Book Reviews

-Greg Bankoff, Alfred W. McCoy, Lives at the margin; Biography of Filipinos obscure, ordinary and heroic. Madison, Wisconsin: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madion, v + 481 pp.

-Greg Bankoff, Clive J. Christie, Ideology and revolution in Southeast Asia 1900-1980; Political ideas of the anti-colonial era. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, xi + 236 pp.

-René van den Berg, Videa P. de Guzman ,Grammatical analysis; Morphology, syntax, and semantics; Studies in honor of Stanley Starosta. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, xv + 298 pp. [Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication 29.], Byron W. Bender (eds)

-Wayne A. Bougas, Daniel Perret ,Batu Aceh; Warisan sejarah Johor. Kuala Lumpour: École francaise d'Extrême Orient, Johor Baru: Yayasan Warisan Johor, xxxviii + 510 pp., Kamarudin Ab. Razak (eds)

-Freek Colombijn, Benedict R. O.G. Anderson, Violence and the state in Suharto's Indonesia. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, Southeast Asia Program, 247 pp. [Studies on Southeast Asia 30.]

-Harold Crouch, Stefan Eklöf, Indonesian politics in crisis; The long fall of Suharto, 1996-98. Copenhagen: Nodic Institute of Asian Studies, 1999, xi + 272 pp. [NIAS Studies in Contemporary Asia 1.]

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-Gerrit Knaap, Els M. Jacobs, Koopman in Azië; De handel van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie tijdens de 18de eeuw. Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2000, 304 pp.

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-Jennifer Nourse, Juliette Koning ,Women and households in Indonesia; Cultural notions and social practices. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2000, xiii + 354 pp., Marleen Nolten, Janet Rodenburg (eds)
-Sandra Pannell, Clayton Fredericksen ,Altered states; Material culture transformations in the Arafura region. Darwin: Northern Territory University Press, 2001, xiv + 160 pp., Ian Walters (eds)
-Anne Sofie Roald, Alijah Gordon, The propagation of Islam in the Indonesian-Malay archipelago. Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian sociological research institute, 2001, xxv + 472 pp.
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-Sikko Visscher, Lee Kam Hing ,The Chinese in Malaysia. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 2000, xxix + 418 pp., Tan Chee-Beng (eds)
-Edwin Wieringa, Jane Drakard, A kingdom of words; Language and power in Sumatra. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1999, xxi + 322 pp.

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Book Reviews

Alfred W. McCoy (ed.), 2000, *Lives at the margin; Biography of Filipinos obscure, ordinary, and heroic.* Madison, Wisconsin: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison, v + 481 pp. ISBN 1.881261.26.3, price USD 24.95 (paperback); 1.881261.27.1, USD 49.95 (hardback).

GREG BANKOFF

Biography has generally received a poor press in academic circles over recent decades. With a few notable exceptions in the realm of European Studies, its usefulness as a serious genre has been limited and its historiographical contribution tinged with conservatism and tainted by elitism. The situation is even direr in many non-Western nations where the state is often the prime actor in sanctioning the life-stories of individuals it regards as prominent in the construction of an official history while relegating most others to the oblivion of an unrecorded past. All the more reason, then, to congratulate Al McCoy and the other authors of *Lives at the margin; Biography of Filipinos obscure, ordinary, and heroic* for 'stepping outside the dominant paradigm' and producing a book about the Philippines that is as much an important contribution to our understanding of that society as it is an innovative work of history as it is simply a splendid read. In many respects, the present study forms a companion volume to another book recently edited by McCoy, *An anarchy of families; Filipino elites and the Philippine state* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1994), in that both books approach the past from what can now only be seen as alternative units of analysis – the individual and the family – to the ones usually pursued by scholars in an age that has a predilection towards gender, *ethnie* or conviction.

Not that these essays ignore such important criteria; on the contrary the lives selected constitute a skilful balance between men and women, Christian and Muslim, Luzon and the other islands, revolutionaries and the establishment. What links these figures together is not their prominence so much as their relative obscurity, certainly in relation to the present. The subjects of these biographies are people 'who have emerged from the social and geographical margins of Philippine society to mobilize [...] a mass following' but 'with few exceptions, they failed in their challenges to the social order and ended their careers marginalized, impoverished, imprisoned, or dead' (p. 2).

Thus strongmen (John Sidel, Patricio Abinales, Al McCoy), rebels (Vina Lanzona, Brian Fegan, Rosanne Rutten) and visionaries (Michael Cullinane and Benedict Kerkvliet) fill these pages with the accounts of their failures as judged by the standards of posterity. Even where a life achievement seems crowned by success, as in the case of the beatification of Pedro Calungsod (Resil Mojares), its realization has much less to do with personal accomplishments than with the global politics of a Roman Catholic Church bent on a programme of wider cultural representation. This panorama of lesser-known actors is held together by the editor's masterful review of the role of biography in Philippine scholarship as a form of heroic acclamation, popularist genre and subaltern study.

While the biographies included here were selected on the basis of a panel presented at the Association of Asian Studies Conference in 1995 and offer a comprehensive and coherent alternative picture of Filipino society in the modern period, they are unfortunately remarkably silent about earlier times. It is, of course, much more difficult to attempt such detailed reconstructions of the lives of the not so well known in earlier centuries but just as important to attempt to do so. The past, especially the colonial past, is perhaps the greatest obscurer and marginalizer of all time. As it is, there is only one pre-revolutionary figure in the entire collection, something that might have been remedied by soliciting specific contributions. Then there is the whole question of subaltern studies, the methodological paradigm that directly or indirectly informs the whole book. While it certainly wraps less prominent figures in a mantle of historiographical respectability, the concept's usefulness is perhaps increasingly marred by its continuing implication of subordination. This may simply be stating the obvious but it seems to me that what we, as historians, are trying to say is that these people are also important but not in the same way or according to the same standards. They are not so much subordinate as different and we should not pre-judge the impact of their lives in terms of national history. Otherwise all we are doing is simply elevating the nation to be the benchmark of historical significance.

All this has little to do with the quality of the essays presented here, however. With few exceptions, these biographies are some of the most thoroughly researched and well-crafted portrayals of the human condition I have seen. *Lives at the margin* is the best work of history I have read so far this year.

Clive J. Christie, 2001, *Ideology and revolution in Southeast Asia 1900-1980; Political ideas of the anti-colonial era.* Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, xi + 236 pp. ISBN 0.7007.1308.5. Price: GBP 45 (hardback).

GREG BANKOFF

The historiography of Southeast Asia suffers from a real lack of comparative studies that go beyond mere narration to examine the region from a more thematic perspective. Nowhere is this deficiency more evident than in the matter of ideology. So Clive Christie's historical survey of the various political ideas shaping the nationalist movements between 1900 and 1980 comes as a most welcome addition to the literature on the region for such an important and formative period. Based on an analysis of contemporary texts and documents, he explores the ideological perspectives of the principal participants engaged in the anti-colonial struggles and yet still manages to provide a broad account of the actual processes of decolonization. As such, then, this book constitutes a very useful text: one that informs the general reader as well as one that proves valuable to the specialist, particularly as a resource for those teaching in the field. But it is precisely here, too, where the root causes of the study's manifold strengths and conceptual weaknesses lie.

The sheer scope of this work is truly impressive both in terms of dealing systematically with the varied political discourses that arose in each nation (including a final chapter on East Timor) and in tracing their sequential developments over the period of transition from colonial state to independent nation. Given what Christie calls the 'anti-colonial world view' that came to dominate Southeast Asian political thinking in the twentieth century, he proposes a more accurate periodization that distinguishes between colonial (up to 1945) and anti-colonial (post-1945) rather than the standard colonial and post-colonial categorizations in general use. Moreover, he concludes that the ideological debates of the region's intellectuals, writers and political leaders share a 'remarkable similarity' in their response to the successive existence, challenge and removal of Western dominance. Of course, the ambitiousness of the project confines discussion by necessity to only those ideas expressed by the principal contending nationalist figures who played active roles in laying the constitutional and ideological foundations of their new states. Still the sweep of the ideological focus is wide, encompassing, on the one hand, the to-be-expected impact of Western Europe, Russia and China and, on the other, the more surprising influence of Rabindranath Tagore in India and Amilcar Cabral in Guinea-Bissau. The book is particularly strong in the fluency with which it explains how the variants of Marxist-Leninist theory and the contributions of Mao Tse-tung were interpreted and adapted to conditions within Southeast Asia.

It is also this very versatility, however, that lies at the heart of some of the study's unavoidable weaknesses. Confining the discussion of ideology to simply the core texts of the main political actors creates a somewhat monolithic and rather elitist feel to the whole book. There is no space given to alternate less hegemonic discourses such as those that may have prevailed among ethnic, religious or cultural minorities, nor sense of how any of these

ideas were received and understood at the grass-roots level. Moreover, there is little recognition of capitalism as a revolutionary ideology or as an ideology at all. While Christie makes a clear distinction between the 'revolutionary nationalism' of Vietnam, Burma and Indonesia and the 'anti-revolutionary nationalism' of the Philippines, Malaysia, Laos and Cambodia where independence was achieved primarily through negotiation, capitalism seems to be reduced to a question of mere technological transfer. And how much political space was there for the ideologies of the right – or are these not considered as revolutionary? How important was the impact of Fascism, especially on Thai national philosophy after 1938, and militarism in the post-independence period? In particular, what ideological model did Japan inspire in the region prior to the Pacific War given its associations with the earliest of revolutionary nationalist movements in the Philippines? Consideration of this last point also raises the question of a much less understandable omission. Most of the previous criticisms can be excused, to a greater or lesser extent, as due to limitations of space. But the book's periodization, that commences in 1900 and so excludes consideration of the Philippine Revolution of 1896-1898, appears completely arbitrary. There is no apparent pedagogical reason for this oversight, especially as the author himself admits to the 'insightful' nature of José Rizal's writings (p. 7). Or perhaps the Filipino experience does not fit neatly enough into the Marxist-Leninist structure that Christie mainly employs to frame his study, and falls instead into the category of an 'alternate' ideological tradition?

Ideology and revolution in Southeast Asia 1900-1980 must have been an immensely difficult book to write and is certainly one that rewards careful reading. It is above all a very useful book to have in one's library. Christie is able to give shape and form to the ideological discourse of a very diverse region at a time of transition and change that will prove helpful to scholar and student alike. If there is just a lingering feeling that ultimately too much has been left unsaid, maybe that is simply an inevitable cost of such a wide-ranging enterprise.

Videa P. De Guzman and Byron W. Bender (eds), 2000, *Grammatical analysis; Morphology, syntax, and semantics; Studies in honor of Stanley Starosta.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, xv + 298 pp. [Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication 29.] ISBN 0.8248.2105.X. Price: USD 39 (paperback).

RENÉ VAN DEN BERG

Stanley Starosta, until his recent death professor of linguistics at the University of Hawai'i, is probably best known for his work on the Austronesian languages of Taiwan (Formosa) and for developing the theory of Lexicase, a formal grammatical model that is most fully expounded in his 1988 book *The case for Lexicase.*

The book under review is a Festschrift for Starosta by colleagues and students, and I found it quite interesting that only a few of the contributions actually deal with the Lexicase framework. Like so many other grammatical models (for example: tagmemics, relational grammar, stratificational grammar) the model has certain key insights, but in the long run the complexity and diversity of living languages cannot be neatly fitted into a formalistic framework. I do not expect Lexicase to be around in the next decade.

The editors' introduction and preface (which offers little information) is followed by a selected list of Starosta's major publications, showing his wide range of scholarship. The 17 contributions in this book can be divided into four main groups: a. four on Formosan languages, b. five on Thai, c. four on various Asia-Pacific languages, and d. four miscellaneous. This grouping is different from the two parts suggested in the book, which I did not find helpful. I will list the various articles in each group with a few comments.

The following articles are about Formosan languages, the group which I found the most interesting: 'Some aspects of Pazeh syntax' (Paul Jen-kuei Li); 'Lexical prefixes and prefix harmony in Siraya' (Shigeru Tsuchida); 'Notes on a possessive construction in the Formosan languages' (Elizabeth Zeitoun), and 'The syntax and semantics of Saisiyat negators' (Marie Meili Yeh). Pazeh was considered extinct, but Li's article is based on recent fieldwork with a 83-year old speaker whose memory and knowledge of Pazeh 'was more satisfactory than expected'. This yields invaluable material and Li's article is rich in data and fortunately theory-neutral. Tsuchida deals with Siraya, an extinct language only surviving in manuscripts from the seventeenth century produced by the Dutch (for instance, a translation of the gospel of Matthew). Zeitoun presents a well-argued comparative study of types of possessive constructions, inspired by a theoretical study on the subject, while Yeh offers a descriptive account of negation. Curiously, one of the words for 'no' in Saisiyat is *ʔokay*. All these articles are real contributions to the field of Austronesian linguistics.

The second group deals with the Thai language. In 'Power and intimacy: a contradiction in a Thai personal pronoun', Pranee Kullavanijaya explains why it is that the pronoun /raw I/ can mean 'we' (inclusive, exclusive and royal), 'I' (used by female speakers to indicate intimacy) and even 'you' (both singular and plural). The remaining articles are 'What part of speech is *níi* 'this' in Thai?' (Amara Prasithrathsint); 'On nonverbal predicates in Thai' (Kitima Indrambarya); 'Double object constructions in Thai revisited'

(Supriya Wilawan) and 'Multiple lexical entries of *kɔ̂ɔ* in Thai' (Saranya Savetamalya). These are the most technical in the book, arguing for the superiority of a particular analysis of a grammatical point with Lexicase-style argumentation, including tree diagrams and labelled nodes (one verb has no fewer than 14 features attached to it). Not knowing Thai, I cannot comment on what is new in these contributions, but it looks like approaching well-known material from just a slightly different angle. The last article even claims as 'one of the major discoveries' of the research 'that a new syntactic class of INTERJECTION needs to be established'. Major discovery?

The next group deals with a number of languages in the Asia-Pacific region. Marybeth Clark in 'Deixis and anaphora and prelinguistic universals' mainly deals with deictic words in White Hmong and Vietnamese. She has interesting things to say, but not everyone will be convinced that the proximal-distal opposition in language (*here-there, now-then*) can be profitably linked to wolf and chimpanzee behaviour. Also, the reference to 'humans and other animals' reflects a philosophical bias that many people do not share. Other articles in this group are 'The emerging particle *poko* in Korean: a grammaticalisation' (In-Seok Yang) and 'Some remarks on the grammatical functions of nonabsolutive agent in Tagalog', in which Videa P. De Guzman takes another look at the perennial problem of Tagalog syntax. It is almost amusing to see how linguists keep arguing about the same set of data, while crucial example sentences generate different grammaticality judgements from native speakers. The debate will surely continue. The last article in this group deals with a Papuan language: 'Hunger acts on me: the grammar and semantics of bodily and mental process expressions in Kalam' by Andrew Pawley, Simon Peter Gi, Ian Saem Majnep and John Kias. After a brief but useful introduction to Kalam grammar, the authors explain two different experiencer constructions, beautifully illustrated by examples such as 'rumblings sound in my stomach', 'lethargy is affecting the body', 'I have labor pains' (literally: 'baby is pressing and eating me') and 'I am in a bad mood' (literally: 'nose has fallen in me'). The difference is related to the degree of control over initiation of these processes, although there are important exceptions. This is the longest article in the book, but rewarding reading as it offers a fascinating look at the interplay between language structure and world view.

The last group is the miscellaneous section. In 'Subordinate clauses and ergative patterns in Shoshoni', Francis Lindsey, Jr. tries to account for certain verb forms in Shoshoni, a native American language of the USA. I found this article difficult to follow, partly because of the unusual glossing conventions used for the examples. In any case, the solution which is suggested 'has unpleasant consequences for Lexicase theory'. Much more stimulating is Lawrence A. Reid's contribution 'Sources of Proto-Oceanic initial prenasalization: the view from outside Oceanic'. Reid argues that some initial pre-

nasalized segments in Proto-Oceanic are the result of grammaticalization of the final consonant of a determiner which signalled definiteness. This analysis is backed by data from the Minahasan languages (non-Oceanic), where exactly the same process has occurred. The article is couched in Lexicase terminology and diagrams, but the argumentation is clear and the conclusion another step in understanding the history of Proto-Oceanic.

