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Book reviews

Michele Stephen, *Desire, divine and demonic; Balinese mysticism in the paintings of I Ketut Budiana and I Gusti Nyoman Mirdiana*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005, ix + 179 pp. ISBN 0824828593. Price: USD 52.00 (hardback).

ANDREA ACRI

Complemented by several illustrations, this monograph presents itself as a study of Balinese mysticism based upon the paintings of I Ketut Budiana and I Gusti Nyoman Mirdiana, two accomplished contemporary Balinese artists. However, the title only partly reflects the content of the book, and may fail to attract the attention it deserves from a wider scholarly audience. Stephen's work indeed offers an innovative, ground-breaking interpretation of the complex phenomenon of Balinese religion. Taking the artwork as her point of departure, the author draws on contemporary Balinese practices as well as ancient texts, thus initiating a wide-ranging analysis bringing together disciplines such as anthropology, religious studies and philology. Her analysis is not limited to the modern period, but attempts to redefine a mystical and philosophical tradition going back several centuries that 'is not owed to, and predates, twentieth-century reformist efforts to realign Balinese religion with Indian Hinduism or introduce Hindu devotional religion' (p. 27). This tradition, as she points out, is much more complex than most scholars have previously assumed.

In the first chapter the author details the aims of her work, critically surveying and synthesizing in the form of statements the received ideas that have dominated scholarship on Balinese religion since the middle of the twentieth century. In doing so she describes as misleading such ideas as the emphasis on ritual praxis, the denial of a developed speculative and philosophical textual tradition, and the tendency to consider Balinese Hinduism as an autonomous entity capable of being correctly understood only on its own terms. Criticizing the widespread assumption that any attempt at comparing Balinese Hinduism with Indic Hinduism constitutes a foreign superimposition, the author aims to demonstrate the strong Indic roots of Balinese religion by comparing some of its fundamental tenets with those of Hindu Śaiva Tantrism.

Having posited that 'Balinese art is the mirror of religious thought' (p. 25) and after outlining her working methodology, Stephen introduces the artists Budiana and Mirdiana – both of them her personal acquaintances and collaborators during fieldwork on Bali – and analyses twelve paintings by each

one (in Chapters 2 and 3, respectively). These are mostly executed in a 'traditional' style and inspired by mythological and religious themes, sometimes the result of meditative experiences of the artists. In commenting on each painting, the author takes the perspective of an anthropologist more than that of an art historian, accepting the artists' own interpretations and the answers they provided to her questions. Notwithstanding Budiana's reassuring affirmation that 'his work reflects shared Balinese thinking and teachings' (p. 74), one may wonder whether this is always the case. In fact it is often difficult to ascertain the antiquity of doctrines and one may run the risk of mixing up heterogeneous elements, especially when the historical perspective is not the primary concern of a work, as in the present case. As Stephen herself admits, both Budiana's and Mirdiana's opinions 'reflect to some degree the influence of the modern, reformed version of Hinduism in Bali that places emphasis on [...] ethical concepts that had much less salience in the past' (p. 75). While this influence could have taken place without necessarily supplanting older concepts, a careful evaluation of the issue would require another book. On the other hand, a positive point is that Stephen, focusing on actual works of art reproduced in plates, offers readers the useful opportunity to check for themselves the descriptions and interpretations she advances.

In the second stage of her argument, Stephen proceeds to interpret and contextualize the elements found in the artworks by taking into account the religious doctrines widespread in modern Bali among various classes of people. With the aim of showing the fundamental continuity of Balinese thought over the last centuries, the author draws from relevant passages of religious texts belonging to the *tutur* category, written in a mixture of Sanskrit and Old Javanese. Since very few of these texts have been published, the author's direct consultation of typewritten copies stored in the collection of Gedung Kirtya (Singaraja) and Pusat Dokumentasi Budaya Bali (Denpasar) is praiseworthy, and rare in studies done from an anthropological viewpoint. Attacking the views that define Balinese Hinduism merely as a conglomerate of layers that have grown up around an original kernel of animistic beliefs, she shows that the philosophical concepts still widespread in contemporary Balinese beliefs can also be found in the *tutur* literature. These doctrines are in turn not substantially different from those common in Tantric sources from South Asia. Examples of similarities with South Asian Tantrism include the prominence of the demonic forms of the goddess (Śiva's spouse, called Umā or Durgā) in the artists' paintings as well as in traditional Balinese iconography.

The analysis of such similarities forms the principal subject of Chapter 4, which strikes me as the most interesting – albeit also the most problematic – part of Stephen's work. Here the author quotes the eighteen key features of Tantrism identified by Goudriaan (1979) and compares them to features of Balinese religion. With a considerable degree of insight, Stephen succeeds in

casting new light on the religion of Bali. But the result is not definitive; as she points out, there is still room for further reassessment of the Tantric element in Balinese religion by means of a systematic comparison with Indic elements.

The same comparative theme is continued in Chapter 5, which contains a description of various types of Balinese rituals (Surya-Sewana, Ekadasarudra, Galungan and Kuningan) and of widespread iconographic items such as the mantra *rwa bhineda* and the cosmic diagram *nawasana*. For purposes of comparison the author refers to the model of the 'oscillating universe' that forms the foundation of the Śaiva Siddhānta ritual described by Richard Davis (2000). She then advances, on convincing grounds, a new interpretation of such Balinese rituals in the light of this model, seeing the universe as an incessant flow of opposing cosmic energies personified in pairs of opposites (for instance, Śiva and Śakti, divine and demonic). In contrast with the accepted view of the modern Balinese Parisada Hindu Dharma, which emphasizes ethical principles, she shows that the underlying theme of these rites is the metaphysical process of cosmic reabsorption and re-creation on new premises, as a way to purify creation and restore it to its original status.

In the sixth and last chapter, Stephen summarizes briefly the main lines of her work, noting the need for further philological research in comparative directions along the lines of that pursued by Max Nihom.

The author's interdisciplinary line of enquiry produces good results and her monograph offers an interesting contribution to the understanding of Balinese religion, as it is written from a standpoint that scholars of Indonesian (let alone Indological) matters have so far neglected. However, the author specifies that her primary aim is not to establish in detail any historical antecedents, nor to show how Indic ideas developed in Bali, but only to point out the obvious parallels between these ideas and those reflected in the artworks discussed in the book (p. 84). This modesty of purpose is apparent throughout Chapter 5, where Stephen's heavy reliance upon a secondary source, Goudriaan's *Hindu Tantrism* (1979), might be questioned. Several parts of Goudriaan's pioneering study must be regarded by now as outdated, for the body of available primary scriptures has expanded considerably in the last couple of decades. Moreover, I doubt that Goudriaan's account should be viewed as a comprehensive and standard picture even of the main tenets of Hindu Tantrism (see Padoux's important review of 1981), or that it should be used to carry out the delicate operation of reassessing the 'true' – that is, Tantric – nature of Balinese Hinduism. As a matter of fact, the loose (and problematic) term 'Hindu Tantrism' covers a vast array of both geographically and chronologically distinct traditions (see Padoux 1998). Although Stephen, to her credit, is aware of this fact (pp. 82, 96), she still applies the generalization without advancing any alternative solution to the problem. Therefore, although the overall argumentation is accurate and the

author's main conclusions are quite convincing, I believe that a more analytical and textual-historical approach needs to be pursued in order to check and expand the findings presented in Chapter 5.

A similar note of criticism also applies to the author's handling of the Indological secondary sources. It is unsatisfactory, for instance, that in a work like this no mention is made of the important studies on the history of Śaiva Tantras by Alexis Sanderson (1988, 2001). Instead, in note 32 (p. 152), we find a reference, quite out of place, to the book by Dyczkowski (1987) on the later Kashmirian Śaiva school of the Spanda, referred to as an example of the fact that 'a coming of age of Tantric studies among Indologists is beginning to offer a fresh basis for understanding Tantrism' (p. 82); true, but since this particular school does not appear anywhere else in the book and was in all probability irrelevant to the transmission of Śaivism to Bali, what is the purpose of mentioning it? Similarly, a more relevant historical study by Dyczkowski (1988) appearing in the bibliography is referred to only once (p. 96, note 151), whereas it could have been used in a more meaningful way to provide the reader with an introduction to the division and development of the Indic Śaiva traditions. Such inadequate treatment of the historical and textual development of the Śaiva religion in South Asia also appears with regard to the use of the outdated and incorrect division of the Śaiva scriptures into the two categories of *āgama* and *nigama* (p. 84, borrowed from Goudriaan 1979:13). Likewise, on page 103, the author perpetuates the false assumption that Śaiva Siddhānta developed in South India. In fact this current was originally pan-Indian, and must be distinguished from the later, mostly Tamil, form of Śaiva Siddhānta. Unfortunately, Stephen makes no mention of the ongoing research on the body of Sanskrit Siddhāntatantras now made available in the publications of the EFEO in Pondicherry.

A last point of criticism is that, as the author honestly acknowledges in several instances throughout the work, her arguments are only preliminary and 'more work is needed to fully flesh out and confirm – or refute – [them]' (p. 134). Thus, having read the monograph, one has the impression that it raises more questions than it could manage to resolve. This is a pity, for it means that the author's focus on comparison with South Asia, and her critique of the indigenist viewpoint widespread in studies on Balinese religion, lose part of their force.

Such shortcomings can be easily forgiven in view of the author's impressive knowledge of Balinese matters, her academic background, and the focus of the book, which seems to be addressed primarily to an audience concerned with non-philological interests. *Desire, divine and demonic* constitutes an innovative, well-written and accessible work, marking out new paths for the scholarly investigation of Balinese religion and constituting a rare example of integration of scholarly disciplines.

Some final words must be devoted to questionable editorial decisions. The use of rather small fonts, for example, reduces readability. Furthermore, a larger page format would have allowed better reproduction of the paintings, which given their beauty and richness of detail they certainly deserved (disappointingly, information on the location of the original artworks is not provided). Two small typos can be pointed out: Sakta [year] twice (p. 108) needs to be corrected to Saka (that is, *śaka*); and *mahiṣāsūramardinī* to *mahiṣāsūramardinī* (p. 151).

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John Lynch (ed.), *Issues in Austronesian historical phonology*. Canberra: Department of Pacific Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 2003, vii + 227pp. [Pacific Linguistics 550.] ISBN 0858835037. Price: AUD 54.00 (paperback).

ALEXANDER ADELAAR

This is a collection of ten papers on Austronesian historical phonology presented at the Ninth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics and the Fifth International Conference on Oceanic Linguistics, both held at the Australian National University in Canberra in January 2002. The collection raises very interesting issues and gives a good insight into the current state of Austronesian historical phonology. The chapters by Mead and Van den Berg are a major contribution to the classification of Sulawesi languages. The chapters by Wolff give a critical perspective on the reconstruction of Proto Austronesian. Tadmor investigates the scope and possible origins of final *a*-mutation in the languages of Malaysia and western Indonesia. McGinn proposes subgrouping Rejang (Sumatra) with the Bidayuhic languages of West Borneo. The chapters by Blust (on vowelless roots in a Melanesian language), Lynch (about the development of bilabials into apicals), and Schmidt (about metathesis in Rotuman) are in-depth treatments of typologically intriguing phonological developments.

The book begins and ends with chapters by John Wolff. His reconstruction of the Proto Austronesian phoneme system is meant to be as natural as possible, with due attention to structural balance, the phonetic value of proto-phonemes, and features such as stress patterns, irregular sound correspondences, and phonotactics. It is a reaction against past approaches to phonological reconstruction claiming that the nature of proto-sounds cannot be known and is irrelevant for historical reconstruction. These approaches have led to the reconstruction of many false proto-phonemes (especially in the works of Dyen), and it is to Wolff's credit that he was the first Austronesianist to argue for their elimination. However, in his endeavour to reconstruct a 'nicely balanced' Proto Austronesian phoneme system, he goes a bit too far in the opposite direction. Phonological systems (including those of Austronesian daughter languages) as a rule are not completely in balance, being governed by conflicting regulating principles. If they were in balance, it would be hard to explain why they are constantly changing. In other words, some lack of balance is at least as natural as the nicely balanced phonological system Wolff reconstructs, if not more so. For instance, Wolff combines *g (not occurring in final position) with what is usually reconstructed as Proto Austronesian *j (not occurring in initial position) in order to fill a paradigmatic gap. Not only is

this contrived from a phonetic and systemic point of view, but it also ignores the fact that many Austronesian daughter languages do not have a *g* (and if they do, it contrasts with **j*), and that universally, *g* has a greater tendency to disappear than other voiced stops (Maddieson 2005). Equally problematic is the way Wolff combines Proto Austronesian **N* and **ñ* into one proto-phoneme **ñ*. In his assessment of Javanese *dh* (a retroflex) Wolff is too extreme. He is right in pointing out that lexical doublets exhibiting *dh* (alongside ones that have *r*) cannot always be explained as borrowings. However, his offhand conclusion that *dh* is therefore not a loan phoneme is like throwing out the baby with the bathwater. It does not account for the general lack of retroflexes in other Austronesian languages, the overwhelming influence of Sanskrit and other Indian languages on Javanese, the frequent occurrence of doublets with *r* versus *dh* whereby the doublet with *dh* as a rule is borrowed, and the fact that an original *d* as a rule is rendered as *dh* in Malay and Dutch loanwords in Javanese. All these factors point to *dh* as a loan phoneme borrowed from Indian languages. (This does not exclude the possibility that in the long run it may in some cases have become indigenized.) Some corrections are in order in Chart IIA. Proto Austronesian **b* became Ngaju Dayak *b-* initially and *-w-* between vowels (not *b* throughout); **d* became Ngaju Dayak initial *d-* and intervocalic *-r-* (not just *r* throughout); Wolff's **g* became Malay *-d-* and *-t* (not Malay *ɣ*). In the last chapter, Wolff uses his Proto Austronesian phoneme reconstruction to trace the sounds of the Fijian dialect spoken on Waya Island.

In many languages in western Indonesia and Malaysia, final *-a* was raised and then rounded or fronted. In his investigation of this 'final /a/ mutation', Uri Tadmor argues that the rounding and fronting of final **a* are second stages in a process that started with the raising of **a*. The process must have begun in the Javanese court language of Majapahit, from where it percolated into the general Javanese dialect of Majapahit and spread to other languages in Sumatra, the Malay peninsula, Borneo (including early Malagasy), Bali, and Lombok. The same process is also described in a master's thesis written by Adrian Clynes in 1989, but Tadmor, who reached his conclusions independently of this unpublished source, is more comprehensive in his overview of the languages affected. He is able to trace the mutation even further back, making a case for an ultimately Indian origin. Tadmor's study certainly helps us to see the phonological causes and geographical spread of final *a*-mutation. However, while some influence from India and fourteenth-century Majapahit cannot be ruled out and may explain the spread of this phenomenon in individual cases, its role should not be overstated. From a phonetic point of view, vowel mutation in a prosodically weak context such as the end of a word is not unusual and is seen in many languages, including English, Portuguese, and Russian. Tadmor may well be right in claiming that the final *a*-mutation in Balinese and in the court language of the Malay

sultanate of Palembang can be traced to Javanese, considering the overwhelming Javanese influence on these languages in the past. But what about final *a*-mutation in, for example, Minangkabau and the Malay Peninsula, regions that were in all probability much less affected by Javanese influence (although they also became vassal states of Majapahit at some stage)? Then again, Malay varieties such as Banjar Malay (the language of Banjarmasin City in South Borneo) and Brunei Malay do not show *a*-mutation, in spite of the very marked influence Javanese had on their lexicons. Tadmor also ascribes the heightening of *-a that happened in Ngaju Dayak (> -e), Maanyan Dayak (> -e), and even Malagasy (-i) to Javanese influence. But how can this be, given that Banjar Malay with its heavy Javanese influence does not show *a*-mutation? Banjarmasin is situated close to the South Borneo coast and is a contact point between the interior of Borneo and the world outside the island. As the Ngaju and Maanyan Dayak live upriver from it, they obtain their more cosmopolitan influences via Banjarmasin and its language, Banjar Malay. It is therefore hard to see how final *a*-mutation could have affected languages in Borneo's interior while leaving Banjar Malay untouched.

Tracing final *a*-mutation to influence from Majapahit also creates chronological problems. The Malagasy migrations from South Borneo to East Africa are estimated to have happened in the seventh century AD at the latest. As Majapahit was founded six centuries later, its language cannot have been the source of final *a*-mutation in Malagasy. Furthermore, Indian influence in insular Southeast Asia is of course much older than the kingdom of Majapahit, and it seems to have affected Malay and the Malay-speaking world before it came to Java. Assuming that final *a*-mutation was one of its manifestations and had a marked effect on the court language of Majapahit, it may also have had that effect independently on certain forms of Malay.

Finally, Tadmor argues that 'the fact that standard Indonesian does not exhibit final *a*-mutation is related to the fact that it is not the home language of any speech community or the first language of any speaker. Rather, it is used exclusively as a second language or dialect.' Apart from the somewhat ad hoc nature of this explanation, it leaves unanswered why final *a*-mutation did affect standard Malaysian Malay, which, like standard Indonesian, is traditionally not a home language of its speakers.

Although Richard McGinn characterizes his chapter as 'a report on field-work in progress', it is basically an attempt to classify Rejang in South Sumatra with the Bukar Sadong dialects in Sarawak. The latter are a branch of the Bidayuhic (Land Dayak) subgroup of Malayo-Polynesian languages and are spoken in Sarawak (Malaysia) and West Kalimantan (Indonesia). McGinn admits that he does not have many exclusively shared phonological innovations to support his point. His main evidence is that in both Rejang and Bukar-Sadong, Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) *a in final syllables is raised to

schwa except if it is followed by a velar, in which case it remains *a*. Striking as this may seem, it is not enough evidence in itself for a subgrouping argument. As to the other evidence that he adduces, it relies on linguistic developments that are widely represented, not only in West Borneo, but to some extent also in the languages of East and South Sumatra (other than Rejang itself), including final syllable stress, barred nasals, pre-stopped nasals, the loss of *qa- in trisyllables, the neutralization of antepenultimate vowels to schwa (or another single vowel), and the change from *-q to ʔ. Most of these developments are more adequately analysed in terms of areal features that spread in certain regions along the South China Sea after the break-up of Rejangic, Bidayuhic and Malayic from whatever higher-order subgroups they respectively belong to. Other innovations adduced by McGinn are in fact retentions and therefore cannot be used as evidence, namely the retention of *-uy and the 'change' from Proto Austronesian *z¹ to *j. The latter reflects an orthographic anomaly rather than a real phonetic change. Moreover, it may not apply to word-initial *z, which became *d* in two out of three attested cases; compare *zarum 'needle' > *dolom*; *zalan 'path, road' > *dalən*; *quzan 'rain' > *ujən* (Blust 1984:427).

