and there is a strong emphasis on this aspect in the monograph. Li Tana shows that the southern Nguyen state was much more open to merchants and seafaring than its northern Trinh rival, and economically more successful, until the burden of taxation was pushed up too high. Revenues from trade, together with a permanent mobilization of the population, allowed the Nguyen rulers to acquire cannon and elephants, and build defensive fortifications. They thereby repeatedly defeated Trinh armies three or four times larger than their own. At the same time, the militaristic southern state was relatively free from the dead hand of Confucian tradition, innovating in politics and allowing elements of pre-existing religious traditions to infiltrate the Mahayana form of Buddhism. However, there was a tendency to slip back into northern forms of rule in the course of the eighteenth century, when peace prevailed.

Li Tana places a welcome stress on the contribution of non-Vietnamese peoples to the Nguyen state. Indeed she points out that a 'new way of being Vietnamese' emerged from cultural contact with the brilliant civilization of the conquered Cham, as well as the upland peoples and the Khmer to the south. This approximation to Southeast Asian rather than Chinese models included some negative elements, however, such as a greater acceptance of slavery. Li Tana further argues that the reduction of the once mighty Cham empire to the small puppet state of Panduranga might never have occurred, if it had not been for the creation of a distinct southern kingdom, willing and able to prosecute the 'drive to the south'. She also links non-Vietnamese populations to the outbreak of the great Tayson Rebellion in the 1770s, which grew out of anger at rising taxation, seen as falling to an unfair degree on highlanders.

It is hard to find fault with Li Tana's superb book, but one or two points can

be mentioned. The allegation that nothing of note happened in the northern state in this period overstates her case, and points to the need for a similar study of the Trinh regime. The lack of attention to the Daoist religious tradition is unfortunate, although it is true that this remains a gaping hole in all writings in Western languages on Vietnam. The reasons for the trade slump of the mid-eighteenth century are presented as inherently external to the region, or environmental in nature, due to the silting up of the main port. In reality, the withering away of commerce may have been as much a consequence as a cause of excessive taxation, itself the result of adopting a more northern style of court over time. This would make the Tayson Rebellion similar to peasant risings in the north, rooted in the gradual decay of a dynasty. Finally, there is no more than a fleeting reference to the relation between the historical traditions of the Nguyen kingdom and the division of Vietnam into two states in 1954. Li Tana's reluctance to delve any further into this thorny issue may be understandable, given the country's tragic recent history, but the whole book stands as a resounding negation of the official view emanating from Hanoi.

The Ngaosyvathn book is even more of a pioneering effort, as historical works on Laos in English can be counted on the fingers of one hand, despite significant progress of late. The authors have made full use of Lao and Thai materials, as well as some in Vietnamese and many in French. As these texts are frequently not historical in nature, the authors have done a great job in mining them for a wide variety of information. However, as David Wyatt notes in his preface, the book is far from constituting a definitive version of this crucial period in the history of Laos.

Indeed, this is an altogether different kind of publication from that by Li Tana. Rather than thoughtful and scholarly reflection, the reader is treated to a passionate display of Lao nationalism. Even so, the definition of the 'good guys' is strangely indeterminate. The Lao are generally taken to be the people of modern lowland Laos, plus those of the Khorat Plateau, today in north-eastern Thailand, but sometimes the term is extended to the peoples of northern Thailand. However, there is no doubting that the 'bad guys' are the Thai of the central plain, whose conquest of Vientiane in 1827-28 is treated as the ultimate betrayal. A wealth of analysis of the problems surrounding the definition of national identity is thereby brushed aside. This is hardly satisfactory. It is much easier to see the Lao, however defined, as constructing an 'imagined national community' with the Thai than with the Hmong (Miao) minority of modern upland Laos. Indeed, it may be the very artificiality of today's Laotian state that drives the preemptory nationalism of the authors. There are also repeated references to Thai 'slave' raids, a misleading description of forced population movements, an ancient form of warfare that the Lao

themselves engaged in whenever the opportunity arose.

Quite apart from this partisan approach, the organization of the Ngaosyvathn text is often hard to follow. There is a confusing plethora of proper names, of both people and places. In many ways, it is the tragic destiny of Chao Anou, the ruler of Vientiane, that provides the scarlet thread through the book. The sequence is thus broadly chronological, rather than analytical. Nevertheless, repetition abounds, including identical quotes from primary sources that pop up in different contexts. The immense footnotes are positively Victorian in nature, and make it even harder to keep track. There are compensations, however, as recondite gems of information lie buried deep in the verbal drifts of lengthy notes and long citations from documents. Thus, there is more detail on the techniques of warfare than one finds in Li Tana's monograph.

The two books published by Cornell University are marred by their presentation, contrasting with the professional appearance of the collection of documents. The Ngaosyvathn volume would have benefited from rigorous and detailed copy editing, including the translation of some items in French. Neither monograph has an index, a surprising omission in offerings from so prestigious an academic source. The maps are sketchy, omitting quite a few places mentioned in the text, so that those trying to follow Li Tana's monograph would do well to consult the maps in the collection of documents. Li Tana's French bibliographical entries are full of crass mistakes, clearly not checked by a competent speaker of the language. Useful as the Cornell series undoubtedly is in bringing out texts that commercial publishers hesitate to take on, it would be an added bonus if the quality of their publishing could be improved. At least the footnotes are at the bottom of the page.

Willy Meelhuijsen, *Revolutie in Soerabaja, 17 augustus – 1 december 1945*. Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2000, 304 pp. ISBN 90.5730.133.4. Price: NLG 59.50.

HAN BING SIONG

This is an interesting book in that its author witnessed the revolution in Surabaya himself. The scope of personal experiences is necessarily very restricted, but even so they can make essential contributions to a more accurate historiography. Being well acquainted with the local situation, for instance, the author of *Revolutie in Soerabaja* is able to cast doubts on the feats of the celebrated 'Surabaya Pimpernel', Mr. Boer. To Meelhuijsen it seems

impossible that Boer could have smuggled to British-protected Darmo so many women and children, unnoticed, and right under the noses of the Indonesians, from such a vast area. Regarding the infamous massacre by Indonesians of Dutch women and children who were being transported to that camp in a convoy a week earlier, Meelhuijsen personally counted six lorries; British sources, by contrast, state that there were twenty. Another surprise is Meelhuijsen's report that his aunt's young male gardener was violated by British Indian troops; as far as I know no other author, and certainly no Indonesian author, has ever mentioned these troops committing sexual assaults.

A more questionable discrepancy with existing accounts concerns the nature and timing of the British military action of 10 November 1945. According to British sources, the forces which launched this attack initially moved very cautiously in order to avoid unnecessary casualties. Only at 11 am, five hours after the action began, were artillery support, a naval bombardment, and bombing by the RAF ordered to support the bogged-down ground troops. According to Meelhuijsen's personal notes, by contrast, people were awakened by tremendous shelling at 6 am that day. British accounts do concede, however, that mortar (not yet artillery) shelling started within half an hour of the beginning of the action; probably it is this to which Meelhuijsen refers.

Besides these interesting personal observations, *Revolutie in Soerabaja* also offers some other completely new information. Its author claims, for instance, that Colonel Asjes of the Recovery of Allied Prisoners of War and Internees Organization on Java (Meelhuijsen assumes he was the Surabaya chief), when in Surabaya on 29 September, knew that the situation there was already deteriorating seriously. This is a very serious claim since if it is correct, Asjes was guilty of grave negligence which put the lives of many Dutch women and children at risk. The implementation of a large scheme for removing 10,000 Dutch women and children from Semarang to Surabaya was to start that evening, so if Asjes knew of the changed circumstances in Surabaya, as alleged by Meelhuijsen, he should have cancelled this at once. Also quite novel is the story that on 5 October 1945, President Sukarno created the Tentara Keamanan Rakjat (Army for the People's Security) due to pressure exerted by Arifin and Kafrawi, two former officers of the Japanese-created (and by then disbanded) Army for the Defence of the Fatherland. Meelhuijsen does not appear to connect this event with the British broadcast of 29 September in which the Indonesian Republic was given *de facto* recognition; on 23 August, however, President Sukarno had announced in a speech that an army would be created as soon as international recognition was obtained. It is to be regretted that Meelhuijsen does not mention the sources behind his interpretation of events here.

Dutch publications on recent Indonesian history generally do not excel in using Indonesian-language sources. This book, however, is an exception, since almost half of its references are in that language, providing much information which until recently was not included in the Western literature. The reader learns a good deal about the course of the battle in November as perceived from the Indonesian point of view. On some issues, Meelhuijsen's very extensive study of Indonesian sources seems to have affected his views. Remarkably, for instance, he blames the British for contravening their 30 October agreement with the Indonesians by taking the city in November, overlooking the fact that the latter were in default for refusing to turn over the few thousand Dutch and Indo-European prisoners still detained in Kalisosok jail. His summary of the 30 October agreement (p. 171) does not include this important stipulation. In order to liberate the prisoners, the British had no alternative but to enter the city. Even more remarkably, Meelhuijsen assumes that in the period between 26 October and 10 November the Indonesian leaders had forgotten that they had these prisoners! In his opinion the British did not win much by their military operation – a peculiar claim given that the prisoners in question were indeed freed. Moreover, another 1,200 European and Indo-European women and children in the Darmo area, like Meelhuijsen and his family and many others outside that area, were safe only after the arrival of the British forces. Meelhuijsen is inclined to believe that it was due to Indonesian restraint that they escaped being abducted as refugees, although he does not rule out the possibility that British tanks reached them in time.

Yet the author does not completely renounce his Dutch identity. While conceding that the Dutch and Indo-Europeans behaved very provocatively, for instance, he refrains from saying that they were primarily responsible for creating the precariously tense situation in Surabaya. Another example is the author's stance regarding the Dutch naval captain Huyer. Meelhuijsen fervently opposes the view that the Japanese transfer of arms on such a large scale to Indonesian revolutionaries in East Java was due to Huyer ordering the Japanese commanding officers to surrender to him. Huyer's actions, in Meelhuijsen's opinion, were of no consequence for the course of events. But Meelhuijsen's arguments to this effect, unfortunately, are not very convincing. He reproduces parts of the memoirs of the Japanese admiral Shibata, in which it is revealed that Shibata ordered his men to hand over their arms if they could not dissuade the Indonesians from demanding these. But according to the same admiral's report to the British, which is present in the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation (006960, 006964), that order was issued only after his surrender to Huyer! Until it was given, the previous order had stated: 'when your self-defence so requires, you are to perform

your duty by the use of arms'. Meelhuijsen's credulousness on this point contrasts with the keen scepticism which he brings to bear on, for instance, the claim that the British rescued the Kalisosok prisoners on Mr. Boer's insistence.

I found reading this book a rather tiring exercise, since it consists in large part of lengthy texts reproduced from various sources. The author explains that this is necessary to enable readers to really taste the atmosphere of the revolution by placing themselves in the position of participants or witnesses. It seems to me, however, that the same aim could easily have been achieved by making accurate summaries. Another problem with the chosen format is that the same subjects are often dealt with several times in different places. A more systematic layout would undoubtedly have helped to improve this remarkable book. I will refrain from listing the needless inaccuracies contained in *Revolutie in Soerabaja*, since such errors are equally abundant in many other publications with far higher academic aspirations. By way of illustration, nevertheless, I cannot resist mentioning one: according to Meelhuijsen, Japan accepted the Potsdam Proclamation on 14 August 1945!

M.J.C. Schouten, *Leadership and social mobility in a Southeast Asian society; Minahasa, 1677-1983*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 1998, xiv + 334 pp. [VKI 179.] Price: NLG 50.

DAVID HENLEY

Many years of reading, fieldwork, and reflection have gone into this anthropological and historical study of Minahasa (North Sulawesi, Indonesia), and the result is scholarship of exceptional range, depth and detail. In order to trace changes in patterns of leadership and social mobility in an area which, when Schouten began to focus on it in the 1970s, had received little scholarly attention of any kind for almost half a century, she was effectively obliged to undertake a complete reconstruction of its history. While the published and archival sources available for this purpose were numerous, they were also dispersed, fragmentary and partisan, mostly originating either from missionaries or from colonial administrators. Relating these older written sources in turn to the overwhelmingly oral culture of late twentieth-century Minahasa, with its profound but sometimes misleading infusion of European styles, customs and beliefs, was also a formidable task. To have brought all the relevant material together into a book as readable and balanced as this one is an achievement which I suspect few of its readers will ever fully appreciate.