The final two contributions in this group are purely theoretical. In 'Paradigms as rules', Byron W. Bender argues for the importance of paradigms in inflectional languages and proposes a way for giving paradigms theoretical status through 'reciprocal strategies' among its members. He uses Latin examples to illustrate his points, and although I found his plea quite intriguing, I am not sure what the full implications of his proposal are. Finally, in 'The architecture of syntactic representations: binarity and deconstruction', William O'Grady compares his own theoretical framework of categorial grammar with Lexicase, but 'also incorporates insights that are accepted by neither'. Specifically he argues that we have to come to grips with the fact that sentences are produced and perceived from left-to-right. This leads to 'deconstruction' and a new way of representing sentence structure. I remain sceptical of the importance and impact of such theoretical discussions, which only deal with a tiny slice of one language (example sentences do not move beyond the complexity of 'Harvey met Mary' and 'John gave Mary advice'). In the meantime, hundreds of languages remain totally undescribed, many of them endangered as well. Surely there are more urgent matters to attend to.

The book ends with a subject index, is well edited and virtually free from typos. One minor mistake I noted is that Starosta's Lexicase book is listed as a publication under 1987 instead of 1988 in his list of publications. All in all, in my view a somewhat uneven collection of articles, with those on Formosan languages, Kalam and Proto-Oceanic standing out positively.

Daniel Perret and Kamarudin Ab. Razak, 1999, *Batu Aceh; Warisan sejarah Johor*. Kuala Lumpur: École française d'Extrême-Orient, Johor Bahru: Yayasan Warisan Johor, xxxviii + 510 pp. ISBN 983.993284.5.

WAYNE A. BOUGAS

Batu Aceh; Warisan sejarah Johor makes a significant contribution to the study of Batu Aceh tombstones and the early history of Johor. Batu Aceh are a type of ancient Islamic tombstone found in peninsular Malaysia and the Indonesian Archipelago. They are thought to have originated in North Sumatra

sometime in the beginning of the thirteenth century. The Sultanate of Johor was founded by Sultan Mahmud Syah, the last Sultan of Melaka, after Melaka fell to the Portugese in 1511. The authors of this book, Daniel Perret and Kamarudin Ab. Razak, skilfully combine field and textual research on Batu Aceh and Johor to shed additional light on the tombstones and on the early history of the sultanate.

In their Introduction, the authors discuss the important role that Batu Aceh play as a resource for Islamic history and the study of Islamic art in the Malay and Indonesian Archipelago. They note, for example, that Batu Aceh are often the earliest tangible evidence of the introduction of Islam into an area. They also examine early Islamic funerary customs in Melaka and Johor: it was quite interesting to learn, for instance, that even after conversion to Islam in the mid-fifteenth century, the poor (and some of the rich) in Melaka continued to cremate their dead as late as 1537. The introduction of the Islamic concept of the grave seems initially to have been limited to the king, the royal family and the upper nobility. The introduction concludes with a discussion of early research on Batu Aceh in Johor and a description of the field survey of cemeteries conducted in Johor by the authors between 1996 and 1999.

Perret and Kamarudin Razak reveal that Johor has the largest concentration of Batu Aceh in peninsular Malaysia. Of the 300 known Batu Aceh found there, approximately 211 have been discovered in Johor. To date, 36 cemeteries have been identified in Johor which contain complete or fragmentary Batu Aceh. In Chapter 1, these cemeteries are described and ranked based on the number of Batu Aceh they contain. The cemetery of Ulu Sungai Che Omar, which contains the largest number of Batu Aceh (a total of 24), is presented and discussed first, while the cemetery at Sungai Seluang, containing only a single Batu Aceh, is listed last. The precise location of each cemetery is described and illustrated on excellent maps.

In Chapter 2, the authors present a typology for Batu Aceh in Johor, roughly based on the work of Othman Yatim (see Othman bin Mohd. Yatim, *Batu Aceh; Early Islamic gravestones in peninsular Malaysia*, 1988). Sixteen types of Batu Aceh are identified: nine slab (flat) types and seven additional types that are circular or pillar in form. The text is supported by clear drawings and colour photographs illustrating each type.

Inscriptions found on Batu Aceh in Johor are presented in Chapter 3. Readings of the inscriptions are largely based on the work done by Abdul-Hamid bin Engku Abdul-Majid (see R.O. Winstedt, 'A history of Johor 1365-1895 A.D.', in *JMBRAS* 10, 1932). The authors note that inscriptions on Batu Aceh in Johor rarely contain biographical information. Most inscriptions consist of Koranic verses or lines from other religious texts. A notable exception is a single tombstone in the Sayong Pinang cemetery in Johor, which is dated 857 H. (1453 AD) and could be associated with the Melakan Sultanate. This

tombstone is so far the oldest dated Batu Aceh found in Malaysia.

In Chapter 4, the authors construct and present a chronology for Johor palace centres from 1511 to 1718. They indicate that the Sultanate occupied approximately fifteen different locations during this two-century period. The frequency of moves can be in part explained by the fact that Johor was frequently attacked by other powers such as the Portuguese, the Acehnese, and Jambi in Sumatra, so that new palace centres continually had to be established. The writers also identify the sultans associated with each palace centre. These centres, the kings associated with each one, and the length of individual reigns are then summarized in a useful reference table.

Chapter 5 forms the heart of the book, because it is here that Perret and Kamarudin Razak seek to establish connections between the history of Johor and the Batu Aceh found there. Using information from the previous chapters (epigraphy, tombstone typology, palace centres, kings and the duration of their reigns), the authors first endeavour to construct a chronology for the cemeteries in Johor and the Batu Aceh these contain. Supported by historical texts such as the *Sejarah Melayu* and by local traditions, they next try to identify the occupants of particular cemeteries and individual graves. They reveal, for example, that the *Sejarah Melayu* indicates that Sultan Muzzafar Syah II of Johor (ruled circa 1564-1569) was buried at Bukit Seluyut. His nephew Sultan Abdul Jalil I (died circa 1569), who reigned for only a few months and died at the age of nine, was also buried near him. The text indicates that the Sultan's younger sister was also buried here. Perret and Kamarudin Razak conclude that a group of three Batu Aceh tombstones found at Seluyut today possibly mark the graves of these three individuals. To support their hypothesis, they note that the Batu Aceh at Seluyut are similar in style to Batu Aceh found near Kuala Kangsar in Perak which can accurately be dated to the second half of the sixteenth century, the period during which Muzzafar Syah II reigned in Johor.

The book concludes with a complete catalogue of all the Batu Aceh discovered to date in Johor. The tombstones are presented individually according to the cemetery in which they are located. A colour photograph of each tombstone is presented along with detailed measurements and descriptions of the head, body and base of each stone.

In conclusion, scholars and other individuals who are interested in Batu Aceh, early Islamic art, and the history of Johor or Southeast Asia in general will find this book useful and engaging. The writers skilfully combine field and textual research to present a chronology for the Batu Aceh found in Johor, link cemeteries and tombstones with Johor palace centres, and identify the occupants of individual graves. The book will also be of use to scholars attempting to identify and date Batu Aceh found in other locations, potentially serving as a model for future work of this kind. *Batu Aceh; Warisan*

sejarah Johor might have benefited from a more detailed discussion of the origins of Batu Aceh, from an in-depth examination of tombstone motifs and their symbolic meanings, and from explanations as to why certain Islamic verses were chosen to be inscribed on the tombstones. These concerns, however, take us beyond Johor, and arguably beyond the scope of the book.

Benedict R. O'G. Anderson (ed.), 2001, *Violence and the state in Suharto's Indonesia*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, Southeast Asia Program, 247 pp. [Studies on Southeast Asia 30.] ISBN 0.87727.729.X. Price: USD 18 (paperback).

FREEK COLOMBIJN

The New Order was characterized by violence from its inception to its end. Suharto's presidency emerged from the crushing of the Indonesian Communist Party in 1965-1966, and ended with the killing and 'disappearance' of protesting students in the first months of 1998. After Suharto's resignation journalistic and academic interest in the violence swelled, first because there was more freedom to speak, and secondly because the end of Suharto's rule and the Reformasi were accompanied by the spread of civil and military violence to all parts of Indonesia. In the flood of publications on the topic, this edited volume is at the same time both useless and excellent.

The book is useless because it republishes six articles taken from two issues (numbers 66 and 67 of 1998 and 1999) of Cornell's journal *Indonesia*. Only the article by Douglas Kammen (which replaces another article by him in *Indonesia* 67) and the introduction by Benedict Anderson are, I believe, new. It can be very useful to bring old and scattered articles on a certain topic together in one book, but it does not make sense to republish articles that are recent and come from a single easy-to-find source. No motivation is given here for the decision to publish these articles again (apart from the remark that the collection brings together work by both anthropologists and political scientists), and indeed there is not even any mention of the fact that the pieces have appeared before. Changes in relation to the original texts are minimal: a word has been altered here and there, Loren Ryter has added a postscript to her article, Joshua Barker has deleted the prologue to his, and the title of James Siegel's article 'Early thoughts on the violence of May 13 and 14, 1998, in Jakarta' has been changed to 'Thoughts on the violence [...]' – without, however, any changes to the content.

The book is excellent, because most articles are outstanding. Siegel, for instance, argues that the middle class, including the students who were out on the street to protest against Suharto, feared the unpredictability of the

masses. The discovery that the mob violence of May 1998 might have been orchestrated, and hence controlled, by the government and the military was therefore both awesome and comforting. Geoffrey Robinson, to give another example, demonstrates convincingly that the violence in Aceh cannot be attributed to a history of violence which is supposedly typical of Acehnese tradition. Instead, cycles of declining and increasing violence can be explained by the political economy and by changes in military doctrine, which reflected intra-army tensions.

The most interesting part of the volume is Benedict Anderson's introduction, which ends as follows: 'the central motif of the book [...] is that violence in [New Order] Indonesia has never been a [Weberian] legitimate monopoly of the State. [...] The absence of a full state monopoly of legitimate violence [...] is also a manifestation of the absence of a Law by which the monopoly could be generally justified' (p. 18). After three decades of Suharto's cynical, corrupt and arbitrary rule, hardly anyone takes the rule of law seriously any more.

Stefan Eklöf, 1999, *Indonesian politics in crisis; The long fall of Suharto, 1996-98*. Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, xi + 272 pp. [NIAS Studies in Contemporary Asia 1.] ISBN 87.87062.69.0, price: GBP 13 (paperback); 87.87062.68.2, GBP 30 (hardback).

HAROLD CROUCH

This book provides a clear account of the gradual process that led to the fall of President Suharto in May 1998 after 32 years in power. Its concern is not so much with analysing the structural weaknesses of Suharto's authoritarian regime as describing and explaining political developments during the last two years of his rule. In 1996 most observers assumed that Suharto would die in office and it would have been difficult to persuade anyone that the president was likely to resign within two years. Indeed, following his re-election in March 1998, it would have been difficult to put a convincing case that he would resign within two months. And, as the author points out, 'it seemed impossible to imagine in early May [1998] that they [students] would force Suharto out of office before the end of the month' (p. 175).

While Eklöf's study covers the main developments during Suharto's 'long fall', he has – quite understandably – been unable to provide full explanations of many of the events he describes. In Indonesia popular explanations usually rely on conspiracies involving 'provocateurs' and 'third parties' but, as Eklöf warns, 'it is often difficult to assess the degree of truth in the conspiracy allegations in each case. Hard evidence is often scarce or contradict-

ory, and the various more or less plausible theories often rest on very precarious empirical ground' (p. 71).

This problem arises particularly in discussion of the role of the military. There are plenty of indications of military involvement in provoking anti-Chinese rioting in May 1998 and earlier. But the problem lies in identifying which group in the military and discovering what their motives were. In some cases it seems that one military group is provoking a riot while other soldiers are arresting and even firing on rioters. Eklöf notes the case of a Kopassus soldier 'dressed as a hoodlum' who was arrested by the police (p. 179). Is this hard proof of the involvement of the military institution? Or perhaps the soldier, like many of his underpaid colleagues, really was a hoodlum in his off-duty hours?

Many unresolved questions remain about which military faction did what in May 1998. Eklöf notes the common suspicion that Suharto's son-in-law, Lt. Gen. Prabowo, might have instigated the May riot and speculates on his motives. But the fall of Suharto did not benefit Prabowo's career, which came to a sudden halt immediately after the succession of President Habibie with whom he was usually seen as aligned. The full story about élite manoeuvres at that time remains to be told.

Eklöf's book provides a fine overview of these issues. He himself is inclined to believe in some of the conspiracies but certainly not all, and he provides reasonable grounds for his conclusions. But this book does not claim to be the final word on the process that led to the fall of Suharto. Many of the questions that it raises call for further research.

Kumar Ramakrishna, 2002, *Emergency propaganda; The winning of Malayan hearts and minds 1948-1958*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, xii + 306 pp. ISBN 0.7007.1510.X. Price: GBP 45 (hardback).

JOHN GULLICK

The central thesis of this book is that propaganda includes the effect of deeds, as much as words, and words, unless consistent with deeds, simply destroy credibility. The author examines in considerable detail how the successive Malayan governments, after a disastrous start, succeeded in securing the acquiescence, and to some extent the support, of the rural Chinese population, which is identified as the key element of the situation. As a result the insurgents, most of whom had been recruited from that community, lost effective contact with it, and without its essential aid and support, became demoralized and eventually gave up the struggle.

The abolition of the Chinese Protectorate in the post-war reconstruction deprived the government of its only (and trusted) channel of communication

with the Chinese working class. The author might have considered the utter inadequacy of the Social Welfare department which was intended as a substitute. It took years to build up a much enlarged structure manned by Chinese-speaking staff of various categories. A second important factor was the harshness and lack of focus of the initial rounding up of Chinese squatters for internment or repatriation, aggravated by the use of collective punishment. This was disastrous 'propaganda of deeds'. However the mass resettlement of squatters and labourers in what became New Villages, when supplemented by adequate protection and the amenities which they needed, eventually swung them back into apathetic acquiescence in government as a 'Protector', though they could not be drawn into active support through elected councils nor into effective participation in their own defence through a 'home guard' organization.

The changes introduced by Carleton Greene and continued by Peterson gradually remedied the initial lack of expertise in propaganda as psychological warfare. It is good to see tribute paid to the work of C.C. Too and Yaacob Abdul Latiff, two outstandingly able Malayan disciples and practitioners of the new craft. Templer's recognition of the need for vigorous and colourful leadership was supplemented by other measures to enlist public support, such as Operation Service to improve the public image of the security forces. The use of Voice Aircraft, calling on the insurgents to surrender, was another imaginative innovation – a great improvement on just dropping bombs on the jungle. There were also setbacks and failures. The reviewer, who knew Gurney fairly well, finds the author's assessment of him a trifle hard on a much tried civil governor. All the heads of government were, for better or worse, often dependent on others for information and advice.

In adapting his PhD thesis for publication, the author has assembled and interpreted a mass of data widely collected from archives and memoirs of the time. The analysis is clear and the annotation is an abundant guide to the sources. The Emergency has its controversies in which this book is a generally persuasive statement of the author's view of the propaganda war, making it a valuable addition to the published work on a complex and unique struggle in which colonial and post-colonial governments eventually defeated a formidable uprising.

Daniel S. Lev, 2000, *Legal evolution and political authority in Indonesia; Selected essays*. The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 349 pp., The Hague, London, Boston: Kluwer International. ISBN 90.411.1421.1. Price: EUR 159.

HAN BING SIONG

For a very long time – up to around 1958 – the documentation and study of legal developments in Indonesia were a Dutch speciality. It was in 1959 that Daniel Lev arrived in Indonesia to work on Indonesian legal evolution. I had the pleasure to meet him a few times in Jakarta in 1961. His research in the following decades very impressively resulted in numerous journal articles and two books: *The transition to Guided Democracy; Indonesian politics 1957-1959* (1964), and *Islamic courts in Indonesia* (1972). Despite being a political scientist rather than a jurist, with these publications he effectively took over in large part the position in this field which the Dutch had previously occupied. In all his studies Lev gives evidence of having studied the law very thoroughly. Inasmuch as he – unavoidably – made mistakes (some of which I have mentioned elsewhere), they are not usually disturbing ones. Not all of his articles were published in readily available journals, which makes their appearance together in this anthology most welcome.

In comparison with other countries in the region, Indonesia did not recover well from the economic debacle of 1998. As Lev sees it this was because the political and administrative institutions in those other countries still commanded public trust, whereas in Indonesia the political system collapsed and will likely remain in crisis for a long time. To explain how this situation could arise is the purpose of *Legal evolution and political authority in Indonesia*. As to the question of whether all the *Selected essays* are equally relevant to this purpose, however, opinions may differ.