Bidayuhic languages typically show *r* for Proto Austronesian *l, a change which Rejang does not share. However, a few Bidayuhic languages have *l*, and in order to bring the Bidayuhic phonological history more in line with Rejang, McGinn tries to demonstrate that these languages actually have retained *l, implying that the *l to *r* change is not diagnostic for the Bidayuhic subgroup as such. In doing so he uses a wordlist of the Groggo dialect published in Ray (1913). However, this list raises more problems than it solves. One problem is its reliability. In a historical study of Bidayuhic languages, Calvin Rensch (2006) brings together a large quantity of lexical and phonological data. As it turns out, his Groggo data as a rule exhibit *r*, whereas on the contrary, his Bukar-Sadong data in some cases exhibit *l*. Rensch is wary of the historical status of *l* in Bidayuhic, noting (p. 334, note 96) that *l* and *r* do not contrast consistently in many Bidayuhic-speaking areas in Sarawak and suggesting (p. 267) that *l* is a Malay loan phoneme. Another problem is McGinn's analysis of Bidayuhic *l*. He sees it as a retention from Proto Austronesian *l, but it could just as well be a recent innovation. What is typical of Bidayuhic languages is not so much that they *changed* *l to *r* as that they *merged* *l and *R/*r to *r*. So, if the *l* in some Bidayuhic languages is indeed a retention, then these languages would be expected to have maintained *r* as a separate phoneme; however, if both *l and *R/*r are reflected as *l*, it is much more likely that all liquids first merged to Proto Bidayuhic *r, and that later on this *r changed to *l* in only a subsection of Bidayuhic languages. A change

¹ In earlier publications this was written as *Z in order to distinguish it from *z. However, several authors have demonstrated that *z is a false proto-phoneme reconstructed on the basis of loan vocabulary.

from Proto Bidayuhic *r back to *l* is certainly what happened in Sungkung, a Bidayuhic language spoken in West Kalimantan along the border with Sarawak (Adelaar, personal field data). McGinn uses Proto Austronesian etyma reflecting *l as his only evidence to show that *l* in Ray's allegedly Groggo data is a retention: because he omits contrastive etyma with *r/*R, he is in fact not able to make his point. And it will be a difficult point to make, considering the nature of the data provided in Rensch (2006).

In one of his two chapters, David Mead deals with some of the languages of East Sulawesi. He subgroups Banggai with Saluan and its next-of-kin languages Bobongko, Andio, and Balantak. In fact, he argues that within the Saluan-Banggai subgroup, Banggai forms a first-order subgroup with Balantak. In spite of the relatively low cognate percentages that Banggai shares with other members of the Saluan-Banggai subgroup and its preposed genitive construction, the subgroup is defined by a configuration of twelve shared phonological innovations. While Mead's Saluan-Banggai subgroup is convincing, the Banggai-Balantak subdivision is weakly attested. Mead sees sufficient evidence for it in the lowering from *-uʔ to -oʔ and the 'change' from *R to *r, although this change is rather minimal, if it is one at all. On the other hand, for some reason he does not attach much importance to the fact that both Banggai and Andio reflect *d* for Proto Austronesian *z, a correspondence which he attributes to two parallel but independent developments.

The Tukang Besi languages are usually classified together with the Muna-Buton languages: the 2000 edition of *Ethnologue* subgroups Buton (as well as Lasalimu and Kumbewaha) together with Kalao, Muna, and Tukang Besi-Bonerate. In a paper first presented in 1993, Mark Donohue (2005) questions the traditional Muna-Buton subgroup. In his view, Wolio, Kamaru, Laiyolo, Wotu, and possibly Kalao form a separate Wolio-Wotu group. So do Tukang Besi and Bonerate, but he does not give clear arguments for excluding them. René van den Berg agrees with the exclusion of Wolio, conditional upon further investigation. However, he rejects the exclusion of Tukang Besi, disproving Donohue's phonological evidence.

Van den Berg's argumentation is methodological and well documented, adducing nine common phonological innovations as well as ample grammatical and lexical evidence to support his viewpoint. However, in his second chapter on the Celebic subgroup, Mead is able to re-interpret some of Van den Berg's conclusions by putting them in the wider context of Central Sulawesi languages. He shows that the Bungku-Tolaki languages also subgroup with Muna-Buton and Tukang Besi, either as a first-order branch alongside another branch combining Muna-Buton and Tukang Besi, or as a third branch coordinate with Muna-Buton and Tukang Besi. He calls this subgroup 'South Eastern Celebic'. Mead's primary goal is to establish a Celebic macro-subgroup, which includes all Sulawesi language groups except

Sangiric, Minahasan and Gorontaloic in the north, and South Sulawesi in the southwest. These groups are Saluan-Banggai, Bungku-Tolaki, Muna-Buton, Tomini-Tolitoli, Kaili-Pamona, and Wotu Wolio. According to Mead, Bungku-Tolaki, Muna-Buton and Tukang Besi together form a 'South Eastern Celebic' subgroup, which, together with the Saluan-Banggai languages, combine into a larger 'Eastern Celebic' branch. This branch, in turn, forms the Celebic subgroup of Malayo-Polynesian languages, together with Tomini-Tolitoli, Kaili-Pamona, and Wotu Wolio (Mead considers the Badaic languages to be a subgroup of South Sulawesi). This classification is tentative but believed to be more solid than Van den Berg's earlier attempt (1996) at a Celebic subgroup, which was not clearly delineated and too narrowly based on the loss of final consonants. This loss is a feature that the Celebic languages hold in common. However, as demonstrated by Sneddon (1993), it is an areal feature rather than an exclusively shared innovation.

Robert Blust discusses vowelless words in Selau, a western Melanesian language. He argues that schwa is not always phonemic in Selau roots. This appears from the fact that it often has a movable position, as in *l̩ma/əlma* 'hand/arm' (< Proto Oceanic *lima). It also appears from the fact that in certain conditions, Proto Oceanic high vowels were lost or became schwa. The latter happened between consonants or following consonant clusters, and in these cases, Blust argues, schwa and \emptyset are basically in complementary distribution. Finally, verbs ending with a vowel keep this vowel before the imperative suffixes *-i* and *-ia*, and they lose this vowel if it is a schwa (compare *kcə* 'to tie' and its imperative forms *kc-i!* and *na kc-ia!*). On the basis of these criteria, Blust concludes that some Selau morphemes have no vowels in their underlying form. He points out that the existence of these words is the more remarkable considering that Proto Oceanic as the ancestral language of Selau was vowel-rich in the sense of having a high proportion of vowels per morpheme.

John Lynch investigates the development of Proto Oceanic bilabials and their adjacent vowels in the languages of the Loyalty Islands (Drehu, Iaai, and Nengone), which form a branch of the New Caledonian language family. In Nengone, some bilabials even became apicals. Lynch compares the latter changes with similar developments in the Santo-Malakula area (Vanuatu), where a few languages reflect some of the bilabials as linguolabials, while other languages reflect them as apicals. He also compares them with Marshallese (Micronesia), where Proto Oceanic *p became *y before *a and *i, and with the Tetak dialects of Czech, where original palatalized bilabials became dentals before *i, *ě and *ř. All these languages have in common with Nengone that the bilabials in question must have been palatalized before they became apicals, linguolabials or *y. While the resulting sound changes are highly unusual, they probably happened independently in all cases under comparison.

Hans Schmidt investigates the morphological processes that led to the development of 'short' (that is non-phrase-final) alongside 'long' (phrase-final) forms of almost the entire Rotuman lexicon. The long forms are historically more authentic and have maintained the original Central Pacific final syllable structure. Schmidt also gives a detailed overview of the different ways this phenomenon has been analysed. Diachronically, it involves metathesis of the final consonant and vowel in final syllables (with *...VCV becoming (a) long form ending with ...VCV, or (b) short form ending with ...VVC). In short forms, this was followed by various forms of assimilation of the vowels, in which stress also plays a role. A morphological aspect of this phenomenon is that inherited suffixes appear to be attached to long forms, and that the only suffixes that can be attached to short forms are borrowed ones. Schmidt gives the following explanation for this somewhat counterintuitive state of affairs: when Rotuman roots developed short forms through metathesis of the final syllable, suffixed roots were not affected by it because their last syllable was not in word-final position. On the other hand, when short forms became more frequent than long forms, recent loan suffixes were attached to them rather than to long forms.

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Alfred W. McCoy, *The politics of heroin; CIA complicity in the global drug trade*. Revised edition. Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 2003, xxvi + 709 pp. ISBN 1556524838. Price: USD 32.95 (paperback).

GREG BANKOFF

Talk of an American empire is much in vogue these days, whether it is scholarship and comparisons with Britain in the nineteenth century, or world events and the situation in Iraq and Afghanistan. We are even now told that there is something out there called 'empire' that supersedes the USA and the nation state. Actually, all this deliberation is not new: Walter LaFeber published his path-breaking reinterpretation of American expansion as the 'natural culmination' of national history back in the 1960s under the apt title *The new empire* (Cornell University Press, 1963). Al McCoy provides another perspective on this phenomenon, one that probes into the seamier, darker side of the informal empire: America's 'complicity' in the international drug trade over the second half of the twentieth century. That the principal proponent of the 'war on drugs', in fact a nation that engineered regime change in Panama to 'arrest' a drug lord in the form of President Manuel Noriega in 1989, should also be held culpable of fostering a worldwide, multi-billion-dollar illicit traffic in narcotics even within its own borders may come as something of a shock to those of us who still take what the emperor says and what the empire does at face value.

Not that this news is even that new: McCoy has said it all before, more than thirty years ago. The present edition of *The politics of heroin* is a much expanded version of the study that he originally published in 1972 under the same title. Back then, of course, heroin addiction was sweeping through US army personnel returning from Vietnam and beginning to spread rapidly among ethnic minorities and counter-cultural groups in the ghettos and cities of the wider society. The drug problem has plagued successive generations ever since, becoming an almost accepted deviancy of modern Western cultures. This third and 'last' edition employs the 'commanding heights of the present', the hindsight of the last three decades, to reveal the extent of US

intelligence agencies' involvement in the drug trade and their opportunistic protection of its principal traffickers. It also charts the history of its prohibition and of the drug wars America has fought or financed against those who cultivate the poppy as a commercial crop. This policy has yielded a bitter harvest as alternating (sometimes simultaneous) programmes of protection and prohibition have only acted as market stimuli, encouraging the drug trade to spread and expand over the years on a truly global scale. The book chronicles this development both in time and space from the involvement of the Sicilian Mafia at the end of World War Two to the recent overthrow of the Taliban in Afghanistan. The chapters in between discuss the transatlantic heroin trade and the importance of Marseille, colonial opium policies in Southeast Asia, the Cold War opium boom and the First Indochina War, drugs and governance in South Vietnam, crime syndicates and the rise of Hong Kong, covert wars in the Golden Triangle, details of the five drug wars and the role of the CIA. While McCoy mainly exonerates the USA of any 'direct culpability' for the drugs trade (but not of 'indirect complicity'), he comes to the deeply disturbing conclusion that: 'Washington seemed ready, whenever the need arose, to sacrifice its drug war to fight the cold war' (p. 459). Ideas, it appears, are more dangerous to a democracy than Class A drugs like heroin.

Any reader will be struck by the sheer scale of the scholarly achievement that this study represents. It is the fruit of over thirty years of interest and labour on the subject that confer on the author the authority to talk about such wide-ranging and geographically diverse matters. The book has multiple arguments about the significance of opium and its derivatives as a factor in government policies both in the USA and in source or transit countries, as a major commodity 'by any standards' in world trade, or as a means of personal aggrandizement creating drug lords such as the Yunnanese General Khun Sa or the Florida mafioso Santos Trafficante. But it is perhaps on an historical level that the study is most satisfying. Those of us who have been educated to see Southeast Asian societies through the diagnostic lens of a lowland/highland, rice-based/trade-based, core/periphery dichotomy will particularly appreciate a perspective that explores the history of the borderlands in terms of its own dynamics and shows the influence these usually ignored regions exert on the mainstream. What is more, McCoy's study reveals just how central the revenue from drugs was in underpinning the European imperial venture. Far from being a minor aspect of colonial trade, opium sales generated 16 percent of all government taxes in French Indochina and the Netherlands East Indies, and a whopping 53 per cent in British Malaya (p. 93). Many of the visible signs of progress that Europeans have come to regard as the benevolent legacy of colonialism, such as canals, roads, railways, docks and the like, were in fact financed with drug money. McCoy makes us acutely aware how we need to incorporate these 'other sto-

ries' into our general histories of the region. Nor is the book restricted to only one area: its arguments range from the highlands of mainland Southeast Asia to the desert plains of Central Asia and the jungles of Latin America. Such considerations may be equally valid there, too.

There is not a lot wrong with this book, in my opinion, and so little to comment on in terms of critiquing arguments that are clearly and persuasively articulated and supported by exhaustive examples, many of them drawing on the author's own experiences in Indochina during the early 1970s as a young researcher. Structurally there is perhaps a little bit more to say. McCoy writes well but the book is long – over 700 pages – and at times the weight of evidence can prove a bit daunting and may deter the less than totally committed reader. The volume is divided into nine chapters of very uneven length – several that amount to around a hundred pages and others that are barely twenty. To an extent this unevenness reflects the author's own expertise, with understandably greater prominence accorded to coverage of things Southeast Asian than to Central Asian or Latin American concerns. The unintended result, however, is to confer a disproportionate significance to events in certain regions.

The politics of heroin is a shocking book that reveals how America's victory in the Cold War was paid for as much as it was fought for. It exposes the degree to which politicians and generals trafficked in democracy and the extent to which narcotics served as a currency of freedom. In this context, the battle to win the hearts and especially the minds of people takes on added meaning and raises serious concerns about Western governments' apparent readiness to sacrifice lofty ideals for sordid expediencies. If the peoples of the empire are stirring again and in some cases even striking back, perhaps one of the causes of their restlessness lies in this lack of moral rectitude and failure to live up to our own widely espoused standards.

Anthony Reid, *An Indonesian frontier; Acehese and other histories of Sumatra*. Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2005, xv + 439. ISBN 906718246X. Price: USD 32.00 (paperback).

TIMOTHY P. BARNARD

Bringing together 15 articles and chapters in books that Anthony Reid has written about Sumatra between 1967 and 2003, this collection not only introduces readers to the complexity of Sumatran history and society, but also reflects the different phases of development in the interests and works of a prominent historian of Southeast Asia. Reid began his academic career in the

late 1960s by focusing on Aceh, and how residents of the region were fiercely independent in the context of late nineteenth-century Dutch expansion and the Indonesian Revolution. Since then he has written on a variety of topics ranging from the Japanese occupation and Indonesian revolution to his important studies on the early modern era in Southeast Asia. Each of these phases of his career is represented in this book, with articles ranging from feasting rituals in seventeenth-century Aceh and early Chinese migration to North Sumatra, to considerations of World War Two and the Revolution. The final chapter is an analysis of how Acehnese understand their history as a *negeri*, and its place in Indonesia and larger Southeast Asia.

Although all but one of the chapters in *An Indonesian frontier* have been published elsewhere, many have been revised, or even 'substantially revised', for inclusion here. An example of such a chapter is 'Nineteenth century Pan Islam below the winds', which is based on a similarly titled piece that was originally published in the *Journal of Asian Studies* in 1967. Because the study of Islam in Southeast Asia has changed considerably since then, Reid has incorporated new understandings and interpretations in his analysis, particularly in the introduction to the chapter. In addition, the endnotes for every chapter refer to new sources that touch upon the issues raised. Such an approach is refreshing, as it permits the original scholarship to be recognized as well as updated, thus allowing readers to enjoy the chapters as fresh scholarship instead of antiquarian mementos of a historian's past.

While Reid focuses on the region across several centuries, there is less range in relation to Sumatran geography. The numerous societies in Sumatra that lie south of Aceh, or perhaps Medan, are rarely discussed. Even in chapters in which he wants to consider Sumatra as a whole, the spotlight invariably is placed on the northern tip of the island. The exceptions are in the second chapter, which focuses on Sumatra as an identity and category in history, and particularly in the third chapter, on how Dutch colonialism influenced population dynamics throughout the island. The result of this focus on Aceh and the north is that important regions, such as Minangkabau, the various Malay states of the lowland eastern littoral, as well as Bengkulu and Lampung, are left out of many of the fascinating discussions; thus the island appears not as a whole but as a series of rarely interacting cultural enclaves with Aceh and the north being dominant. While Reid admits to such absences in his introduction, they point to the need for a greater focus on the island as a whole – a task that can be quite intimidating, but the possibility of which has been raised in an excellent 2003 article by Freek Colombijn ('The volatile state in Southeast Asia: evidence from Sumatra, 1600-1800', *Journal of Asian Studies* 62:497-529). Such criticisms, however, should not be seen as a condemnation of the book. Each chapter was originally written with a different purpose in mind, without Sumatra being the parameter for consideration.

An Indonesian frontier is a complex collection of essays that provides an excellent survey of Anthony Reid's understandings of Aceh and its history. It also performs the useful service of bringing together, and updating, the widely scattered articles that he has written on the subject.