Originally a stateless, warlike, and economically more or less self-sufficient corner of the Indonesian archipelago, Minahasa underwent what Schouten calls a 'quite extraordinary' transformation during the nineteenth century when it was 'absorbed into the powerful, comprehensive, and enduring contexts of the world market system in combination with the colonial state, and the world-wide religious constellation of Christianity' (pp. 2-3). The twin spearheads of this transformation were compulsory coffee cultivation under a government monopoly system, and mass conversion to Protestantism under the auspices of the Netherlands Missionary Society (NZG). Although coffee was later replaced as a staple export product by smallholder-produced copra and cloves, European missionaries by a Minahasan Protestant church (the GMIM), and the colonial government by the local organs of an independent Indonesian state, the commercialization, political centralization and cultural innovation of the nineteenth century effectively defined modern Minahasa. Following briefer accounts of the pre-European and VOC (United East Indies Company) eras, accordingly, almost half of Schouten's book is devoted to this crucial period.

Among men, social rank and political leadership in precolonial Minahasa were achieved above all by the display of courage and wealth. Courage was displayed primarily in war, wealth at potlatch-like 'feasts of merit' which Schouten describes in terms of a persistent cultural emphasis on 'showing and sharing'. In the course of the nineteenth century, however, the most influential of the existing chiefs were incorporated into the colonial state, which accentuated and rigidified the social hierarchy by guaranteeing their privileges, boosting their power and income, and favouring the creation of a hereditary aristocracy or *bangsa* made up exclusively of their descendants. The suppression of headhunting, meanwhile, closed off this traditional avenue of social mobility completely. One response among those excluded from the new bureaucratic ruling class was to seek alternative forms of status created by the European presence. The Western schooling offered by the Protestant mission, for example, enabled the children of some to become teachers and missionary assistants in Minahasa or office workers and plantation supervisors elsewhere in Indonesia. Many young men also enrolled as soldiers in the Dutch colonial army, where they formed a martial élite almost as well known as its Ambonese counterpart.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the influence of the *bangsa* began to wane as bureaucratic restrictions curtailed its power and an elected representative council, the Minahasaraad, provided an alternative type of political mediation between Minahasans and the colonial government. Another factor here was the emergence of new commercial opportunities – first in coconut farming and copra production, later in the cultivation of cloves – which put unprecedented wealth in the hands of ordinary farm-

ers following the abolition of compulsory coffee cultivation in 1899. This wealth made it possible for many non-bureaucrats to stage the lavish feasts which, despite missionary disapproval and a partial dissociation of feasting from religious ritual, continued to provide an effective way of attracting followers and attaining social status. A key conclusion of Schouten's book is that despite a massive penetration of Minahasan society by cash and commerce, material wealth has continued to be regarded primarily as an instrument for the achievement of social and political status rather than as an end in itself.

The scope of *Leadership and social mobility* is much broader than its rather modest title would suggest. Readers interested in demography, for instance, will find a remarkably well-informed discussion of nineteenth-century population growth (pp. 68-72), while the process of conversion to Christianity is also discussed in some detail (pp. 107-12). Considerable attention is given throughout the book to Minahasan women, many of whom achieved prestige in precolonial times as ritual experts, and whose autonomy and social perspectives were in some ways curtailed during the colonial period. Another virtue of this volume is Schouten's consistent concern not just to tell a coherent story but to establish the truth, however complex, wherever this is possible and to acknowledge uncertainty, however frustrating, where the data are ambiguous. Steeped in fragmentary, cryptic and biased sources, she is intimately aware of how difficult it often is to say for certain what a past era was really like or why any given historical change took place. While she seldom declines to specify her own preference among a number of possible theories or interpretations, alternative standpoints are almost always discussed. Schouten also has a keen eye for the entertaining ironies of cross-cultural synthesis and misunderstanding with which this part of Indonesia abounds. In the cameo-like introduction, for instance, relatives gather around a rich Minahasan's grave to honour and propitiate the dead man on New Year's Eve, praying, chatting and sleeping to a taped musical accompaniment of Jingle Bells and White Christmas.

In a wide-ranging study like this there are bound to be some points on which any given reader would have liked more detailed coverage. If I had to identify significant weaknesses, I would tend to locate them in Schouten's reconstruction of precolonial Minahasan society. Although easily the best ever written, this covers only 27 pages (10% of the book) and arguably glosses over some difficult issues which have direct bearing on the evolution of leadership structures in subsequent periods. The assumption that 'the prevailing cognatic descent system precluded the formation of lineages' (p. 11), for example, may well be rather too simple. Several early sources suggest that among at least one of the major Minahasan ethnic groups, the Tombulu, a married woman norm-

ally went to live with her husband in a multiple-hearth house containing a politically corporate group of patrilineally related nuclear families. On the nearby Sangir Islands, conversely, it was a matrilineally structured, exogamous 'big house' group which traditionally controlled land and other hereditable property. In Minahasa as in Sangir, then, today's more strictly cognatic determination of kinship and the associated rights and duties may in fact be a product of the colonial transformation rather than an original feature.

When future researchers come to address this and other remaining open questions of Minahasan history, however, Mieke Schouten's *Leadership and social mobility in a Southeast Asian society* will be their inevitable starting point, their invaluable guide and the enduring benchmark against which their achievements are judged. Scholars in search of comparative material with which to illuminate processes of social and political change elsewhere in Southeast Asia and the world, meanwhile, will also find it a very valuable source of information and ideas.

Wim F. Wertheim, *Third World whence and whither? Protective state versus aggressive market*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 1997, 211 pp. ISBN 90.5589.082.0. Price: NLG 40.

MASON C. HOADLEY

For the reviewer's generation, critical appraisal of what came to be W.F. Wertheim's last work requires coming to terms with one's own past. In good company with Van Leur and Schrieke in the series 'Selected Studies on Indonesia by Dutch Scholars' (published for The Royal Tropical Institute under a grant from The Netherlands Organization for Pure Research), few works have so influenced fledgling students of Indonesia as Wertheim's *Indonesian society in transition* (1956). The methodology of that work, significantly, is referred to as providing one of the themes of *Whence and whither?*

Part 1 opens with a pithy essay on America's role as a mercantilist state whose economic Monroe Doctrine provided the rationale for the world-wide economic hegemony acquired under the guise of the Cold War. Part 2 deals with demographic issues, both in measuring population and doing something about its excess. Here Wertheim raises the issue of the significance of the Mao model for the Third World (Chapter 3). Part 3, 'Political conditions for a breakthrough', introduces the key concept of 'emancipation'. This is defined as 'any form of collective struggle on the part of groups that feel themselves to be treated as inferior or subordinate, fighting against the privileges of the dominant groups' (p. 69). Wertheim maintains that this is a better

way of looking at the dynamics of the Asian situation than via such expressions as 'modernization' because the process is not a uniform or unilinear movement, but rather 'a dialectical process, which advances in successive waves' (p. 70). The concept of emancipation calls for an assessment of the role of the state in hindering or furthering the process, being particularly relevant to actual historical states, including the socialistic ones of the Soviet Union and China.

Part 4, 'Emancipatory state strategies', follows the preceding line of argument by focusing on the extent to which the emancipatory state supports the élites or the masses. In point of fact Chapter 6, like Chapter 3, focuses almost entirely on Mao's China and is concluded by a call for the reassessment of the effects of the Cultural Revolution. This part closes with one of the book's strongest chapters; on 'Legislation versus education in the Third World' (Chapter 7). Wertheim's cogent observations challenge belief in both the direct and desired effect of laws on social behaviour. Within the context of emancipation, the actual impact of education vastly outweighs that of legislation.

The book closes with a short essay entitled 'End of the myth of the 1990s: Mammon's Pyrrhic victory'. Crucial to the emancipatory theme is the question of whether the globalized economy will prevail and, if so, with what results? In what for 1996 must be seen as a prescient statement, Wertheim observes towards the close of the book that:

'China seems to be adopting the worst characteristics of Western capitalism. In the Far East, also, Mammon is in the ascendant, and tigers, both large and small, are bound to get stuck in an indomitable world crisis.' (p. 172.)

The question arises whether this is a rehashing of now passé academic questions – was Mao right? – or a painfully timely reminder that we have avoided (or have been bought off from) coming to terms with still crucial development issues of the Third World. The resolution, of necessity, must come from individual readers, especially those better equipped to deal with modern China. Yet the issue of 'whence and whither' is not settled, thereby providing not only a new point of departure but also a fitting contribution by one of the truly original scholars of Asia and the Third World.

D.S. Ranjit Singh and Jatswan S. Sidhu, *Historical dictionary of Brunei Darussalam*. Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 1997, xxxiv + 179 pp. [Asian/Oceanian Historical Dictionaries 25.] ISBN 0.8108.3276.3.

This book, which follows the usual format of Scarecrow dictionaries, has been criticized elsewhere by reviewers, including the present one. Rather than repeating those remarks, it might be better to concentrate here on more positive aspects of the volume and to highlight some developments which have occurred since the 1997 publication date.

The authors are scholars based at the University of Malaya. Associate Professor Dr D.S. Ranjit Singh (b. 1944) is a specialist on contemporary Southeast Asia and the history of British Borneo; he has been a consultant to the Malaysian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. His younger colleague, Jatswan S. Sidhu MA (b. 1962), is an expert on the history of Brunei and Burma, besides being knowledgeable about international affairs.

The heart of the book comprises a 31-page general introduction followed by the main dictionary section (pp. 33-126) and a bibliography (pp. 127-54). Many useful snippets of information can be picked up: to give an example at random, the entry on Persatuan Kerabat Di Raja Melayu Brunei (Brunei Malay Royal Family Association, p. 97) is helpful, as are some others. Nine maps are provided in the early part of the book, while a central section of monochrome photographs includes depictions of Kuala Belait and of the Liquefied Natural Gas Plant at Lumut.

With regard to 'subsequent developments' (no criticism of the authors, of course), the pious Oxford-educated Prince Al-Muhtadee Billah (p. 110) was duly installed as Crown Prince in August 1998 and is trusted to act as Deputy Sultan during His Majesty's absences from the state.

HRH Prince Mohamed Bolkiah (p. 88), Minister of Foreign Affairs and brother to HM the Sultan, remains in office and has been given additional responsibilities over the sultanate's economy. His autobiography, *Time and the river* (Brunei Press, Berakas), was launched on 6 August 2000. HRH Prince Jefri Bolkiah (p. 75), another brother, ceased to be Chairman of the Brunei Investment Agency in 1998 and subsequently became involved in a public feud with His Majesty, which at the time of writing (October 2000) has still not been completely settled.

The cabinet (listed on pp. 161-2) remains in office, although there have been two departures: Dato Johar Noordin ceased to be Minister of Health on 25 March 1998, the portfolio being assumed by the Minister of Education (Pehin Abdul Aziz Umar) in addition to his existing duties. Similarly, Pengiran Bahrin Abbas took leave as Minister of Law on 24 June 1998 and ceased to be a member of the cabinet on 1 November of the same year; HM the Sultan himself took over the post.

Dato Marsal bin Maun (p. 86), Chief Minister in the 1960s, died on 27 March 2000. (Pehin) Abdul Manan bin Mohammad (p. 33) and (Pehin) Salleh Masri (p. 110) are also now deceased.

With regard to the exile 'Jassin/Jessin/Yassin Affandy' (pp. 74-5), proper-

ly 'Awang Muhammad Yassin Affendy bin Abdul Rahman', he has now returned to Bandar Seri Begawan. After a period in detention, he took an oath of loyalty to HM the Sultan on 2 August 1999 and was granted an audience of His Majesty at the Istana Nurul Iman on the following day. He is now free. Likewise, Haji Zaini Haji Ahmad (pp. 125-6) was released on (to be precise) 19 July 1996. Their former colleague in the Brunei People's Party, (Dato Paduka) Awang Haji (Abdul) Hapidz, featuring on page 38, went on to become a prominent businessman, serving for many years until April 1999 as President of the Brunei Malay Chamber of Trade and Industry.

With regard to population (p. 165), the latest estimate (July 2000) is 336,376. More recent figures on the economy, updating those given on pages 166-73, can be found, for example, in the annual *Far East and Australasia* (Europa Publications, London).

Bob Reece, *Masa Jepun; Sarawak under the Japanese 1941-1945*. Kuching: Sarawak Literary Society, 1998, xix + 254 pp. ISBN 983.9115.06.5. Price: GBP 40.00 (hardback), 30.00 (paperback).