In view of the very complex reality, Lev is conspicuously cautious in his analyses, always avoiding generalizations and constantly nuancing his statements by additions like 'but not all', 'although there are exceptions', 'though not always', 'though some did'. An inherent problem with publishing selected essays is that the introductory or explanatory parts of different chapters are often very similar to each other. The effect of the many repetitions in Lev's book is to render it less gripping than the subject and the amount of work involved deserve. Most regrettably, the quality of the printing also shows deficiencies in several places.

The first fruit of Lev's research in Indonesia, which appeared in 1962, was a review of the Supreme Court's jurisprudence on *adat* inheritance law. His summary of how justice based on *adat* law should be administered, and his account of the many difficulties judges have to face when doing so in practice, are impressive indeed. As *adat* law is living law and so by definition subject to change, the validity of pre-war *adat* law treatises has now become doubtful (it was Lemaire who was the first to question their validity and not Utrecht, as Lev suggests). In addition, the lack of training in doing research to ascertain what *adat* law actually stipulates (when I was a law student at the University of Indonesia, nothing of the kind was taught), the lack of time and resources available to judges for conducting such research, and the fact that

the Supreme Court and appelate courts are far away from the places where *adat* disputes take place are all insurmountable difficulties. In these circumstances the Supreme Court did nothing less than usurp – I repeat, usurp – the power of the legislature (which, for various reasons detailed by Lev, utterly failed to produce the legislation needed for the desired modernization) to make the law rather than applying it. Lev does not fail to mention the objections raised against the Supreme Court's jurisprudence. It has gone too far in deviating from *adat* law, it has gone beyond the people's true sense of justice, and a gap between the people's legal conceptions and the courts' may have its dangers. Lev nevertheless accepts the course which the Supreme Court has pursued, probably because in essence the law which it unlawfully created happens to be in accordance with modern international (or Western?) standards. But what if that were not the case? Anything could be alleged to be in accordance with *adat* law, or indeed a punishable offence against it. To me personally it seems that in this particular field, the Supreme Court had unwittingly already started to administer justice in a revolutionary way years before President Sukarno and Minister of Justice Sahardjo explicitly urged judges to do that in the early 1960s. This complete disregard for the interests of the *rakyat jelata*, the common people – an all too frequent attitude in Indonesia after its independence – has surely not enhanced the standing of the Supreme Court and the judiciary as a whole. I fully agree with Lev when he points out that what is striking about the Indonesian legal system during the 1950s is not that it spun into decline, but that the judges were still honest and respected and worked reasonably well. Personally, however, I consider the Supreme Court's jurisprudence on *adat* inheritance law – which, for instance, imposed bilateral inheritance rules on the patrilineal Batak of North Sumatra – as a deplorable exception to this rule.

Particularly interesting is Lev's detailed account of a struggle in the 1950s between prosecutors and judges which, together with a separate struggle between prosecutors and police, shaped the post-war evolution of Indonesian judicial institutions to a crucial degree. The prosecutors vied for prestige and status equal to that of the judges, demanding for themselves what had been the exclusive right of the judges to issue the formal indictment. In the Netherlands Indies system the Indonesian *jaksa* occupied a lowly position completely subordinate to the Dutch *assistent-resident*, who was the official responsible for prosecution. According to Lev (whose account leans heavily on that of Moeljatno), their responsibilities expanded quickly during the revolution because the assistant resident disappeared from the scene and the *jaksa* refused to accept subordination to the Indonesian administrative authorities or *pamong praja*. Since, however, the assistant resident was replaced during the Japanese occupation by a Japanese official, it is hard to believe that the expansion of the *jaksa*'s powers was due

simply to the disappearance of the Dutch. The essential point is that the Japanese explicitly transferred the assistent-resident's prosecuting authority to the *jaksa* rather than to his Japanese superior; the separation of the prosecution from the *pamong praja* was thus effected by the Japanese, and not during the revolution. But the Japanese omitted to complete the operation by amending the law of procedure and transferring the right of indictment from the judge to the prosecutor. Similarly, one of the factors giving rise to the struggle between prosecutors and police over responsibility for criminal investigation was the fact that the Japanese had abolished supervision of the police by the *pamong praja*. The Japanese reorganization of the police laid the foundations for the Polisi Negara or National Police, and at the start of the revolution the police was the only Indonesian force which the Japanese allowed to remain armed.

Lev conveys the impression that the decline of the *Negara Hukum* or Law State at the end of the 1950s was influenced by, among other factors, the fact that after proclaiming independence Indonesians had chosen for the Indonesian side of the colonial judicial organization – that is, for the *landraden* (Lev erroneously calls the *landraden* judges *landrechters*), with their lowly *jaksa*, as courts of first instance – rather than for the European side, where the *raden van justitie* (according to Lev the *residentiegerechten*) occupied this position and a far more elaborate law of procedure offered greater legal security than existed in the *landraden*. Lev believes this was not a matter of oversight, but a deliberate choice expressed in the Constitution. The European side of the judicial organization on Java, however, had already been eliminated by the Japanese when, in 1943, they abandoned their initial policy of maintaining a Dutch presence in day-to-day social life (the Japanese did not actually abolish the *raden van justitie* in favour for the *landraden*, as Lev claims). Choosing for the European part of the judicial system, then, was absolutely impossible for the Indonesians after the Japanese capitulation, and in fact even the Dutch themselves were unable to reinstate that system in the areas they reoccupied between 1945 and 1950. Moreover, in view of the many disastrous political developments of the late 1950s meticulously described by Lev, in particular a general diminution of respect for the law, I seriously doubt whether the decline of the *Negara Hukum* could have been prevented even if it had been possible (which it definitely was not) to revive the European part of the judicial system. Lev claims that within the Indonesian side of the judicial organization the judges had inherited a normative understanding of their role which, unlike that of their former counterparts in the courts for Europeans, did not allow for much institutional autonomy or disagreement with state action. Consequently most judges were basically timid and acquiscent. I doubt whether this is in accordance with reality, since the chairmen of the colonial *landraden* were mostly Dutch jurists who cherished their inde-

pendence and tolerated no interference by the executive. As Lev himself points out, what impressed Indonesian advocates was precisely the integrity of the colonial judicial system. And regarding the Indonesian judges, Lev correctly notes that during the Japanese occupation many of them had the courage to resist pressure to sentence without sufficient evidence. The severe criticism which they received for this from the Japanese is testimony to their mettle and independence.

In order to unveil the colonial skeleton within Suharto's New Order regime, Lev gives a very thorough description of the Dutch legal system in his chapter on 'Colonial law and the genesis of the Indonesian state'. He concludes that the New Order invites the colonial comparison more than did Sukarno's Guided Democracy. However, in view of the hundreds of thousands of Communists and others killed (and the thousands detained without due process) in 1965, and the thousands of petty criminals and racketeers eliminated by death squads in the early 1980s, in all frankness it should immediately be pointed out when making such comparisons that only the Suharto regime has committed such appalling crimes on such an enormous scale. It is indeed amazing, and probably very telling in terms of the conceptions of law and justice which presently prevail in Indonesia, that Suharto has not been prosecuted for these crimes.

An important part of *Legal evolution and political authority* is Lev's description of President Sukarno's role in the death of the *Negara Hukum* – a role which, very curiously, no biographer of Sukarno has up to now discussed. The fall of the Law State started with the army pushing for a return to the 1945 Constitution and the abolition of parliamentary democracy. Then President Sukarno brushed aside the separation of powers (which the Japanese had brought about!) by appointing the Chief Justice as a cabinet member in 1960. Subsequently, at a conference of jurists in November 1961, Sukarno challenged them by referring to Liebknecht's saying that 'you cannot make a revolution with lawyers'. This did not fail to have the desired effect: several high judicial authorities suddenly started airing revolutionary ideas in order to prove the contrary.

In the first place there was Minister of Justice Sahardjo, who in a meeting with members of the Institute for the Development of National Law in May 1962, according to Lev, launched the idea of directly abolishing the civil and commercial codes. As the number of autochthonous (*pribumi*) Indonesians active in business, and therefore needing the provisions of the commercial code, had already started to grow steadily during the colonial period (so that the notaries actually had more to do with *pribumi* businessmen than Lev assumes), this would have meant that Sahardjo was totally out of touch with reality. But what he in fact declared was only that the commercial and civil codes were no longer codes of law; in his opinion they should henceforth be

regarded simply as books describing non-statutory laws. As he explained in January 1963 to the assembled presidents of the courts in West Java and the judges of Jakarta, the non-statutory laws described in both lawbooks remained binding provided they were not contrary to the Constitution or replaced by national law. Sahardjo's innovation, he proudly explained, was to decide that the civil and commercial codes could no longer be legally binding codes in themselves because they had been promulgated only for Europeans and to some extent also for Chinese and other 'Foreign Orientals', rather than for the autochthonous Indonesians; the colonial system of different laws for different racial groups was contrary to the Constitution, which did not recognize such legal pluralism. Lev omits to mention it, but Sahardjo very consistently added that the non-statutory law described in the civil and commercial lawbooks could in principle be applied to autochthonous Indonesians as well, and conversely that Indonesian *adat* law was potentially applicable to Europeans and Chinese. He did not, however, provide details of how this peculiar mixture of different kinds of law should function in practice. Although from a strictly legal point of view thoroughly contestable, Sahardjo's argument (together with his lofty ideas on prison reform and resocialization of convicts) earned him an honorary doctor's degree from the University of Indonesia – where the actual Doctor of Law degree, regrettably, had already sunk to a level barely above that of foreign Master of Law qualitications. When investing Sahardjo with the degree, amusingly, the new dean of the Law Faculty (successor to the famous Djokosutono) Sujono Hadinoto Judonegoro archly suggested in a flamboyant speech that this doctoral candidate was not in fact a man of wide reading or renowned scholarship; for many of his audience, Sujono went so far as to imply, Sahardjo's formulations were actually incomprehensible.

Showing his close alliance with the executive, Chief Justice (and concurrently Cabinet Minister) Wirjono Prodjodikoro now followed suit. In contrast to what Lev suggests, Wirjono borrowed from Sahardjo the concept that the content of the civil and commercial lawbooks remained binding. Fully in line with the Supreme Court's jurisprudence on *adat* inheritance law in the foregoing years, Wirjono pointed out that since the provisions in the two lawbooks were now non-statutory law, judges would henceforth be freer to put aside those they consider to be incompatible with the *zaman kemerdekaan*, the era of Indonesian independence. This was a significantly less specific principle than Sahardjo's. For the sake of legal security, moreover, Wirjono considered it necessary to abolish as quickly as possible the whole civil code. On these two points, then, Wirjono went further than Sahardjo toward a radical or revolutionary position. No legislation, Wirjono considered, would be necessary in order to rescind the civil lawbook; a statement by the Government or the Supreme Court would suffice.

Wirjono persuaded the Supreme Court to make such a statement soon thereafter in a circular of 5 September 1963 to the presidents of all courts and appellate courts. But the Supreme Court, although copying his argumentation in full, did not comply with his wish to rescind the whole civil lawbook, instead restricting its invalidation to only eight specific articles (thus actually usurping again the power of the legislature). In doing so, the Supreme Court nevertheless proceeded further in one respect than Sahardjo, whose intention was to leave the rules of the civil code in principle binding as unwritten law. I therefore doubt whether it is correct that the Supreme Court stopped short of Sahardjo's proposal, as Sudargo Gautama suggests. Like Lev, this author apparently assumes that in Sahardjo's view the content of the civil code was invalid. The Supreme Court in its circular, however, while referring to Sahardjo, clearly posited that what the civil lawbook describes is law, albeit unwritten law, and law in my opinion means binding law. Neither is it correct, on the other hand, to say that the circular's purport was to declare in defiance of Sahardjo that apart from the invalidated articles, the civil code remained a code. Indeed, it is doubtful whether the Supreme Court in that period could have afforded to be so courageous. It should not be overlooked that in the circular the eight articles were invalidated as an implication of Sahardjo's thesis. Lev omits to mention that accordingly, the first instance courts henceforth did treat the civil code merely as a lawbook. As Gautama reports, they referred to it using qualifying terms such as 'by analogy with' or 'compare'. Another thing which Lev does not tell us is that although the Supreme Court's circular was never rescinded, the courts promptly resumed treating the civil code as a fully-fledged legal code when Sukarno's Guided Democracy was superseded by the New Order in 1965. Gautama discusses a decision of the Jakarta appellate court in 1967 stating that circulars of the Supreme Court cannot possibly invalidate codes and legislation. Under the previous regime no court had ever had the courage to say that. Nevertheless the appellate court still adhered in essence to the circular in that it pronounced Article 1638 invalid, ostensibly on the grounds that this article was incompatible with the Constitution. As Gautama points out, there is in fact no incompatibility whatsoever with the Constitution. But what he does not explain is that the article could be considered incompatible with a different criterion mentioned in the circular, that of 'the era of Indonesian independence'. Both Gautama and Lev claim that during Guided Democracy many jurists objected to the conception of the civil code as a mere lawbook, but unfortunately omit to mention their names or publications.

In the field of criminal law, by contrast, strong opinions have been voiced in many publications. It is a pity that Lev pays comparatively little attention to this interesting area. Sahardjo, for instance, claimed that his abovementioned ideas on prison reform and resocialization of convicts were in con-

formity with the Indonesian National Identity, and not derived from foreign sources. This led the editor of the law journal *Varia Peradilan* to raise the question of what exactly Sahardjo meant by National Identity, and why and in what respect his ideas were in conformity with it. As Sahardjo had stated that his conceptions would only be opposed or criticized by people who could not understand or accept the Political Manifesto, this was a very courageous editorial indeed. Besides launching vague but lofty ideas, Sahardjo also made outrageous statements such as his declaration that insistence on one's own rights is inadmissible. He opposed postponement of detention on remand by arguing that according to the Indonesian sense of justice, detention was only permissible if really necessary – but if really necessary, then of course it should not be postponed. Neither, in his view, should judges maintain their impartiality; on the contrary, since their duty is to direct the search for the truth, they should side actively with the right party. Sahardjo also rejected the rule outlawing interference in cases which are *sub iudice*. The interest of the state, in his opinion, might legitimately require an order to discontinue judicial processes. This idea became law posthumously in 1964, thus completing, as Lev puts it (though without identifying the law in question as Sahardjo's legacy), the formal patrimonialization of Guided Democracy and for many people symbolizing its evils.

After establishing the New Order, General Suharto initially leaned heavily on promises of a *Negara Hukum* which would distinguish his regime from Guided Democracy; the 1964 law, accordingly, was rescinded in 1970. Curiously enough, the same law by which this was accomplished was according to Lev an important milestone on the road from optimism to pessimism among *Negara Hukum*-supporters, because with it the struggle to give the Supreme Court the power to review legislation was lost. Under the New Order, government influence on the judicial process was silently established through the appointment of former military officers as judges. In addition, it is reported that President Suharto simply invited the civilian Chief Justice for a talk before the latter had to preside over the review of a particular case in which the government had been sentenced to pay damages it considered excessive. Even President Abdurrahman Wahid, despite his commitment to reform, also influenced the judicial process by promising a pardon to ex-president Suharto before the latter's trial had begun.

To return to Sahardjo's views on criminal law: what he had said about the role of the judges as regards the civil and commercial lawbooks, he believed, should also apply in the field of criminal law. But he did not proceed to proclaim the criminal code merely a guide- or lawbook – and quite correctly, because in contrast to the civil and commercial codes its binding force was not restricted to certain groups of the population. However the overzealous Umar Seno Adji, who would play several crucial roles under President

Suharto, tried a different way of arguing. Seno Adji focused on an article of an act promulgated in 1946 which stipulated that criminal law provisions should be considered as annulled if they were incompatible with the present status of Indonesia as an independent nation. This article, in Seno Adji's view, implied that each provision of the criminal law code should be checked for incompatibility with the principles of National Law, and therefore that the criminal code, like the civil and commercial codes, was actually a lawbook rather than a code of law. In Seno Adji's opinion all liberalistic, capitalistic or undemocratic provisions of the criminal code should consequently be considered no longer valid: examples included those penalizing *haatzaai* or the spreading of hatred. The idea of the *haatzaai* provisions being invalidated did appeal to many in later years. The problem with this interpretation, however, was that through the same act of 1946, the Republican legislator had already checked the provisions of the criminal code one by one and amended or rescinded many of them. The article which was the key to Seno Adji's reasoning, then, could not be appealed to as a basis for reviewing the criminal code once more. As Sahardjo also explained, reviewing Republican legislation was forbidden. Interestingly, it was the same Seno Adji who, in the late 1960s, obstructed endeavours to give the Supreme Court the power of reviewing legislation. The fact that the *haatzaai* provisions were not rescinded but remained in force, Lev correctly argues, indicates that the Republic authorities had the same understanding of political prerogative as the colonial Dutch.