John G. Butcher, *The closing of the frontier; A history of the maritime fisheries of Southeast Asia c. 1850-2000*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Leiden: KITLV Press, 2004, xxi + 442 pp. ISBN 9067182451. Price: EUR 30.00 (paperback).

PETER BOOMGAARD

Any idea where the tuna on your sandwich and the shrimp in your salad come from? There is a fair chance that they were caught or cultivated in Southeast Asian waters. And did you eat as much tuna and shrimp 25 years ago as you do now? You almost certainly did not.

This type of information is to be found in John Butcher's *The closing of the frontier*, a book that deals with the maritime fisheries of Southeast Asia between 1850 and 2000. Butcher's book is one of the latest volumes to appear in the series *A Modern Economic History of Southeast Asia*. It is the first book on its topic, and a very welcome addition to our knowledge of Southeast Asian economic history, particularly because there were no recent overviews of the history of fisheries of any country in the region for the entire period under consideration.

The book consists mainly of seven chapters, together covering under 300 pages, in the eyes of this reviewer the ideal size for a textbook-like publication such as this one (the remaining part of the book is mainly taken up by almost 80 pages of notes and 40 pages of bibliography). After the introduction, Chapter 2 sketches the situation around 1850, while a short Chapter 3 presents a number of political, technological, and economic developments that form the backdrop against which changes in the fisheries of the region during the period 1870-1940 should be seen. Chapter 4 deals with the growing volume of catches using unchanged technology between the 1870s and the 1930s, while Chapter 5 describes technological change and the extension of the frontier of fisheries from the 1890s to the 1930s. In Chapter 6, entitled 'The Great Fish Race', Butcher describes and analyses the enormous expansion of the Southeast Asian fisheries from the 1950s or 1960s to around 1980, while Chapter 7 deals with 'The closing of the frontier', a phrase referring both to the depletion of maritime stocks, and to the fact that nation-states in the region increasingly claimed and policed large sections of what had once been international waters.

Butcher's study pays attention to the various factors that influenced the many changes to be observed in Southeast Asian fisheries during the last century and a half. Originally, population growth, accelerating first slowly but from the 1950s ever more rapidly until it began to level off very recently, was an important driving force behind the expansion of the sector in absolute terms. But international market forces played a role as well, and had done so for a long time, as witness the centuries-old search for pearls, mother-of-pearl, tortoiseshell, and tripang (sea cucumber). Fisheries policies, as designed by the colonial states in the region from the 1920s onward, and later by the independent states, were also instrumental in shaping these changes. Governments were well aware of the enormous importance of fish to the diet of the people, particularly the less well-to-do, and they therefore stimulated the expansion of fisheries, partly by means of credit schemes, partly by attempting to disseminate new technology, and partly through subsidies and protective measures. The book also deals with the role of technological change. In addition to the shift from sail to steam, and at a later stage to the internal combustion engine, the reader is informed about the intricacies of fishing gear and the changes it underwent. Another technological factor is the role of refrigeration, which shifted the emphasis from salted to fresh fish. One of the latest developments in this respect is the shift to live fish, which has been made possible by the high speed of the vessels used. New technologies were often pioneered by foreigners, who invested in the fisheries of the region or who came to the region in large numbers in their own vessels, as did the Japanese. Last but not least, changes in demand in the various countries importing fish and other products of the sea are also dealt with.

Butcher shows how the interplay of these various factors had enormous environmental consequences. During the twentieth century, with increasing competition in coastal waters and with growing use of trawlers, there was an almost continuous shift in target species from demersal to pelagic fish – that is, from fish living on the bottom of the sea near the shores to fish living and feeding in the open sea, whether at the surface or at middle depths. This led not only to the physical displacement of fishing activities, but also to species that had been caught and eaten for centuries being replaced by new types that had hardly been exploited before. At the same time, the fact that some maritime animals were caught in large numbers led to the proliferation of others that were now no longer preyed upon to the same extent or had much more food at their disposal. Examples are shrimp, squid, and jellyfish. It goes without saying, alas, that the most important environmental effect is that many maritime species are no longer present in large numbers, and that some may not recover from long-term overfishing.

The closing of the frontier is in many ways an admirable study. Although the untutored reader may occasionally find the technical details regarding

the various changes in fishing gear somewhat taxing, the book is well written, and one cannot blame the author for the unfamiliar terminology that has to be used from time to time (the book contains a glossary). On one point I would actually have welcomed some more 'technical' information – the author mentions competition between petrol engines and diesel or semi-diesel engines, but hardly elaborates on the topic. Nor does he thematize the difference between a direct shift from sail to diesel or petrol engines on the one hand, and the shift from sail to steam and then to the internal combustion engine on the other. My main complaint, however, is that the book does not have a real concluding chapter in which the writer draws all the threads together, something he could easily have done. As things stand, he leaves the reader to digest the enormous amount of information unaided. However, in the light of what is on offer, this is a minor point that should keep no one from reading this more than welcome publication.

Francis Loh Kok Wah and Joakim Öjendal (eds), *Southeast Asian responses to globalization; Restructuring governance and deepening democracy*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005, xvi + 382 pp. [Democracy in Asia Series 10.] ISBN 9812303243. Price: SGD 49.90 (paperback).

ALEXANDER CLAVER

This volume arises out of a comparative research project entitled 'Discourses and practices of democracy in Southeast Asia' which started in 1996. According to the editors the project was originally intended to provide intellectual input into the 'Asian values' debate, but was quickly broadened to include issues of democratization and national governance. After the regional crisis of 1997, it was also decided to take into account the impact of 'outside forces' on economic and political developments.

The editors, who also feature as authors, have structured the volume into four sections: an opening section providing a historical review based on an extensive body of literature; a second section on the restructuring of governance; a third on the intensification of democracy; and a final section in which general trends are abstracted from the case studies presented and some tentative conclusions are formulated. The volume presents ten case studies, somewhat unevenly distributed among the countries concerned. Malaysia features three times and Indonesia twice, while the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam are each dealt with on one occasion.

In Chapter 1, Francis Loh Kok Wah introduces the volume. He argues that

Southeast Asia has seen earlier phases of globalization, but stresses the significance of today's developments whereby both economic and political liberalization are being given a 'global push'. In his view the current globalization drive does not necessarily lead to greater opportunities for all Southeast Asians.

Chua Beng Huat's depiction of Singapore in Chapter 2 shows that globalization can sit comfortably with a strong state. Even though economic liberalization has occurred rapidly, political liberalization has not. In Chapter 3, Khoo Boo Teik makes a similar observation. Malaysia, too, has embraced economic liberalization, while regular elections point to a consolidation of liberal democracy. However, critics of the political elite continue to be dealt with harshly. Malaysian experience therefore suggests that neo-liberal globalization is compatible with a crony-based authoritarian political system.

Chapter 4, a very interesting contribution by Saliha Hassan and Carolina López, covers the divided human rights movement in Malaysia. While some Malaysian human rights NGOs adopt a universalist perspective and reject the 'Asian values' perspective on human rights advocated by, among others, the former Malaysian prime minister Mahathir Mohamad, other NGOs support Islamic notions of civil society and a more particularist conception of human rights and freedom.

Chapter 5, written by Eva-Lotta Hedman, on business associations in the Philippines, highlights how the formation of this country's business class was facilitated by national as well as global factors. In Chapter 6, Andrew Aeria shows how Sarawak's incorporation into the global economy has facilitated its economic growth. This growth, however, has benefited only a small group of businessmen and political entrepreneurs, while ordinary people have lost out. In the author's view stronger institutions are required to right the wrongs of globalization and strengthen local development.

Dewi Fortuna Anwar's Chapter 7 describes how global forces contributed to the rise and fall of Suharto. Her assessment also highlights some of the major political changes that have taken place in the post-Suharto period, and evaluates the prospects for democratization in Indonesia. A robust civil society and freedom of the press have played an important role in ensuring democratic reforms. Still, democratic consolidation continues to face serious challenges, if not threats, from domestic and international forces.

Following the section on governance, attention is turned towards democratic initiatives at the local level. In Chapter 8, Hans Antlöv looks at the new laws on decentralization in Indonesia. These offer much promise for the future, but progress towards popular participation in decision-making remains slow. Antlöv fears that the lack of trust in the state will persist in the post-Suharto era despite the new reforms. Michael Kelly Connors focuses in Chapter 9 on the issue of localism in Thailand. Since the 1990s many democratic procedures have been put into place, and some real progress made.

However, the close cooperation often seen between NGOs and local government raises doubts about whether civil society is maintaining sufficient critical distance from the state.

Chapter 10 focuses on the process of decentralization in Cambodia. Joakim Öjendal explains that this topic was put on the agenda because of the support and cooperation of very different groups with different objectives in doing so. In many cases, global influences were involved. In Chapter 11, Bent Jørgensen discusses decentralization in Vietnam, in particular the involvement of villagers in deliberations over the local development budget. This and related reforms have enhanced production and legitimized the state and party, but they have also caused increased stratification of Vietnamese society and widened the gap between rich and poor.

In Chapter 12, Joakim Öjendal tries to draw some conclusions from all these studies. This final section attempts to give an overview of the different initiatives that are emerging in response to globalization pressures in Southeast Asia. No comprehensive and definitive answers can be given at this stage, as globalization is a 'multi-dimensional' and 'open-ended' process. However, Öjendal expresses the hope that this volume will open the field for more concerted research.

So how to rate this book? Overall, most scholars of Southeast Asia will find something of interest here. There is some excellent material in it, like the articles by Chua Beng Huat, Khoo Boo Teik, and Hans Antlöv. The value of this joint effort lies in an abundance of empirical research findings positioned within two structuring frameworks: a historical context of globalization provided by Francis Loh Kok Wah, and an analytical assessment by Joakim Öjendal. This construction provides cohesion to the volume, which manages to avoid to a considerable extent the unevenness seen in many other edited works. In addition, the inclusion of an index and a list of abbreviations is of great help, especially considering the volume aspires to be of practical interest to policy makers.

In general, the views presented in the volume are not overly optimistic. According to Öjendal (p. 367) it is perhaps inevitable, in the long run, that globalization favours weak and instrumental forms of democracy, since deregulation and liberalism do not foster radical politics. Governments in Southeast Asia have selectively utilized globalization as a means of furthering their conservative politics, and for tapping global resource flows. In his view, the ultimate challenge may be 'to draw maximum benefit from globalization, while at the same time protecting [...] citizens from that very same phenomenon; and to do this in a way that makes sense to people living in the process'.

I Wayan Arka, *Balinese morpho-syntax: a lexical-functional approach*. Canberra: Department of Pacific Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 2003, xvii + 270 pp. [Pacific Linguistics 547.] ISBN 0858835371. Price: AUD 64.90 (paperback).

ADRIAN CLYNES

Balinese was a relatively unstudied language until the late 1980s. Of the several dissertations on Balinese linguistics which have appeared subsequently, including Hunter (1988), Beratha (1992), Artawa (1994), Clynes (1995), and Pastika (1999), Arka's 1998 description of features of Balinese morphosyntax from a lexical-functional grammar (LFG) perspective clearly stands out. This book is a lightly revised version of that work, minus the chapter on pragmatics. It is not, as is suggested on the back cover, a reference grammar. Still, in its eight chapters it provides detailed analyses and data on a range of fundamental topics in the morphosyntax of Balinese. These will be of interest to many in its suggested target audiences – theoreticians, typologists and Austronesianists in general. While those are not mutually exclusive categories, this review is definitely written from a descriptive Austronesianist point of view. The original dissertation was written for an audience of theoreticians; what does this revised version offer to those less well versed in theoretical syntax? I first outline the contents of the main chapters, 2 to 7, then give a brief evaluation.

Chapter 2 first sketches the three main types of voice constructions in Balinese, agentive voice (AV), objective voice (OV), and passive. It then details properties of the grammatical subject in Balinese with respect to processes like relativization, raising, control, and fronting. Next, from patterns of verb affixation, it is concluded – in agreement with Clynes 1995 – that Balinese is an 'active' or split-S language: verbs with Undergoer-like subject arguments, intransitive or transitive, are marked in one way (with a 'zero prefix'), while verbs with Actor-like subject arguments, intransitive or transitive, are marked in another (either with the nasal prefix 'N-', or with *ma-*).

Chapter 3 gives evidence for a distinction between terms (a natural class including both subjects and objects/'term complements') and non-terms/oblique arguments. It is shown that only terms have properties such as the ability to launch quantifier float (QF) and the ability to provide an antecedent for a resumptive pronoun. Objects can launch QF only if they are definite, an example of a recurrent theme, the interplay of referential status with syntactic constraints. It is argued that the AV structure is not antipassive and OV is not passive, and moreover that the Agent of an OV verb is an object and so is different from the passive Agent (which is an oblique). 'Symmetrical' syntactic behaviour in Balinese is evinced for example by the ability of

either of the two term-complements of ditransitives to be subject of OV and passive verbs.

Chapter 4 presents a detailed analysis of phrase structure in Balinese. It begins with a dense overview of LFG phrase structure theory, which will have some reaching for works like Bresnan (2001), and which fortunately is not needed to understand most of what follows. Constituency tests are used to argue that Balinese is a configurational, head-initial language, with a relatively rigid word order, and maximal projections VP, NP, PP, AP and AdvP. Arguments are given against an incorporation analysis of the Agent of an OV verb (*pace* Clynes 1995). Structures are proposed to account for word-order variations, such as extraposition associated with a definiteness constraint.

Chapter 5 deals with mapping or linking, the issue of how arguments are expressed syntactically, and how to best model this in an LFG framework. It argues that mapping is driven by prominence matching involving three layers of structure, semantic structure (sem-str), argument structure (a-str) and grammatical function structure (gf-str). Clearly, this chapter requires a good working familiarity with LFG. Nonetheless, there is much of general interest, for example in the discussion of raising and control constructions, and of accusative, ergative and active/split properties argued to be found in Balinese.

Chapter 6 begins with an excellent twelve-page description of the Balinese pronominal system, which will be of use to more than syntacticians. Here it is a preliminary to an exploration of reflexive binding in Balinese. Three Binding Principles are proposed, using the notion of 'a-command' introduced and argued for in Chapter 5. The principles also make reference to elaborated semantic structures likewise introduced in the previous chapter. These principles are then used in the analysis of causativization and applicativization, which are both said to involve the 'homonymous' morphemes *-ang* and *-in*. The proposals for the parallel structures of causatives and applicatives are defended with evidence from reflexive binding.

In Chapter 7, binding of various operators (quantifiers and interrogatives), as well as different kinds of reflexives, is further discussed, exploring the part which prominence and linear order play in constraints on binding, and leading to a revised version of Binding Principle A from Chapter 6. The analysis of the properties of simple and complex reflexives is then used with other evidence to analyse various non-active constructions in Balinese, and to boldly argue for the existence of a second passive construction, homophonous with the OV construction, but unlike it a true passive.

This is an impressive work of scholarship. While I cannot evaluate its contribution to theoretical syntax, for students of Balinese morphosyntax it no doubt sets a new standard in the quality of its descriptions and analyses. The discussion is almost always clear and methodical, the supporting data copious. Many interesting questions are raised which were simply not asked before. Many of the answers provided to those questions seem robust.

At the same time, the book is not without shortcomings. Often it still reads like a dissertation, written with an examination panel in mind rather than a broader readership. The density of theory will in places deter some readers. Given that density, an index is sorely needed, but is not there. There are many footnotes, with sometimes important ideas hidden away there. Otherwise the book is well produced, with just a sprinkling of mainly innocuous typos.

While as a descriptive work the standard is high, there is the odd analytical slip. For example, one claimed verbal prefix the '*meN-* prefix', discussed at length in Chapter 2, is in fact merely an allomorph of *N-*, found only on labial-initial verbs. Some other descriptive claims will need to be confirmed by other studies. The author acknowledges (p. 28) that 'pragmatic factors [...] may give rise to variations in acceptability for different native speakers'. The controversial claimed existence of homophonous passive and OV structures, for example, depends on the grammaticality of sentences that informants here found unprocessable. Are those sentences grammatical but pragmatically weird, or ungrammatical but accepted by some for pragmatic reasons? Some views common among syntactic theoreticians, but controversial for Balinese, are simply assumed. These include the precategorical nature of bound roots (p. 32), and the existence of the Adjective class. In the section I know best, on Split-S or Active verbal morphology, it is pleasing to see the priority of Clynes 1995 now acknowledged. Arka claims to improve on that analysis, but to my mind his proposal creates more problems than it solves, multiplying *-etic* rather than *-emic* categories, and setting up new exceptions.²

These are however minor criticisms, in comparison to the many qualities of this study. Overall, it is indeed an important work for Balinese linguistics, and a valuable work for many others, theoreticians, typologists and Austronesianists included.

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¹ The main exception noted to Clynes's 1995 analysis was a small group of zero-prefix motion verbs, for example, *teka* 'arrive', *budal* 'go home', *luas* 'leave, go out', which Clynes's analysis predicted 'should' take the *N-* prefix. Here they are explained as regular, verbs of 'directed motion' regularly behaving as unaccusatives cross-linguistically (p. 36); however this analysis then renders exceptional a similar number of other directed motion verbs which take the *N-* (or *m(a)-*) prefix, for example, *neked* (*N-teked*) 'arrive', *m-ulih* 'go home', *ng-lipet* 'go back', *ng-oyong* 'stay, remain', *nge-leb* 'run away'.

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Zaharani Ahmad, *The phonology-morphology interface in Malay; An optimality theoretic account*. Canberra: Department of Pacific Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 2005, x+193 pp. [Pacific Linguistics 568.] ISBN 085883555X. Price: AUD 54.00 (paperback).

ABIGAIL C. COHN

This book is based on the author's 1998 doctoral dissertation. It provides a comprehensive account of reduplication in Malay, including a treatment of the interaction of phonology and morphology between roots and affixes. The work takes Johore Malay as its object of study, building on earlier description and theoretical works on the phonology and morphology of Malay (notably the works of Farid 1980 and Teoh 1994).