A.V.M. HORTON

Historians of Sarawak have tended to focus their attention either on the Brooke era (1839-1941) or on the post-independence period within Malaysia beginning in 1963. The interlude, although not lacking in drama (war, occupation, military administration, direct colonial rule), has remained comparatively neglected. Efforts have been made to redress the balance: Dr Naimah Talib's *Administrators and their service* (OUP, Shah Alam, 1999), for example, devotes well over half of its length to the 1941-63 era, whilst Dr Ooi Keat Gin has assembled a two-volume collection of documents (*Japanese empire in the tropics*, Ohio University, Athens, 1998) and summarized his findings in another book, *Rising Sun over Borneo* (Macmillan, Basingstoke, 1999).

On the eve of the Second World War, Brooke Sarawak was drifting: it had lost direction and much of the early idealism had evaporated. The idyll was terminated for ever by the Japanese invasion of December 1941; yet the history of the Japanese era has remained little known – until now. *Masa Jepun*, fruit of three decades of world-wide research by the author, furnishes a comprehensive survey of the occupation. Professor Reece, based at Murdoch University, has produced a 'thematic exploration' covering inter alia the history of the Japanese community in Borneo, the last days of the Brooke regime and military operations during the Second World War. The core of the study covers Japanese administration, ethnic policy and economic policy. Sections

are devoted to anti-Japanese rebellions and the eventual 'liberation'. Breathing goodwill to everyone (the dedication is to 'all those who did not live to see 11 September 1945'), the author investigates many different perspectives: Malay, Chinese, Indian, Iban, Bidayuh, Australian, Japanese, British. All of these groups were affected by the occupation in different ways. For Chinese people in Sarawak, for example, Japan was the occupier of their homeland; for Indians, by contrast, the Rising Sun was a potential liberator; for the Iban the Japanese were the wretches who confiscated their guns. European prestige was destroyed, never to recover. In its way, therefore, Sarawak was a microcosm of a much wider world.

Reece is an exemplary historian. First, as he ought, he has absolute mastery of all the relevant primary and secondary sources. Secondly, personal testimony is used to telling effect, particularly that of, say, R.K. Bhattacharya, Tan Sri Ong Kee Hui, Tedong anak Barieng and Datuk Tra Zehnder, as well as some prominent Japanese personnel. Thirdly, he also has some of the traits of a museum curator, having assembled an extraordinary collection of historical artifacts: photographs, posters, currency notes, leaflets, maps, council minutes, medals, cheques – all the more remarkable an achievement when it is remembered that in the immediate aftermath of the war it was not wise for any Sarawak citizen to be caught in possession of Japanese materials for fear of being branded a 'collaborator'; much was hurriedly thrown away (p. 228) and no-one is better aware than Reece himself of how much potential source material has been lost (pp. xvii-xviii). The upshot is a well-rounded, multi-layered portrayal of Sarawak in 1941-45, backed up by many illustrations, so that readers are provided not just with a superlative historical narrative, but also with something of a museum catalogue as well.

Reece has long since established himself as a cutting-edge historian of Sarawak with books like *The name of Brooke* (OUP, Kuala Lumpur, 1982), along with a flood of papers on diverse subjects. *Masa Jepun* is undoubtedly a fine work of original scholarship which will do his reputation no harm at all. It will not be the last word on the subject; but at the very least it has set the benchmark against which all future studies will have to be judged.

Mohd. Taib Osman (ed.), *Islamic civilization in the Malay world*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Istanbul: OIC Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture, 1997, xli + 406 pp. ISBN 92.9063.069.8. Price: USD 80

NICO KAPTEIN

This luxuriously produced book was published jointly by the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka in Kuala Lumpur and the IRCICA (OIC Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture) in Istanbul, which is subsidiary to the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC). The OIC is a supra-national, mainly political, Islamic organization which aims to promote solidarity among the approximately 50 member-states and to stimulate cooperation between them in economic, cultural and scientific fields. The initiative for the present book originated from an IRCICA meeting in Istanbul in 1981, when the idea of a research project on Islamic civilization in the Malay world was launched. This idea fitted well in IRCICA's aim 'to show the Islamic unity through history and to study, in particular, the history of the Islamic territories which are not well known in Africa and Southeast Asia' (p. xix). After deliberations of IRCICA staff with officials in Malaysia, Indonesia and Brunei, and through the support of the then Minister of Education of Malaysia, Anwar Ibrahim, the project officially started in Malaysia in 1987 with the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka as the regional secretariat of the project. After various workshops and writer's consultations over a period of a decade, in 1997 *Islamic civilization in the Malay world* resulted from the project.

The honour of writing the foreword to this prestigious publication was given to Anwar Ibrahim, who stresses the native perspective of the book and expresses his delight that it was written by 'scholars from our own region'. Anwar proudly signed this foreword in his capacity as 'Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia'; we can only feel sorry that only a few years later, Anwar's patronage of Islamic scholarship did not prevent him from falling into disgrace in Malaysia and ending up in prison after a series of doubtful court cases.

Islamic civilization in the Malay world contains contributions by ten scholars from Southeast Asia, all of whom received at least part of their academic training in universities outside this region; the 'native perspective' (whatever that may be) does not show in their writings. The book deals mainly with the Malay-speaking parts of the 'Malay world', and as might be expected given the direct involvement of the Malaysian authorities, most attention is paid to Malaysia. All chapters can be read separately. If one reads the entire book, some overlaps occur here and there.

In the introduction, Moh. Taib Osman stresses that Islam in the Malay world is often overlooked when people talk about the Islamic world. Chapter 1, by Hussin Mutalib, is entitled 'Islamic Malay polity in Southeast Asia'. It gives a broad overview of the functioning of various now-Muslim states of Southeast Asia in the economic, social and cultural domains, both before and after the arrival of Islam and colonialism in the region. In Chapter 2, 'Social structure: the practices of Malay religiosity', Zainal Kling characterizes Islam

as the 'dynamo of the Malay socio-cultural system', both in the past and in the present. Chapter 3, entitled 'Economic life: from ruling the waves to toiling the land', was written by Shaharil Talib and Mohammad Raduan Mohd. Ariff, and deals with the place of (parts of) the Malay archipelago within the wider Asian trade system, mainly in the colonial period. Azyumardi Azra is the author of the excellent Chapter 4, 'Education, law, mysticism: constructing social realities', which sketches the establishment and further development (until the end of the 19th century) of Islamic institutions in the educational, mystical and legal fields. Chapter 5 is entitled 'Kitab Jawi: intellectualizing literary tradition', and was written by Ismail Hamid. It explores the Malay Islamic literary production used for the dissemination of Islamic knowledge in the region. In Chapters 6 and 7, attention is given to two material aspects of Islamic civilization in the Malay world: architecture, described by Kamaruddin Mohd. Ali, and Malay arts and crafts, dealt with by Raja Fuziah Raja Tun.Uda and Abdul Rahman Al-Ahmadi. Both chapters contain a large number of useful colour plates. The final Chapter 8, 'The Ummah: rising to the challenges with special reference to Indonesia', is rather unfocused and deals mainly with some Islamic organizations in Indonesia, including the Muhammadiyah. There is no overall concluding chapter to the book.

On the whole, this book offers reliable and objective information on various aspects of Islamic civilization in the Malay world. For specialists in the field, however, it hardly has anything new to offer. I hasten to add that this was never the intention of the editors: as I mentioned above, the present book should be understood as an effort to make Islamic civilization in the Malay world known to other Islamic regions and to the global community at large. In connection with this, it is worth noting that IRCICA has announced an intention to publish 'translations in other languages' and that a Turkish translation is already in press (*IRCICA Newsletter* 51, April 2000). Against this background, *Islamic civilization in the Malay world* can be regarded as a successful project which may play a role in further integrating the Malay world into the wider Islamic community. For me, this publication derives its importance first and foremost from the way it testifies to the vitality of supranational Muslim contacts in the academic domain. In addition, I think that both Muslim and non-Muslim readers who do not have a specialized knowledge of the Malay world will certainly profit from reading it. It is therefore unfortunate that the book contains many editorial inaccuracies, both linguistic and technical, and is rather expensive.

Lizzy van Leeuwen, *Airconditioned lifestyles; De nieuwe rijken in Jakarta*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 1997, viii + 119 pp. ISBN 90.5589.073.1. Price: NLG 29,50.

NIELS MULDER

Dit korte boekwerk is een verslag van persoonlijke ervaringen en impressies van het leven van de welvarende tot extreem rijke middenklassers in Jakarta. De indrukken worden gewicht gegeven door wat literatuurreferenties en door de eigen interpretaties geldig te verklaren. De ideologie van het Soeharto-regime en de materiële cultuur van de nieuwe middenklasse hebben alles met elkaar te maken (p. 114)! Grensoverschrijdend blijkbaar, want in Manila en Bangkok zie je hetzelfde.

Het boekje is het best wanneer er niet met pretentieuze theoretische brokstukken of uit vervreemding ingegeven interpretaties geschermd wordt: in de beschrijvende delen dus. Het actieve netwerken – steeds op zoek zijn naar nieuwe *koneksi* – is leuk getroffen, en de beelden van het leven thuis, de luxe winkelcentra, en de extravagantie van de feesten en partijen waar eigenlijk nooit wat gebeurt, zijn zeer herkenbaar.

De moraliserende ondertoon, vooral in de hoofdstukjes 'Aspecten van het openbare leven in Jakarta, 1994' en 'Samenvatting' is hinderlijk, evenals het slordige – en onnodige – gebruik van Indonesische woorden (*macet* = file; *bapakisme* = leiderschap; *masih bodoh* voor *masa bodoh*, en dergelijke). Ondanks dit: de levenssfeer van de nieuwe rijken van Jakarta is goed getroffen.

Timothy Lindsey (ed.), *Indonesia; Law and society*. Sydney: The Federation Press, 1999, xxx + 418 pp. ISBN 1.86287.311.9. Price: AUD 49.50.

NIELS MULDER

This book comprises 27 essays on law and society in Indonesia. Some of these are rather legalistic, others are more sociological, but in all cases the attempt prevails to relate text to context, law to practice, constitution to ideology, implementation to political expediency. Most contributions concentrate on the legal situation under Guided Democracy and the New Order, in which the Chief Executive arrogated the legal process. Arief Budiman's Foreword, accordingly, opens with the statement: 'Many Indonesians do not believe in the rule of law, because they have virtually no experience of such a thing' (p. v). They only know the 'law of the ruler'. This notwithstanding, there are many interesting observations to be made about law and society in Indonesia.

The essays in Parts I and II range from the history of law, especially under the Republic, through the problems of land reform, to the relationship between the state and the shari'a. Part III deals with sexuality, marriage and the law, giving due attention to New Order violence against women. Parts IV, V and VII elaborate on the legal culture of the late-Sukarno and Soeharto regimes. They deal with questions concerning the rule of law and politics, the relationship between judges, lawyers and the state, and the problem of human rights. Many of these essays analyse the lofty ideals of the rule of law and the integralistic, familistic state, and their degeneration in practice in independent Indonesia. The rule of law (*negara hukum*) was quietly perverted into the arbitrariness of the powers-that-be; the judiciary became a tool of the executive; the idea of the integralistic state led simply to dictatorship.

Personally, I like these discussions. The New Order regime has always attempted to present itself as founded on culture. The Constitution of 1945 and the Pancasila, plus the ideas of familism/communalism and compromise/harmony, were proclaimed to embody Indonesia and to justify the official practices in which the state always prevailed over individual rights. Is that particularly Indonesian, or is it a cheap 'Asian Values' argument for suppressing dissent and emphasizing that people have duties, not rights? Indonesian culture, if such a thing existed at all, was what the regime said it was – or so the authors seem to imply. If the law, human rights and an independent judiciary are to have a place in Indonesian society, we can only hope for Reformasi. Such re-engineering cannot be taken for granted, and none of the essayists is unqualifiedly optimistic.

Many authors point to the timeliness of, the social demand for, and the benefits of the rule of law. Especially in this era of globalization, commercial regulation has become a necessity; this is the subject of Part VI. How it will all develop in Indonesia is unpredictable for now. The collection of essays does, however, offer a high-quality inventarization of law and society up to the beginning of the Habibie presidency. As such it constitutes a very useful baseline for clearing up the mess and proceeding with legal reform.