Lev devotes just a few lines to the principle of *nullum delictum, nulla poena sine praevia lege poenali* in the Indonesian context. Sahardjo tentatively raised the question of whether this principle was in conformity with the National Identity, since for Indonesians unwritten criminal law, albeit in a restricted way (he was referring to *adat* law), still existed. At other times, however, Sahardjo was explicit that the State and only the State had the authority to decide which types of behaviour should be penalized, and that in Indonesia criminal law should be statutory law. With these statements, I believe, he prevented Seno Adji's idea of the criminal code being just a lawbook from catching on. This would have been a horrible development as it would have meant that provisions of the criminal code, like those of the civil and commercial codes, were henceforth to be considered as unstatutory law. Thanks to Sahardjo's indecisiveness, things fortunately did not come to a rejection of the *nullum delictum* priciple. In the 1993 draft national criminal code (still yet to be enacted) it is contained in the first article, which even specifies that application of criminal law provisions by analogy is forbidden. There is an additional stipulation, however, that notwithstanding the principle, people should be punished if according to the living law that is required by the local *adat*, even in cases where the act concerned does not answer to any statutory

law provision. To me this seems to be like taking back with one hand what was given with the other, completely overlooking the fact that the validity of criminal *adat* law is restricted to certain areas, and in other specified areas even restricted to certain autochthonous groups only. In view of the way the Supreme Court administers *adat* inheritance law, there is reason indeed for anxiety here.

It is also a pity that Lev does not mention the instances in which judges, as in some *adat* inheritance law cases, imposed penalties not based on existing legal rules. In the case of the attempted assassination of President Sukarno in Cikini on 30 November 1957, for instance, the legislature had failed to understand that in Jakarta (despite the fact that it was the capital of the Republic) a most serious gap in criminal law had persisted since the Dutch recognized Indonesian sovereignty in 1949. This resulted from retaining here the Netherlands Indies criminal code, which only had a provision penalizing an attempt on the life of the King. As this colonial provision was clearly contrary to the Indonesian Constitution, it was no longer valid. Seno Adji tried to justify the court's sentence by pointing out that the President had taken the place of the King, and arguing on the strength of an unwritten principle that the Dutch provision protecting the King should be read and applied as protecting the President. Punishment by unwritten principles, however, transgresses the principle of *nulla poena sine lege*. Moreover, even if it had been permitted, the colonial provision could by no means have been applied by analogy since being contrary to the Constitution, it was no longer valid. The legislature tried to redress its blunder on 29 September 1958, but as the *nulla poena* principle excluded retroactivity of criminal law, this was of no avail when the Cikini case was tried by the appellate court.

Conversely, the post-war colonial criminal code, which in several respects was harsher than its Republican counterpart, was applied to some cases which were technically ruled by the Republican criminal code: an example is the case of Schmidt, a Dutchman accused of attempting to overthrow the Indonesian government. Sahardjo believed that Indonesian judges should have the courage to apply even provisions enacted by the Dutch after 17 August 1945. The number of judicial errors was enormous, not least because of another great blunder on the part of the legislature: in 1958, instead of proclaiming the Republican criminal code to be valid throughout the country, it was the abovementioned 1946 act, amending the pre-war colonial criminal code, which the legislature declared to be in force everywhere in Indonesia. This totally overlooked the stipulation in the 1946 act that the criminal law presently binding is the criminal law of 8 March 1942, so that all criminal law regulations enacted in the areas concerned between that date and 29 September 1958 were in fact invalidated. Sahardjo, at his investiture as doctor, parried all criticism in characteristic manner by remarking that the texts

of the laws of 1946 and 1958 were clear, but also clearly incorrect. Applying those laws according to their clear texts, according to Sahardjo, would therefore have produced an outcome completely different from that of applying them in accordance with the legislature's intention! That intention was simply to make the Republican criminal code binding for the whole of Indonesia. The very essence of the *nulla poena sine lege* principle, however, is precisely that an act is only punishable in as much as the legislator has expressed his intention in a piece of legislation, and with his statement the Minister of Justice gave a clear indication that this principle was no longer sacrosanct. Only as regards the implementation of the death penalty was the resulting criticism paid heed to after Sahardjo had passed away – and despite the objections of Wirjono. It is self-evident that this very sloppy legislation, and the manifold transgressions of the *nulla poena sine lege* rule which resulted from it, were detrimental to the prestige and authority of both legislator and judiciary, and also to the rule of law itself.

The length of this review may be regarded as an indication of how highly I regard Lev's work. The many complementary remarks I have made are all intended by the same token as complimentary remarks – and here, to borrow a piece of Sahardjo's ideology, it is above all the intention which counts.

Laura Lee Junker, 1999, *Raiding, trading, and feasting; The political economy of Philippine chiefdoms*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, ix + 477 pp. ISBN 0.8248.2035.5. Price: USD 46 (hardback).

DAVID HENLEY

'Writing a book about prehispanic political formations and political economy in the Philippines', begins this pioneering work without exaggeration, 'is a very difficult task'. Besides summing up more than a decade of the author's own archaeological research in the Bais-Tanjay region of Negros, *Raiding, trading, and feasting* also brings together a wide range of fragmentary archaeological, ethnographic and historical data from other parts of the Philippines, and attempts to place this in turn against an even broader backdrop of comparative and theoretical material on the relationship between trade, war and 'sociopolitical evolution' elsewhere in the world. The central thesis of the book, that the development of political centralization and hierarchy in precolonial societies was associated with the growth of long-distance trade in 'prestige goods' such as luxury textiles and porcelain, is not new to Southeast Asianists. The Philippines, however, are among the more difficult parts of Southeast Asia in which to demonstrate this association convincingly due to the scarcity of written historical sources from before European contact, the

radical discontinuity caused by the Spanish takeover, and the scattered and underexplored nature of the archaeological record in a country where most precolonial indigenous polities were small and culturally unspectacular compared to some of their counterparts in Indonesia and on the Southeast Asian mainland. This, in short, must indeed have been a very hard book to write, and its considerable coherence and readability are tributes to the skill, imagination and perseverence of the author.

The material which Junker so assiduously amasses provides strong support for the well-known thesis of Anthony Reid (1988-93) that early European political expansion in Southeast Asia was immediately preceded by an 'Age of Commerce', reaching its peak in the sixteenth century, during which many indigenous polities grew rich and strong on the profits from international trade. In the Philippine case it was above all trade with China which, beginning in the tenth century, fuelled the growth of coastal chiefdoms larger and more socially stratified than their predecessors. Archaeological evidence, nevertheless, suggests that the ultimate origins of complex supra-village polities in the Philippines predate this intensive foreign commerce and must be sought in an earlier period of more local economic exchange and specialization:

> Historical and archaeological evidence do not support the traditional notion of Chinese trade as a primary catalyst for the *initial* emergence of sociopolitical complexity in the Philippines. Analyses of burial patterns in first millennium AD cemeteries as well as regional-scale case studies of the distribution of earthenware and metal goods before the eleventh century indicate the presence of already well-developed status differentiation in the Philippine Metal Age (ca. 500 BC – AD 1000) involving locally made prestige goods. However, interpolity competition for control of foreign prestige goods trade appears to be one of the factors in the growth of large-scale maritime-trading polities in a number of regions of the Philippines around the tenth century and peaking in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries A.D. The growth of political hierarchies and expanding polity scales at Manila, Sulu, Magindanao, Cebu, and Tanjay appear to be contemporaneous with dramatic increases in foreign trade volumes. (pp. 375-6.)

Raiding, trading and feasting will bolster the emerging awareness among historians of Southeast Asia that early long-distance trade 'brought about multiplier effects in the local economies' (Bulbeck at al. 1998:5) to a degree which at first sight seems incommensurate with what Van Leur (1960:70) called the 'splendid and trifling' character of many of the import goods involved: porcelain bowls, silk cloth, gold ornaments. Contrary to the suggestion by some specialists that the availability of these Chinese imports must have had an adverse effect on the manufacture of indigenous decorated pottery and other local luxury goods, for instance, archaeologists have found that the volume and variety of Filipino handicraft manufactures actually grew during the

period of increasing foreign commerce (pp. 23, 276, 291, 383). Some geomorphological evidence indicates that this was also a period of agricultural expansion and forest clearance (pp. 239).

Junker's command and use of her sources, including the classic early Spanish descriptions of the Philippines, seems excellent (although I would have appreciated a little more information on archaeological dating procedures), and her bibliography constitutes a useful research tool in its own right. Her descriptions of the social contexts in which foreign prestige goods were distributed and converted into political influence in the tribal hinterlands of the Philippines – bridewealth exchange, treaty gifts, competitive feasting – are detailed and convincing (pp. 292-335). Her argument that competition for the growing volume of foreign trade led to an increased level of interpolity violence in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (pp. 356-69), while perhaps less compelling in purely logical terms than she implies, is supported by some surprisingly concrete empirical evidence from mortuary excavations (although it must be said that the samples remain small). Junker's introductory comparisons with trade-based chiefdoms in prehistoric Europe and historical West Africa (pp. 6-14) are as apt and illuminating as they are unconventional. Her writing style, while not always elegant and occasionally repetitive, is probably as clear as the complexity of her subject matter would allow. In short, this is an impressive and useful book as well as an audacious one. On the critical side I would only mention three substantial points, two relating to issues of demography, ecology and geography, and the third to the nature of the link between trade and state-formation.

Population densities in the precolonial Philippines, firstly, were undoubtedly low by modern standards, and Junker is right to link this with the centrality of manpower rather than territory in precolonial political systems. Nevertheless her repeated references to an abundance of 'unoccupied fertile land' (p. 63), 'rich agricultural land' (p. 134) and the like, although familiar from some other historical literature on Southeast Asia, will not impress those who know that Philippine soils (with local exceptions) were always thin, leached and prone to erosion whenever the tropical forest which covered them was removed. Indeed, this adverse environmental factor is probably one important reason why in prehispanic times, when economic incentives to land improvements such as terracing and irrigation were limited and swidden farming predominated, the population was so much sparser than it is today. Junker's own discussion of agricultural intensification (pp. 234-6) proceeds from the Boserupian principle that labour-intensive farming methods such as irrigation were practiced only under conditions of population pressure, an assumption which is not fully supported by the literature on wet rice cultivation in Southeast Asia (Hunt 2000), and which leads her to ignore the Malthusian possibility that it was the areal productivity of agriculture which

determined the population density rather than vice versa. A second and related point of criticism is that by focusing mainly on maritime trading polities, *Raiding, trading, and feasting* perhaps has the effect of exaggerating the historical importance of these lowland chiefdoms in relation to politically decentralized but populous and prosperous mountain areas where topography, climate and soils were relatively favourable to intensive agriculture. Although the high population densities and intensive wet rice terraces of the central cordillera of Luzon are mentioned in passing (pp. 235-6), there is no consideration here of the radical 'inside out' perspective provided by Reid (1997) for precolonial Sumatra, in which the coastal trading kingdoms are seen as sideshows in demographic and even political terms compared to the teeming stateless peoples of the interior.

My third point is closer to the core of Junker's work and concerns political economy. Most Southeast Asian polities, Junker notes, 'were weakly centralized and lacked long-term political stability', so that 'hierarchies of authority had to be reinforced constantly through the strategic disbursement of wealth to cronies and clients' (p. 14). Her understanding of the relationship between trade and political centralization, accordingly, revolves around the assumption that some groups were able to exclude others from direct access to trade wealth, which they then used to create hierarchy and dependency. This exclusion, in Junker's view, was accomplished mainly by two means: custom and force. On the coast, 'foreign trade goods were concentrated in the hands of the chiefly élite by restricting the geographic locales and social contexts for interaction with foreign traders and by ritualizing these exchanges' (p. 219); in the interior, meanwhile, 'a combination of gift-sealed alliances with local leaders, ideological sanctions by the ritually powerful lowland chiefs, and military threats' served to keep the flow of trade goods in the hands of political élites (p. 225). But while this is undoubtedly an important part of the story, there is also another way in which trade may promote the centralization of power: by enhancing the need for a political authority which can secure the safety and property of traders, arbitrate commercial disputes, and help to underwrite contracts and guarantee the repayment of debts. It is these reductions in transaction costs – that is, in the costs and risks associated with negotiating and enforcing trade contracts – which are emphasized in the 'New Institutional Economics' literature with reference to links between commerce and the state both in modern contexts (North 1981, 1990) and with respect to the transition from tribe to chiefdom (Bates 1983).

The Philippine ethnographic literature itself, moreover, contains an important avant la lettre exposition of the transaction cost theory of state formation in R.F. Barton's classic account (to which Junker refers only in passing) of the peace pact institution among the Kalinga of northern Luzon (Barton 1949:174-208). In order to take advantage of the improved opportun-

ities for commerce created by the American occupation, in the early twentieth century the inhabitants of many Kalinga districts created new trading pacts with their neighbours. The terms of such an agreement were guaranteed in each of the communities party to it by a volunteer strongman known as a 'pact-holder' belonging to a powerful local kin group. Besides undertaking to punish any member of his own community who harmed any member of his counterpart's, and so to prevent the outbreak of war between the two, the pact-holder was also contractually obliged to 'assist traders from the other region', and to 'facilitate the collection of debts owed citizens of the other region by citizens of his own and seizures [...] to cover such debts'. Unlike retaliation for personal injuries, punitive slayings by the pact-holder fell into the category of 'legal executions' and represented, as Barton put it, 'the police power of a budding state'. Part of the material compensation for his services derived from the fact that he and his relatives were 'in a preferred position for carrying on trade with the region for which he holds the pact' (Barton 1949:186, 199). In essence, nevertheless, this partial monopoly was a contractual rather than an enforced privilege, reflecting the utility to the whole community of the peaceful and reliable economic exchange which the power of the pact-holder made possible. Here, surely, is a valuable complement, if not corrective, to the predatory model of the centralized chiefdom favoured (implicitly or explicitly) by Junker, in which the non-élite population figure mainly as victims of forcibly imposed trading monopolies and ultimately deceptive ideologies of redistribution.

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R.D. HILL

The student of landscape geography will search this volume in vain for anything more than pictures of human landscapes, well-chosen though these images are. Rather, Rigg's 'landscapes' are those of the mind – specifically conceptual and experiential ones – broadly within the rubric of developmental discourse.

The book opens with two chapters respectively on the 'making' and 'unmaking' of a 'miracle'. With the advantage of hindsight the author may now regret his use of the term for, since 1997, the 'miracle' has to a degree become a chimera. Yet at the time the term was justified, at least in terms of aggregate measures of welfare, though, as Rigg assiduously documents, the 'miracle' was very much restricted to some classes – mainly but far from entirely urban, mainly but not completely in the already partly-developed lowlands of the region.

No matter. This part of the book, felicitously titled 'Chasing after the wind' is an interesting and challenging discourse on the intellectual construction of modernization and development. Particularly valuable is Rigg's discussion of alternative perspectives – Islamic, Buddhist, preservationist, environmentalist. This leads into an analysis of marginal peoples, many of whom are both 'excluded' from the social, political and economic mainstream and in poverty, others of whom, notably the Chinese, are 'excluded' only in social and political terms. The discussion of such marginal peoples and regions is fine as far as it goes though generally eschewing political analysis. A section on political and at various times and places military action against

the 'excluders' would have been welcome here, though to be fair there is brief mention of matters in West Irian.