The basic premise of the book is that following McCarthy and Prince's (1986) Theory of Prosodic Morphology, reduplication is best understood as a kind of affixation, whereby the segmental content of the affix is provided by the base (usually the root). It uses the analytical tools of 'Correspondence Theory' within the framework of Optimality Theory (OT) to provide an analysis of several of the patterns of reduplication found in Malay. In order to do this, a thorough treatment of the segmental and syllable-based phonology of Malay is provided.

The work serves the dual function of providing an illuminating description and analysis of reduplication and affixation in Malay, while also offering an introduction to and illustration of OT. With OT's strong focus on typology and cross-linguistic generalization, some current work in OT has the weak-

ness of providing only snippets of data, rather than comprehensive analyses. Many would argue that the true test of a phonological theory is a comprehensive analysis of the phonology of a single language in its full richness. (Chomsky and Halle's 1968 foundational work, *Sound pattern of English*, is a case in point.) This is precisely what Ahmad provides us with. For example, he does not restrict himself to just a single pattern of reduplication, but shows how several of the basic patterns of reduplication, which together posed serious problems for previous formal treatments, are amenable to a constraint-based analysis.

This is not a book for the layperson with a passing interest in the structure of Malay. The book is a technical one, as is characteristic of work in formal linguistics. Both for linguists interested in Malay and for theoretical linguists interested in the interaction between phonology and morphology, this book is an important contribution.

The book consists of six chapters and a comprehensive bibliography referencing prior literature on the structure of Malay as well as relevant theoretical literature. The text is concise, well written, and well presented.

Chapter 1 provides a brief introduction to Malay and the linguistic situation in the Malay Archipelago. It introduces the theoretical problems posed by reduplication, reviews previous literature, and provides a brief introduction to OT. The remaining chapters focus on the details of the description and analysis. Chapter 2 provides a thorough analysis of syllable structure in Malay. It is a rich chapter, presenting the data, a well-constructed analysis, and discussion of prior analyses.³ It introduces the relevant aspects of OT and provides further evidence for the conclusion that the view of syllabification as arising through constraint interaction is more illuminating than earlier procedural accounts. It takes on several important issues in Malay syllable structure, including: 1. an underlying contrast between glides and high vowels is not needed; 2. there is a strong tendency for syllables to have onsets, but this is violable; 3. several allophonic patterns (/k/ → ʔ, obstruent devoicing, r-deletion, and nasal assimilation) all follow from pressures from CODA CONDITIONS; and 4. the midvowels in certain positions are best treated as underlyingly present, rather than due to a rule of lowering. Chapters 3 and 4 extend the analysis to effects observed at the root-suffix and prefix-root boundaries, respectively. The systematic differences between prefix-root and root-suffix interactions follow from the relative ranking of the alignment constraints, ALIGNRIGHT and ALIGNPREF. The rather complex facts of vowel and consonant gemination at the root-suffix boundary are given an insightful analysis showing the interactions of ALIGNRIGHT and ONSET with the various

³ In this regard, it might be noted that Cohn and McCarthy (1994/1998) offer an Optimality Theoretic treatment along similar lines of syllable structure and segmental phonology interactions in Indonesian.

coda conditions discussed in Chapter 2. (One question not addressed is the interaction of obstruent devoicing and ALIGNRIGHT.) The widely discussed facts of nasal assimilation and coalescence are given a full treatment, as are the facts of vowel nasalization.

Chapters 2 to 4, interesting in and of themselves, lay the groundwork for the treatment of reduplication presented in Chapter 5. Ahmad describes the three productive patterns of reduplication in Malay: root-reduplication, doubling, and partial reduplication. He provides a full account of the first two, leaving the analysis of partial reduplication for future work. Analytically, Ahmad addresses the issue of so-called *over-*, *under-*, and *normal* application in reduplicative patterns cross-linguistically and shows that all three occur in Malay and are tractable under a Correspondence Theory account. He provides evidence that reduplication (with the exception of partial reduplication) is in fact suffixing and shows how the interactions of faithfulness to the input, faithfulness to the base, and the relative ranking of various phonological constraints (such as ONSET) account for this complex array of patterns.

Overall the book achieves its goal of elucidating the phonology and morphology of Malay through a careful constraint-based account. As an Indonesianist, I would voice one small criticism, which is under-attention to some of the relevant literature on Indonesian. In the introduction, Ahmad explains the linguistic situation in the Malay Archipelago, including the fact that Bahasa Indonesia is a dialect of Malay, but when citing prior descriptions of Malay as well as other formal analyses of the phonology and morphology, there are relevant works not mentioned. In terms of description, one might well include Lapoliwa (1981) and Simatumpang (1983). In terms of theoretical work, in addition to a fuller consideration of Cohn and McCarthy (1994/1998), also relevant is Delilkan's (2002) recent treatment of Indonesian reduplication.

In conclusion, since even the best-studied languages of insular Southeast Asia are poorly described, this is a welcome addition to the documentation and description of Malay. At the same time, it brings to light a number of aspects of Malay that pose interesting theoretical questions and, as shown by Ahmad, lend themselves to an elegant treatment within Optimality Theory. It therefore also provides a nice introduction to OT for scholars of Malay.

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Michael C. Ewing, *Grammar and inference in conversation; Identifying clause structure in spoken Javanese.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2005, x + 276 pp. [Studies in Discourse and Grammar 18.] ISBN 9789027226280. Price: EUR 125.00 (hardback).

AONE VAN ENGELENHOVEN

Traditional linguistic analysis depends on formal features of morphology and syntax, and if these cannot provide any clues, then prosody may be able to. However, for many languages of Southeast Asia, especially in the western parts of the Indonesian archipelago, such a strategy seems inadequate. This book gives a lucid account of how discourse analysis may offer a successful alternative to other methodologies in the case of Cirebon Javanese, a typical representative of a Southeast Asian language with few morphological and syntactic devices.

Chapter 1 introduces Cirebon Javanese and explains how it differs from Standard Javanese. After briefly explaining the importance of discourse analysis for grammar studies, the author tells how he collected his data and went about his research.

Chapter 2 discusses the morphological characteristics of transitive and intransitive verbs in Cirebon Javanese. Whereas transitive verb morphology provides clear information about argument structure and the semantics of the argument, for most intransitive verbs interlocutors must depend purely on semantics. This is because derivational morphology in Cirebon Javanese,

as in many western Austronesian languages, is multifunctional and thus does not offer clues for identifying clause structures.

Whereas Chapter 2 focuses on verbal predicates, Chapter 3 examines morphology in nominal expressions. After concluding that they do not contain clues for clause structure, Ewing distinguishes five main types of nominal expression: headless relative clauses, lexical noun phrases, names and titles, pronouns, and 'unexpressed participants'. Important here is Ewing's finding that an unexpressed participant '[i]s not an overt form that has been "dropped" [... It is a] different means by which referents are integrated into the discourse by interlocutors' (p. 90). A description of modifying structures shows that whereas there is no actual case system, prepositions can be used with expressed nominals to signal their semantic role and grammatical function.

Chapter 4 explains the methodological framework for the 'conversationalist' approach, considering five types of information flow: 'activation' (new or given), 'identifiability' (identifiable, non-identifiable, or not applicable), 'identifiability pathway' (how referents are tracked), 'generality' (whether the referent is particular or general), and 'discourse referentiality' (continuity within the text). The most common types of information flow are tracking expressions for identifiable information (which are either pronouns or unexpressed) and general non-tracking expressions for which no activation is applicable (full lexical forms).

Chapter 5 discusses the relation between intonation and constituent structure, using the intonation unit (IU) as a descriptive device. Ewing rightly points out that intonation is an important tool for understanding constituent structure in Cirebon Javanese. 'Single-IU' clauses are distinguished from 'multiple-IU' clauses. In 'single-IU' clauses, explicitly expressed arguments occur with the verb in a single intonation unit, whereas in 'multiple-IU' clauses these arguments occur separated from the predicate in anticipatory or supplementary intonation units. Another distinction is made between A-trigger clauses and P-trigger clauses. This terminology links up with the methodology as it is used in discourse analysis by John Du Bois and Susanna Cummings, among others, at the University of California at Santa Barbara. The research underlying this book indicates that constituent order functions as a clue for clause structure in conversation, although word order seems more predictable among A-trigger clauses than P-trigger clauses.

Chapter 6 discusses the several features of morphosyntax and information flow and how they interact in discourse. By means of extensive examples Ewing shows that it may be purely pragmatic knowledge of the context that enables an understanding of grammatical structure.

Chapter 7, finally, provides a summary of the entire book. The author proposes that his abstract definition of 'argument', namely 'a referent acting in a certain relationship with a predicate' (p. 250), is the best strategy for describing

argument structure in Cirebon Javanese, because it encompasses the full range of patterns and variation in conversation. Ewing argues convincingly that – with respect to clause structure and transitivity – a language like Cirebon Javanese can better not be analysed in a ‘traditional’ way in which formal features determine the transitivity of the clause. Rather, Ewing suggests that a rigid formal division between transitive and intransitive clauses is not a productive strategy for tackling clause structure in spoken Cirebon Javanese.

Michael Ewing’s book makes an important contribution to the study of languages of insular Southeast Asia. It shows convincingly the merits of the ‘conversationalist approach’ for analysing structures in languages that seem to lack reliable formal features for identifying these structures. As the book appears in a series on the relation between grammar and discourse, the target audience can be expected to be well grounded in discourse analysis. Students of Javanese may initially experience a feeling of alienation if they are unfamiliar with this kind of linguistic research, but the research technique and its terminology are well explained in Chapter 4. As one of the first extensive descriptions of the Cirebon dialect written in English, this book is compulsory reading for every student of Javanese linguistics.

Helen Creese, *Women of the kakawin world; Marriage and sexuality in the Indic courts of Java and Bali*. Armonk, N.Y.: Sharpe, 2004, xiii + 357 pp. ISBN 0765601599. Price: USD 80.95 (hardback); 0765601605, USD 31.95 (paperback).

AMRIT GOMPERTS

This is the best book I have read in the last ten years. Within Old Javanese studies, Creese is the first to produce a readable book that appeals to a wide audience. With the virtuoso talents of a novelist, her flawless style meets the best traditions of English literary criticism. Her excellent choice of the numerous illustrations provides the reader with a vivid impression of lives of women in medieval Java. Her source material is *kakawin* or Old Javanese court poetry. This genre existed in Java from the ninth to the fifteenth century, while on Bali *kakawin* texts were still being composed in the nineteenth century.

From the very first pages until the end, Creese draws the reader into the intimate world of women at the courts during their rites of passage. Her book starts with conception, pregnancy, and childbirth – and with massaging midwives. Creese continues with descriptions of noble women during their childhood and prenuptial years up to the moment when society expects them

to marry. She leads us through the strict morals of maintaining virginity, the political manoeuvrings leading up to marriage arrangements either by abduction of a bride or by *swayambara*, 'self-choice', to the moment of marriage and subsequent consummation. These same women were often to die tragic and cruel deaths through *satī* or self-immolation, stabbing themselves or leaping into a funeral pyre. Describing this custom using evidence from European historical sources as well as Old Javanese court poetry, Creese notes that 'to follow one's husband in death appears not only to have been a practice supported by society at large, but one that they themselves were convinced was right' (p. 244).

In Old Javanese poetry, women are regarded as objects of beauty and sexual pleasure (pp. 63, 159, 184, 188, 246-7). The cultural aspect of femininity is also important. The Indianization of Southeast Asia promoted an accentuation of femininity, sometimes to the point of travesty, in terms of dress, ornament, jewellery, make-up, facial expression, behaviour, and gesture.

In medieval Java, captives of war usually became slaves. In the world that Creese reconstructs, victors distribute women of defeated enemies as spoils of war who subsequently become concubines at the courts (pp. 53, 228-9). This and similar practices are confirmed by historical sources. The imperial annals of the Ming dynasty, *Ming Shi-lu*, state that in AD 1382 a Javanese envoy offered female slaves as a tribute to the Chinese emperor. In 1601 the Balinese king of Gelgel, Dewa Agung, presented a seventeen-year-old virgin of noble birth, who had been raised at the court, to the Dutch rear admiral Cornelis van Heemskerck. Neither the Balinese nor his Dutch fellows allowed him to refuse the gift. Such historical corroboration justifies Creese's conclusion that 'even if we must continue to recognize the limitations of *kakawin* as sources of history, this study may also allow us to appreciate their possibilities' (p. 249).

Finally, one minor critical note. Creese claims that 'there is no specific reference in Old Javanese literature to the most famous Sanskrit text on erotics, the *Kamasutra*' (p. 208). However in the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin* we read the compound *wātsyāyanāji-madanodaya-sandhi-sūtra*, or 'aphorisms on coition and arousing sexual love according to the teachings of Wātsyāyana', in a particular stanza at the end of the poem (26.35) which should possibly be dated between the eleventh century and the fourteenth (Zoetmulder 1982, II:2224). Mallanāga Wātsyāyana is the author of the *Kāmasūtra* or (literally) 'Aphorisms on sexual love' (Mylius 1999).

In conclusion, I recommend this fascinating book to anyone. A translation into the Indonesian language seems highly desirable.

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Ming Govaars, *Dutch colonial education; The Chinese experience in Indonesia, 1900-1942*. Singapore: Chinese Heritage Centre, 2005. ix + 271 pp. ISBN 9810548605. Price: SGD 70.00 (hardback); 9810548613, SGD 50.00 (paperback).

KEES GROENEBOER

In 1999 Ming Tien Nio Govaars-Tjia, born in Padang in 1922, received a PhD at Leiden University with her study *Hollands onderwijs in een koloniale samenleving; De Chinese ervaring in Indonesië 1900-1942*. It is fortunate that an English edition of this study has now been published by the Chinese Heritage Centre in Singapore.

The history of education can be seen as a reflection of colonial policy in general. Govaars describes in detail the educational experience of the controversial, small, but economically important ethnic Chinese community during the final decades of Dutch rule in the Netherlands Indies.

Although in the days of the Dutch East India Company the ethnic Chinese came to play an important intermediary function between the European and native populations, it was not until the early twentieth century that the government thought of providing regular schools for Chinese pupils of mixed descent (*peranakan* Chinese). The growing concern at that time for the welfare of the native population, manifest in the so-called Ethical Policy, resulted in economic and social hardship for the Chinese, who lost various privileges which they had previously enjoyed in the form of state-sponsored commercial monopolies and concessions. A Chinese Movement arose, aiming at improving the legal status of the Chinese in Indonesia. In 1900 the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan (THHK) school movement was founded to promote Confucianism and education with Mandarin Chinese as the language of instruction. The many local THHK schools played a major role in the 'resinification' of *peranakan* Chinese, and hence also in the strengthening of solidarity between *peranakan* and *totok* (full-blooded, recently arrived) Chinese in Indonesia. The growing importance of the THHK schools forced the colonial government to re-evaluate its own educational policy. In 1908 the

first Hollands-Chinese School (HCS, Dutch-Chinese School) was established, with Dutch as the language of instruction. A similar school for the elite of the indigenous population, the Hollands-Inlandse School (HIS, Dutch-Native School) was not established until 1914. The creation of the HCS was in fact a direct reaction to the success of the THHK schools and the role they played in the Chinese Movement. The 'Dutch' program offered by the HCS became a strong influence on *peranakan* Chinese higher society. To provide enough qualified teachers for the increasing number of schools, in 1917 a Hollands-Chinese Kweeksschool (HCK, Dutch-Chinese Teaching Academy) was established. Ten years later another type of school was created, the Maleis-Chinese School (MCS, Malay-Chinese School), intended for less well-to-do Chinese. This MCS, however, never became a success because most Chinese opposed the use of Malay as the language of instruction (despite the fact that for most *peranakan* Chinese, Malay was their mother tongue).

By establishing the HCS and by taking steps to restore the economic position and legal status of ethnic Chinese in colonial society, the government effectively changed the character of the Chinese Movement. Thereafter, major political groups among the Chinese no longer leaned toward Chinese nationalism. The Chung Hwa Hui movement was Dutch-oriented, the Partai Tionghoa Indonesia, Indonesia-oriented. Only the Sin Po group strove to maintain Chinese citizenship on a basis of full equality with Europeans. As the colonial government succeeded in its efforts to create a Dutch-educated elite among the *peranakan* Chinese, the THHK movement lost more and more of its force as a potential instrument of Confucianist revival. Interestingly, Govaars nevertheless argues that, contrary to what is commonly supposed, the Dutch education provided by the HCS was not the main factor in the denationalization of the *peranakan* Chinese. Inter-marriage with the native community and the resulting cross-pollination of cultures had been going on for generations: 'Dutch education only added a new component to the process by strengthening their consciousness of being not Chinese, but Indo-Chinese' (p. 202).

Dutch colonial education; The Chinese experience in Indonesia, 1900-1942 provides a valuable and highly readable contribution to our knowledge of the history of the rather forgotten Chinese community in the late colonial society of the Dutch East Indies.

Ernst van Veen and Leonard Blussé (eds), *Rivalry and conflict; European traders and Asian trading networks in the 16th and 17th centuries*. Leiden: CNWS Publications, 2005, viii + 382 pp. [Studies in Overseas History 7.] ISBN 9057891042. Price: EUR 35.00 (paperback).

HANS HÄGERDAL

The present publication derives from a Leiden conference in 2003 that included an interesting blend of early modern historians from Portugal, the Netherlands, and various other places. The gathering had two stated aims. First, the conference was to address the question of how the long-standing Dutch-Portuguese conflict in Asian waters in the seventeenth century arose. Trade relations between the two nations were quite good until the late sixteenth century, and there were important common interests later on as well. As duly demonstrated in the paper by Cátia Antunes, there was a many-faceted and intimate economic exchange between Amsterdam and Lisbon during much of the seventeenth century. What, then, were the mechanisms and conditions that engendered the bitter enmity visible up to the peace of 1663 (with consequences much later in time, for instance on Timor)? The second major aim of the gathering was to explore the interaction between Portuguese, Dutch and Asian groups, rather than to focus exclusively on the Dutch and Portuguese as 'duellists on an exotic stage' (p. 1).