Frans M. Parera and T. Jakob Koekèrits (eds), *Mengenang Romo Mangun: Surat bagimu negeri; Berjuang untuk yang terpinggirkan, menyapa hingga yang di singgasana*. Jakarta: Penerbit Harian Kompas, 1999, xxxi + 247 pp. ISBN 979.9251.03.6.

The idea of compiling these writings of Romo Y.B. Mangunwijaya as 'Letters to my country: Fighting for the underdog, addressing those in power' was originally conceived as a congratulatory gesture on the occasion of Romo Mangun's seventieth birthday in May 1999. Alas, this most humane, creative social critic suddenly died on 10 February of that year, and this book with Kompas (plus seven more with Kanisius!) had to be restructured as a commemorative volume, reminiscing on Romo Mangun himself and his versatile, inspiring imagination.

The main body of *Surat bagimu negeri* consists of Romo Mangun's contributions to the opinion pages of Kompas during the last year of his life. We also find reactions to these writings, which open up the current debate on the hoped-for reformation in Indonesia. In addition, the book includes five obituaries. Altogether, twelve national notables provide contributions.

Romo Mangun was a national figure, respected by all, and it is most appropriate that a part of his intellectual legacy has been collected. His writings always stress the importance of both common sense and sound moral choice. Proceeding from these principles, he exposes the New Order as a regime of lies. It was fascist to the core, combining native feudalism with elements of colonialism and the age-old tradition of piracy. It tried to cover all this up by means of perfidious propaganda and the intimidation of all those who 'dissented'.

Romo Mangun did not expect that Soeharto's heritage would easily be overcome. For far too long, the ideas of Indonesia's founding fathers had been contorted to the point of contradiction. The ideal of 'unity in diversity', for example, had been poisoned by a policy of 'unity at all costs'. In the long run the only guarantee of Indonesian unity is respect for diversity, and Romo Mangun was a persistent advocate of federalism. The idea of diversity also coloured his vision of modern and post-modern men: these need to be independent, critical and responsible individuals who, together, constitute a vibrant civil society. They are the antitheses of those men and women who merely follow a leader, who behave as serfs of a regime.

Romo Mangun questions and exposes the amoral nature of 'development', technology, and the capitalist system of production. Because of these, poverty and the fate of the underdog have worsened. Ordinary people do not seem to matter – as demonstrated, for example, by the neglect of basic education. The foundation of the social edifice is rotten, as demonstrated by the absence of the rule of law. Indonesia needs a total overhaul if it is to have a future, and to that end a constitution-drafting convention is urgently needed.

These are the major points advanced in *Surat bagimu negeri*. Generally they are well taken, and constitute a worthy tribute to the memory of Romo Mangun. Hopefully his thinking will inspire the still-hesitant public debate in Indonesia.

Gerard Clarke, *The politics of NGOs in South-East Asia; Participation and protest in the Philippines*. London: Routledge, 1998, xxiii + 299 pp. ISBN 0.415.17140.7. Price: GBP 55.

OONA THOMMES PAREDES

In this century, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have become part and parcel of political activity in many developing countries, sometimes affecting community development and the democratic process in a very real way, and not always positively. The presence of NGOs has been particularly remarkable in the Philippines, which had over 70,000 registered NGOs by the end of 1995. Gerard Clarke delves into this phenomenon with two very solid case studies – the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement (PRRM) and Task Force Detainees of the Philippines (TFDP), two of the more prominent Filipino NGOs – in an attempt to determine whether or not, in what manner, and to what extent NGOs may contribute to real political and social change. Clarke draws on several years' experience in the Philippines, starting as an undergraduate student working with the TFDP, returning to conduct research for his doctorate, and coming back a few years later to study NGO proliferation in the other, emerging democracies of Southeast Asia. All this culminates in a broadly comparative and well-written volume that will be a useful reference to anyone with an interest in the politics of the development process.

Chapter 1 provides a brief but thorough introduction to the history and changing role of NGOs in the developing world. The 'non-governmental organization' is defined and differentiated from political parties, charities and groups that do not pursue 'public welfare goals'. The place of NGOs in civil society is discussed, followed by a look at how NGOs developed elsewhere in the world, specifically in Chile and India. Chapter 2 is an overview of the development of NGOs in Southeast Asia, showing how 'the nature of social organisation in the region and with it, the nature of South-East Asian politics' (p. 25) has also been transformed due to upheavals that spawned an 'associational revolution' in which NGOs have emerged as significant new actors. The recent political histories of Cambodia, Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore are discussed, with a focus on the conditions that have suppressed or promoted NGO development.

The subsequent chapters deal with the history of NGO activity in the Philippines from the 1880s to the present. Clarke describes four distinct 'generations' of NGO activity, beginning with elite philanthropy that basically 'legitimat[ed] the social status of Philippine élites' (p. 54), and relief and welfare organizations that reinforced the American colonial project. A century

later, 'fourth generation' NGOs actively support non-élite interests, constituting a new force powerful enough to challenge the state to fulfil its responsibilities to the multitude of non-élite groups. Clarke shows how NGOs have managed to plant the seed of an 'associative democracy' that is bringing change to countries like the Philippines, and how different political conditions – during the post-colonial, Marcos and post-Marcos years – transformed the NGO.

The 'meat' of the book is provided by the detailed case studies of the PRRM, a rural development NGO that has endured for half a century, and TFDP, a human rights group established in 1974 which, by the 1990s, had become the largest human rights NGO in the developing world. Clarke shows how both NGOs have made important contributions to political and social change. The impact of TFDP is particularly notable, as the campaign against human rights violations brought together widely divergent parties (Church workers, the extreme Left, moderates) to oppose the Marcos dictatorship.

Considering the vast, intertwined array of NGOs and other political actors in the Philippines, Clarke is to be commended not simply for helping us make sense of it all, but also for producing a surprisingly readable book. This is an astute and even-handed analysis of recent Philippine history, and NGO political activity is described with enough detail to please readers already familiar with the subject. At the same time, the discussions and presentation of the subject matter are general and comparative enough to make the book a valuable tool for new students of Philippine politics and/or non-governmental organizations, as well as for those interested in Southeast Asian politics, wider social movements, or development politics.

Joe Cribb, *Magic coins of Java, Bali and the Malay Peninsula; Thirteenth to twentieth centuries; A catalogue based on the Raffles collection of coin-shaped charms from Java in the British Museum*. London: British Museum Press, 1999, 288 pp. ISBN 0.7141.0881.2. Price: GBP 75.

ELLEN M. RAVEN

During the last few years Joe Cribb, curator of South Asian coins at the British Museum, has frequently published on the use of Chinese *cash* as currency outside China and on local monetary adaptations of that popular coin

format. His latest publication focuses on another kind of modification, that of the 'magic coins' of Java and neighbouring regions. William Marsden, Sir Thomas Raffles and their contemporaries started to collect these 'coins' around the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1863 the Dutch scholars E. Netscher and J.A. van der Chijs already pointed out that they were not intended for monetary use, but were in fact amulets, magic charms which had been manufactured in Java since the late thirteenth century. Their forms mirroring that of *cash*, these charms are round, flat discs cast in a mould from bronze or brass, with a central square hole and a raised rim around the hole and around the edge on both sides of the disc. The terms which Cribb's sources provide for these magic coins are *pitis/pipis* (meaning Chinese *cash*), *wang* (Bali, 'money'), *gobog*, *ketel* (a copper coin) and *keteng* ('money') (p. 87). In Asia, as Cribb points out, no verbal distinction is generally made between coins and their coin-like imitations.

The core material of Cribb's study consists of 165 magic coins from Java, Bali and the Malay Peninsula in the British Museum. The oldest of these were collected by William Marsden and Thomas Raffles themselves. In addition, Cribb has supplied details on another 885 specimens from other museums, private collections, catalogues and dealers' stock.

Following the time-honoured format of numismatic catalogues from the British Museum, the study is divided into two parts: an 'introduction' and a catalogue proper. The introduction, in this case, is in fact a fully-fledged analysis of the 'magic coin' phenomenon, while the catalogue consists of painstaking descriptions and beautiful illustrations. In the first chapter of the introduction, entitled 'Content and arrangement', Cribb explains how most of the magic coins featuring a design in Javanese style were collected or reported in Java, but some series also come from Bali, Lombok and Kelantan (Malay Peninsula). Chapter 2 ('Collections and scholarship') presents a fascinating history of how these charms were collected, focusing mostly on the activities, motives and methods of Thomas Raffles. Cribb sees what he styles 'the "obsessive" nature of Raffles' collecting' as motivated partly by genuine antiquarian interest, and partly by personal and national pride. 'Raffles was at pains to express the superiority of his own (and therefore the British) endeavours to rule Java effectively and to do justice to its cultural heritage, in comparison with the inadequacies of the previous Dutch administration' (p. 20). One outcome of this blend of motives, fortunately combined with 'on target' scientific instincts, was the collection of magic coins which forms the core corpus of this study.

Starting with Raffles' work, and continuing with that of Dutch scholars like W.R. van Hoëvell, E. Netscher and J.A. van der Chijs, Cribb reviews nineteenth-century academic studies on magic coins. Another important name

here is H.C. Millies, a Utrecht University professor who studied the coins in the context of his research on the monetary history of Java (1871). Millies confirmed the suggestion by Netscher and Van der Chijs that these objects were non-monetary in nature, and pointed out the affinities between their designs and *wayang* puppet styles; he could not explain, however, exactly how or by whom they were used (p. 28). Since Millies, Cribb finds, there has been little progress in the study of Javanese magic coins.

Chapter 3 of the introduction, 'Classification and designs', shifts from the people who collected and studied magic coins to the objects themselves. Cribb provides a classification into nineteen series, each in principle containing charms 'related through the time and place of their manufacture' (p. 34). Where data on these points were unavailable or insufficient, however, the coins have been ordered on the basis of 'the content and style of their designs and the technique of manufacture'. From the author's brief explanation of his classification methodology, one might be left with the impression that the criteria of 'time and place' were crucial in defining the nineteen series, but in fact this was not the case. Since the bulk of the magic coins were made in Java, the place criterion was necessarily a weak classifying tool, and since magic coins do not carry dates, the time criterion was a secondary derivation of other characteristics discussed in Chapter 4. The concise descriptions of the nineteen series (pp. 34-40) confirm that quite different criteria were actually central when it came to organizing the charms into categories. These descriptions refer firstly to the form and material of the charms (size, alloy, weight), then to the iconography of the design (what is represented), and finally to specific stylistic features (for instance, the closeness to a particular *wayang* style). In effect, each of the 19 series has been defined by a combination of characteristics in terms of form, material, iconography, style, provenance and probable period of manufacture. The criteria of 'place' and 'time', it seems, served mainly to help place the nineteen series into a plausible historic sequence.

At the second level in Cribb's classification, the magic coins of each series are divided into groups according to their designs. This 'allows similar but not identical designs to be placed close together in the listing' (p. 13). Series 1, which contains the oldest (Majapahit period) magic coins, comprises fourteen such groups. Although the author does not specify his exact criteria for distinguishing design differences, we can tell from the catalogue entries that he is referring to differences in the iconography of the imagery on the coins, which in some cases also coincide with differences in the type of metal used or in the technique of manufacture. The variety in design even requires a third level of classification, into 'types'. Here again Cribb does not explicitly define the distinguishing criteria, but his catalogue shows that the types within a single group differ in minute iconographic or stylistic details, or are secondary pieces which repeat designs from one side of an original magic

coin type. In all Cribb distinguishes no fewer than 333 types, a huge number when one considers that the total number of individual charms studied is only 1,050. The great diversity of these coins is one strong indication of their non-monetary nature.

Cribb insists that except for some evident recasts and derivations, the magic coins belonging to a single series are 'the work of one manufacturer or group of manufacturers, [...] made about the same time and with the same purpose, using the same range of designs and stylistic peculiarities and the same materials' (p. 12). According to this scenario all 78 types included in Series 1, covering 368 pieces or 35 percent of all charms listed in the catalogue, were created more or less simultaneously by a single manufacturer or group of manufacturers working in a single workshop. This would imply that only one artist, or at most one group of artists, created and produced all of the specimens known from late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Majapahit, in almost 80 varieties! How could such diversity have arisen 'at about the same time and place'? Cribb's study, unfortunately, neither poses this question nor supplies a clear answer.