The third section brings to bear the familiar notions of 'Challenge and response'. Chapter Five examines newly-emerging rural worlds, one in which farming is just one of many strategies for economic survival as for growth at every level from the individual through the household to the village and region. Importantly Rigg shows the real need for new concepts to accommodate both mobility and multifariousness, not least amongst those charged with measuring these developments. The subsequent chapter looks at urban worlds and the urban and rural themes are skilfully melded in an analysis of rural-urban interactions. Here rather more might have been made of the increasing fuzziness of these conceptual poles, indeed of their increasing disutility. Rigg quotes with approval the 'virtuous cycle' views of Hugh Evans and of Richard Grabowski, but could have examined these more critically. Just what proportions of urban to rural cash flows actually stimulate the rural economy? The building and furnishing of new homes, for example, are essentially forms of consumption rather than investment, though promoting the growth of the rural non-farm sector to some degree. Certainly 'the vital spatial articulation of "rural" and "urban" [...] would seem to call for a rather more subtle model of how different activities complement, cross-subsidize and interrelate' (p. 268). But the author does not provide us with this more subtle model.

In the final, summary chapter the author again 'chases the wind'. Here the scale changes to the meta-level to conclude that '[i]n the case of the growth economies of Southeast Asia, it is hard to think of one indicator of human well-being that has not improved during the course of modernization' (p. 279). For the laggards, war, failed attempts at state socialist development, economic mismanagement, or some combination of these have led to slow growth, if that, of wealth and welfare. For at least one of these laggards, Vietnam, the fact of its limited integration into the global economy has proved to be of positive advantage. It alone of Southeast Asian countries succeeded in growing after 1997, a likelihood already apparent to observers on the ground at the time. It might be thought that this book has been rendered irrelevant by the severe economic downturn since 1997. To be sure, some of the optimism of its opening chapters must now be tempered. But it remains of great value for its detail, its arguments and its perspectives, and not least for its excellent bibliography, even if its author does succeed in overlooking this reviewer's 40 years of studies of this endlessly varied region. For once, the publisher's 'blurb' is accurate: this is an 'important book', one that should be on the shelf not only of every serious Southeast Asianist but also of every student of development.

Gene Ammarell, 1999, *Bugis navigation*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, xiv + 299 pp. [Yale Southeast Asia Studies Monograph 48.] ISBN 0.938692.69.0, price USD 38 (hardback); 0.938692.70.4, USD 27 (paperback).

ADRIAN HORRIDGE

This is a splendid, substantial, excellent ethnological monograph in the classical tradition. A hardy researcher learns the local language, in this case Buginese, and for a year or so lives in a relatively isolated small island, in this case Balobaloang in the Sabalana Archipelago, on my chart called the Postillions in the Flores Sea. He took careful notes of how these people view the world, make a living, and pass on their survival skills. 'These people' were 145 Buginese families, who live by trading in the region between Java, Timor, Kalimantan and Ambon. The account is full of social knowledge and the pragmatics of being; I marvelled how Ammarell managed to cover every topic of village life, boat management, navigation, concepts of space, their understanding of tides, winds, directions and distances, and the impacts of technological change. It helps being limited to a single village, but there's the rub. The book is about the lives and trading of this village, and little is said about the wider scene.

Buginese colonies are distributed from Aceh to Irian Jaya, from Manado to Kupang. Numerous Bugis colonies have established themselves less kindly on the beaches of other cultures. For example, on the north coast of Bali, the Bugis are feared. On the xenophobic island of Polu'e near Maumere, they come ashore and spread their wares on the beach; they do not stay. They establish villages on convenient doorsteps of every port, and some, such as Pulau Ende, were once centres of piracy, slave trade and arms dealing.

It requires a hardy healthy body and a tolerant character to stay in an Indonesian maritime village and take accurate notes for months on end; and the result is localized because these villages are extremely limiting. The women know it; they may be able to travel away once or twice in their lives. There is talk of prices, state restrictions, markets, but few books, no science or philosophy, rarely a newspaper. Why are the horizons so restricted? You see it clearly in isolated villages, like Fanfanlap on Misool, even at Kampong Wuring near Maumere.

There have been mobile over-the-water colonizers since Neolithic times; we have here just one sort. Being long-distance traders, the Bugis are resistant to the diseases they bring to the local populations, so that indigenous villages decline and land becomes vacant. Then they plant gardens, but poverty and isolation keep them at that level of development. They stop at nothing to survive. There follows extreme exploitation of reefs, fisheries and forests,

rapid reproduction and the establishment of new colonies.

There is the impact on the environment. The products of the sea, like the forest, are regarded as free for all. The Bugis are not inclined to leave resources for others to take. They compete as traders with Butungese, Mandar, Madurese and a few other distinct language groups, all of whom also establish distant colonies and sail different types of boats. There are interlinking monopolies, complementary trade routes, wholesale dealers and distributors, traders between major islands and suppliers of single small islands, an immensely complex network. Apparently there are few financial services; I was always intrigued by the great wads of banknotes that a Bugis captain can produce out of his groin.

Then there are the relations with the State. Living in small isolated groups the Bugis have little interest in national events, little control over their own future, no leverage on the central government to provide facilities at harbours or medical services. A lot was not said in this monograph: about smuggling of tin, gold, birds of paradise, parrots, explosives, live reef fish, whale teeth, bombing of reefs. In one of these colonies I stayed at the home of the police chief, *faut de mieux*, who said he had terrible problems with motor cars, insurance claims, hiring men and the like, but that he never bothered about traditional trade disputes, bad debts, revenge murders or fishing rights, which were not the responsibility of the government.

In conclusion, this book is a valuable addition to the ethnology of navigation, survival on an atoll and the use of boats. It is an ultimate account of a minute society that represents a much wider scene, and it has been used successfully as required reading. It is concerned with detail, most of which is inconsequential in the sense that it is different in the neighbouring cultures. How is the investigator to set his sights on the wider implications of what he sees?

Peter Just, 2001, *Dou Donggo justice; Conflict and morality in an Indonesian society*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, xi + 263pp. ISBN 0.8476.8327.3, price USD 75 (hardback), 0.8476.8328.1, USD 26.95 (paperback).

BERNICE DE JONG BOERS

In this book Peter Just presents an ethnography of the Dou Donggo, a mountain people of approximately 25,000 individuals living in the highlands west of Bima Bay on the island of Sumbawa in eastern Indonesia. Just does so by telling us stories. It is Just's conviction that people make sense of their lives by making stories of them. This is why in his opinion stories are close(r) to

culture (p. x) and why ethnography must mainly be about storytelling. Through his field experiences, it also became Just's conviction that studying dispute settlement is a particularly apt way of looking at the culture of a society because it tells us about the things which are seen as worth fighting for. So gradually Just's ethnography about the Dou Donggo became a study in the anthropology of law. The premise of this book is 'that any legal system is best understood in the context of its moral ontology – the fundamental cultural assumptions that the people have about the nature of the world, the beings who inhabit it, and their relationships to one another, as well as their ideas about causation, liability and the like' (p. ix).

This book is the result of the fieldwork Peter Just carried out for nearly two years in one of the villages in the region of Donggo. In the first three chapters Just devotes himself to contextualizing his study. He explains why he chose to study the Dou Donggo; he gives an account of his integration in the community and of his field experiences; he presents us with a short history of the Dou Donggo and he introduces his most important informants. Along the way Just touches upon current debates in ethnography and the anthropology of law. He has particularly been bothered by the question of whether we can ever be sure about the objectivity and validity of ethnographic descriptions and whether we are able to understand different cultures. His preoccupation with this particular problem probably stems from a question one of his informants once asked him: 'When you go back to your island and write a book about us, how will your teachers know you have told the truth?' Because Just did not have a ready answer, he replied honestly: 'They won't!' (p. 1). But eventually he found part of the solution to this problem in the 'thick description' of Clifford Geertz's 'interpretive anthropology' – hence his preference for case studies and stories.

In the next two chapters Just goes on to describe the moral community and the moral ontology. He sets out how and why justice in Donggo is done, and he explains the logic behind local legal reasoning and procedures. The Dou Donggo avoid formal courts and judges. Usually conflicts are settled by the mediation of one or more village elders (*doumatuatua*). In complicated cases, a trial-like proceeding called *paresa* will take place. A panel of elders then makes a ruling, even though its ability to impose coercive sanctions is limited. In many cases, sanctions are only symbolic. The role and aim of the elders is mainly to reconcile, to restore ruptured relationships, and to make miscreants aware of their criminal behaviour. The authority of the elders is dependent on their skill in constructing a moral narrative and judgement that is acceptable to both plaintiff and defendant.

What Dou Donggo legal process has in common with Western judicial practice is a narrativizing procedure in which evidence is presented and weighed. However, in contrast with Western styles of legal reasoning, Dou

Donggo do not emphasize consistency with precedents. On the contrary, analogies are hardly ever used and every case is seen as unique. Also, Dou Donggo justice is not about 'what happened and was it lawful?' (p. 107). It has no drive to discover the 'factual truth' as in Western legal systems. It is about 'moral truths' and the need to make everyone in the community aware of them. In order to achieve this, the elders construct a 'moral narrative'. On occasion such a narrative may even be false in factual terms, but will be considered as 'more true than what really happened' (p. 107). In this kind of jurisprudence, potential might-have-been crimes can be punished as well as real crimes. The elders will judge on the basis of the total moral reputation of the delinquent and on what might have happened, and not only on his/her actual criminal deeds. The concept of liability among the Donggo therefore is a 'liability of potentiality' (p. 198). The elders will act in the best interest of the community. Their judgements are based on the *moral ontology*: the shared social and moral values about (among other things) the proper relationships between genders and generations, but also about human nature in general. In this moral ontology self-control, that is control of one's tempers, passions and emotions, is highly valued. The purpose of Dou Donggo justice is to publicly communicate social values and norms and to teach people to act according to these norms. It is clearly reformatory and it has therapeutic as well as prophylactic aspects.

The last three chapters each contain a case study of one particular conflict and how it has been resolved. All three cases illustrate and explain the underlying premises of Dou Donggo styles of legal reasoning. They allow us to follow in detail the procedures in a *paresa* and the ways in which moral narratives are constructed. It is no coincidence that all cases deal with disputes related to the obligations of betrothal; this underlines the importance of betrothal as an institution among the Dou Donggo. As in many other societies, marriage is not so much an affair between individuals as an alliance between two groups of kin. Therefore conflicts around betrothal almost always become public matters.

I do not always agree with Just's interpretations. For instance, I would never have claimed that the cultural ethos of the Dou Donggo is characterized by (among other things) a 'general gender equality' (p. 85), one reason being that it is impossible for women to become elders (p. 118). I am also quite curious about the views of Peter's wife Anne Just, who joined him during his fieldwork, on this matter. After having lived in the community for two years, she must have become an expert on the Dou Donggo herself. Although the author acknowledges her contribution to his work (p. 42), I would have liked to know more about how she perceives the Dou Donggo and whether there are points on which she disagrees with her husband.

But these are only minor critical notes. In general, this book was a great

pleasure to read. It presents many interesting case descriptions and anecdotes. Sometimes, in cases where defendants are punished for crimes which they did not in fact commit (Just refers to such individuals as 'phenomenally innocent'), the ruling of the elders seems quite unfair and strange to me. But then Just reminds us that in Western thought one can be morally in the wrong, but legally innocent, which is, of course, equally strange. This study is therefore a powerful tool with which to relativize our own judicial system.

However, this book is not only about dispute settlement in Donggo. It is also about what kind of anthropologist Peter Just is. He is very honest about the ideas with which he entered the field and how these gradually changed over time. Therefore I can recommend this book to everyone considering doing fieldwork. All in all, I judge Peter Just sincere and honest, his fieldwork adequate and his storytelling convincing. Clearly this book is not only about justice, but also about Just among the Dou Donggo.

Howard M. Federspiel, 2001, *Islam and ideology in the emerging Indonesian state; The Persatuan Islam (PERSIS), 1923 to 1957.* Leiden: Brill, xii + 365 pp. ISBN 90.04.12047.5. Price: EUR 97 (hardback).

NICO J.G. KAPTEIN

From the beginning of the twentieth century various 'modernist' Muslim movements arose in the Netherlands East Indies which affirmed the necessity of independent reasoning on the basis of the Qur'an and Hadith only (*ijtihad*) instead of blindly following the authority of the standard interpretations of one of the established schools of law (*taqlid*). Such movements also rejected many of the beliefs and practices of Muslims which had not been observed in pristine Islam and were, therefore, to be eradicated. One of these organizations was the Islamic Union, the *Persatuan Islam* (*Persis*), which was founded in Bandung in 1923. Although the number of followers of Persis has never been large, the influence of this movement should not be underestimated, mainly as a result of the uncompromizing and activist attitude of its members, who have always shown a total commitment to the intensification of Islamic faith and behaviour, as manifested in its many publications and its religious educational institutions.

The book under review here is a 'substantially revised second edition' of the author's *The Persatuan Islam; Islamic reform in twentieth century Indonesia,* which was published by the Cornell Modern Indonesia Project in 1970. For a long time this was the sole monograph devoted to PERSIS, but since then other books have appeared, notably *Ahmad Hassan and Islamic legal reform in*

Indonesia (1887-1958), a McGill University PhD thesis from 1995 by Federspiel's Indonesian student Akh. Minhaji, and two books by Dadan Wildan, a PERSIS member himself, who in 1995 published *Sejarah perjuangan Persis 1923-1983* and in 1997 *Yang Da'i yang politikus; Hayat dan perjuangan lima tokoh Persis*. Because Federspiel's 1970 book had become rare, Minhaji's book only very recently became available in a published edition, and Wildan's books (which also deal with the organization under K.H. Abdurrahman and K.H.A. Latief Muchtar) are only available in Indonesian, this second edition appears at the right time.

The book consists of four parts, of which the first and last are respectively an 'Introduction' (Part I), and a set of 'Concluding Remarks' (Part IV). The two main sections of the book deal with 'The Persatuan Islam in late colonial Indonesia (1923-1942)' (Part II, pp. 35-190), and with 'The Persatuan Islam in the era of the Liberal Democracy (1948-1957)' (Part III, pp. 193-320). Both sections start with a sketch of the historical and political context of the periods involved, followed by an analysis of the activities, ideas and beliefs of the organization in these two periods. In my view the chapters on the historical and political contexts (Chapters 1 and 4) could have been shorter, but the chapters dealing with PERSIS itself (Chapters 2, 3, 5 and 6) make good this deficiency: these chapters are extremely well documented and a great pleasure to read. They discuss all kinds of topics which were important to the members of the organization (and Indonesian society at large), including the role of women in public life, the relationship between Islam and politics, the place of the *shari'a* (for instance, penal law) in society, medical practice, ritual issues and so forth. Precisely because PERSIS members were always so outspoken in their views, these chapters give a clear insight into the issues which were important within Indonesian Islam in the periods concerned.

Unfortunately, the book does not go into the history and further development of the movement under Guided Democracy, the New Order, and later (see for the latest developments the PERSIS website www.persis.org.id). However, this is understandable in view of the fact that we are dealing here with a revised edition of a book from 1970. For the period to 1957 this book remains a must for any researcher who is interested in PERSIS and, more general, in Islam in Indonesia.

Els M. Jacobs, 2000, *Koopman in Azië; De handel van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie tijdens de 18de eeuw*. Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 304 pp. ISBN 90.5730.118.0. Price: EUR 39.95.

GERRIT KNAAP

This Leiden dissertation deals with the trade of the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) all over Asia during the eighteenth century. The book is fairly unique for two reasons. First, studies with an Asia-wide coverage are rare. Second, research about Dutch-Asian connections during the eighteenth century usually do not focus on trade alone; they are generally more interested in power relations and view trade as only one of the many elements in the game.

The best way to reconstruct the trade of the Company is by using its bookkeeping, especially the *generale journalen* (general account-books), which were kept by the office of the *boekhouder-generaal* (bookkeeper general) in Batavia. Unfortunately, most of these *generale journalen* have been lost; for the eighteenth century fewer than sixty survive, of which, moreover, about one-fifth are in a very bad state. The *generale journalen*, each of them covering an entire year, are of such a detailed and voluminous nature that it is still impossible for one single scholar to research them all. As a consequence, Jacobs decided to concentrate on four two-year blocks, dispersed through the century at intervals of about twenty years. As there were no longer any two consecutive years available for the period after the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780-1784), the last complete *journaal* to be found in the archives, that of 1789-1790, was added to this series. The method of dealing with these sources is meticulously explained in an appendix. At the time Jacobs started her research in the 1980s, computer technology was still very much a newcomer in Dutch university circles. As a consequence, the statistical analysis had to be carved out using brainpower and calculators. Inevitably, this situation has had a negative effect on both the quantity of data which could be analysed and the flexibility of the analysis itself. It therefore comes as no surprise that the number of separate trade items covered in special tables has remained relatively small: eleven.