Sixteen revised papers are included in the present volume, covering aspects of political and economic history, and occasionally also cultural aspects of the overseas enterprise of the two nations. The topics range from detailed historical case studies to comprehensive discussions about the European overseas presence seen in relation to world system theories (Markus Vink). The authors, who include well-known scholars such as George Bryan Souza and Om Prakash as well as younger names, appear to work competently from a methodological point of view. The book starts with a very useful survey by Ernst van Veen of early modern European-Asian relations in the period under scrutiny. This provides an excellent background for the following, more specialized studies.

It must be said, however, that the stated aims of the conference are not entirely achieved. While there are plenty of new materials and perspectives on inter-relations between the two European entities and indigenous peoples and polities, the question of why Dutch-Portuguese relations turned sour is not clearly answered. Taken together, the various texts appear to suggest that the main factors were firstly the rather divergent types of nation-building seen in the two countries, and secondly the opportunities for alignment with mutually hostile indigenous Asian polities, and hence for involvement on

opposite sides of local wars, which overseas expansion brought with it. An interesting preliminary study by Rui Manuel Loureiro discusses Portuguese reactions to the appearance of the Dutch in Asian waters, but concludes that those reactions were mixed, varying according to the geographical and socio-logical context.

While in no way denying their value as research studies, one may still characterize many of the papers in the collection as under-theorized, or at least as providing insufficient discussion of the basic principles of writing overseas history. A rather comprehensive debate has arisen since the 1990s, inspired by the post-colonial trend, about the possibilities of creating a world history which is something more than an amplification of the course of Western civilization. Can world histories be de-centred, even to the extent that Europe becomes (to use Dipesh Chakrabarty's term) 'provincialized'? Some of the papers here – for example, René Barendse's study of the blockades of Goa in 1638-1654 – successfully put the European presence into a specific Asian context without reducing that context to an exotic backdrop. But on the whole, 'macro' issues of this type seem to have eluded the authors. The most notable exception is the piece by Markus Vink, who critically discusses the various alternative world-system models in connection with Dutch activities in the Indian Ocean area. Similarly, the authors do not appear to have taken up the challenge of anthropological perspectives to any degree. In the end, what we get is a useful set of glimpses of political, commercial, social and religious trends in the age of Dutch-Portuguese overseas rivalry, leaving the overall impression that there are plenty of important perspectives yet to explore.

Holger Jebens, *Pathways to heaven; Contesting mainline and fundamentalist Christianity in Papua New Guinea*. Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2005, xx + 284 pp. ISBN 184540051. Price: GBP 50.00 (hardback).

MENNO HEKKER

How do 'non-Western' peoples adopt Christianity? Usually, a 'contextual Christianity' will arise in which basic Christian theology is adapted to local circumstances, while on the sidelines traditional religion lives on as a spirit cult. In most cases, conversion to Christianity took place in the nineteenth century, when missionary societies were active – as for instance in the Moluccas and Minahasa in eastern Indonesia. In this case, however, Holger Jebens was a near-witness of conversion to Christianity while doing his field-work in Papua New Guinea.

Pathways to heaven is the English edition of the German original from 1995, which resulted from Jebens' PhD research. The book is based on fieldwork in 1990-1991. In this English edition some elements originally included as appendices have been left out: several maps and genealogies, census tables, and personal data on informants. The text as such has not been revised, and references have not been updated. In an added Preface, Jebens gives a brief account of more recent research on Melanesian Christianity.

The subject of the book is acculturation, cultural contact and cultural change, or modernization, viewed from a religious perspective. Jebens describes religious change in Pairundu, a village in the highlands of Papua New Guinea, from the 1950s onwards, with special attention to the 1980s and early 1990s. The book is divided into three parts: first, a description of the village of Pairundu, the Roman Catholic mission and the Seventh-Day Adventists; second, an analysis of the relationship between Christianity and modernization; and third, an analysis of developments in Pairundu viewed within the larger context of missionary activities in Papua New Guinea and global tendencies toward fundamentalism.

Pairundu society is characterized by patrilineal descent, power relations being based upon the phenomenon of the Big Man. Traditional society, according to Jebens, is characterized by twin concerns with strength (for instance, that of the Big Man) and with equivalence (for instance, reciprocity in exchanges of material goods). The economy is subsistence-based. Traditional religion seems, at first sight, to have almost vanished, but in fact the belief in ancestral and bush spirits and the practice of traditional healing live on. Colonial rule became firmly established around 1950, and in 1958 both Roman Catholic and Lutheran missionaries came to Pairundu (although the latter play only a minor role in Jebens' book). The majority of the population was converted to the Roman Catholic faith between 1950 and 1970. Subsequently, in 1985-1987, Seventh-Day Adventists made many converts in the village. In 1987-1989, finally, a Holy Spirit Movement established a small group of followers.

Next, Jebens analyses the relationship between Christianity, modernization and tradition. The arrival of colonial rule and Christianity in Pairundu had several effects. On the one hand, it brought about modernization: roads, schools, medicine, Western goods, an end to local warfare and to the fear of evil spirits. On the other hand, it led to social disintegration and social inequality. The only way out is to participate in modernization, to become close to the whites by acquiring Western goods and by adhering to the Christian faith. In this way, social cohesion, social autonomy and the balance between strength and equivalence will be restored at the intra-cultural as well as the inter-cultural level.

Both Roman Catholicism and Seventh-Day Adventism offer 'pathways

to heaven'. Seventh-Day Adventism, however, promises a more attractive future. The Adventists are more rigid in their beliefs and their lifestyle, which is full of prohibitions and commandments. They claim exclusivity and see themselves as the only true Christians. They promise a greater certainty of salvation, while at the same time imitating the whites and distancing themselves from tradition more strongly than do the Roman Catholics. So, to its adherents, Seventh-Day Adventism seems a better way to participate in modernity and achieve salvation.

Finally, Jebens relates religious developments in the village of Pairundu to global trends. He draws a parallel between the Seventh-Day Adventists in this part of Papua New Guinea and the rise of fundamentalism elsewhere. Fundamentalism is a reaction to modernization, being characterized by rationalization, secularism and individualism. In this respect, Seventh-Day Adventism can be conceived of as fundamentalist. Seventh-Day Adventists in Pairundu aim for modernization and reject the traditional way of life as they see it, although they do want to preserve or restore traditional social equality.

Especially in Part I, which describes the religious situation in Pairundu, Jebens stays close to his fieldwork data. He presents an extensive and detailed array of facts, events, people, situations, and opinions of individuals. He frequently differentiates between 'emic' and 'etic' perspectives, although the difference between these perspectives does not always seem relevant: in many cases more or less the same facts, interpretations or analyses seem to be reiterated in slightly different words. All this does not always make for a clear and readable text.

In the book there seem to be two parallel lines of reasoning: one concerning the relationship between Christianity and traditional religion, and the other concerning the rise of Christian fundamentalism. In the end both are related within the theme of modernization, which seems to be the real subject of the book.

As far as Jebens' analysis goes, the usefulness and validity of the parallel with fundamentalism is debatable. The comparison is apt only as far as the rigidity of religious views is concerned. In its quest for modernization, Pairundu's Seventh-Day Adventism differs from present-day Christian and Islam fundamentalism elsewhere, which mostly occur in societies with long experience of these Great Traditions. The added value of Jebens' analysis seems questionable in this respect. Also, Jebens ignores another characteristic aspect of sectarian Christianity: its emotional dimension and its emphasis on direct contact with the supernatural. Where traditional religion is taboo among converted Christians, Christian sects like Seventh-Day Adventism, Pentecostalism and Holy Spirit movements offer an emotional, human kind of Christianity and a channel for direct communication with God which is reminiscent of traditional, indigenous religious practices.

Considering such imperfections, critical revision of the original text for this English edition would arguably have been appropriate. But this is partly a matter of style, and of ongoing debate on the subject of non-Western Christianity. Jebens' book gives a good inside view of a non-Western society which has only recently been Christianized, and in which people are seeking ways to cope with modernization.

Ota Atsushi, *Changes of regime and social dynamics in West Java; Society, state and the outer world of Banten, 1750-1830*. Leiden: Brill, 2006, xx + 276 pp. [TANAP Monographs on the History of Asian-European Interaction 2.] ISBN 9004150919. Price: EUR 76.00 (hardback).

MASON C. HOADLEY

The historiography of Banten provides an exception to the rule that the study of the Indonesian archipelago during the period of the Dutch East India Company is dominated by Dutch scholars. A glance at the bibliography of *Changes of regime and social dynamics in West Java* reveals an impressive number of contributions from Indonesian, French, and Japanese scholars. In contrast to many products of what seems to be a Japanese 'cottage industry' in the field of Banten studies, this book is written in English.

Following an introduction which outlines the subject matter, analytical framework and structure of the book, and surveys earlier literature, Ota Atsushi presents seven substantive chapters. Each chapter concludes with a short summary, and the book as a whole with a brief concluding chapter. Chapter 1, entitled 'The setting', provides the background necessary for the reader to absorb the materials subsequently presented. As in the Introduction, the author's use of the abundant primary and secondary source materials is very thorough, with the reference apparatus wisely shifted to endnotes. The reader is given a detailed picture of the sultanate via contemporary maps of the capital and economic statistics regarding the kingdom, followed by a short observation on the 'Penetration of Islam'.

Chapter 2, 'State, society, and village', opens in reverse order – that is, with 'the village debate' which so plagues the scholarly literature dealing with this period. In doing so it draws upon Dutch archival sources and the problematic Javanese 'Census of Banten' (Leiden University Oriental Manuscripts 2052 and 2055). The discussion covers both the units of administration and the rights and obligations of the groups named in the manuscripts. The author's consideration of Banten's control over the Lampung

region in southern Sumatra, and the following section on legitimization of the sultanate, could have profited from asking to what extent the sultanate was a double kingdom embracing elements of both inland-agrarian and coastal-maritime types.

Chapter 3, 'Banten rebellion, 1750-1752', marks the beginning of the work's narrative. Based upon a previously published article, it traces the causes and course of the rebellion. Chapter 4, 'Dutch intervention and local response, 1752-1770', also adapted from a previously published article, describes the opening of a new relationship between Banten and the Dutch East India Company and the beginnings of Company regulation of the Sultan's economic privileges. The VOC became directly involved in pepper production in inland Banten, and intervened militarily in Lampung to end 'illegal trade' by 'smugglers'.

Turning to the political scene, Chapter 5, 'Weak centre, contested periphery, c. 1770-1808', deals with the declining power of the sultanate as a result of growing Dutch intervention in court affairs. This was matched by a corresponding alienation of the *pongawa* (officials), who increasingly cooperated with the Dutch to boost pepper production. Here the author makes good use of reports of the 'pepper inspections' carried out by Dutch officials between 1765 and 1790. In contrast to the situation in Banten proper, pepper deliveries in Lampung declined due partly to political competition and to outright war with Palembang. Chapter 6, 'Periphery lost, c. 1750-1800', focuses on the further progress and consequences of this regional divergence. In Lampung the pepper trade was diverted from the VOC into the hands of various interlopers, including the English East India Company, English and Chinese country traders, and local entrepreneurs. This resulted in a network of smuggling, raiding, and centres for disposing of the contraband goods. The eastern part of Banten, meanwhile, became more 'agrarian' in character, hosting an expanding Chinese-dominated sugar industry.

The final substantive chapter is Chapter 7, 'Local society and changes of regime, 1808-1830'. Here Banten is portrayed as 'a difficult residency to govern'. Given the radical changes of regimes under Daendels (1808-1811), Raffles (1811-1816), and Willem I (1816-1848), this is hardly surprising. The Daendels/Raffles liberal period saw the attempted reorganization of the 'territorial framework and system of indigenous chiefs'. One result was increased social unrest and the emergence of local strongmen (*jawara*), who dominated the period down to 1830 and the beginnings of the Cultivation System. A complete set of appendixes appropriately closes the book. In addition to the genealogy of the Banten sultans, they include discussion of the source material and, more importantly, statistics on pepper production and samples of the Javanese 'Census of Banten'.

This work is well researched and clearly presented. Its firm grounding

in the historical sources is attested to by an impressive reference apparatus of notes, appendices, tables, and maps. Even so, its contents raise questions with regard to a couple of historical issues. The first has to do with the unconventional choice of time period, which bridges at least three of the different political and economic systems successively imposed on Java, and Banten in particular, by Europeans. This gives rise to some ambiguity. On the one hand, it could be taken to mean that the author intentionally departs from a Eurocentric approach. Logically, this would imply that changes in regimes and social dynamics within Banten operated independently of the apparatus of European power. Yet in Chapter 7, colonial reforms are portrayed as leading to a radical reorganization of local administration and to the creation by 1820 of a quite new form of 'colonial village'. Would 1820, then, not have provided a better terminus than 1830? If alterations in Banten-Dutch political relations determine the work's opening date, would not the reorganization of village society have marked an appropriate closing date? Whatever the case, the issue of periodization stands in need of clarification. Without such clarification, the reader may suspect that the chosen time-span is merely a 'leftover' category not covered by previous research.

A final point concerns what this reviewer sees as the lack of a thesis in Ota Atsushi's PhD thesis. At the outset he states that the question to be addressed is that of 'how the interaction between the practices of the state centre and practices of various social groups played an important role in the changes taking place in Banten from 1750 to 1830' (p. 5). Nevertheless, one looks in vain for a clear statement of what caused, or at least what the author feels to have caused, the political and socioeconomic changes so carefully documented in the book. Did social dynamics in West Java merely reflect the relative positions of the players at different points in time, the result of macroeconomic and political influences outside their control? While the author's 'state-in-society' model helps the reader to understand the events described, it brings one no closer to insights into the causal relations that move history. Issues of historical causation notwithstanding, the book is a solid piece of scholarship and as such deserves careful reading.

Richard McMillan, *The British occupation of Indonesia 1945-1946; Britain, the Netherlands and the Indonesian Revolution*. London: Routledge, 2005, xii + 248 pp. ISBN 0415355516. Price: GBP 20.00 (hardback).

H.Th. Bussemaker, *Bersiap! Opstand in het paradijs; De Bersiap-periode op Java en Sumatra 1945-1946*. Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2005, 400 pp. ISBN 9057303663. Price: EUR 39.50 (hardback).

RUSSELL JONES

The background to the British interregnum in 1945-1946 is well known: the Netherlands had been occupied by Germany in 1940, and the Netherlands Indies was occupied by Japan in March 1942. The expectation in the Netherlands was that after the war the victorious Allies would facilitate Dutch resumption of control in the Indies. It did not turn out like that. Between the end of the war in Europe on 8 May 1945, and the surrender of Japan on 14 August 1945 the Dutch could not build up the requisite military forces, let alone get them to the Indies in time. At the last moment it was decided that Lord Mountbatten's South East Asia Command, as well as occupying Sumatra after the Japanese occupation, should take on Java too. Indonesian nationalism, suppressed before the war, flared up and the Indonesians eventually won their battle for independence.

McMillan has drawn on published works, but also extensively on British archives and other sources in the United Kingdom, including private papers. The War Diaries of British and Indian units, only declassified in 1995, were an important source of information. But by far the most important sources are the recollections of British officers who took part in the events of 1945-1946, transmitted orally in interviews or in written personal communications with the author. In this he renders an invaluable service to history, since in very few years' time these figures will have passed on and their recollections will no longer be available. These sources were valuable also in another way. McMillan writes long after the events he describes, and one is increasingly irritated by scholars doing this who allow their own assumptions regarding past events – usually logical and sensible, but sometimes quite erroneous – to intrude in the story. I do not sense that happening in this book; *The British occupation of Indonesia* does not jar with one's recollections of the time being described.

Furthermore, McMillan does not fall into the trap of 'tidying up' the history into a series of events planned and well executed. He recognizes that the 'overall picture that emerges is one of confusion rather than the execution of a clear-cut plan' (p. 9). Indeed it was. One could cavil that while the subtitle of the book is 'Britain, the Netherlands and the Indonesian revolution', his

sources are all in English. While this necessarily restricts the scope of his research, and one suspects that he does not always give full weight to the interests of the other communities (for example, the suffering of the Dutch internees), it does not impinge on his straightforward and readable account of British Indian forces operating in Indonesia at the time.

If McMillan's book is a disinterested historical account by a historian born long after the events described, Bussemaker's is very different. In his Foreword (p. 7), he observes that much has been written about the Dutch prisoners of war and internees of the Japanese (1942 to 1945), but another group of victims has been largely ignored: the mostly Indo-European 'Indische Nederlanders' (East Indies Dutch) who bore the brunt of the suffering accompanying the birth of the Indonesian Republic, being interned by the Indonesians during the *Bersiap* period, 1945-1946. The word *bersiap* in Indonesian means 'Be prepared' (the motto of the boy scouts), and became the watchword of young Indonesian nationalists. Curiously, it has become the term used by East Indies Dutch people to refer to that period.

Bussemaker's approach becomes comprehensible when one understands his own position, which comes out most clearly in the final paragraphs. As a ten-year-old boy, he was one of the many victims of the *Bersiap* period, and still feels this deeply. Sixty years on, he concludes pessimistically that the wounds from that time will not heal until all the participants are dead.

Within the framework of political history, then, Bussemaker focuses strongly on the lot and sufferings of the East Indies Dutch population. It is worth noting that immediately after the Japanese surrender, the Dutch former detainees were often well received by the local population. But as it became clear that the Dutch were determined to resume their rule, resistance and bitterness towards them hardened. The Indo-Europeans, insofar as they sided with the Dutch, bore the brunt of this. From October 1945 onwards, young Indonesian irregulars, the *pemuda*, began interning the Indo-Europeans, sometimes ostensibly for their own protection. Worse than that, many, including Indo-European women and children, were killed by the Indonesians. Other groups oppressed by the *pemudas* included Chinese and Ambonese.