It is worthwhile considering an alternative scenario in which the magic coins from one particular series were indeed manufactured at a single workshop (or perhaps several related workshops), but over a longer period of time (though not necessarily beyond the outside limits which Cribb has carefully reconstructed for each series). The artists employed at the production centre in question were expected to adhere to its own characteristic idiom of designs, stylistic peculiarities and materials. All these elements were more or less standardized, and subject only to very gradual changes. The most important or conspicuous elements in the shared idiom, in this scenario, constitute the similarities between the charms classified by Cribb as belonging to a single series (but not necessarily to a single group). Stylistic or iconographic differences within the series may reflect the hands of different artists, the involvement of different patrons, or episodes of slight stylistic 'drift' between different dates of production.

The second part of Chapter 3 deals with the designs of the charms. H.C. Millies described these as 'more domestic than divine', and suggested that the male and female figures which appear on most pieces represent a wedding ceremony. At the same time, however, he also linked the iconography of the coins with stories from the *wayang* repertoire (p. 27); figures (such as the hero Arjuna) from *wayang purwa* episodes drawn from Indian epics have indeed been identified by Cribb on magic coins belonging to three of his series. Apparently for the first time, Cribb also brings the link with *wayang* into sharper focus by showing that the images most commonly found on the charms are based on the flat leather puppets of *wayang gedog*. The repertoire of this genre includes stories about the legendary exploits of the Javanese

hero Panji (a prince of the Kediri kingdom), his wife Candra Kirana, and their servants Bancak and Doyok. Cribb carefully delineates the iconographic links between these figures as represented by *wayang gedog* puppets, in painted images on scrolls of *wayang beber*, in illustrated manuscripts, and on the magic coins. He then investigates whether the compositions on the charms are intended to represent actual scenes from *wayang* plays, or whether the *wayang* style was simply used to portray these characters in a new context (p. 43).

In answering this last question, Cribb begins with Millies' observation that on the magic coins Panji and his wife are surrounded by various domestic objects (examples include a spinning wheel, a rice-pounding trough and a cooking pot). Millies himself already associated these objects with marriage, and Cribb develops this association further (p. 44). 'The tree and building which are shown above the heads of Panji and his wife' on coins from Series 1 and 2, for instance, 'can be seen as a visual reference to the normal ritual location for a wedding ceremony' (p. 45). Those coins showing Panji on horseback (Series 1 and 6) apparently refer to the bridegroom's ceremonial journey to meet his bride at her home. Other coins, however, appear to illustrate events from the life of Panji or his servants other than a wedding. Creators of certain later designs failed to understand their prototypes, and consequently produced 'derivative' patterns mixing elements from different *wayang* styles. The Islamic designs have a different repertoire altogether; this typically includes an Arabic inscription together with elements from European and Asian coins or coin-shaped amulets, or based on an Muslim pictorial repertoire (p. 49).

In Chapter 4 ('Dating and function'), Cribb explains that the dating of each of the 19 series is important for understanding the cultural context in which the magic coins were made and used. Unlike most coins, however, these do not carry dates, and neither can they be dated on the basis of a known system of issue. As alternative criteria, Cribb has used design parallels with artefacts which can more easily be dated, together with the 'temporal and geographical patterns of collecting' (when and where certain coins were collected). This resulted in very wide ranges for the *termini post quem* and *ante quem*, which frequently span almost eight centuries (Table 1). Since their shape is copied from that of Chinese coins which first became available in large numbers on Java during the late thirteenth century, the magic coins of Series 1 to 5 are unlikely to date back to an earlier period (p. 58); alloy analysis, conversely, locates their *terminus post quem* sometime not long after the end of the fourteenth century. Stylistic analysis provides further refinement. Series 1 coins have puppet-like figures in the *wayang gedog* style; Series 2 and 3 are closer to the *wayang beber*; Series 4 has details resembling the *wayang gedog* puppets collected by Raffles and now in the British Museum; the designs on

Series 5 and 6 recall a type of Balinese *wayang* figure probably imported to Bali from Majapahit Java before the sixteenth century. Cribb concedes that these connections with *wayang* do not in themselves provide a *terminus post quem*; at the same time, he fails to explain why the coins from a certain workshop share a stylistic idiom with *wayang gedog*, while others are closer to *wayang beber* or to Balinese styles.

In search of dating clues, Cribb has also studied the *wayang* styles reflected in Javanese sculptural art. Similarities in body proportions, facial features, trees, buildings and other details appear to link the coins of Series 1 to 4 most closely with the relief styles found at Mount Penanggungan and Candi Sukuh. 'The correspondence between the wayang-style images on the magic coins and those in Majapahit period relief sculpture', Cribb concludes, 'suggests that they are both based on a similar repertoire of shadow puppets' (p. 59). In view of the complexities involved and the huge scope of relevant visual resources, I prefer to leave it to specialist art historians to assess Cribb's exploration of East Javanese sculptural art and *wayang* puppetry as sources of stylistic, iconographic and thematic parallels for the designs on the magic coins.

East Javanese zodiac cups, in Cribb's view, provide another dating aid (p. 60). Some of these cups carry dates indicating a mid-fourteenth-century origin, and designs in *wayang* style which are 'not dissimilar to that on the magic coins of Series 1-6'. Since Cribb, elsewhere, recognizes affinities with at least four different *wayang* styles among the coins of Series 1-6, this in itself is not a very strong clue. One particular zodiac cup in the Linden Museum at Stuttgart, on the other hand, provides a much more convincing link: datable to AD 1331, this carries on its bottom the design of a specific magic coin classified by Cribb as Series 1, Type 53.

On the basis of coin prototype, alloy, collecting history, *wayang* style and other links, Table 3 (p. 61) summarizes Cribb's conclusions regarding the dating of the various coin series. Series 1, for instance, is allocated a possible production period ranging from the late thirteenth century to the fifteenth. Here, interestingly, Cribb no longer seems to insist that all the coins of a series dated to within two such *termini* are 'the work of one manufacturer or group of manufacturers [...] made about the same time and with the same purpose'.

After classifying and dating the charms, Cribb turns to their function and meaning – a subject which, for unclear reasons, he divides between the second half of Chapter 4 and the larger part of Chapter 5 ('Magic coins'). His account focuses on the use of the coins as magical/talismanic charms or personal amulets, emphasizing at the same time that it is important to distinguish between their original intended functions, and other uses to which they were later also put. The images of Panji's wedding on these charms represent an important clue to their original use. W.H. Rassers identified Panji as

an archetypal ancestral figure who married the archetypal mother-goddess Dewi Sri. Cribb suggests that on the magic coins the couple represent guardian ancestors, protectors both of the community and of the individual who possesses their numismatic representation. The owner/user of a magic coin could summon up the powers or replicate the qualities of the *wayang* characters which it displayed (p. 84).

In Chapter 5, Cribb tackles the question of why these charms look so much like coins. The resemblance, he argues quite convincingly, was not fortuitous. Coinage was used in offerings on Java from the ninth century onwards, so the original motive for the production of magic coins may well have been ritual. As Chinese *cash* money was already used in religious offerings and ritual payments, the Javanese may have preferred to give their purpose-made magical objects the same form. The coin-like form probably also had a significance of its own, expressing the relationship between the owner and the spirit world or wealth and power. Owning a magic coin could be symbolic of one's standing with the gods, and once coins had been used as offerings or for some other ritual purpose, they might be considered sanctified and therefore suitable for use as a personal charm (pp. 82-3). Eyewitness accounts specifically attest to their use as personal amulets carried around by their owners, and as ritual objects in the hands of medical practitioners (pp. 65-6, 82). Cribb concludes this discussion by suggesting how the magic coins of Java, Bali and the Malay Peninsula constitute an important resource for both the study of other coin-shaped charms and amulets, and the historiography of the *wayang* shadow theatre and its puppets.

The final sections of the introduction are devoted to a comparison between Cribb's own methodology and that proposed by Susan Pearce in 1994 for 'collection and object studies' in general. Largely because of the nature of the material available, Cribb notes, the conceptual sequence of his analysis does not correspond exactly to that recommended by Pearce (pp. 90-1). While this comparison is certainly a useful exercise, it seems out of place, particularly given its slightly apologetic and defensive tone, alongside the main conclusions of the book, and would perhaps have fitted better in the form of an appendix.

Although Cribb apparently felt obliged to explain his choice for a method which deviates from Pearce's model, in my opinion his numismatic approach is in fact fully justified by the unmistakable 'coin-ness' of the objects described. The resulting publication, accordingly, has all the essential elements of a decent numismatic study, from chapters on historiography, classification, designs and chronology to discussions of the function and meaning of the artefacts under study. The catalogue proper (pp. 93-173) provides full data and illustrations for the 'coin' corpus. Clear descriptions indicate the

place and time of manufacture, the style and iconography, and the form and material of each coin type. Known charm specimens are listed, including details on material, size and weight where these are available. The data are presented in a convenient two-column lay out. On a more critical note, it is a pity that Cribb does not provide a schematic overview of his series, groups and types which lays out their main distinguishing features. Given the high degree of differentiation here, it is quite a challenging enterprise to navigate from series to groups and types while still keeping track of the intricate iconographic and stylistic differences which necessitated the three-level classification. Within Series 1, for instance, only 13 of the 78 charm types distinguished by Cribb are represented by ten or more specimens, while fully 33 types are known from a single specimen only.

A schematic survey could also have referred to the illustrations, which as it is come with a type number only. A recently published catalogue on Gandharan art in the British Museum likewise has a captionless illustration volume. Since photographs of magic coins, on their own, are practically anonymous except in the eye of the cataloguer and a few expert collectors, this presentation forces the less well-informed reader to check the catalogue repeatedly for relevant identifying data, and represents a serious obstacle to analysis and appreciation. Against this, it must be said that the quality of the photographs is exemplary.

The useful bibliography features an abbreviated style in which initials are substituted for first names, and the names of publishers are left out. The typing errors in the titles of some Dutch publications, and the listing of Dutch authors with names beginning with 'Van' under the V, are minor bibliographic flaws only likely to catch the eye of a Dutch reviewer.

There are two appendices and three indices. Appendix 1 presents accession numbers and collection data for the magic coins in museums and private collections. Appendix 2 lists the Arabic and Malay inscriptions appearing on the coins, including invocations, names of prophets, caliphs, angels, place names, religious terms, fictitious dates and other numerals. The indices serve to help trace specific coins among the 333 types listed. Index 1 lists design elements alphabetically, and provides series and group coordinates; Index 2 also refers to design elements, but this time in relation to type numbers instead. Index 3 is more general, and refers both to the introductory chapters and to the catalogue.

Joe Cribb must be congratulated for bringing the magic coins of Indonesia and Malaysia back into scholarly focus after more than a century of relative neglect. His catalogue provides easy access to a category of antiquities which, because of its numismatic aura, might otherwise be overlooked or ignored by most cultural historians of Southeast Asia. Cribb warns us that his analysis

'is in a sense fictional, because it documents past events, the truth of which can no longer be reconstructed' (p. 30). Luckily, however, he has made sure that his fiction is based on plenty of fact, painstakingly unravelling the diversity of the coins and providing a strong starting-point for future 'speculation' in new directions. *Magic coins of Java, Bali and the Malay Peninsula* will undoubtedly inspire others to continue exploring the interactions between charm-makers, sculptors, painters, puppet-makers and tellers of Panji stories in ancient Java and neighbouring regions. Even if the results of such research remain to some degree fictional, they may still bring us closer to understanding the facts of Indonesia's cultural history.

Ben Arps, Els Bogaerts, Willem van der Molen, Ignatius Supriyanto en Jan van den Veerdonk (met medewerking van Betty Litamahuputty), *Hedendaags Javaans; Een leerboek*. Leiden: Opleiding Talen en Culturen van Zuidoost-Azië en Oceanië, Universiteit Leiden, 2000, xxv + 581 pp. [Semaian 20.] ISBN 90.73084.20.2. Price: NLG 75.

STUART ROBSON

As the title suggests, this is a coursebook for contemporary Javanese. It consists of 22 chapters, each of which is divided into blocks A, B, C and D, containing respectively grammar notes, linguistic usage, texts and a wordlist. The material is said to be 'basic' level and, while it may not be advanced, it is certainly rather complete in its coverage of all necessary grammatical processes. Each chapter represents about 10 hours' work.

It is obvious that the book has been produced as a result of good teamwork, and without the input of the various authors, all teachers of Javanese at the University of Leiden, it is doubtful whether it could have been as comprehensive and clear as it is. We are told (p. xxii) that it is the result of seven years' work, and one can easily imagine that.