On the other hand, one might say that the limitations as far as statistical analysis are concerned were a blessing in disguise. Many studies dealing with demographic and economic subjects using statistical sources struggle with the problem that the discussion often tends to become too technical, and hence difficult for the reader to understand. Being aware of the fact that the tables gave her only a rudimentary basis for reconstructing and understanding what actually went on, Jacobs set out on a journey through all the available literature and published sources, while simultaneously searching the archives for key documents. This resulted in an impressive general overview of eighteenth-century developments in different parts of Asia, in which more or less all major topics addressed in academic discussions to date were looked into. Besides the fact that such an overview is useful in itself, the content is structured in such a clear way that the book has become a very accessible work. The other thing which makes this book accessible and pleasant to

read is that it is richly illustrated with prints, drawings and photographs, originating from all sorts of archives, museums and other academic institutions. The illustrations are not just there for the sake of aesthetics; they are very well integrated into the book in order to support the discussions of various topics in the text.

Apart from an introduction and a conclusion, the book consists of four parts. The first and most voluminous part deals with what Jacobs calls the 'fundament of the trade in spices'. This concerns the four 'finer spices' – cloves, nutmeg, mace, and cinnamon – in which the Company had already achieved monopolies in the seventeenth century through force of arms. Besides the finer spices it also covers the pepper trade, in which the Company never had a worldwide monopoly but nevertheless always acted as one of the major players. Attention is also paid to less economically rewarding areas, such as Makassar and Timor, which were actually only occupied for the sake of safeguarding the monopolies in the finer spices. The Company's early concentration on spices had caused it to entrench itself deeply in island Southeast Asia. The second part of the book deals with 'the struggle for Indian textiles'. It covers an extensive network of intra-Asian trade relations in which besides textiles several other commodities also figured prominently: raw silk, saltpetre and opium from Bengal, copper from Japan, gold from Persia and West Sumatra. The third part deals with the Chinese tea trade, to which the deliveries of tin from Malacca and Palembang were connected. 'Contours of a colonial system: sugar and coffee from Java' is the title of the fourth part. Centred on Batavia, the story told here is a prelude to that of the Cultivation System which the VOC's colonial successor state was to set up in nineteenth-century Java. Because coffee holds pride of place in this part of the book, Mokka in Yemen is also dealt with briefly.

Over the entire eighteenth century, the total value of the VOC's purchases of Asian products for the European market amounted to some 600 million guilders, twice as much as in the seventeenth century. Whereas until the middle of the eighteenth century gross profits were about 200 per cent, from about 1760 onwards they fell to 140 per cent or less. In the seventeenth century the value of trade with Europe in relation to that within Asia itself was 1:4; in the course of the eighteenth the ratio changed to 3:4. Intra-Asian trade, in other words, lost most of its function in financing return cargoes for the Netherlands. Jacobs demonstrates that apart from independently caused stagnations on the supply side, the loss of Japanese silver and gold, the first blow already delivered in the seventeenth century, was the most crucial factor in this process.

As trade links with Europe became increasingly dominant in its activities, the VOC still retained a firm basis in its monopolies on the finer spices. Jacobs proves that there is not much foundation for the suggestion that during the

late eighteenth century the Dutch were no longer capable of controlling the world's most substantial supplies of cloves, nutmeg, mace and cinnamon. The trade in Indian textiles, however, was a different story. Because of rising demand from Europe, competition between Europeans in India itself grew intense. Jacobs argues that increasing prices at purchase were detrimental to the intra-Asian textile trade of the VOC; from the middle of the eighteenth century the markets in Southeast Asia were hardly interested in continuing to buy textiles from the Dutch. Exports of Indian textiles to Europe, by contrast, grew, but gross profits on these were lower than those brought by the finer spices. The tea trade from Canton to the Netherlands shared the same fate; profits were under strain because of severe competition in Europe itself. Coffee, like tea a novelty in the package of products offered by the Company in the early eighteenth century, barely featured in the cargoes of the English and French East Indiamen. But even here it was not plain sailing: the success which the VOC could achieve with coffee on the European market depended partly on the supplies coming in from the West Indies, and within a few decades Java coffee was experiencing heavy competition from Caribbean coffee. At a time when profit margins were under pressure in this way, political developments were not very favourable to the Dutch either. This was particularly so in India, where the British became the dominant European power after gaining the upper hand in Bengal in 1757 and defeating the French in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). The direct confrontation of the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780-1784) left the VOC completely dependent on the mercy of the English for its trade in the Subcontinent.

The interruption of traffic during the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War also brought to light the vulnerability of the VOC's financial basis in the Netherlands. Since the foundation of the Company in 1602, its ever-expanding economic and political activities had been financed not by an expansion of the shareholders' capital, but by short-term loans to be paid off after the auctions of the commodities brought by homeward-bound East Indiamen. If there were no auctions, the loans could not be repaid. Jacobs argues that the VOC could have overcome the setbacks of the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War had it not been for the fact that only a decade later the wars of the French Revolution engulfed Europe, dislocating the economy and drawing the Netherlands once more into the anti-English camp. With its contacts with Asia disrupted, the Company had to succumb to the fate of nationalization.

In her conclusion, Jacobs also considers the question of whether 'incompetent' leadership and 'corruption' caused the downfall of the VOC. Jacobs' position on this issue is that generally speaking, the leadership of the VOC was fairly capable in the performance of its duties. Whether or not the 'private trade' of Company personnel was detrimental to the operations of the VOC itself, she feels, is a question to be decided by further research.

Surveying the eighteenth century in its entirety, Jacobs considers this to have been more an age of partnership between Dutch and Asians than one of confrontation. As such, the eighteenth century stood in clear contrast to the seventeenth. For the VOC in its second century, cooperation with local brokers and élites had become more of a general rule than imposed monopolies and wars. This, however, is one of the few things in the book which I find less convincing, since unequal trade conditions still prevailed in many of the arenas of VOC operation in Asia, and since there was still much war and plenty of coercion to be observed on the supply side. On this issue I would suggest that further research is as necessary as it is in the questions of corruption and private trade.

This is, as I have said, an extremely useful monograph, addressing a wide range of topics and problems. At the same time its clear structure and functional illustrations make it a very accessible publication. Hopefully in the near future the entire book, or at least its conclusions in the form of articles, will also reach international (that is, non-Dutch) audiences. Jacobs' book has a great deal to say to Asianists everywhere in the world, and as the number of Asianists capable of reading Dutch is rather limited, the results of this study should be brought to their attention in English.

Bruce M. Knauft, 1999, *From primitive to postcolonial in Melanesia and anthropology.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, x + 320 pp. ISBN 0.472.09687.7, price: USD 59.50 (hardback); 0.472.06687.0, USD 19.95 (paperback).

TOON VAN MEIJL

This book aims at assessing the relationship between the changes in cultural diversity in Melanesia since the arrival of European colonists about a century ago, and the history of anthropological interest in those changes. It demonstrates that the mutual influences between the culture area of Melanesia and the development of the anthropological discipline are considerable. The author proceeds from the viewpoint that Melanesia is the most culturally and linguistically diverse region in the world, for which reason it occupies a special place in the understanding of cultural variation. This is reflected, among other things, in the many theoretical contributions that Melanesian studies have made to anthropological scholarship over the last century.

The largest part of the book is made up of three previously published articles in which the main research question is addressed by focusing on specific ethnographic subjects that have intrigued social anthropologists for a long time: bodily images, warfare and gender relations. Although these articles

are introduced by a new headnote in order to situate the ethnographic accounts within the context of the main argument of the book, the chapters have otherwise remained largely unchanged and are relatively separate documents. The core chapters are preceded by an introduction in which the author discusses the relevance of the concept of 'culture area' for the anthropological study of Melanesia. The final chapter provides a more reflexive approach to the interpretation of Melanesia as a world area, and analyses the development of this construction in relation to the history of theoretical orientations in anthropology.

The first ethnographic chapter documents the extraordinary variety of bodily practices and beliefs in Melanesia. It also discusses anthropological attempts to understand these practices, not only within their larger cultural and regional contexts, but also theoretically by recognizing that in Melanesia personal and even physical identities are generally shaped through social and spiritual experiences. The body in Melanesia is a multidimensional symbol that is intimately related to cycles of fertility, depletion and regeneration, including seasonal changes in the physical environment, biological changes within the individual body, and social and spiritual changes through which interpersonal relationships develop and decline. While these cycles tend to be seen as separate in the West, they are intricately interwoven in Melanesia. In consequence, the body is not considered a bounded entity in Melanesia, but an index of relationships between the self, the social and the spiritual.

While the first chapter is relatively descriptive, the second and the third deal with sophisticated debates based on an impressive corpus of ethnographic data. The second chapter provides a relatively comprehensive overview of the study of warfare in Melanesia, and relates the historical variations in the interpretation of warfare with the change of theoretical paradigms in social anthropology. Furthermore it assesses the historical influences that have shaped the anthropological perspectives in the past, such as the accounts by missionaries and colonial administrators. In early ethnography warfare was largely ignored, while the impact of violence was still underestimated in structural-functional approaches. Following the dominance of this theoretical orientation over a period of several decades, the interpretation of warfare in Melanesia has long focused on the connection between warfare and social order. Later this approach was supplemented by perspectives that emphasized ecological change and economic intensification. Knauft's critique of the study of warfare focuses on the lack of attention to the cultural foundation and the psychological dynamics of warfare and violence. It is disappointing, however, that he himself stops short of elaborating this viewpoint by neglecting to formulate specific new departure points for further development of the study and interpretation of warfare and violence in Melanesia.

The third ethnographic chapter deals with changes in gender relationships under the impact of modernity. The transformation of male prestige, female propriety and sexual identities in Melanesia is compared and contrasted with parallel developments in Amazonia. It appears that in both regions male status is increasingly dependent on the acquisition of cash and commodities, and less on corporate male acitivities. At the same time, women's extradomestic activities are constrained and polarized against male status, as a result of which their labour and fertility are being devalued. The comparison with Amazonia is interesting, but at the same time it remains rather basic and therefore also underexposed in relation to the Melanesian material.

In the final chapter the author pulls together the various strands of the ethnographic arguments and moves onto a more general level of discussion. He documents the relation between Melanesian studies and the history of anthropology in detail, and analyses the relationship between the region and theoretical trends in the discipline. This discussion is interesting, also for non-regional specialists, since Melanesia has been used as a laboratory for anthropological debates on cultural diversity and the possible relation between ecological adaptation, sociopolitical organization, and ethnographic themes such as bodily images, warfare, and gender relationships (but also exchange, ritual and religion). The ethnography of Melanesia, however, remains to a large extent in what Trouillot has described as the 'savage slot'. Knauft argues that this label is phrased in terms of a false dichotomy between a primitive and a postcolonial approach that fails to take into account the rapid changes in indigenous ways of life, not in the last place under the impact of globalization. He cogently advocates the standpoint that in contemporary Melanesia it is essential to take into account the mediation between tradition and modernity, especially between gifts and commodities, cults and churches, big men and elected leaders, clan connections and class relations.

It is interesting that Knauft, who holds a reputation for being an innovative theoritician, is rather critical of postcolonial approaches to Melanesia. He is concerned that current interest in the (admittedly far-reaching) influences of globalization on local lifestyles in Melanesia will be detrimental for the classic ethnographic approach of tribal dynamics. The difference between a postcolonial and a so-called 'primitive' approach is not posited only in terms of contrasting methodological perspectives. The author takes great pains to make clear that the difference also touches on epistemological disputes regarding the prime driving forces of change, internal or external. Knauft seems to assume that internal dynamics are at least as strong as exogenous forces, but he does not make this explicit at any length. As a result he leaves open too many avenues for further exploration of the main issue, and ultimately neglects to tackle the dialectical dynamics of cultural change in a sub-

stantial manner. Nevertheless, there is much of interest in this book for the general reader who wishes to familiarize himself with the fascinating field of Melanesian studies. I doubt, however, whether the theoretical reflections in this book will help to move Melanesian studies to the cutting edge of contemporary anthropology.

Juliette Koning, Marleen Nolten, Janet Rodenburg and Ratna Saptari (eds), 2000, *Women and households in Indonesia; Cultural notions and social practices.* Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, xiii + 354 pp. ISBN 0.7007.1156.2. Price: GBP 50 (hardback).

JENNIFER NOURSE

I do hope this superb collection of essays critiquing the usefulness of the concept 'household' as women's domain will be read by more than just regional specialists. Its theoretical claims and empirical evidence reveal the need for a more fluid approach to 'households'. The book convincingly argues that private household and public work domains are neither distinct nor gendered, and that it is female agents who subtly challenge hegemonic restrictions about home and work.

In the introduction, Section I, Nolton's overview, 'Food for thought: reflections on the conference and the set-up of this book' discusses the merits of examining the household concept through 'multiple perspectives', creating a balance between ideal expectations and demands of daily life (p. 7).

Saptari's 'Women, family and household: tensions in culture and practice' offers theoretical grounding. She examines how colonial perceptions of home/work and private/public domains have influenced current state ideology and how the state imposes these private/public dichotomies onto women. Saptari suggests that women's agency, not households, should be the scholarly focus, since one 'cannot predict whether women will substantiate post-colonial (gendered) dualisms, or defy those hegemonic domains' (p. 23).

Section II, 'Dominant notions of family and household', begins with 'Colonial ambivalencies: European attitudes towards the Javanese household (1900-1942)' by Locher-Scholten. She demonstrates that during the early twentieth century under Dutch colonialism it was only élite Javanese women who were expected to incorporate Dutch domestic values. The 'colonial government needed the [peasant] household as an [intact] economic unit to keep (agricultural) production going' (p. 35). Locher-Scholten concludes that the association of household with women is an historical phenomenon and should not be essentialized.

Similarly, Blackburn and Hatley's 'Representations of women's roles in

household and society in Indonesian women's writing of the 1930s' examines how colonial values of domesticity were marketed to élite women through magazines and novels of the 1930s. The pressure to become the ideal housewife was ameliorated by nationalistic pride in 'doing all this for [their] native land' (p. 46).

Tiwon's 'Reconstructing boundaries and beyond' traces historical shifts in laws and attitudes about the household as they have moved from matrifocal to nuclear (patrifocal) ideals (p. 72). Tiwon concludes that New Order glorification of nuclear family households acts as a 'violence of exclusion', negating the reality of female-headed households (p. 82).

In 'Beyond women and the household in Java: re-examining the boundaries', Wolf shows how female wage earners become more assertive with parents and abusive managers at work, thereby acting as agents outside household boundaries.

Section III's 'Challenging the household concept' is the book's weakest. The Von Benda-Beckmanns' 'Houses, people and residence: the fluidity of Ambonese living arrangements' provides no new theoretical insights and needs editing.

By contrast, Jennaway's 'Bitter honey: female agency and the polygynous household, North Bali' is splendid. Jennaway says most scholarship on polygyny fails to acknowledge women's agency, yet 'both senior and junior cowives are actively involved in manipulating the situation to their own advantage' (p. 154).

Van Reenen's 'The salty mouth of a senior woman: gender and the House in Minangkabau' also highlights women as agents, but in a matrilineal context. Van Reenen concludes that analysis of gender relations must begin with the individual in his or her family network, rather than investigating internal relations among 'household members' (p. 163).

Section IV, 'Mobility, domestic arrangements and family life', shifts the focus to migrant labor outside the house. Koning's 'Different times, different orientations: family life in a Javanese village' demonstrates that many women who leave home to work in factories and then return, now marry at a later age and prefer love matches to arranged marriages (p. 190). Once married, however, their autonomy declines, unless they establish networks of female friendship.

Analogously, Elmhirst discusses two communities of migrants in 'Negotiating gender, kinship and livelihood practices in an Indonesian transmigration area'. Elmhirst demonstrates that poverty and lack of extensive social networks restrict Javanese transmigrants from leaving their parents to work in distant factories. Conversely, relative wealth and external networks allow Lampungese daughters to migrate. Both groups, however, find subtle ways to defy parental authority.

In 'Staying behind: conflict and compromise in Toba Batak migration', Rodenburg argues that North Sumatran women are important actors in facilitating men's migration by managing family and farm, but 'male migration has contradictory consequences for women' (p. 236). For this reason, 'an increasing number of young, educated women' are beginning to migrate to escape restrictive gender roles (p. 259).