Bussemaker uses documentary sources, draws on his own memories, and above all uses the resources of the Stichting Mondelinge Geschiedenis Indonesië (Oral History of Indonesia Project). That adds realism to the story, but the reader is faced with repeated, overwhelmingly detailed, eyewitness accounts of the sufferings of the internees in Indonesian Republican hands. We are given precise details of movements of groups of internees, numbers, dates, names of places of detention, street addresses, hardships suffered, means of transport, names of victims, when, where and how they were murdered. It is a horrifying story, as some of the photographs exemplify, and with so much detail does not make easy reading.

McMillan recounts that while the British authorities banned celebration of the second anniversary of *Merdeka* on 17 August 1946 in Batavia and in British-occupied areas of Sumatra (pp. 76, 122), the birthday of Queen Wilhelmina was celebrated in occupied centres in Sumatra with parades of Dutch and British troops (p. 123). It could have been added that her birthday was marked in similar manner in Batavia, with a military parade, led by the Seaforth Highlanders band, on what was then the Koningsplein (now Medan Merdeka).

It becomes very clear from both accounts that this pro-Dutch bias at the level of senior British officers was not to be found lower down, among officers or other ranks. As McMillan writes: 'The British perceived Dutch-colonial forces as ill-disciplined, trigger-happy and brutal towards Indonesians' (p. 167). (To the writer, who has had the good fortune to live in the Netherlands, it has always been baffling that the Dutch at home are so very different from so many of the colonial Dutch.) In this context, and in fairness to the Dutch authorities, it is worth noting two gestures they made which neither writer mentions. It was said that the Dutch government proposed awarding a campaign ribbon to the British troops, but the British authorities declined the offer. And the Dutch did make a significant contribution to improved relations by offering British officers a week's gratis holiday in Bali.

Furthermore it must be admitted that the reported brutality was relative. The soldiers of all four nations involved were at some time guilty of atrocities and prisoner abuse. In unsettled and often chaotic conditions, that is not surprising.

McMillan's book has helpful appendices explaining the structure of military formations, a chronology of the British occupation of Indonesia, short notes on *dramatis personae*, maps and plans. The source notes are gathered at the end of the book. The Imperial War Museum has provided a number of evocative black and white photographs.

Bussemaker's book is addressed to Dutch readers, and in particular to a certain group among them. A review written by someone who is not Dutch will judge it by different standards, and may not do full justice to the author's aims. Inevitably, in places the book is highly critical of British actions, not least those of the British supreme commander Lord Louis Mountbatten. But Bussemaker does accept that Mountbatten's vision of independence was correct, and makes the interesting suggestion (pp. 325, 337) that the Indonesian government should recognize Mountbatten as one of the greatest champions of Indonesian independence and erect a statue to him in Jakarta.

For his historical framework Bussemaker draws on a variety of written sources, in Dutch, English and Indonesian. He specifies with very precise detail the various military units involved, whether Dutch or British, including the names of commanding officers.

In McMillan's book I have found only one trivial error: 'Naval Officer in Chief, Batavia' (p. 81) should be 'Naval Officer in Charge, Batavia' (NOIC, a post held throughout by Capt. E. Tyndale Cooper, R.N.). There are some editing and printing errors in Bussemaker's book – for instance, '(zie pag 000)' on page 31 and *Oelam* in place of *Oelama* on page 29. The Japanese word on page 28 should I think be *keibitai*. 'New Soon' camp in Singapore (p. 242) should be 'Nee Soon'. For Indonesian words, Bussemaker chooses to use the pre-1972 spelling. Such forms as *Barisan Peloppor* (p. 29) and 'Tandjoeng Pagger' (p. 68) look clumsy. Some notes seem to be confused, and notes 159-197 appear to be missing altogether (p. 351).

The two books naturally diverge diametrically at many points. McMillan (p. 73) invokes fiction to introduce the 'notoriously brutal Dutchman, Raymond "Turk" Westerling' and his unspeakable cruelty in Medan. Bussemaker (p. 293) does not mention this, only citing a report praising Westerling for his courage. A great deal more could be written about this colourful character, whose intriguing autobiography (*Mijn memoires*) is not mentioned in the list of sources.

An enormous amount has been written about the period 1945-1946 in Indonesia, much of it very controversial. With the benefit of hindsight, and of books like these, our understanding of the course of history in those days becomes much clearer. Now we can see that since the Dutch devoted so much care to nurturing their Indies before World War II, it would have been astonishing if in 1945 they had accepted that their day was over, while in fact over it was, ineluctably. There was nothing they, nor the British, could do about it. This tragic fact cost thousands of lives and led to enduring bitterness. The sad thing is that the lesson has not been learned. This bloody interlude can be seen as just one stage in continuing intermittent conflicts provoked by Westerners and surrogate-Westerners who persistently believe that armed force will prevail over 'native' aspirations, in spite of the evidence of history.

Michael Heppell, Limbang anak Melaka and Enyan anak Usen, *Iban art; Sexual selection and severed heads: weaving, sculpture, tattooing and other arts of the Iban of Borneo*. Leiden: C. Zwartenkot, 2005, 181 pp. ISBN 906832540X. Price: EUR 50.00 (hardback).

VICTOR T. KING

We have been treated to many books on the traditional artistic productions and the everyday and religious life of the Iban and, more widely, the Dayak of Borneo. Images of Borneo natives in their rainforest habitats, tattooed and

bedecked with richly woven cloths, gold and silver jewellery, beads, shells, birds' feathers, animal skins, and carved bone and ivory, and of their elaborate material culture and their vibrant traditional religions and customs can be found on tourist posters, postcards, in guidebooks, promotional literature, travel books, and in-flight magazines, as well as in serious scholarly publications. Michael Heppell, a distinguished student of Iban culture, with artistic guidance and inspiration from Melaka anak Limbang (skilled in the 'manly arts') and the late Enyan anak Usen (one of the 'great Iban weavers'), has provided us with another text of familiarly striking images of 'Iban art' accompanied by a very substantial ethnographic narrative. The subtitle suggests that this is again a book targeted at those who love to gaze on and read about 'the exotic'; how could one not be excited by the twin themes of 'sexual selection and severed heads'? Is this yet another contribution to the popular Western image-construction of 'the traditional tribal other'? In some respects it is; look, for example at the photographs on pages 39, 90 and 110, and on the front cover. However, the book also represents a significant contribution to anthropological scholarship, though we should note that the focus is on Sarawak Iban, and not on those related groups on the Kalimantan side of the border whose material culture is still relatively unknown.

And what constitutes art, given that even the most mundane and functional objects are often ornately embellished? For Heppell and the Iban, art is 'inseparable from the religious ideas inspiring it' (p. 25). Heppell does not really discuss the concept in any detail, but in his discussion of such everyday, utilitarian items as plaited mats, sun hats and baskets, he delves into the artistic, and indicates that, despite their seeming ordinariness, they are 'quite beautiful', in that they combine 'form, decoration, and function'. Beauty seems to be the key to art, and observers have noted the 'harmony and beauty of ornamentation, the elegance of line-work and spacing and the relationship of motif to space' (p. 95). Furthermore, although there is clearly considerable interconnection between the art of the Iban and that of such other neighbouring Dayak groups as the Kayan, the egalitarian, competitive nature of Iban society has generated a uniquely vibrant, creative, forceful, eclectic and experimental artistic energy. What also comes through in this book is not merely the visual artistry of the Iban but also their poetic accomplishments. In his ethnographic narrative Heppell provides us with copious extracts from Iban poetry, rich in metaphor. The poetry demonstrates an exuberance, power and confidence, born of their need to survive, and indeed multiply, renew, and carry on the Iban line by competing with and successfully eliminating their enemies.

Although the images displayed in this book are familiar to those of us who have an interest in the traditional cultures of Borneo, there are new and stunning illustrations, enlivened, in particular, by photographs of Iban cloths

from the private collections of Datuk Amar Leonard and Datin Margaret Linggi of the Tun Jugah Foundation and of Datuk Amar Alfred and Datin Paduka Puan Sri Empiang Jabu, and from some of Tony Howarth's slides taken in 1984 when he accompanied Michael Heppell and Andro Linklater on a rather chaotic and highly amusing adventure among the Iban of Sarawak. This book on Iban art can be enjoyed simply for its visual displays of a traditional 'disappearing world'; there are some superb examples in colour of Iban woven cloths; some exquisite pieces of sculpture, carving and design in wood, bamboo and horn; and items of delicately executed plaited work in rattan and other natural fibres. The photographic reproductions are generally of a high standard, though it would have been useful to have a detailed and composite list of the illustrations for ease of reference and cross-reference.

But the book is much more than an addition to our coffee tables. Heppell deploys his detailed and intimate knowledge of the Iban developed since his doctoral research in the early 1970s, in addition to the advice and guidance of some of the foremost scholars of Dayak and specifically Iban cultures, including Derek Freeman, Vinson Sutlive, Clifford Sather, and Bernard Sellato, to provide us with a detailed ethnographic narrative on some crucial aspects of Iban culture. The text with considerable end-noting could stand justifiably as an ethnographic monograph in its own right. After placing the Iban in a historical and ecological context, focusing on the Iban engagement, physically and spiritually, with the rainforest environment and the processes by which the Iban as an ethnic category were created, Heppell examines, in ample detail, Iban religious ideas and practices. Much of this is known, but Heppell expresses and structures it in interesting ways, drawing out the complex interconnections between these sets of ideas, informed by his own reflections, personal observations, and considerable knowledge of Iban culture. He writes in an engaging, and sometimes amusing tone, but it has to be said that the density and subtlety of his analysis of symbolism and social order, and his wonderfully intricate cultural contextualization and comparative allusions, though they will undoubtedly evoke a warm response from experts, might ask too much of a general lay readership.

So Heppell, with great skill and frequent reference to the poetic imagination of the Iban, takes us on an epic journey into their mythical and symbolic world, exploring the important division between the Upperworld and the Underworld; into the lives and characteristics of the celestial deities and the immortals and the world of spirits; and into the religious ideas and festivals associated with head-taking and weaving. His focus on severed heads and powerful woven cloths draws us into the complex of ideas and practices which involve competition for prestige, the thirst for vengeance, the display of courage, prowess and skill, the need to survive by expansion and subjugation, the institution of the warrior and graded feasts, and the connections

between head-taking, the fertility of rice crops and women, procreation, sexual selection and fitness, and oratory (words carry spiritual power as do cloths and heads). This complexity is captured beautifully by Heppell in a quite straightforward statement on gendered complementarity: 'To ensure fertility, women need a plentiful supply of heads, which they cannot reap themselves. They need men to perform this grisly task, and incite them to do so through their weaving' (p. 35). Woven cloths and words inspire, incite and strengthen men to risk their lives in search of heads, the font of fertility. The focus of Heppell's book is on woven cloths, and the spiritual and social are there connected: 'Textiles link the Iban to their gods' (p. 41), but getting down to earth, '[w]eaving is a skill that separates achievers from non-achievers, high status households from low, the fit from the less fit in the marriage stakes' (p. 95). Heppell's thoughtful disquisition on the meanings of cloths, their patterns and motifs, deserves further debate, and no doubt will receive comment from other scholars of Iban textiles, including Traude Gavin (pp. 41-89, 170-3).

This is an exquisitely produced book, with a narrative which one can only admire. I would recommend anyone interested in traditional island Southeast Asian and particularly Bornean culture to purchase it. You won't be disappointed. But there is a tension in the book between the popular and the seriously academic. Heppell also signals the 'death of Iban art' (or rather the traditional art which he presents in this book) in considering briefly the transformations in Iban culture from the colonial period onwards (pp. 167-8). This is sad indeed for the Iban (and for us), when they have given the world woven cloths of such great beauty and artistry. But one hopes that the surviving Iban artists have not entirely abandoned or lost that dynamism and creativity which Heppell sees as their major characteristic. Perhaps, in the context of globalization, longhouse tourism, the movement of Ibans to towns, and their exposure to new art forms, the creative energy of the Iban will emerge or re-emerge in new artistic forms. I suspect that this is already happening in a limited way, even though 'it counts for little in all but a few pockets of modern Iban society' (p. 168).

John Roosa, *Pretext for mass murder; The September 30th Movement and Suharto's coup d'état in Indonesia*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006, xii + 329 pp. ISBN 0299220303. Price USD 50.00 (hardback); 0299220346, USD 23.95 (paperback).

GERRY VAN KLINKEN

1 October 1965 was the turning point in post-independence Indonesian history. It has been combed over for many years, and the conclusion seemed fairly clear: this was an internal army affair. Only the army said it was the PKI. John Roosa's astonishing triple achievement has been to bring to light new evidence forty years after the event, to overturn the accepted conclusions, and to do all this in a gripping whodunnit style. As if it were a murder mystery, I feel like warning the reader: this review contains spoilers.

The basic story is well known. Troops appeared on the streets of central Jakarta on the morning of 1 October 1965. Statements broadcast on national radio throughout the day linked the action to a '30th September Movement' but otherwise gave little consistent information (its confusing name arose because the movement was launched a day late). By the evening other troops led by Maj-Gen Suharto had persuaded the movement soldiers to back down. The public learned that movement troops and militiamen had abducted six top generals from their homes and killed them. Among them was the army commander Lt-Gen Achmad Yani. PKI General Secretary D.N. Aidit fled to Yogyakarta but was tracked down and shot soon after. Some soldiers sympathetic to the movement rebelled against their superior officers in Central Java and Yogyakarta. When they were disarmed it was all over. It had been a relatively small-scale event.

Then the backlash began. The army organized the wholesale slaughter of perhaps half a million PKI members and sympathizers throughout Indonesia. Far more than that were imprisoned, mostly without trial, until they were conditionally released in the late 1970s. Suharto gradually sidelined President Sukarno and then took over. This was the agonistic birth of the New Order. Constant propaganda continues to the present day blaming the PKI for the deaths of the generals, while keeping a tight lid on who was responsible for the politicide that followed. A whole generation of leftist intellectuals disappeared. Indonesia was transformed from a democratic if highly politicized society into a depoliticized, authoritarian polity run by soldiers and technocrats.

Interpreters of the 30th September Movement soon realized they had a problem. The documentary evidence was piecemeal and contradictory – at first only the broadcasts and editorials on 1 and 2 October, and then transcripts from the show trials that followed over several years. The movement

clearly consisted of two groups of actors. One was military: the presidential palace guard, some other army units, and air force personnel. The other was political: top functionaries of the PKI. The two groups were connected through the figure of Sjam, head of the PKI's Special Bureau. Which side supplied the driving force for the movement? The PKI as a whole, said the army, echoed by every New Order official since then (State Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia 1994). Suharto himself, with other anti-communist generals, acting through Sjam who was a double-agent, wrote Wertheim (1970). Junior officers within the army, concluded the Cornell University scholars Anderson and McVey (1971). Mainly discontented army officers but with extensive PKI support, replied Crouch (1973) in what Roosa calls the 'most judicious and well-founded' analysis hitherto. The debate from that point on seemed to become mired in ideological positions. Roosa's great service has been to dig out new evidence and to treat it with the most scrupulous respect, even if it leads him to a position no liberal commentator has thus far been willing to take.

Two crucial new sources form the foundation for Roosa's interpretation. The first is an account of the armed side of the movement written by one of the military conspirators, Brig-Gen M.A. Supardjo. It is part of the archive of documents presented at the military show trials, but seems simply to have been overlooked by analysts. The second are interviews Roosa conducted with a former high-level PKI source who wishes to remain anonymous and is here called 'Hasan'. We will no doubt eventually learn who this is, and anonymity is at present certainly defensible, but the fact that we have to trust Roosa for such an important source is unsettling. However, several other new sources from well-placed former PKI members confirm the thrust of what Supardjo and Hasan reveal. They consist of published memoirs, unpublished documents, and more interviews. That trail of evidence leads convincingly to the PKI secretary-general. Since so much of the evidence came to Roosa as part of his oral history research into the experiences of former PKI members under the New Order (Roosa et al. 2004), we could conclude that at least some within the ageing cohort of PKI leaders have decided that the historical truth of the matter trumps an ideological defence of the party's record first as people's champion and then as victim of repression. For although Aidit (and his assistant Sjam) acted alone, he must have known the enormous risks he was taking imperilled not just him alone but every member of his party.

The PKI Central Committee had given Aidit sole responsibility for PKI relations with the military. Other parties too, for example the socialists, quietly cultivated friends in the armed forces. For direct contact with officers he had to rely on Sjam, head of the Special Bureau (Biro Khusus) that answered exclusively to him. Unlike his predecessor Karto, Sjam was no revolutionary intellectual. He was bourgeois, opportunistic, and unwaveringly loyal to

Aidit. In 1965 he was 'a self-deluded braggart and unthinking apparatchik' (p. 160). Psychological insights like this are a great strength of Roosa's book. Sjam was no military double agent.

Sharpening contradictions between the army and the PKI led Aidit in mid-1965 to begin considering direct action against certain right-wing generals. In so doing he walked straight into a trap. A trove of recently released US government documents shows that the Indonesian army and its US backers had for months been actively hoping the PKI would strike first. They may have stimulated rumours of the existence of a Council of Generals that was planning to smash the PKI. Without knowing exactly what would happen – their own intelligence chief was among the generals killed – the army made broad contingency plans for a military takeover should the PKI fall for it. These plans were implemented with devastating efficiency after 1 October.

In June 1965 Aidit spoke with Algerian revolutionaries in Paris who had taken part in the left-wing coup a few days earlier. The progressive coup in Iraq of 1958 had also been much discussed. But in Aidit's Maoist-Leninist view a coup was not enough, indeed a full coup was not even necessary. Instead he envisaged a two-stage affair, one internal to the armed forces, one public. A military putsch by progressive officers against conservative ones – the internal army affair – could only be the trigger for a seismic political shift to the left within the Indonesian scene if it was followed up by massive communist-led demonstrations. The plan therefore called for two groups of conspirators – military and political – but acting under a single command. When Aidit asked Sjam in late August 1965 if he had enough left-wing officers in hand to organize such an action, Sjam replied that he did ('it's a slam dunk, sir', he might have said today). Aidit and Sjam drew up plans for these soldiers to kidnap a key group of right-wing officers and bring them before President Sukarno accused of anti-revolutionary scheming. Sukarno was then supposed to condemn the right wingers, and replace them with left-wing sympathizers. At that point the PKI would bring its masses into the streets in support of Sukarno, and Sukarno would reshuffle his cabinet to give the PKI more breathing space. The operation was extremely fraught, but it was not a coup.