The approach taken is a 'communicative' one, which treats language as a means of exchanging ideas between speech partners. As a consequence, the type of language presented is spoken rather than literary. This is an interesting trend, one which has developed over recent years at the University of Leiden, in contrast to the earlier approach that dominated there decades ago, which seemed to lay the emphasis on written forms and take very little interest in the language as it actually emerges from the mouths of speakers. As examples, one finds here the suffix *-ké* instead of *-aké*, as pronounced but not written, and there are good sections on interjections ('exclamation' might be

a better term) (pp. 160-4) and elatives (pp. 167-9), both phenomena occurring in the spoken language.

One has to remark that the authors have a true eye for the Javanese language, describing it as it really is, and their texts (set up by Els Bogaerts and Ignatius Supriyanto) have the ring of authenticity.

Alongside the printed book, interactive multimedia materials have also been created, comprising sound, animated images, exercises and texts, accessible through the World Wide Web. A sample is available at <http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/tczoao>, but for the complete materials one would have to enrol as a student, at a Dutch university, or as an auditor (contact details provided).

The spelling system used is the modern official one, with one oddity, namely the marking of the *e pepet* with a diacritic, instead of using *é* and *è* for the *e taling*. We find the truly amazing claim that the use of *é* and *è* is a remnant from the colonial period because it is based on the spelling of European languages such as French (p. xxvi). It may be linguistically inconsistent, but it is useful to have these two vowel variants clearly marked.

Apart from this quibble, the book is of a very high quality, and one would not be able to suggest improvements without having tested it in a classroom. There is no doubt that it is a valuable addition to the tools available for the study of this important language of Indonesia, and it will be used by Dutch students for a long time to come (350 copies were printed).

But anybody else around the world wanting to use the book will apparently have to learn Dutch. Is this realistic? Will the effect not be to keep the door closed to foreigners?

No plans to translate or adapt the book in an English version are mentioned. What a pity.

Damien Kingsbury (ed.), *Guns and ballot boxes; East Timor's vote for independence*. Clayton: Monash Asia Institute, 2000, xii + 201 pp. [Monash Papers on Southeast Asia 54.] ISBN 0.7326.1188.1. Price: NLG 45.

M.J.C. SCHOUTEN

Guns and ballot boxes deals with the dramatic episode in East Timor's history surrounding the referendum to determine the future status of that territory.

Quite unexpectedly, in January 1999 the Indonesian president Habibie announced his willingness to grant the option of independence to the East Timorese, whose territory Indonesia had annexed some 23 years earlier. A

popular consultation was prepared in talks between Indonesia, the United Nations and the former colonial ruler Portugal. It was agreed that the United Nations would provide an assistance mission (UNAMET) to counsel the population and to supervise the ballot, while Indonesia would be in charge of guaranteeing security.

The turnout at the polls, held on 30 August, was 98.6 percent of the registered voters, of whom 78.5 percent voted for independence. This outcome was especially remarkable in view of the threats made by pro-integration militias, who in the previous months had perpetrated various terrorist acts. As Helene van Klinken observes in *Guns and ballot boxes*, the East Timorese 'took this incredible risk, yet when they won they still had to stand silently by and watch their families removed, their homes destroyed'. After the announcement of the result, the militias went on the rampage, practising a scorched-earth policy and provoking a mass exodus of East Timorese. Only with the arrival in late September of an international military force, the Interfet, did the activities of the militias abate.

The contributions to this volume are diverse in character and perspective, although all authors show a sympathy for the independence movement. The first two chapters are the texts of speeches delivered shortly before the ballot by the leader of the independence movement, Xanana Gusmão, and by Bishop Belo of Dili. The book also includes eyewitness accounts and evaluations of the voting process, including its preparation and immediate sequel (Anthony Smith, Helene van Klinken, Peter Bartu, Damien Kingsbury).

Further on there are several background articles, most of them likewise written by authors who were in the territory during the voting period. The East Timor question is placed in an international framework in articles by Sue Downie on the UN missions, by Annemarie Devereux on the issue of human rights, and by Scott Burchill in a highly critical discussion of Australian foreign policy. The most impressive contribution, to my mind, is an account by the journalist Hidayat Djajamihardja of his personal experiences in Jakarta and East Timor over a ten-year period. This chapter compellingly evokes the atmosphere of tension and secrecy attendant on Indonesia's policy toward East Timor.

Some of the issues discussed in this book remain of major concern to Indonesia today. One such issue is the violence sponsored by the state or by factions of the army. Kingsbury and Bartu, in particular, provide detailed accounts of the organization and activities of the militias in parts of East Timor. Similar phenomena, unfortunately, have a long history in Indonesia, and have become increasingly prevalent recently as a result of the growing tensions in many regions.

A related trend, the weakening of central government authority, is

addressed by Gerry van Klinken. Although the basic reason for East Timor's desire to break away from Indonesia was different from those behind separatism in some regions which were once part of the Netherlands East Indies, parallels do exist with other peripheral areas. The East Timor episode may provide a barometer for assessing the attitudes of the élite, especially the military, toward demands for regional autonomy.

Guns and ballot boxes was published only four months after the referendum, which in itself is admirable. Imperfections in the text, however, suggest that the haste may have been too great. Geographical and personal names, for example, are not entirely standardized, while factual errors in some of the chapters reveal poor background research. Data on the history of East Timor, even events as recent as the massacre at Dili's Santa Cruz cemetery in 1991, are not always accurate, while the occasional remarks on traditional culture and social organization contain severe flaws. These errors concern issues peripheral to the focus of the book; more serious, however, is Kingsbury's claim that the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor played only a minor role in the resistance movement until 1991. In reality the role of the church was fundamental from the early days of the annexation onward, and individual parish priests and bishops repeatedly showed great courage. In 1981, by persuading the Vatican to opt for the local lingua franca Tetun, the East Timorese church managed to foil plans to introduce Indonesian as the language of liturgy. This contributed strongly to the development of a sense of unity and distinctiveness among the East Timorese. Another such point of identification, of course, was provided by the Catholic religion itself.

This book, in conclusion, should not be assessed as a volume of scholarly texts, but for its topical and (future) historical interest. As such it is doubtless of great value, and also makes good reading.

Joel C. Kuipers, *Language, identity, and marginality in Indonesia; The changing nature of ritual speech on the island of Sumba*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, xvii + 183 pp. [Studies in the Social and Cultural Foundations of Language 18.] ISBN 0.52162408.8. Price: USD 19.95.

MIRIAM VAN STADEN

This work discusses the role of linguistic ideologies in language shift among one marginalized group on Sumba, the Weyewa. Just as 'tribes' or 'peoples'

are not anthropological wholes, language, in Kuipers' view, must not be seen as a complete linguistic system. Instead, there is 'no inherent reason why one language *must* express everything that a speaker wishes to say, if another language is available [...] to do the job' (p. 8). Nevertheless, the concept of 'completeness' or 'wholeness' plays a central role in Weyewa ritual and other performances. Kuipers argues that this opposition, whereby the Weyewa language cannot at present be isolated from Indonesian, while ritual speech requires 'complete' Weyewa, is one of the factors that have led to a shift from potentially very powerful and authoritative ritual speech to less precarious genres such as laments. The latter allow more interaction with Indonesian, and more creativity and freedom on the part of the speaker. It is thus essential that the cultural representations on which these ideas rest are studied.

The book is organized into five themes, discussed in Chapters 2 to 6: 'hierarchical inclusion', 'essentialization', 'spectatorship', 'indexicalization' and 'erasure'. Hierarchical inclusion refers to the 'transformation of ideas about speech in which a language, or language variety, once seen as complete and integral by virtue of its relation to a locale comes to be viewed as included in a larger grouping' (p. 23). Through this process, Weyewa ritual speech came to be seen as part of the everyday Weyewa language. The Weyewa language, in turn, has always been one of a set of languages present on Sumba. Essentialization is described in Chapter 3 as the process whereby the Dutch administration (and later also the Weyewa themselves) took one aspect of one type of ritual speech, namely its 'anger', and considered this to be integral to the language as a whole, characterizing even the nature of Weyewa leadership. Chapter 4 discusses the changing role of spectatorship, which has become responsive to Indonesian state authority. In particular, Kuipers stresses the importance of 'completeness', exemplified in an Indonesian speech given during a political rally. Chapter 5 discusses the changing role of name-giving, once a 'cultural' or 'semantic' activity but in later times a progressively more 'pragmatic' (indexical) matter of pinpointing a specific person. Old practices of 'seeking a name' for oneself have given way to the use of simple indexical names. Chapter 6, finally, examines the influence of changing teaching practices and learning patterns on the use of ritual speech. Schools teach some genres, such as the laments, but in compliance with the state's policy of 'neutralizing' all cultural expressions of identity by reducing them to innocent song-and-dance performances, school curricula do not include the more authoritative, and hence potentially subversive, forms of ritual speech. Kuipers shows particularly clearly how the teaching practices at school are very far removed from behaviour at home, and how in schools the Weyewa language is associated with 'backwardness'. The result is a chronicle of the demise of a cultural form and linguistic genre, viewed from various stances:

historical, anthropological and linguistic.

Although the subject matter is certainly worth attention, and although Kuipers' ideas about the role of language and the various factors influencing language decay or maintenance are interesting, I have mixed feelings about this book. The concluding chapter and the chapters on ideologies of naming (Chapter 5) and teaching and learning of ritual speech (Chapter 6) are probably the most successful, and Kuipers presents interesting observations on how linguistic ideologies affect linguistic structure. The conclusion describes how although linguistic genres do not simply disappear, their use and meaning may change.

The particular direction and character of these changes cannot be simply reduced to political coercion, economic necessity, or religious commitment. Instead, these transformations can be placed in a framework of shifting communicative ideologies about setting and place, emotional expression, audience participation, naming and learning as a way of interpreting the particular ways in which ritual speech has moved from the (exemplary) center to the social and moral peripheries of their communicative world. (p. 150.)

I think *Language, identity, and marginality in Indonesia* would have benefited greatly from a chapter on what exactly Kuipers means by 'ritual speech', particularly in relation to genres such as *lawiti* 'lament', specific constructions such as 'couplets', and larger concepts such as 'angry speech' or 'words of the ancestors'. It would also have been desirable to include a considerable number of examples showing how these genres, constructions and concepts interact in actual speech. In a book on language and ritual speech, one might expect to find more than the approximately 200 half-lines of example text given here. Only one example is given of Weyewa speech addressed to a living audience (pp. 72-3), and even here it is not clear whether these 22 half-lines represent the complete text, or only excerpts. Certainly it seems somewhat meagre compared to the 100 half-lines of Indonesian transcribed from the dialogue at a political rally, or to more than 40 half-lines of (again, mostly Indonesian) classroom speech.

The reason why Chapters 5 and 6 are more successful than the others is that in these cases, all the information pertaining to the subject matter is actually contained in the chapters themselves. Indeed, this may be my main problem with the book as a whole: information is not always clearly organized into chapters. Instead, data on such subjects as the (colonial) history of Sumba, ritual language, characteristics of angry speech or laments, missionary activities, or the structure of Weyewa society are given in bits and pieces throughout the book. The only concrete example of 'angry speech' in the

book, for instance, is given not in Chapter 3 (on angry speech) but in Chapter 4 (on the audience). The relevance of the 'cases', moreover, is sometimes unclear, or can be understood only after reading the remainder of the chapter first. On page 98, for example, a person is described as known by his father's 'horse name', but it is not until page 106 that we learn what a 'horse name' actually is. Comparably, the question of why Mbora Kenda suddenly changed his name to Daud in 1994 (as opposed to, say, 15 years earlier) is raised in the introductory chapter, but never explicitly addressed again thereafter.

The same lack of organization hampers Kuipers' attempt to explain the disappearance of the 'angry speech' genre in historical terms. His argument would probably have been more convincing if he had presented a clear chronological account of missionary and colonial activities, a description of how government on Sumba was actually organized in colonial times (including the role of the 'local rajas'), and an overview of Weyewa social structure and its transformations. The 'Dutch period' is very well documented, and it is always tempting to relate the present situation to what happened during that time. But in fact, as Kuipers can undoubtedly confirm, there is no reason to assume that the most significant developments started or ended when the documentation did. Information on the colonial past is given in different parts of the book, and often seems contradictory. In some places, the impression is conveyed that the Dutch actively abolished 'angry speech' at all levels: 'the strong negative reaction by the Dutch played an important role in the marginalization of ritual speech' (p. 43); 'those who spoke with anger came to be increasingly subordinated to the Dutch' (p. 51). This suggestion of intensive contact between the Weyewa and the Dutch is further enhanced by such passages as the following:

The Dutch had very little success establishing an effective administration on the island until circumstances required a much more immediate and direct mode of interaction with large numbers of Sumbanese. In 1869 and 1870, a smallpox epidemic struck the island and whole villages were wiped out. In this setting, the Dutch assistant Resident directly vaccinated over 20,000 people in 1870 alone. It was Dutch control over this devastating illness, and the abject subordination that the public clinical encounter required – quite literally permitting oneself to be shot – that Wielinga and others admitted began to place Dutch-Sumbanese relations on a different footing in this early period. (pp. 78-9.)