Section V, 'Beyond the dichotomies', focuses on ways in which women cross the boundaries of home and workplace. De Jong argues in 'Women's networks in cloth production and exchange in Flores' that 'women's cloth production and distribution strengthen their influence and power' in other household spheres and beyond, thus making strict dichotomies between domestic and public spheres obsolete (p. 265).

In 'Networks of reproduction among cigarette factory women in East Java', Saptari shows 'that the nuclear family-based household still emerges as the dominant form of domestic unit', but with qualifications (p. 282). Female friends and non-resident relatives often assume domestic tasks so the wife/mother can enter factories. The household thus continues as woman's domain (p. 283).

Weix's 'Hidden managers at home: élite Javanese women running New Order family firms' provides an eloquent synthesizing finale. Élite women manage labour and corporate relations of family firms from within their own households by distributing gifts and largesse to workers (p. 299). Weix concludes that élite women act as key agents to shape men and women's lives. Élite residences, based next to their workshop/factories, defy spatial and experiential dichotomies between work and home.

All of the articles offer an excellent critique of existing theories about households, providing a variety of empirical examples about women as actors and the fluid boundaries between work and home. Though the editors could have culled some of the repetitive reviews of the literature, I still highly recommend this book.

Clayton Fredericksen and Ian Walters (eds), *Altered states; Material culture transformations in the Arafura region.* Darwin: Northern Territory University Press, 2001, xiv + 160 pp. ISBN 1.876248.55.6. Price: AUD 33.

SANDRA PANNELL

Riding the wave of renewed anthropological interest in the significance of material culture in social life, this volume focuses upon the changing meanings of objects within the 'Arafura region' (p. ix). Encompassing the peripheral zones of Southeast Asia, Australia and New Guinea, this region is

defined as a network of historically intersecting interests and diverse influences which facilitate the movement of objects across an area largely circumscribed and connected by water. Within this region, as the contributors to this volume observe, artefacts often acquire an unstable and hybrid status, as they move into and out of different cultural settings or are re-evaluated in transformed political environments.

Pivoting upon a short history of a baler shell, Campbell MacKnight's foreword succinctly illustrates how objects are not only deeply implicated in the biographies of individuals but in themselves have varied social histories. Unfortunately, the themes flagged by MacKnight, particularly his suggestion for a more critical interrogation of the concept of regionality proposed in this volume, are not seriously taken up and discussed in more detail in the introduction. Indeed, readers familiar with recent, innovative essays and ethnographies in the fields of anthropology, archaeology and museology on material culture and the traffic in art and artefacts will be disappointed by the all too brief introduction to this collection, with its cursory references to Appadurai's and Clifford's work.

To some extent, the shortfalls of the volume's introduction are addressed in some of the papers which follow. For example, Forshee and Healey frame their essay on monumental images in eastern Indonesia with an informed discussion of aesthetics, the body and statecraft. Highlighting the relationship between objects, in this case a range of public statues, and authority they conclude that as immovable forms, monuments 'concretize state powers' (p. 26). Yet, at the same time, these images also capture local sentiments and chronicle broader political shifts, often subverting the original intentions of the state.

Fredericksen, in his exploration of the life history of a military shako plate, also draws upon notable works on material culture in anthropology and archaeology. In his reading of the Fort Dundas shako plate, Fredericksen emphasizes the need to go beyond the 'properties of the object itself' (p. 76). For Fredericksen, like others in this volume, the meaning of an object, and any changes in its value, are best understood by focusing upon the social and historical contexts in which the object moves or is embedded. In this respect, Fredericksen's essay provides the reader with a detailed analysis of the background and everyday life of an early European military settlement in a remote part of northern Australia. As this contribution to the volume illustrates, the very setting of Fort Dundas played a significant role in the disfigurement and, ultimately, the alteration in meaning of the shako plate.

This is a point also made by Bulbeck and Rowley in their paper on Macassan trepang activities, material culture and contact archaeology. In a detailed discussion of the differences between assemblages of artefacts in South Sulawesi and Australian Macassan sites, Bulbeck and Rowley observe

that it would be difficult to link homeland and expatriate Macassan communities solely on the basis of archaeological criteria. As they conclude, 'the very act of moving into a contact situation involves a major cultural reorientation' (p. 55).

The transformation of the meaning of material objects and cultural practices in situations of contact or in radically different social contexts is further explored in Puig and Walters' discussion of the provenance of two Asian bronze drums and in Bjornskov's analysis of Chinese ovens in the goldfields of the Northern Territory. Going beyond the altered states of objects, Dwyer's paper examines the changing status and activities of Indonesian fishers in northern Australian waters.

At times, the papers in this volume struggle to convince the reader of the ethnographic and theoretical value of the concept of an 'Arafura region'. Nonetheless, *Altered states* represents a commendable attempt to draw our attention to the common, as well as diverse, interests which inform the historical, cultural and economic fabric of societies in this part of the world. In bringing together the works of established scholars and an emerging generation of researchers from anthropology, archaeology and history, this volume also signifies a welcomed initiative in academic and cross-disciplinary collaboration.

Alijah Gordon, 2001, *The propagation of Islam in the Indonesian-Malay archipelago.* Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, xxv + 472 pp. ISBN 983.998662.7.

ANNE SOFIE ROALD

The main aim of the book *The propagation of Islam in the Indonesian-Malay archipelago* is to show that the present struggle between followers of the two monotheistic religions Christianity and Islam has its root in the colonial period. The assumption is that the colonial powers' policy of divide and rule brought about a schism between the indigenous people. 'What we have inherited is a divided world' (p. xiv), states the editor, Alijah Gordon. The book is both an academic and a social project. The aspect of dialogue of religions and ethnic groups, which at the present time has come to play a role both within and between nation-states and civilizations, is present in the book. The editor points, for instance, at similarities between the two religions:

> Where now are the leaders on both sides of the religious divide who will understand that both Muslims and Christians share in Divine Revelation and that in so far as we kill one another, we are carrying out the policy of the colonialists whom we proudly thought we had defeated (pp. xiv-xv).

The book presents Western scholarship on the subject of the coming of Islam to Southeast Asia. The editor has gathered prominent writings from throughout the twentieth century. The book is divided into two parts, of which the first deals with a work of the late Dutch professor R.A. Kern (died 1958), 'Propagation of Islam' from 1938. A translation of this work is provided together with the editor's annotations, which give the reader an up-to-date knowledge of the Southeast Asian situation based on Kern's observations.

The main problem with modern knowledge about the Islamization of the Indonesian-Malay archipelago is the scarcity of relevant data. By presenting the various pieces of twentieth-century research in a time-perspective, the editor has indicated the accumulation of information as well as the development of theories about the coming of Islam in the region.

The editor has also taken care to select some texts which deal with the colonial powers' Christian mission activities. The late professor (died 2000) C.R. Boxer, for instance, writes about the Portuguese and Spanish projects for the conquest of Southeast Asia, 1580-1600 CE. In this contribution, Boxer shows how the spirit of both the conquistadors and the militant crusaders dominated the conquest and how this spirit came to have consequences for the relations between the various religious communities in the area.

The appendices presented by the editor are informative, and she deals with such important issues as the Anglo-Siamese Agreements which lie behind the contemporary split between the Malays in Malaysia and the Patani Malays in Southern Thailand. The appendix about Moro resistance to Spanish colonization of the Philippines is a brief background survey, but will certainly help the uninitiated to understand the current militant resistance of the Moros in Philippines.

The book is a useful contribution to research on the historical Islamization of Southeast Asia. While not much new information is presented, the way in which the texts have been selected mean that the book points toward a certain idea: the intellectual, post-colonial idea of blaming present conflicts on past struggles for colonial power. This same idea is also strongly emphasized in the preface, the editor's notes, and the appendices, and I believe it is one that should be of great interest to contemporary research on Southeast Asia.

Mary Taylor Huber and Nancy C. Lutkehaus (eds), 1999, *Gendered missions; Women and men in missionary discourse and practice.* Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, x + 252 pp. ISBN 0.472.10987.1. Price: USD 47.50 (hardback).

M.J.C. SCHOUTEN

One of the photographs in this book is a group portrait taken in the 1950s in what is today Papua New Guinea. It displays a Roman Catholic bishop in full regalia, flanked on each side by four nuns. The white bishop towers above the sisters, his tall stature augmented by his mitre. Of the sisters, the only one who is not a native wears a different habit, as she belongs to an order not yet accessible to indigenous women. The picture may be interpreted as an illustration of the positions of superiority and inferiority based on gender and race in a missionary context. However, rather than an illustration, it is a caricature. Although inequality and separation of spheres prevailed, gender relations in the missions took many forms and were not always as absolute as the photograph suggests. Demonstrating this is precisely one of the merits of the book under review.

Gendered missions deals with religious missions in Africa, Asia and Oceania, but a major setting is middle-class Europe of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the heyday of missionary activity and a period in which gender roles in Western culture were more than once redefined. In their discussion of ideas and rules regarding missionary workers of both genders, and the ways in which these were translated into actual practice, the authors pay attention to the various actors involved in the missionary experience: the missionary and ecclesiastical institutions, the public which supported the missions, the female and male missionary workers, and the indigenous populations.

One contribution, by Susan Thorne, is entirely devoted to a home front (Great Britain). In the other chapters, more or less prominent places are allotted to the missionary fields: in Ghana and Madagascar (Line Nyhagen Predelli and Jon Miller), in Tanzania (T.O. Beidelman), and among the Karo Batak in Sumatra (Rita Smith Kipp), while the last two chapters are on Papua New Guinea (by Mary Taylor Huber and Nancy Lutkehaus, respectively).

The overwhelming support which Christian missions enjoyed among women in the Western world, as most of the authors suggest, was not inspired only by religious motives. It was also an expression of 'subterranean resistance' (Thorne, p. 48) against the norm of domesticity and idleness which had recently been imposed on middle-class women. Such women seized opportunities to engage in meaningful pursuits such as work for religious associations and charities, often on behalf of the missions. In many Western countries, missionary organizations were the most significant social movements for women in the nineteenth century. They provided ways for women to develop rhetorical, accounting and management skills – skills which could be of use when, as in the Norwegian case presented by Nyhagen Predelli and Miller, women went on to organize for more explicitly political causes.

Women might also work in the mission fields themselves, either as wives

of missionaries or independently. Becoming a missionary worker was one of the few types of professional activity accessible to women at that time. As with the new female professions of teaching and nursing, the allotment of activities to female missionaries was influenced by the idea of maternalism, or what was supposed to be the innately greater suitability of women than men for caring and nurturing roles.

Policies regarding the admittance of women as independent workers varied strongly between missionary associations and religious denominations. Beidelman notes that the Church Missionary Society, the evangelical branch of the Church of England, sent out its first female missionary as early as 1820. Smith Kipp, by contrast, gives an account of the more reluctant attitudes among Protestants in the Netherlands, where no women were employed as missionaries until the twentieth century. Within the prominent Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap (Dutch Missionary Society) their position, as symbolized in rituals and manifested in the degree to which they enjoyed decision-making power, was always to remain lower than that of men. In Smith Kipp's well-elaborated case studies of two female missionaries among the Karo, the obstacles which women encountered in the increasingly bureaucratic organization of the Dutch Missionary Society become apparent. Clear job descriptions and professional training were provided to men rather than women. The discussions of the Karo missions and also of the Roman Catholic missions in Papua New Guinea illustrate both the inferior status of women and the usually more exhausting character of their work. Wives of missionaries, for their part, could not count on receiving more recognition, nor on any remuneration for the huge amount of work they did, despite the general idea that a wife's support was essential to the male missionary's work.

Such issues are still topical in contemporary gender studies, where we come across phenomena like 'contested patriarchy' and the 'glass ceiling'. Champions of female missionary activity are cited who, long before Betty Friedan, regretted the waste of talent represented by well-educated women staying at home. The examples and analyses in this book indicate relationships and similarities between the missionary movement and the first wave of the feminist movement.

The contributions to *Gendered missions* confirm the notion that at least in this era of imperialism, 'race' was a more decisive criterion than 'gender' in the taxonomy both of the Europeans and of indigenous populations. As Beidelman comments regarding the discrepancy between missionary preachings on the role of women in the family (for instance: caring for their children) and what actually happened in the missionary families (for instance: children were sent at an early age to the home country for schooling): 'Local Africans [...] did not think now [by 1900] of missionary women as primarily

women but, rather, first and foremost as Europeans.' (p. 133). But it is especially in matters of power that the case studies and observations in this book emphasize the unequal relationship between Europeans on the one hand, and Africans and Asians on the other. Smith Kipp relates the struggle of missionary women (and wives of missionaries) for the right to attend the meetings of the missionaries in Karo land – a right which was eventually granted to them, but never to the indigenous male auxiliaries.

The symbolic dimension of gender is discussed from various viewpoints. It is common practice to associate missions with values considered 'soft' and thus 'female', and Thorne gives fine examples of this view from nineteenth-century literature and daily life. Smith Kipp, for her part, tentatively contrasts the 'female' character of missions with the 'male' state and bureaucracy, while Huber and Lutkehaus examine the 'maternal' character of missions.

On the other hand, the evidence from various articles that being a missionary was a rough and tough existence would justify some association with the male sphere. It is a pity that no mention is made at any point of the Victorian ideal of 'muscular Christianity', according to which the practice of modern sports helped men to be better Christians, and to develop values which then were considered appropriate or even essential for men, such as discipline, persistence, physical prowess and self-control. Male missionaries, especially the British, contributed greatly to exporting this ideal of manliness throughout the Empire, often expressed in the physical education programmes of mission schools.

This volume addresses numerous issues of topical interest. To those already mentioned, we might add questions such as: should we speak of 'imperial feminism' or of 'universal sisterhood'? Were the missions collaborators with, or rather a countervailing force to, colonial rule? Were mission workers and supporters liberal or, on the contrary, conservative elements of society? The authors' careful analyses, and the diversity of the case-studies included, make for a broad range of answers to such questions. Yet despite this breadth and variety the book is well integrated, while the editors should also be congratulated for their excellent introductory chapter.

Nakamura Mitsuo, Sharon Siddique and Omar Farouk Bajunid (eds), 2001, *Islam and civil society in Southeast Asia*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 211 pp. ISBN 981.230111.9. Price: SGD 39.90.

KAREL STEENBRINK

For about a century the image of modern Islam in Southeast Asia has been

dominated by strong organizations. In contrast to the Middle East, here it was not individuals like Al-Afghani, Abduh and Rashid Rida who received most attention, but organizations like Muhammadiah (1912) and Nahdlatul Ulama (1926). The same was the case with Islam in Malaysia and adjacent regions. In tune with the new attention for NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations) as a dynamic section of civil society (understood as a society where an important part of social life is stimulated by players other than the government and its bureaucratic apparatus), this book presents an overview of some Islamic organizations in ASEAN countries. After the introduction and summary of the topic by Nakamura, two extremely short presentations of the classical and great Indonesian organizations are given by major intellectual leaders: Mohammad Fajrul Falaakh for Nahdlatul Ulama and Amin Abdullah for Muhammadiyah (pp. 34-54, ten pages per organization). Neither author is involved in the practical work of his organization in education, health care or general development work on the local level, but both are prominent formulators of the respective official doctrines. Mohamad Abu Bakar gives a broad introduction to major organizations of Malaysia (ABIM and PAS) and their roles in the major social and political developments in that country, while Sharifa Zaleha Syed Hassan introduces an interesting case study: the establishment of local Islamic organizations in a new town in Selangor, Bandar Baru Bangi, where a Muslim scholar who is also a traditional healer started a new mosque and many activities attached to it. There are two articles about Thailand. Chaiwat Satha-anad describes an NGO fighting for the rights of a small Muslim minority in Bangkok, living in a slum area earmarked for destruction to make way for a big government project. This group was ultimately successful in preventing the destruction of its livelihood. Preeda Prapertchob concentrates on the Muslim minority in the northeast of Thailab, sadly concluding that '[m]osques have not been used effectively for the development of the community' (p. 115). Michael Mastura, long a prominent and liberal Muslim leader in the Philippines, describes the role of the Waqf institution in Mindanao. Sharon Siddique presents a portrait of the Association of Muslim Professionals of Singapore, of which she is currently the director.