From here on incompetence shattered all their dreams. The initial intelligence was flawed – no Council of Generals planning a coup existed. Sjam had fewer officers at his disposal than he had claimed. Only five men were at the core of the plot – three military (Untung, Latief, and Soejono), and two PKI (Sjam and Pono). Aidit stayed in the background. Two or three days before 1 October Sjam introduced his friend Brig-Gen Supardjo to the plot. He was in Jakarta from the outer islands on a family visit. Supardjo agreed, because visits to Vietnam and China had given him great faith in the utopian potential of communist parties that controlled armed force. He thought the party knew

what it was doing. But when he learned how poorly organized the plot was, the soldier in him was appalled. His post-facto analysis of what went wrong, written before his arrest, is Roosa's most important source.

None of the conspirators had slept properly beforehand. The civilian Sjam was in charge, disastrously. He resisted all attempts at military contingency planning as 'defeatist'. Teams sent out to bring in the generals were untrained, had no walky-talkies, and lacked clear instructions. They inadvertently killed or badly wounded three of them, and this led to the others being killed as well. At the critical moment no one knew where Sukarno was. Soldiers sent to occupy Merdeka Square were not fed all day. When Sukarno turned up by chance at the air force base, he refused to endorse an action that had killed his top generals. The propaganda was irregular and confusing. As the initiative passed rapidly to Suharto towards the end of the day, Sjam began to improvise. A statement 'decommissioning' the cabinet made the action look like a coup, which it was not intended to be. Calls to come out in the streets in support of the Revolutionary Council went unheeded because no one had any idea what this was about – it had been kept secret. Aidit had not even informed top PKI leaders like Sudisman. At his trial Sudisman said, honestly, that the PKI had merely supported a movement by progressive officers. He did not know it had been entirely orchestrated by Aidit and Sjam.

The largest remaining grey area is exactly what Suharto and his closest colleagues knew on the morning of 1 October 1965. To Roosa's credit, he does not speculate where the evidence is wanting. Suharto's personal links with two of the conspirators, Lt-Col Untung and Col Latief, may have given him an inkling something was afoot but minus the details. However, existing military plans for how to respond to a PKI first strike helped him move decisively when the moment came. Aidit's military purge was Suharto's pretext for mass murder.

Roosa's construction of his evidence is convincing. It adds new complexity to the historiography of the New Order. The basic story line in the hugely influential 'Cornell paper', that the military dominated everything in 1965, needs correction. Aidit's catastrophic decision to strike against the right-wing generals precipitated a blood-drenched military takeover that would not have been politically possible if he had held back. The military knew they were too unpopular to take over unless they could show that the PKI were national traitors. The PKI's 'democratic centralism' permitted Aidit to take this action without the Central Committee's knowledge, let alone that of rank-and-file members. Thus the adventurism (as PKI insiders later called it) of the party's own leader – Sukarno in 1967 called him *keblinger*, a mad dreamer – in one stroke undid the heroic work of thousands of party cadres in support of grassroots struggles for justice.

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Vladimir Braginsky, *The heritage of traditional Malay literature; A historical survey of genres, writings and literary views*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2004, xiv + 890 pp. [Verhandelingen KITLV 214.] ISBN 9067182141. Price: EUR 45.00 (hardback).

DICK VAN DER MEIJ

For unknown reasons, scholars of classical Javanese literature have generally shied away from any attempt at a comprehensive and authoritative description of this literature, its history, and its workings. Apart from the first volume of the massive *Literature of Java* by Th.G.Th. Pigeaud, no comprehensive description of Javanese literature in the English language exists either.⁴ Interestingly, Pigeaud's book does not even claim to be comprehensive; it is merely a necessary introduction to the manuscript collections of Leiden University Library and other public collections in the Netherlands.⁵

Similarly, students of literatures in other languages of the Indonesian-Malay world – for example, Sundanese, Batak, Minangkabau, Balinese, Buginese, and Makasarese – have made no attempt to write exhaustive books

⁴ Th.G.Th. Pigeaud, *Literature of Java; Catalogue raisonné of Javanese manuscripts in the library of the University of Leiden and other public collections in the Netherlands*. Vol. 1: *Synopsis of Javanese literature 900-1900 AD*. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1967.

⁵ The only other writer to have made such an attempt in the case of Javanese classical literature was the Javanese scholar R.M.Ng. Poerbatjaraka, who published his *Kapustakan Djawi* (in Javanese) and *Kepustakaan Djawa* (in Indonesian) in 1952 (Jakarta: Djambatan). However, his book is not comparable to that by Pigeaud.

about these literatures, although brief introductions, mostly intended for laypeople, have appeared. By contrast, scholars of Malay literature – including J.J. de Hollander, R.O. Winstedt, C. Hooykaas, Liauw Yock Fang, Teuku Iskandar, Harun Mat Piah, and others – have been keen to tackle this project from an early stage. A short critical history of their attempts may be found in Braginsky's *The heritage of traditional Malay literature* under the heading 'Historical surveys of traditional Malay literature in the context of Malay literary studies: a historiographical review' (pp. 4-15). Time and again, individual scholars have apparently found the works and views of their predecessors in need of improvement to such an extent that they have decided to write their own personal histories of traditional Malay literature. This is no mean task, and the resulting books have tended to become increasingly voluminous. The work under review here is both the latest and, at more than 900 pages, by far the most bulky; anyone attempting to digest it in its entirety will need to invest considerable effort.

Rather than presenting yet another exposé of Malay literature, Braginsky has used an integral, internal approach. That is, he looks at Malay literature as a totality of mutually integrated and mutually influencing entities, and he does so by trying to get 'inside' the literature instead of looking at it from the convenient distance of an outside scholar. This is of course hard to do. Not only does it mean reading most of the Malay works in Malay (not an easy task given that many texts are unedited or poorly edited, and manuscript collections are dispersed all over the globe); it also requires Braginsky to be able to look at Malay literature as if he were himself a Malay. Fortunately for Braginsky, he can build on the work of his predecessors and make use of the editions, synopses, and descriptions of many of the texts that are available. Malay literature is by now well studied, at least compared to the other literatures of its region. The book is refreshing in that it includes studies and views of Russian scholars which are not always available in English and therefore largely ignored. That Braginsky has done his homework is evident: the work had a gestation period of more than 30 years! Previous versions were published in Russian in 1983 and in Indonesian in 1998. The bibliography (pp. 777-852) covers 76 pages and is in itself a valuable aid for students of Indonesian-Malay literatures, although Braginsky himself hastens to state that it is by no means complete (p. 777) – which indeed it is not.

Another difference from previous efforts is that this book incorporates literary theory to a greater extent than do its predecessors. The author looks at literary works as 'holistic, aesthetically significant phenomena, of which a historically reconsidered semantic integrality finds its expression in a definite poetical (in a broader sense of the word) form' (p. 21). Braginsky states quite rightly that it is no longer necessary to provide yet another string of synopses of different works, as that has already been done often enough. Instead he

examines each genre: what it is, where it comes from, and how the individual works that it contains interact while staying within the confines of the genre. He looks at traditional Malay writings (or perhaps we should say 'writings in Malay'?) while paying attention to their structures and functions, poetics and aesthetics. Of course where necessary, synopses of the texts which he refers to in his arguments are presented as well.

Braginsky structures his theoretical framework around three groups of questions. This is important, as the holistic approach of the book requires a clear understanding of how the various theoretical issues hang together. The first group of questions concerns problems of tracing; these are problems of a historical and diachronic nature. Where do the texts come from and who wrote them? Issues of anonymity and insufficient historical documentation, especially for the earlier periods, are matters largely still to be dealt with. The second group of questions involves problems of synchronicity in the various historical periods of Malay literature. These are matters of intertextuality, of how generic structures contrast with each other while also being interrelated and hierarchically arranged: in short, of how genres relate to each other *in* time, not *over* time. The third and final group of questions concerns 'the problem of revealing the integrated character and artistic value of the literary works being researched' (p. 15-9).

The above remarks may suffice to show that the book is rich, very rich indeed. It contains an introduction and eight chapters, each with its own introduction and divided into many subsections. The parts and chapters are: 1. Old Malay literature, I. The system of genres in Old Malay literature; a reconstruction; 2. Early Islamic literature, II. The problem of early Islamic Malay literature and its genre system; III. The major works of the early Islamic period; 3. Classical literature, IV. Self-awareness of Malay literature in the classical period; V. The genre system of classical Malay literature; VI. Prose works of the classical period; VII. Poetry of the classical period; VIII. Muslim hagiography and Sufi literature. The book ends with concluding remarks, bibliography, and index.

The concluding remarks (pp. 763-75) relate an anecdote about a letter the author received from R. Roolvink in 1974 when the vague outlines of the present book were beginning to take shape. Roolvink (who coincidentally refrained from writing his own history of Malay literature) claimed in the letter that all the difficulties faced by the historian of Malay literature boil down to one: 'Malay literature simply has too little history' (p. 763). Braginsky admits that there is 'a grain of truth' in that remark, but unfortunately does not mention exactly what truth. In my view there is something ill-fitting in this context about the terms 'history', 'traditional', and 'classical', all of which point in the direction of the past and of things gone by. While some things have indeed disappeared or lost their attractiveness, others have not. I think

therefore that the title of the present work is most appropriate. It is indeed with the *heritage* of traditional Malay literature that Braginsky is concerned. As with anything handed down from peoples and times past, that heritage is there for some to use, admire, and cherish, and for others to ignore.

Braginsky's book will probably remain the most voluminous and most exciting book on Malay literature for some time to come. It has put that literature in wider theoretical context and will undoubtedly lead to many future studies, discussions and debates. No doubt some will embrace his approach and agree with his views, while others will contest the way he has chosen to deal with Malay literature. In the space of two years, two English-language books have been published on traditional Malay literature: the present work by a non-Malay, and another by Malay authors.³ The viewpoints put forward in both will hopefully lead to increased communication and understanding.

Joel Robbins and Holly Wardlow (eds), *The making of global and local modernities in Melanesia; Humiliation, transformation and the nature of cultural change*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005, xv + 227 pp. ISBN 0754643123. Price: GBP 47.50 (hardback).

TOON VAN MEIJL

This collection of essays aims at exploring and developing the original idea of Marshall Sahlins that feelings of inferiority and humiliation are crucial in cultural changes that imply a radical break with the past. Sahlins first expressed this thought in an article that is not well known, 'The economics of develop-man in the Pacific', originally published in 1992 and now reprinted as Chapter 1 of this book. The term 'developman' was made up by Sahlins after he misheard the interjection of the English term 'development' in a conversation between two New Guinea students in neo-Melanesian Tok Pisin language. To him it sounded like 'developman', which in his view captured indigenous strategies of coping with the introduction of capitalism during the colonial era, an intermediary stage which in some areas has nevertheless lasted for more than a century. Subsequently, Sahlins used the term to describe how non-Western people employ their encounter with the world capitalist system to expand traditional culture in traditional terms: rituals become bigger, chains of reciprocity become longer, and the followings of big men and chiefs become larger. Since the cultural logic governing social relations remains recognizably indigenous during this process, the changes

³ Harun Mat Piah et al., *Traditional Malay literature*. Translated by Harry Aveling. Second edition. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 2002.

involve 'development' from the perspective of the people concerned: 'their own culture on a bigger and better scale than they ever had it' (p. 24).

Sahlins contrasts this conception of indigenous development with development in a Western sense, which is no longer characterized by a selective but by an eclectic relation to Western commodities. The passage from developman to development is marked, in Sahlins' view, by humiliation and cultural debasement. The role of disgrace, he considers, is crucial since people will have to depreciate their own self-worth and the value of their objects in order to desire the benefits of 'development' and 'progress' (p. 39). Considering the focus on continuity in cultural change in Sahlins' work over the past three decades, it is not surprising that he has seldom examined in any detail the transition from developman to development, and particularly the role of humiliation therein. But it is precisely this which Sahlins and the other contributing authors now aim to do in *The making of global and local modernities*.

The role of humiliation in cultural transformations is analysed here through ethnographic case studies from Melanesia, all of which are situated within a theoretical account of Sahlins' influential ideas about the relationship between cultural continuity and change in colonial settings. These ideas are summed up by Joel Robbins in a remarkably lucid and insightful introduction, which will be particularly useful for those who are not familiar with Sahlins' *oeuvre*. The main ideas around which Sahlins' work on cultural change is built are that in all change there is continuity, that indigenous peoples have their own cultural integrity, and, finally, that indigenous peoples are active agents in processes of change. His model of cultural change in colonial circumstances revolves around the premise that people put the categories of their culture into play by acting, thus subjecting those categories to risk in the event that the fit between category and reality is not a neat one, and finally suffering transformations of categories and the relations between them when there is a mismatch between category and reality. Sahlins' argument about humiliation is discussed in the second part of the introduction, while the final section reflects on the need to develop a broader theory of the role of cultural debasement in fostering discontinuity.

The book contains eleven chapters, all based on solid ethnography and all containing interesting reflections on the central theme of humiliation. Some, notably those by Leavitt, Stewart and Strathern, Silverman and Biersack, show that humiliation may emerge along traditional lines, thus reconciling the argument about cultural debasement with Sahlins' observation that indigenous societies invariably influence change and in doing so maintain their cultural integrity. Other contributors, especially Errington and Gewertz, Josephides, and Akin, discuss the humiliation argument mainly in relation to Sahlins' view that indigenous people remain active agents pursuing their own goals even during the initial stages of the colonial era. The role of humil-

iation in cultural change is further related to the influence of Christianity in the chapters by Biersack, Robbins, and Stewart and Strathern. Some link their discussions to the sophisticated debate in Melanesian anthropology on notions of personhood (Josephides, Leavitt, Silverman, Wardlow), while others focus their reflections on the connection between emotions and postcolonial politics (Dalton, Foster, Robbins, Sykes). Robert Foster, finally, weaves the various contributions together in an epilogue.

The only disadvantage of this book is that it does not include discussions of humiliation in situations of cultural contact outside Melanesia. Anthropologists specialized in Melanesia do tend to talk mainly to themselves, and this is understandable to the extent that as a culture area Melanesia may be unique. The theoretical point of departure of this volume, however, offered a real opportunity to engage Melanesian ethnography with case studies from other areas in the Pacific or perhaps even beyond. This should in principle have been doubly attractive – and feasible – given that the influence of Sahlins' theory of culture change is not restricted to regional specialists. The high price of this book is a second reason why it may not reach the readership it deserves – a regrettable likelihood since *The making of global and local modernities in Melanesia* is an innovative contribution to the debate about cultural change.

Kwee Hui Kian, *The political economy of Java's northeast coast c.1740-1800; Elite synergy*. Leiden: Brill, 2006, xxvi + 334 pp. [TANAP Monographs on the History of Asian-European Interaction, 3.] ISBN 9004150900. Price: EUR 76.00 (hardback).

LUC NAGTEGAAL

Some books are like pieces that have been missing in a jigsaw puzzle. This Leiden doctoral dissertation by Kwee Hui Kian on the political economy of Java's northeast coast between 1740 and 1800 is such a book, because it fills the gap between the better researched periods before and after. Its description of events is solidly based on research in the archives of the Dutch East India Company.

The book starts with the aftermath of the 'Chinese War', when the Dutch East India Company replaced the ruler of the inland kingdom of Mataram as the overlord over Java's northeast coast. The first ten years saw the Company struggle with the new situation. There were many conflicts with the Javanese *bupati* and with the mainly Chinese tax farmers. An attempt by the Company to monopolize the sale of rice was no success. An added problem was the war within Mataram, which was only settled in 1754 when the rebel princes

Mangkubumi and Mangkunegara were recognized as independent rulers.

After peace was restored, all major players found a new balance. In the years between 1754 and about 1795 the Company, the Mataram rulers, the coastal *bupati* and the Chinese towkay were all able to benefit from the situation. This was especially so after the demand on the world market for Javanese coffee, sugar and other cash crops began to rise steeply around 1778. Increasingly these products were sold in Java directly to American, Prussian, Danish and other Western traders.

After 1790 increased piracy and the effects of the Anglo-Dutch war took their toll on shipping, which sharply decreased. Around the same time the role of the Company was gradually taken over by the Dutch state, and this brought new paradigms. Dutch officials increasingly became critical of the role of the coastal *bupati* and started regarding them as impediments to economic growth, contrasting their territories to the Chinese-leased lands on the Northeast Coast. Here there were no Javanese officials above the village level to siphon off wealth, and the peasants were forced to grow cash crops as statutory labour and pay additional taxes in cash. This arrangement clearly foreshadowed the nineteenth-century Cultivation System. Before 1800 the Dutch did not dare to introduce such wide-ranging reforms on the Northeast Coast, because with the British foe on the horizon they needed the military support of the Javanese elite.

Kwee Hui Kian describes these developments convincingly. Not content with this, she works with a new theoretical framework for the history of Java, using what she calls 'a game synergy metaphor'. In this view history is determined by various big players within the political elite, in eighteenth-century Java notably the Company, the Mataram trinity, the coastal *bupati*, and the Chinese towkay. The game they played with each other, normally in rough equilibrium, was occasionally disrupted when the cost-benefit calculation of any of the big players prompted them to change the rules. For the most part, however, the self-interest of all parties involved necessitated compromise, collaboration, and synergy.

This metaphor leads the author to describe the 'arena' as relatively static. On pages 226-7 she asks whether the size of the economic pie had changed, and whether the gap between rich and poor had increased. But she shies away from giving even the beginnings of an answer. This is unfortunate, because it makes a huge difference whether the 'players' were acting in a shrinking or in a growing economy. The author has not bothered to quantify the economic data in the archival sources. Another omission is her lack of attention to people outside the various elites, or as Kwee Hui Kian puts it, outside of the 'arena'. Such people do not exist in the book other than as a source of economic gain. Consequently there is not much to be found on Islam either, although scattered information in the book seems to suggest that in the second half of the

eighteenth century, as in other periods, Islam was often a rallying cry for those who were not allowed to take part in the game.