Yet how can this be convincing when on the very same page the direct influence of the Dutch is reduced almost to nil when Kuipers states that 'all encounters with the Dutch government were to be mediated by Dutch-appointed rajas' (p. 78)? Or when elsewhere (on page 23, for instance) it is claimed that the 'real influence' of the Dutch did not begin until the early twentieth century?

If the Dutch did indeed communicate such strong feelings about angry men and angry speech, moreover, then how is it possible that even recently one former raja still 'strongly supported the idea that leaders should be angry' (p. 46)? Or that one man, Mborā Kenda, is described as flying into a 'towering rage' during marriage negotiations in 1994 (p. 63)? Why is it, then, that in the 1990s angry speech is increasingly considered 'not Christian' and 'old-fashioned', whereas this was apparently not yet so strongly the case when Kuipers first visited Sumba in 1978? What happened between 1978 and 1994 to make processes that started a full century earlier suddenly take effect? If Weyewa contrast 'anger' with Christianity and modernity, why is there no chapter on these two issues? The possible role of the local rajas in the decline or preservation of angry speech is not further discussed, nor is the relation between the concepts of 'raja', 'angry man' and 'big man' addressed. Juggling the information contained in the different chapters, my conclusion would be that the presence of the Dutch changed local ideas about the role of angry speech even though the Dutch people concerned were few in number and their power limited. Over the past few decades, accordingly, other (independent) developments in connection with the nation state, education and religion may have caused angry speech to become further marginalized, or even abolished completely. I remain unsure, however, whether this is what Kuipers ultimately intended to convey.

My final criticism of the book as a whole is addressed both to the author and to the editors of the series in which it is published, and concerns lack of attention to various finer details. The book contains a remarkable number of small errors that could easily have been avoided. Thus, the references to the chapters in the Introduction do not correspond to the actual chapter numbers, the presentation of the poems/narratives is not consistent, and no distinction is made between Weyewa and Indonesian words, which may confuse readers who do not read Indonesian. The chapter on name-giving, for instance, presents concepts of *ngara ndara* 'horse name', *ngara fam* 'family name', and *nama pangkat* 'title' (p. 118), whereby the first is completely Weyewa, the second contains a Dutch/Indonesian second element, and the third is completely Indonesian. The number of spelling mistakes and/or typographical errors in the Dutch and Indonesian quotes and bibliographic references is also rather disconcerting. Such errors may give the reader doubts regarding the reliability of the Weyewa quotes, in particular since they do not have a literal gloss in the text, and the book does not contain a word list. These doubts are further enhanced when in one poem (p. 55) the word *panduunnimongga* is presented as a single morpheme, while three lines further down *pa-mbali-mongga* is given as four morphemes, or when on page 103 *na moda* is given for

'it fits' and *nda na modda-ki* for 'it does not fit'. It is possible that in both cases Kuipers is correct, but it is rather too tempting to analyse *pa-ndunni-mo-ngga* and to believe that either *moda* or *modda* contains a typo, just as Indonesian *apa* 'what' is frequently spelled *appa* (pp. 88, 89). In a book devoted to language and speech forms, one would expect a little more care in the presentation of the primary sources. These are examples of sloppy editing, quite possibly as a result of haste. They are all the more to be regretted considering that the subject matter is certainly worth tackling and that Kuipers' approach could potentially give, and in places does give, very meaningful insights into the changing forms and meanings of ritual speech.

Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, *Sumatraans sultanaat en koloniale staat; De relatie Djambi-Batavia (1830-1907) en het Nederlandse imperialisme* Leiden, KITLV Uitgeverij, 1994, xii + 368 pp. ISBN 90.6718.068.8. Price: NLG 50.

ERIC TAGLIACOZZO

Elsbeth Locher-Scholten's *Sumatraans Sultanaat en koloniale staat* is one of a number of books published in the last two decades on the history of Dutch imperialism. Three of the most important of these monographs have been edited compilations; these are J. van Goor's *Imperialisme in de marge*, A.H.P. Clemens and J. Thomas Lindblad's *Het belang van de Buitengewesten*, and Robert Cribb's *The late colonial state in Indonesia*. These works have tied together essays on disparate phenomena and geographies in the Indies, and asked how Dutch expansion, consolidation and rule took form across the length of the colonial archipelago. Locher-Scholten has a different project. Her contribution is an in-depth analysis of only one Outer Island locale buffeted by these patterns, namely Jambi in South/Central Sumatra. The resulting book is a fascinating case-study of imperialism in a particular place, and how the tentacles of coercion and control eventually broke Jambi to Batavia's will over the course of a century.

Locher-Scholten is careful to situate these processes within the wider debate on imperialist historiography, both in the Dutch Indies and globally. She argues cogently that the imperialism which Jambi experienced between 1830 and 1907 was part of a larger pattern of Dutch movement, one which did not really have a centralized 'program' or 'architecture' as directed from Batavia or The Hague. She does not believe that economic imperatives or foreign policy considerations (both of which are explanations championed by other

scholars of imperial projects) fundamentally underwrote Jambi's incorporation into Batavia's orbit. Rather, Locher-Scholten sees both of these phenomena as essentially side-shows in a larger, more magnetic drama. Events on the ground, she argues, in Jambi as elsewhere, pulled the Dutch in as Batavia tried to rationalize state power locally and shore up her own prestige within the outstretched Indies. Her explanation along these lines is plausible and believable, as she shows through a variety of interesting lenses.

The book traces the relationship between Batavia and Jambi from VOC times (the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) to Independence. The vast majority of the monograph concentrates on the nineteenth century, however, and this is where Locher-Scholten's argument emerges best. Difficulties in enforcing salt and coinage agreements with Jambi, as well as the appearance of occasional Western adventurers in the region (like the American Gibson in the 1850s), caused anxieties in Batavia, but were not in themselves reason enough to occupy Jambi by force. Among the factors which eventually did turn the tide were the almost half a century-long struggle of the deposed Sultan Taha, the persistent difficulty of guaranteeing the safety of shipping in the area against pirates, and the granting of nearby oil concessions (from the 1880s onward). Batavia felt that it could not afford to be 'shamed' in these arenas: At the same time, the stakes of not being able to maintain a real modicum of control over growing investments in the region were rising. Across the Straits of Malacca, British control on the ground in Malaya was growing; in French Indochina it was a similar story. Advisors like the famous C. Snouck Hurgronje may have been proponents of the 'Ethical Policy' towards local inhabitants of the Indies, but they were also statesmen of a particular age: one which felt the growing need for local control to enact their packages and policies.

Locher-Scholten's monograph is part of a new wave of complex studies which focus on particular places or institutions of the Dutch push 'outward' into the colonial Indies. As such it can usefully be compared with J. Thomas Lindblad's *Between Dayak and Dutch*, which looks at southeastern Kalimantan during much of the same period, or J.N.F.M à Campo's *Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij*, which examines the role of the KPM steam shipping company in Dutch expansion. At the same time, Locher-Scholten also engages with some of the broader studies on Dutch imperialism in the Indies, such as the work of C. Fasseur and H.L. Wesseling in the 1970s and 80s, and Maarten Kuitenbrouwer in the 1980s and 90s. She also manages to call into question some of the most cherished assumptions of the grand theorists of imperialism generally, such as D.K. Fieldhouse, R.F. Betts, and the seminal essays of R. Robinson and J.G. Callagher. This engagement on various and overlapping levels is one of the primary contributions of *Sumatraans sultanaat en kolo-*

niale staat. Locher-Scholten has managed an elegant weave of local history and broad synthesis, and the resulting monograph is a very useful companion to Indonesianists and historians of empire alike.

Walter E.J. Tips, *Gustave Rolin-Jaequemyns and the making of modern Siam; The diaries and letters of king Chulalongkorn's general adviser*. Bangkok: White Lotus, 1996, xxv + 493 pp. ISBN 974.8496.58.9. Price: THB 750.

B.J. TERWIEL

In 1992 Walter Tips published his first book on Gustave Rolin-Jaequemyns.* That work was triggered by Nigel Brailey's *Two views of Siam*, in which Brailey had somewhat naively and uncritically published R.L. Morant's malicious and provocative account of the situation in Siam at the end of the nineteenth century. Tips felt that the role of Rolin-Jaequemyns in particular had been misrepresented, and aimed to set the record straight. This second book has largely the same aims, the chief difference being a much greater documentary underpinning of the text.

It is indeed surprising that before Tips began this rehabilitation effort there had been no studies concentrating on Gustave Rolin-Jaequemyns and his role in the history of Thailand. There can be no doubt that Rolin-Jaequemyns was a man of great stature. From 1878 to 1884 he had been the Interior Minister of the Kingdom of Belgium, and therefore was not only very well-informed on political matters, but also knew many statesmen personally. He was a widely recognized authority on international law.

In 1891, at the age of fifty-six, Rolin-Jaequemyns took a momentous decision when he bailed out one of his brothers to prevent a shameful bankruptcy in his family. To this end he felt obliged to sacrifice his personal wealth as well as that of his wife, which left him in need of remunerative employment. He was in the process of negotiating a post in Egypt as attorney-general of the mixed courts when he was recruited, in the first instance for a period of one year, by Prince Damrong to become King Chulalongkorn's general adviser. In that position it was his duty to assist the king in keeping Siam independent, and to help reorganize and modernize its administration.

* W.E.J. Tips, *Gustave Rolin-Jaequemyns (Chao Phraya Aphal Raja) and the Belgian advisers in Siam (1892-1902); An overview of little-known documents concerning the Chakri reformation era*. Bangkok: privately published by the author.

Daunting at any time, these tasks must have been extraordinarily demanding during the 1890s. Soon after Rolin-Jaequemyns arrived, Siam became involved in a series of increasingly dangerous confrontations with France. At first the Siamese stocked up ammunition and hoped that their overwhelming manpower would hold colonial aggression at bay. On 13 July 1893, however, the French broke through Siamese defenses with devastating ease and insisted Siam give up claims over trans-Mekong territories. For several years the very future of Siam was at stake and the matter was also hotly debated elsewhere in the world, especially in London and Paris. In Bangkok it was for a long time unclear under what conditions Siam would be allowed to exist. The private letters and diaries of King Chulalongkorn's chief adviser over the years 1892 to 1901, when many crucial decisions were taken and reform measures instigated, would seem to be of great historical value.

The subtitle of this book indicates that the diaries and letters of the general adviser play a chief role in the study. Tips tells us in his Preface that these sources comprise some three thousand pages of text. After having read the whole book and perused many citations from letters and references to diary entries, I have learned much about Rolin-Jaequemyns and his family. It is still an open question, however, to what extent these sources help us assess the role that Rolin-Jaequemyns played in Siamese history, to what extent he was able to influence the course of events, and what his relationships with other chief actors in the political arena may have been.

Only two of the fourteen text illustrations show a page in Rolin-Jaequemyns' spidery handwriting, the first of them an entry dated one day prior to the French action of 13 July 1893 which has become known as the Paknam Incident. These are the only direct glimpses we obtain into what the general adviser chose to write down. A reproduction of the page written soon after that incident would have given us a chance to gauge for ourselves how the general adviser reacted to the threatening international situation. Although Tips frequently cites from the diaries, he does not reveal what sort of information they contain. Instead he has chosen to write the book around a series of themes, each of them livened up by extracts from these unpublished sources.

The Paknam Incident and its aftermath up to the international settlement of 1896 occupy no less than eight chapters. In his writing, Tips appears to address a reader who is already familiar with Siamese history in all its ramifications. This may help explain the remarkable lack of explanatory footnotes. An example of Tips' unusual writing style may illustrate the difficulties encountered by readers of *Gustave Rolin-Jaequemyns and the making of modern Siam*: On page 49 we read: 'in 1859, France took possession of Indo-

china and found that Cambodia, which was too weak to resist the Annamese, called in the Siamese who eventually received the rich provinces of Battambang and Angkor as payment'. The informed layman may feel the need to know what exactly Tips means. The opening clause is already historically weak: in 1859, France certainly had not taken possession of Indochina as a whole, and indeed the term Indochina had not yet been conceived of. The reference to the 'payment' of the Siamese also will not readily meet with general acceptance among historians of mainland Southeast Asia.