There are two more theoretical contributions defending an open Islamic ideology with great tolerance for other religions. One is by Nurcholis Madjid of Indonesia, who also reproduces four pages of the Treaty of Medina between Muhammad and the Jews of Medina in about 628 CE (a very complicated text given without commentary, pp. 159-62). The other is by Malaysian Osman Bakar on 'Inter-civilizational dialogue: theory and practice in Islam' (with only a few examples from the life of the Prophet Muhammad, specifically his relations with the Christians of Najran, p. 174).

The book, an edited anthology, is the result of a conference held in Japan

on 5-7 November 1999. The main sponsor was the Sasakawa Peace Foundation. The interesting perspective which the book as a whole provides is the possibility of comparing developments in five major ASEAN countries. No radical or 'fundamentalist' organizations were invited. Nearly all contributions are written from the perspective of Muslim leaders presenting admirable plans and ideals in a seminar abroad. Many of the contributions therefore lack any critical analysis of the movements which they concern. Moreover, they are all very short.

The major question put forward at many places in the book is whether the Islamic organizations described serve the whole of society, or just the Muslim section of it. For the countries where Muslims are in a minority situation, there seems to be no real difficulty with the function of Muslim organizations as defenders of the rights and interests of Muslims. But what about Muslims in a majority situation? In the case of Malaysia, Abu Bakar (p. 73) is optimistic:

> With the expansion of the national cake, there will be greater willingness on the part of the Chinese and the Indians to participate in national affairs, even if that means getting absorbed in the Islamization process. Consequently, the non-Muslims of Malaysia will probably be willing to show a greater level of tolerance towards dakwa if that also means material prosperity.

A similarly optimistic and somewhat apologetic tone is found in the conclusion by co-editor Omar Farouk Bajunid, a Malaysian working in Japan. 'It would be an insult to the Muslims', declares Bajunid, 'not to acknowledge that they also share the kinds of concern that many NGOs try to champion, like environmental protection, empowerment, accountability, justice, and rights of indigenous minorities' (p. 199). If we read this book alongside Robert Hefner's *Civil Islam, Muslims and democratization in Indonesia* (Princeton University Press, 2000), we have to acknowledge that inside information is no guarantee of informative, enlightening and critical research.

Robert Cribb, 2000. *Historical atlas of Indonesia,* Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, x + 256 pp. ISBN 0.7007.0985.1. Price: GBP 75 (hardback).

HEATHER SUTHERLAND

There are many different categories of people who might be interested in the history of Indonesia, and most of them will find this book of considerable help. Regional specialists will consult it as a reference work, while beginning students will find that the combination of narrative and explanatory text,

maps and selected illustrations provide an accessible and up-to-date overview of the archipelago's complex history.

The *Atlas* is divided into an introduction and five chapters, each of which has its own logic. In the introduction (10 maps) Cribb gives the basic information: location, scale, islands, names and features. The first chapter, 'Landscape and Environment' (35 maps), begins at the beginning, with a lucid account of Indonesia's geology, climate and environment. While tectonic plates might be of marginal interest to many, the fundamental significance of wind patterns, soils and rainfall is well established. Current preoccupations with forest management and pollution are also acknowledged. Chapter Two, 'Peoples' (77 maps) does an excellent job of summarizing pre-historic migration and language families before turning to social indicators such as knowledge of Indonesian, literacy and the numbers and distribution of religious communities. The section on migration considers the sparse information we have on the earlier periods, including slavery, Bugis and Bajau, before getting down to serious statistics on twentieth-century mobility. Interesting material is provided on the Chinese. Maps showing levels of urbanization have a similar structure: a welcome attempt to show sixteenth- and seventeenth-century patterns, and then detailed presentations of material on the period between 1920 and 1990. The same span is covered in the eight maps on demography, of which five depict population density.

Chapters Three and Four are primarily political: 'States and Polities until 1800' (59 maps) and 'The Netherlands Indies' (78 maps). The former, given the nature of the sources (mainly textual), is almost entirely concerned with the classic map function of establishing (rough) location: where were the centres and the (approximate) limits of early polities, where were the forts or factories of the Portuguese, Dutch and British. Despite its relatively conventional content, this chapter will save many scholars many a headache, as they can find ready answers to specific questions, and also see changing patterns over time. As is to be expected, the expansion of Dutch control and subsequent complex changes in administrative territories form the subject of more than half the maps in Chapter Four. Non-historians might find, for example, the notion of seven maps showing changes in the bureaucratic division of eastern Indonesia (1817-1942) too much of a good thing. However, any user of the rich colonial archives will immediately appreciate the benefits of knowing exactly what was included in which bureaucratic category at any given time.

The rest of the maps on the Dutch period are selected to provide insight into social change: Chinese administration, prisons, opium, railways, shipping, plague, education, newspapers, councils and so on. Given the complexity of the issues involved, and the difficulty of finding indicators that can be presented in mappable form, it is inevitable that this section be somewhat uneven. While the maps on education, agricultural extension officers' post-

ings and convictions for political crimes all convey their information directly, others are less successful. Data on quantities of opium sold, for example (Map 4.55), would be more meaningful if they were combined with population density, while the map showing the KPM shipping line's 'regular services' (4.63) would be more revealing if we knew which were weekly and which were monthly. In a couple of cases, Cribb's valiant efforts to communicate complex information through a combination of pithy texts and a map will probably prove insufficient for some readers. Materials on the constitutional division of the archipelago in 1909 (4.17) or the 'customary law circles' (4.45) require careful study, and even then remain somewhat baffling. This is hardly surprising, given the ambiguity and opportunism of the policies reflected, but perhaps here the text could have been somewhat clearer. A very rare instance of a misleading implication occurs on page 137, where Cribb draws on Jan Breman's work to show (4.51 and 4.52) village reorganization 'on Java' during the Cultivation System. There is no indication here either of the limited geographic extent of the System, nor of the extent of such intervention into village life.

The final chapter, 'War, Revolution and Political Transformation' (68 maps) is similar in organization to that on the Dutch Indies. The first section here (roughly 44 maps) is mainly concerned with politics, then there is a brief series of 10 maps on socio-economic indicators, and then another thirteen on political associations and the 1999 elections. The early maps give considerable (perhaps excessive) detail on the military campaigns of the Second World War and revolution, and include useful information on social upheavals. The material on the 1950s is excellent, with Cribb making good use of the 1955 elections, and he is to be congratulated on getting the 1999 results into the book in such a clear form at such short notice.

Striking the right balance in an atlas of this sort is never easy, and each reader will have individual preferences and priorities. In his short but thoughtful introduction Cribb notes the problems and potential of map-making. He describes a map as a 'snapshot in time', and comments: 'A good map stops the reader dead in his or her tracks, subverting the narrative drive which lies at the heart of most history writing' (p. 4). This is why atlases can make such compulsive reading. By displaying a full range of information, they remove the hierarchy of relevance imposed by later interpretations, and reveal elements that have been ignored or underestimated. Any student looking for a good research topic would be well advised to spend some time reading atlases. From this, it also follows that some readers, with their own specific range of knowledge, will see a given map as just a useful summary of familiar information, while for others it will be a revelation. Similarly, every user of an atlas will find some material superfluous, and regret the failure to display other data.

It is measure of the high quality of this book that there appeared to be little information that could be readily discarded. However, it did seem to me that there were two related aspects that had received remarkably little attention, namely agriculture and economics. Understandably enough, the first specifically 'economic' map was one of trade routes and export products around 1500 (Map 3.18). After that information was restricted to exports in 1928 and 1934 (4.68 and 4.69), oil and gas in 1974 and 1993 (5.45 and 5.46), and then five interesting maps showing relative indicators of poverty and production (5.47-5.52). While much indirect insight is provided in maps on migration, urbanization, literacy and so on, I still feel that more could have been presented on the material base of Indonesian societies. After all, much statistical material is available in, among other publications, the *Changing Economy of Indonesia* series, the *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* and the work of economic historians. The *Atlas van Tropisch Nederland* (1938), for example, has maps on plantation areas, types of human landscape, irrigation, plantation and forest products (Maps 11a, 12a, 17, 23b and 23c) which remain valuable.

Apart from this substantive criticism, there are a few minor quibbles, including the occasional typo, and a few slightly misleading errors. Examples are found in Map 3.28 (1862 should be 1682), on Map 2.39 (surely the fawn areas identified as slave destinations should be sources of slaves?) and in the text on page 119 (first sentence: 'south and west' should be 'south and east'?). The only reason for mentioning these is that they are minor blemishes on an otherwise exemplary production. Cribb's *Atlas* fulfills both of its primary purposes admirably: it is an attractive, clear and informative work, which will be an indispensable reference work to anyone teaching, studying or researching Indonesian history.

Lee Kam Hing and Tan Chee-Beng (eds), 2000, *The Chinese in Malaysia*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, xxix + 418 pp. ISBN 983.560056.2. Price: GBP 19.99.

SIKKO VISSCHER

In his foreword, Professor Wang Gungwu describes this study on the Chinese in Malaysia, published in the South-East Asian Social Science Monographs series of Oxford University Press, as a worthy successor to Victor Purcell's *The Chinese in Malaya* published in 1948 by the same publisher. It is the only work of its breadth and depth to have appeared on this subject in English for fifty years, while in Chinese only one collection of essays, *The history of Chinese in Malaysia*, was published in 1984. In 1998 this latter collection

was updated and significantly enlarged into the three volume *A new history of Malaysian Chinese*, again entirely in Chinese.

Apart from the fact that it is long overdue within Malaysian studies, the wider relevance of the book under review is that it enriches the literature on the ethnic Chinese and places them, as a group of migrant origin, clearly within the context of their host societies. Thereby it emphasizes the interaction between societal groups rather than distinguishing them as separate in nature due simply to ethnic and cultural difference.

The study aims to provide an analysis of the 'trend and nature of the localization and participation of the Chinese in Malaysian life'. The fourteen chapters by the contributors to the volume, all Malaysian Chinese and most of them residing and working in Malaysia, are roughly organized into five categories. In the opening 'general' category, Yen Ching-hwang introduces the 'historical background', Tan Chee-Beng gives a thorough breakdown of 'socio-cultural diversities and identities', and Chan Kok Eng and Tey Nai Peng address 'demographic processes and changes' among the Chinese of Malaysia. In the second block of two chapters on economic behavior, Phang Hooi Eng analyzes 'the economic role of the Chinese in Malaysia', and Heng Pek Koon and Sieh Lee Mei Ling discuss 'the Chinese business community in Peninsular Malaysia, 1957-1999'.

The third group of chapters engages social and political roles. Leong Yee Fong introduces 'the emergence and demise of the Chinese labour movement in colonial Malaya, 1920-1960', Lee Kam Hing and Heng Pek Koon discuss 'the Chinese in the Malaysian political system', Tan Liok Ee analyzes 'Chinese schools', and Loh Kok Wah looks at 'Chinese new villages'. The fourth group of chapters looks at culture. Tan Chee-Beng introduces 'the religions of the Chinese', Tan Sooi Beng 'the performing arts and cultural activities', and Tang Eng Teik 'the Malaysian literature in Chinese'. The book ends with two geographically specific chapters, one on 'the Chinese in Sarawak' by Daniel Chew and one on 'the Chinese in Sabah' by Wong Tze-ken.

The methods and source materials used, of course, vary with the topic of the chapter and the disciplinary background of the author. Historical, social and economic data is provided in an accessible manner throughout, enabling and supporting the overview of the Chinese community in all its facets through time. The scope of the chapters and the choice of topics are wide. Generally speaking the book covers most major angles, but a contribution on social activities would have been an interesting addition to the present set-up. Over time, organizational behaviour must have shifted significantly from dialect, family and clan organizations to other social clubs, perhaps Rotary or Lions, and activities connected to life-style such as sports, leisure and consumption. Also, an integrated bibliography would have increased the practical merit of the publication, especially in combination with a more exten-

sive index including conceptual entries such as 'ethnicity', 'identity' and 'class'.

This study will be a welcome addition to the literature, both as a teaching tool and a work of great utility for undergraduate students, and as a reference work for more senior researchers seeking a thorough and complete overview on the basis of which to begin their own investigations on the Chinese in Malaysia.

Jane Drakard, 1999, *A kingdom of words; Language and power in Sumatra.* Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, xxi + 322 pp. ISBN 983.560035.X. Price: GBP 25 (hardback).

EDWIN WIERINGA

At the outset of her book, Drakard declares that she does not intend to present a model of Southeast Asian statecraft. Instead, 'the emphasis here is on process and the study offers a critique of existing, structural models of the Minangkabau polity which neglect historical change' (p. 2). Yet in the Malay letters which form the subject of her study, continuity is much more prominent than change. Remarkably, as Drakard herself time and again notes, in the written messages which were produced between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries at the behest of Minangkabau kings, there were striking structural continuities that endured over a long timespan. To Westerners, that is to say the contemporary addressees as well as later scholars, the style and language of Minangkabau royal discourse as displayed in these letters seemed to be ridiculous, their 'pompous' verbosity completely out of proportion to the actual power of the rulers who were believed to be mere titular heads. In a very perceptive analysis, however, Drakard places the royal epistles in the proper context of 'the Minangkabau world' (*Alam Minangkabau*).

Drakard is a historian who likes to tell a good story, but to my mind her characterization of the Dutch as being 'strandbound', mentally as well as physically, is too easy a way of explaining the curious fact that the Minangkabau highlands remained *terra incognita* for the Dutch until the late nineteenth century. Drakard asks rhetorically:

> Might not the very mountains have been seen as alien to a people who had come from the flatness of the Dutch republic and could this unfamiliar landscape have added a mental barrier to what were clearly important physical ones? (p. 57).

The very fact of going abroad, however, proved that the Dutch were not that

'strandbound' at all. Furthermore, their alleged inhibition did not prevent them from carving out an impressive colonial empire for themselves. As Drakard readily admits, 'the Dutch [certainly] encountered mountains elsewhere in Indonesia' (p. 57), and hence the conclusion must be that apparently this circumstance alone did not cause 'insurmountable' difficulties to them, either mentally or physically. Drakard, however, goes on to say that in those cases the Dutch did not often find themselves 'in situations where they were obliged to deal with a populous and reputedly warlike population who could only be approached by entering the mountains, and who controlled the trade' (p. 57). Here, I think, Drakard puts her finger on the problem: the mountains may have looked daunting enough to the Dutch, but the reason why they were put off seems to have been much more real than imaginary: the threat of a possibly hostile and aggressive people in the highlands.

A major problem for the historian, of which Drakard is well aware, is that there are hardly any surviving examples of Minangkabau letters for the older period, but only contemporary Dutch translations. To what extent do these translations faithfully reflect the original texts? Did Company servants master the Malay language well enough to fully comprehend their contents? Perhaps this was not a question at issue at the time: it should be kept in mind that translations served a practical rather than a scientific goal. As Drakard observes on more than one occasion (pp. 92, 132, 169), the Dutch renditions as a rule skipped the grandiose and grandiloquent introductions with their interminable honourable titles and formulaic compliments. By contrast, for their senders these imposing preambles constituted precisely one of their most important parts, enunciating a key aspect of royal authority. In the absence of originals, however, it will always remain a mystery what else was possibly left out by the Dutch. But as the style and make-up of Minangkabau royal letters remained relatively unchanged over a rather long period of time, Drakard is able to present a cogent story using Dutch translations alongside relatively younger Malay-language specimens. Concerning a Dutch translation of a Malay letter from Sultan Inderma Syah to Padang in 1724, however, Drakard may perhaps overstate her case. That ruler described himself in this particular letter as a '*gedachtenisse* for all men' (p. 200). According to Drakard, the Dutch term *gedachtenisse*, which she interprets as 'remembrance', was probably a rendering of Malay *pusaka*, 'heirloom', implying that he regarded himself as a *tanda kebesaran*, a sign and an emanation of royal power (p. 200). Apparently there were also other persons who were considered as such (pp. 199-200), but thumbing the dictionaries one will find that *gedachtenis* is only translated as *peringatan* or 'reminder'.

A small bibliographical detail: the Leiden University Library registration number Cod. Or. 2241 is used for a rather large collection of letters (Wieringa 1998:385-409). The item which Drakard describes under this number (p. 157),

is nowadays registered as Cod. Or. 2241 IIc (7) (Wieringa 1998:399).

Eloquently written and clearly organized, this book is a fine textual study of how Minangkabau rulers between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries attempted to present their authority to the outside world. *A kingdom of words* represents a most interesting case study of the role of kingship in one corner of the Malay-speaking world, making a distinctive and important contribution to the ongoing wider discussion about the complex nature of premodern political systems in Southeast Asia.

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