I shall spare the reader many other examples of Tips' cryptic statements: generally his style requires a reader who is exactly on his wavelength. I do not feel that Walter Tips wholly succeeds in achieving the chief aim of the book, namely the restoration of Gustave Rolin-Jaequemyns to his rightful position in Siamese history. Having provided many snippets of information on the daily life of this elderly statesman, Tips does show that Rolin-Jaequemyns was sincere in his efforts to assist the Siamese in dire circumstances. The careful reader will be able to obtain new knowledge. Perhaps the most startling information to be gleaned from the book is the fact that Rolin-Jaequemyns did not react with favour to an approach by the Belgian king with a view to acquiring a part of Siam.

Lany Probojo, *Tradition und Moderne in Tidore/Indonesien; Die Instrumentalisierung islamischer Rituale und ihre politische Relevanz*. Münster: Lit, 1998, 305 pp. ISBN 3.8258.3633.9. Price: DEM 49.80.

LEONTINE VISSER

Since August 1999, severe social, economic and political conflicts have erupted in the North Moluccas. On 16 September 1999 the Habibie government decreed that Maluku Utara would be given autonomous provincial status. In the perception of the ruling Muslim élites in the North Moluccas, history was finally put right. The fact that the colonial Dutch administration had given precedence to Ambon over Ternate as the provincial capital, and that after independence the former sultanates of Ternate and Tidore had been assigned the status of mere district capitals within the province of Maluku (Ambon remaining the provincial capital), is experienced by many North Moluccan Muslims as an inversion of the 'true' historical situation, in which Ternate and Tidore were the most important power centres. Since the recognition of Maluku Utara as a separate province, however, a new debate has arisen over the selection of its capital. While the sultan of Ternate and his followers wish

to make Ternate the administrative centre, the political and economic élites of Makean and Tidore are promoting Sofifi, a new development area on the mainland of Halmahera which lies within the political domain of Tidore. A related conflict has erupted over the (s)election of the governor: in this case the Islamic élites of Tidore, supported by modernist Muslims from Makean and other islands, stand opposed to the more moderate sultan of Ternate and his Muslim and Christian followers on Halmahera.

Exacerbated by national interference, these local conflicts of interest – among Muslim groups as much as between Muslims and Christians – have developed over the last years into a civil war in the North Moluccas. It is important to realize that the political history of Islam in the sultanates of Tidore and Ternate is essentially different from its counterparts in Ambon and other parts of the South Moluccas. Together with other cultural, economic and political contrasts, these differences form the essential background to a correct understanding of the recent crisis.

Lany Probojo's sociological study of 'Tradition and modernity in Tidore' (in German, with no English summary) seems well-timed to shed light on what is now going on in eastern Indonesia. The civil war has made us critically aware of how little we know about the North Moluccas – especially in the Netherlands, where public opinion tends to be coloured by the position and political role of the Ambonese ex-KNIL (colonial army) soldiers and their descendants.

Probojo carried out fieldwork in 1989-1990 in three Tidore villages: the two inland settlements of Gurabunga and Jaya, and the coastal village of Tomalou. She portrays Gurabunga as the true (*asli*) Tidore village, where ancestor rituals (*salai jin*) express the continuing power of tradition in the Tidorese Muslim community. In Jaya the community is identified with the *gahi soa* ancestral ritual, while Tomalou is characterized by Probojo in terms of the Sufi-Islamic *tarekat* (Tidorese: *dabus*) ritual. The description of the different ritual performances in Chapters 5 and 6 is rather weak, and does not provide much insight into their meaning or interrelationships; the author could have benefited here from a more careful reading of the existing studies on North Moluccan societies and their rituals by Baker, Platenkamp and Visser. But Probojo and her sociologist supervisors in Bielefeld were evidently interested in other matters. The theoretical/ideological basis for her focus on ritual comes from Antonio Gramsci, via an interpretation of Gramsci offered by David Kertzer in his 1988 book *Ritual, politics and power*. Particularly central to Probojo's argument is Kertzer's observation that ritual 'can foster common action without necessitating common belief' (p. 265). Thus in Orde Baru Indonesia, and especially in Tidore, ritual serves the interests of unity, modernization and Islam alike. Two essential questions to be answered here are:

who is in charge of the ritual, and how are political and economic power legitimated through tradition and/or religion?

Probojo's study shows that with regard to these issues there is no fundamental difference between 'tradition', Islam and modernity. In Chapter 6 we learn about the character of Sufi Islam on Tidore. One leader of the *tarekat* (*dabus*) ritual is at the same time a patron of the developing fisheries industry in Tomalou. As a *dabus* leader, however, he is also allowed to criticize the failure of the state development programme to deliver promised cold storage facilities in Tidore, where fishermen continue to depend on the existing installations in Ternate (p. 231). In this way, Sufism enables Tidore Muslims to maintain their Tidorese identity vis-à-vis other Muslim groups. Chapter 7 provides a revealing description of the relationships between patrons and clients in the fishing economy of Tomalou. Probojo's concrete observations, and descriptions of her interviews with Islamic and traditional power-holders, are very interesting. Her main strength as an author seems to lie in close observation and description rather than theoretical elaboration and abstraction. Yet it is precisely her descriptions of economic, political and religious behaviour which provide much insight into the integration of tradition with Islam and religion with power. Chapter 8 takes the reader to the wider context of the role of ritual and symbols in Indonesian politics. At the end of Probojo's field research in 1990, ICMI (the Indonesian Organization of Muslim Intellectuals) had only just been established to campaign for a larger political role for Islamic thinkers and for greater appreciation of their intellectual and economic achievements on the part of the government and the military. It was too late, then, to make a full study of the impact of ICMI in Tidore, but Probojo does pay some attention to this important topic (pp. 18-20, 275-8).

Chapter 9, finally, is a kind of summary of the role of ritual, and its political relevance, in modern Indonesia. By writing here of ritual (singular) rather than rituals (plural), however, Probojo tends to obscure the specific roles of the three different types of ritual which form the core of the book, and their specific meanings in terms of tradition, Islam and modernity. Instead we read that in present-day politics, the position of the ancestors has been taken by the Pancasila ideology of the state. This conclusion, unfortunately, has an obligatory ring to it. It also does nothing to explain either the political role of Islam in contemporary Tidore, or the continuation of the 'traditional' *salai jin* ritual in a modern Muslim fishing community there. An alternative conclusion which could equally have been drawn from Probojo's descriptions, particularly in Chapter 7, is that the recent history of Tidore provides a good example of an Islamization process accompanied by the politicization of both tradition and Islam for the purpose of regional development. This history is now acutely relevant in view of the violent clashes which have

since broken out between the different Muslim élites of Maluku Utara, and their national patrons, over access to natural resources.

James Jemut Masing, *The coming of the gods; An Iban invocatory chant (Timang Gawai Amat) of the Baleh River region, Sarawak*. Volume 1: *Description and analysis*; Volume 2: *Text and translation*. Canberra: Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 1997, xii + 131 + 447 pp.. ISBN: 0.7315.2556.6 (Vol. 1), 0.7315.2557.4 (Vol. 2), 0.7315.2555.8 (set).

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In 1949 during his fieldwork among the Iban of Sarawak, anthropologist Derek Freeman recorded an important invocatory chant (*timang gawai amat*) by the bard, Igoh anak Impin. Some 30 years later, James Jemut Masing took on the formidable task of analysing and translating the text for his PhD degree supervised by Freeman. Nearly two decades later, that highly valuable study has been published. It consists of two volumes, the first being a description and analysis of the chant and its background, and the second being 4,739 lines of text and translation.

Volume 1 begins by introducing (Chapter 1) the issue of translating Iban into English, something I will take up below. There is also a brief description of Masing's fieldwork in 1978. (What is missing here is an account of how he survived the abundant rice wine during the rituals he researched, something I have found is a great inhibitor of good fieldwork, especially when the anthropologist himself is totally inebriated!) Masing then describes the history of Iban migration into the Baleh river system where Igoh anak Impin lived. The next sections describe the physical and social characteristics of the longhouse community, and the supernatural beings found in the chant. (I have numerous quibbles with this introductory material, but they will have to wait for another forum.)

Chapter 2 outlines the components of Iban ritual activities from simple offerings (*bedara*) to the long and complex 'ritual festival proper' or *gawai amat*. He makes a distinction between *gawa* (or more properly glottalized, *gawa'*) and *gawai*: the former are minor rites, while the latter are 'the most elaborate, complex and prestigious' (p. 31). (The Iban with whom I work make no such distinction, calling all, *gawa'* or ritual work.) Masing describes various types of *gawa* and *gawai*, from those aimed at health and riches to

those requesting supernatural help in war; this latter forms the main aim of the *timang* text in Volume 2. He also discusses the preparations and procedures for holding such rites.

Chapter 3 outlines the various types of ritual chants or *timang*. Masing describes these chants as accounts of the journey of the spirit heroes to attend the ritual and bestow their blessings. He explains the formulaic nature of the chants, and their essence as oral literature. Chapter 4 discusses the Iban bard (*lemambang*) and his training. This discussion brings out the important point that despite the formulaic nature of the *timang*, there is 'no such thing as a definitive version' (p. 94) given the manner of training and the personal twists each bard puts to his own performances.

Chapter 5 analyses the roles of *gawai amat* and *timang* in traditional Iban society, especially that of calling for aid in warfare and headhunting. Indeed, although Masing does not call it so, the *timang gawai amat* may be regarded as incredibly elaborate sorcery, as not only did the Iban request victory in battle, but also illness and infertility to smite their enemies. Chapter 6 concludes with a look at the *timang*'s mythical origin, its equivocal value as an historical source, and its role in contemporary Iban society.

Volume 2 provides both *timang* text and English translation, side by side. This is a rich and beautiful text, but in this non-performance context, its mesmerizing rhythm is sadly missing. (I had to listen to my own recordings of similar chants before reading it.) It is unfortunate, then, that Masing's translation does not do justice to the original. In places, for example, he provides a metaphorical meaning rather than a direct translation of the original phrase. Thus 'bekuak bagak indai tajai belanggai' is translated as 'the wife of the man who hosts the ritual' (Vol. 2, pp. 12-13), while the literal and more poetic translation 'lively or spirited mother of a tailed hornbill' is consigned to a footnote. (Actually a better translation would be 'vivacious waterhen, mother of the long-plumed helmeted hornbill'.) Masing also adds, without explanation, information not evident in the text. For example, 'Apong Seliong seduai Abang Mat' (literally, 'found by Seliong and Abang Mat') becomes 'Until found by wily Chinese and adroit Malays' (Vol. 2, pp. 16-17).

Additionally, the proofing of the Iban text was less than thorough. In one instance, the omission of one letter changes the meaning entirely. 'Ukai meh nya munsoh Memaloh munoh Kayan ka ngelaban' (Vol. 1, p. 48) means: 'It is not the Memaloh enemies killing the Kayan who want to fight'. But Masing left out an 's' - *munoh* (to kill) should be *munsoh* (enemy). Thus the translation should read: 'It is not the Memaloh enemies, the Kayan enemies who want to fight'. Yet again, Masing's translation ('Those are not the invading hordes of Memaloh and Kayan') adds a little more (I certainly do not see any 'invading hordes' in the original) and misses some of the original poetry. Masing also makes the mistake of translating the important *antu pala'* (a sev-

ered human head used as both trophy and ritual object) as 'ghost or spirit head' (Vol. 1, p. 106). This defies both Iban grammar and the ritual significance of the *antu pala'*, which are more properly the spirits or essences of heads. (Iban call photo negatives *antu gambar*, for similar reasons.)

These criticisms are not meant to detract from the significance of *The coming of the gods*. It is a major contribution to the study of Iban culture, particularly in providing the original text for further analysis. It must be kept in mind, however, that this *timang* represents only a fraction of the oral literature created and performed by the Iban, and represents only one version of this particular chant. Go to another river system, and you will find significant variations and twists to it. There is much to be done in this area, and Masing has provided us with a considerable first instalment and a challenge to redouble our efforts before such distractions as boarding school and television put an end to these rich traditions.