This criticism notwithstanding, I applaud Kwee Hui Kian for writing this book. It gives us a solid descriptive history, rather than speculation, and that is an achievement not to be regarded lightly.

Charles A. Coppel (ed.), *Violent conflicts in Indonesia; Analysis, representation, resolution*. London: Routledge, 2006, xx + 322 pp. [RoutledgeCurzon Contemporary Southeast Asia Series 7.] ISBN 0700716491. Price: GBP 70.00 (hardback).

GERBEN NOOTEBOOM

'Migration, provocateurs and communal conflict' reads the title of the ninth chapter of Charles Coppel's edited volume on violence in Indonesia. Although this chapter by Loveband and Young is not the most convincing one in the book, its title summarizes the core topics of the volume. This book deals with *violence*, which was mainly communal, with *provocateurs* who were probably never there, and with *migration* as an underlying process which has largely made possible the development of the negative inter-ethnic sentiments. This volume – dedicated to Herbert Feith (1931-2001) – brings together academics, journalists and professionals with an analytical and practical perspective on violence in Indonesia.

Coppel has edited a highly readable book with interesting chapters on Aceh, East Timor, Maluku, Jakarta, East Java, West Kalimantan and West Papua. It describes and analyses different forms of violence which have occurred mostly during the turbulent years near the end of the New Order regime and the early years of reform. Interestingly, the book also explores forms of representation of violence and the role of the media. The last sections deal with victims and with possibilities for resolving or preventing violent conflicts. The book is a welcome addition to existing volumes on Indonesian violence (Bertrand 2004; Bouvier et al. 2006; Colombijn and Lindblad 2002; Hüsken and De Jonge 2002; Wessel and Wimhöfer 2001). Its main strengths are its rather complete and multidimensional analyses, which expose the deeper reasons for and wider causes of violence in Indonesia (including the often ambivalent and paradoxical influence of the state); and its integrated attempt to deconstruct and demystify the discourses of conspiracy and provocation which are always so prevalent in Indonesia. Therefore, this book is recommended for academics, students and practitioners interested in the sociopolitical, cultural and human background of violent conflicts in Indonesia.

Charles Coppel is an expert on the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia, and this is clearly reflected in the first part of the book, where four out of five chapters deal with violence against the Chinese minority. There is ample justification for this emphasis, since Chinese Indonesians have repeatedly been subject to violence in Indonesia throughout postcolonial history as well as during the latest violent period at the turn of the century. After Coppel's introduction, Lindsey offers a fundamental chapter which – rather narrowly – deals with legal and political explanations for many forms of violence which have taken place since independence. In his view, violence in Indonesian history can be characterized as a long sequence of violent acts by Indonesians against Indonesians, usually accompanied by some form of state involvement (p. 19). Lindsey speaks of a *preman* state in which the state uses criminals, bandits and militias to do those things which cannot be carried out directly by state institutions. This results in an internally divided state apparatus which, both due to legal shortcomings and because it frequently foments violence itself, is unable to resolve violent communal conflicts taking place on its territory. As Lindsey (2000:281) has written elsewhere, 'the New Order state consciously created a parallel "secret" state to ensure its access to illegal or extra-legal rents'. Among the population at large, consequently, trust in state justice and state policies in Indonesia is extremely low.

This lack of trust is reflected in the numerous conspiracy theories always circulating in Indonesia. Several authors in the book deal systematically with conspiracy and provocation, and for the most part succeed in deconstructing and demystifying these phenomena. Examples of demystification can be found in the excellent chapters by Herriman, Peluso, Van Klinken and Drexler. In her chapter on Solo, Purdey, while providing some thin evidence for the existence of provocateurs, simultaneously deconstructs conspiracy theories by identifying the social construction and reproduction of dominant discourses on provocateurs and the nature of the violence. The chapter by Siew Min on the May 1998 rapes in Jakarta forms a kind of theoretical justification for this approach as she shows how discourses on violence are themselves shaped by conflict and power differences.

Editing and streamlining contributions by different authors into a coherent edited volume is a difficult task. Although this book is well edited and relatively coherent in its approach, some analytical controversies and tensions between chapters remain. One example can be found in the chapters on the Moluccas by Van Klinken on the one hand, and Loveband and Young on the other. In these two chapters, the explanations of the causes of the conflict seem to contradict each other. Van Klinken maintains that *laskar* militias from Java were relatively unimportant, emphasizing instead the role of local ethnic constellations and regional elites; Loveband and Young identify migration, outside forces and Jakartan influences as the crucial factors. Of

course it may be possible to reconcile these explanations as complementary ways of unravelling the complexity of the conflict. More worrying are factual contradictions in the numbers of victims of violence. Whereas Van Klinken mentions three to four thousand deaths during the whole conflict, Loveband and Young quote a report by the Indonesian National Commission on Human Rights which gives a death toll of at least five thousand (p. 146). Moreover, unlike other contributors, Loveband and Young stick to somewhat 'populist' explanations such as the massive population movements under the New Order (which in the Moluccas were predominantly 'spontaneous' rather than state-organized), the lack of ethnic integration, and the importance of provocateurs. They fail to explain why the conflict exploded and spread so easily, why it appeared at that particular moment in time, and why stories of provocateurs fell on such fertile ground. It is precisely for insights into such questions, together with sound academic inquiry and a healthy distrust of conspiracy theories, that the book as a whole is valuable.

The second section of the book, on victims, justice and conflict resolution, also stands in some tension with the general approach of the volume. It is definitely tempting to combine any study of conflict with a look at possible ways out of violence, as studying violence in its everyday reality is simply too painful and the suffering of thousands of victims calls for immediate action. To attempt to combine these two perspectives in one book is an honourable undertaking. It remains questionable, however, whether this approach has been fruitful here, as the two parts remain rather separate entities without much cross-fertilization. The case studies show such a tremendous variety in forms of violence that no coherent procedure emerges for analysing them all, let alone for putting an end to them. Thus the mention of *resolution* in the book's title proves overambitious. All in all, nevertheless, Coppel's work stands out as an inspiring contribution to the study of violence in Indonesia.

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Tom Therik, *Wehali: the female land; Traditions of a Timorese ritual centre*. Canberra: Pandanus, 2004, xviii + 332 pp. ISBN 1740761464. Price: AUD 31.78 (paperback).

DIANNE VAN OOSTERHOUT

Eastern Indonesia is known among anthropologists as the area in which the notion of the 'flow of life' is emphasized. It is also the area that F.A.E. van Wouden, a true pupil of the Dutch structuralist J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong, believed to form a cultural region, sharing a common structural core of marriage system, clan system and socio-cosmic dualism. Therik's ethnography fits into this tradition by exploring dual symbolic classifications such as male/female, centre/periphery and inside/outside as these are used by the South Tetun in the southern plains of Timor, and by the Wehali in particular, to organize and perpetuate society. However, following Fox, Therik also distances himself from this predefined model by focusing on 'metaphors for living'. These emic metaphors allow for the analysis of local (dual) categories. They also allow the integration of eastern Indonesian societies that do not possess such a structural core, but that do link up with shared themes such as precedence or *uma* (the house). Linguistic evidence, myth analysis, and the transcription of words and texts function to make local perceptions and meanings the starting point of the analysis. Therik's contribution to our knowledge of eastern Indonesia lies first and foremost in the way he reveals the internal dynamics, flexibility, and poetic quality of local knowledge systems, and the ways these link up with daily practice and social structure. This publication will appeal mainly to (symbolic) anthropologists and sociolinguists, and, to some extent, to historians.

Wehali is identified as the ritual centre of the island of Timor and, conceptually, of the world. Wehali was once the centre of a network of tributary

states and the seat of a spiritual figure of traditional authority. This figure was the source of life from which the surrounding domains derived their prosperity. Historically, tribute was paid to Wehali for the performance of the rituals of life. In its contemporary setting this centre continues to maintain its rituals and traditions, and to be a source of life for its peripheral domains. Wehali is considered to be a female centre, and its 'Great Lord', although male, to be a 'Female lord'. Embodied in his person is the fundamental Timorese idea that ultimate authority is defined as female. This has consequences for the ways in which land and property are divided: all land and houses pass from women to women. It also has consequences for marriage exchange, in which it is the men who are exchanged among related 'female houses'. As the source of life, Wehali is the husband-giver to other areas of Timor. This contrasts sharply with the common association of the flow of life with wife-givers and the exchange of women among 'male houses'.

A central dual symbolic classification in this book is the dichotomy outside-inside, or outsiders-insiders, which finds expression in two major 'metaphors for living': paths and precedence. Paths appear to relate primarily to the application of dual categories to origins, expressing the distance and route to the source of life. According to the origin myths of the Tetun, their domain is the place of origin of humans, which means that nobody is completely an outsider: every outsider is potentially a returning insider. However, there seem to be several insider categories. Therik, born in another part of the Tetun-speaking area, is considered to be more 'inside' than outsiders from elsewhere. But it takes the mastering of the ritual language of the ancestors to become truly part of the source domain and to gain access to the power of Wehali. Therik's endeavour to unravel this ritual language may thus be read both as a blueprint for local power relations, and as a reversed life-cycle journey, a journey back in time, tracing 'the old path of the ancestors'. Such paths reappear throughout the chapters in different forms, such as the path of men through marriage, or, in a reversed route, the path along which crops are reciprocated from the periphery to the centre in return for the flow of life.

Following in the footsteps of various (Australian) anthropologists who, in the last two decades of the twentieth century, explored alternative perspectives on eastern Indonesian societies, Therik employs the theme of 'precedence' in analysing patterns of social or ritual relationships. These patterns result from the application of dual categories (outside and inside) by the people of the region in defining the nature of their social relationships. Therik argues that the phrase *fo baa*, 'giving away', is used to indicate that Wehali is the origin of all societies. 'Thus the notion of "centre-periphery" begins at this point' (p 69). The Wehali people further elaborate the concepts of centre and periphery in various idiomatic expressions which imply centrality and

precedence. Some such expressions are botanical (trunk, source), others anthropomorphic (umbilical cord), still others related to the house (inside). These idioms, familiar in many eastern Indonesian societies, stress the direction of the flow of life.

By taking an inward-looking approach, Therik misses the chance to place Tetun within a wider comparative perspective. His material repeatedly provides moments at which interesting and significant parallels could have been drawn with other Austronesian societies, or at which he may have contributed to regional theory-building. Even in the concluding chapter we find no serious effort to make a clear statement, or to stress the relevance of his important conclusions in a wider context. This omission leaves it up to the reader to decide on the positioning of the Tetum, and severely limits the contribution of the book to the study of (eastern) Indonesian societies. Furthermore, the material is presented as representing a view that is shared by all members of society. Perhaps this is related to the focus of the study on local origin myths, which, as the author stresses, have to be told using the words of the ancestors to avoid misfortune. In any case we miss out on internal dynamics, status and gender differences, and contested or conflicting claims to precedence. This reinforces the impression that what is being presented is an idealized version of local history. Therik pays very little attention to processes of social change or to the realities of individual members of society. Another point of criticism concerns the use of local terminology. Throughout the text, Therik provides ample functional examples of local narrative genres (such as origin myths, ritual speech, poetry), but it is rather difficult to keep track of the local terminology which he uses so abundantly. The fact that the glossary is more elaborate than the bibliography exemplifies the imbalance here between local perceptions and regional comparisons. Nevertheless, the result is a thorough view of Tetun perceptions of origins and social order.

Patricio N. Abinales and Donna J. Amoroso, *State and society in the Philippines*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005, xxxiv + 353 pp. ISBN 0742510239. Price: USD 82.50 (hardback); 0742510247, USD 39.95 (paperback).

PORTIA L. REYES

True to its title, *State and society in the Philippines* outlines 'the general contours of Philippine state formation and state-society relations' (p. 3) by examining 'the long history of institutional state weakness in the Philippines and the efforts made to overcome the state's structural fragility and strengthen

its bond with society' (p. 2). The book's target audience is readily apparent: the undergraduate American readership. And it is upon this assumption that the book excels. The writing is crisp and the language accessible. Abinales and Amoroso understand their audience and, importantly, the nature of the subject they are surveying: the massive problems that the Philippines faces today (although they do not neglect to make some optimistic interjections regarding the country's future). Their main argument is clear and defensible: reasons for the structural weakness of the twentieth-century Philippine state are found in the way in which the Filipino elite, supported by the American colonizers, grew to become career politicians who controlled the processes of capital accumulation, production and consumption through governance.

Chronologically arranged, Chapters 1 to 4 provide a general (and, at times, perfunctory) look at the historical background to what is really the book's strength, found in Chapters 5 through 10. Here the authors skilfully examine the long, tortuous political dance between the efforts of Filipino politicians to control and centralize governance, and the subsequent reactions by different sectors of Filipino society. Suffrage is extended to all members of the populace; the civil service is professionalized; taxation and education are nationalized; and government extension agencies for banking and finance, public transport, water and electricity provision are supplied with competent appointed officials. But all the while, 'landlessness, wages and other problems of the rural and urban poor' (p. 147) have remained unresolved, forcing the desperate poor to turn to groups such as millenarian sects or the Communist Party of the Philippines, both of which promise an effective redistribution of land/wealth. In particular, Abinales and Amoroso's discussion of the rising unrest that led up to President Ferdinand Marcos's declaration of martial law in 1972 is expertly handled. They further demonstrate how Marcos, with military and United States backing, systematically concentrated state power on suppressing dissent while he and his cronies pillaged the economy. And it was this emaciated state that Marcos bequeathed to the country following his toppling from power by the February 1986 People's Power Revolt. To this day the state's institutions have yet to recover.

Abinales and Amoroso accurately assess some of the major structural issues plaguing the country, from a regressive tax system that burdens the poor and working class, to indirect consumption taxes and a toothless land reform program, to a politics choked by patronage-driven decision-making. The authors do, however, note signs of hope. There are the handful of dedicated politicians, for instance, who do seek genuine reform. Meanwhile, a party-list system is now enforced in congress, and the influence of civil society groups in the national legislation process is growing. Also, technocrats, rather than pork-barrelling politicians, are making their mark on the state's economic plans.

State and society in the Philippines utilizes a productive mix of traditional and contemporary English-language sources that includes a fair number of Filipino authors and periodicals. Despite the book's intended target audience, it would have been useful to provide some sources in the Filipino language(s), if only to show that Filipino is a dynamic and lively medium of social science thinking. The authors do, however, provide instructions on the pronunciation of key Filipino words throughout the text. I also appreciate the way Abinales and Amoroso draw parallels with American (political) history as if to demystify Philippine history and politics. The 'Philippine timeline' that opens the book is cumbersome and reminiscent of early to mid-twentieth-century textbooks, which were obsessed with the need for clarity and a simplified chronological unfolding of history. More user-friendly, however, are the informative boxed texts sprinkled throughout the book's narrative. Also used in Jean Taylor's *Indonesia; Peoples and histories* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), these represent a welcome trend in history textbooks. In all, Abinales and Amoroso have produced a refreshingly useful volume for the American undergraduate and generalist/comparativist (that is, the non-specialist) of a kind that has not been published in the United States for some time.

Han ten Brummelhuis, *King of the waters; Homan van der Heide and the origin of modern irrigation in Siam*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2005, x + 409 pp. [Verhandelingen 226.] ISBN 9067182370. Price: EUR 35.00 (paperback).

JEROEN RIKKERINK

This book, as the title suggests, is about a Dutch engineer who designed plans for modern irrigation in Siam. Homan van der Heide lived and worked in Siam for six years between 1902 and 1909. During this period he created the Royal Irrigation Department and developed ambitious plans for modern irrigation in Siam on a grand scale. These plans were not implemented in his lifetime. In 1957, more than half a century after Van der Heide left Siam in frustration, the building of the dam at Chainat completed a plan of irrigation works that was identical to Homan van der Heide's proposal. For this reason, Homan van der Heide is highly regarded in Thai historiography. In his own country he remains obscure and unknown. In part this can be attributed to the choices he made late in life. Affiliating himself with the German brand of National Socialism that engulfed Europe in the early 1940s, he became a member of the Dutch Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging (National Socialist Movement) and died in an internment camp for Dutch collaborators in 1945.

Homan van der Heide was one of the many (more than two hundred) foreign experts employed in Siam during the reign of King Chulalongkorn (1868-1910). It was this king, better known in the west as Rama V, who sought to transform the mandala kingdom of Siam into a modern nation-state. By seeking technical and political assistance from a variety of European countries, the king hoped to modernize Siam and, in the process, strengthen the central government and consequently his own hold over the country. Van der Heide's plans would, on implementation, have increased Siam's rice crops dramatically and eliminated the fluctuations in harvests due to irregular availability of water. This in turn would have increased the income of the state, since rice was the major cash crop. The mentality needed for the implementation of such grand schemes, however, had not yet been developed. The ruling elite still conceived of policy in regard to the countryside mainly in terms of short-term tax revenue. A policy of developing resources was beyond their scope. Very few people in government circles had a clear understanding of what large-scale water management entailed. This shows that Chulalongkorn's plans for economic and technological modernization were sometimes ahead of their time. The political and social changes that usually accompany modernization had not yet taken place. It was the king himself who set the priorities. Instead of large-scale irrigation he chose to embark on an ambitious program of railway construction. Irrigation might have improved the economy and peasants' incomes, but the building of railroads was a more spectacular sign of progress and modernization. It also helped the central government to establish effective military and administrative control over remote provinces.

The book that Han ten Brummelhuis has written provides a glimpse of the process of modernization undertaken by Chulalongkorn. It does so by describing in great detail the confrontation between Homan van der Heide and the Siamese authorities. The focus on one man's experiences, embedded in an economic, political and social context, is a great way to shed light on a historical process like the formation of Siam as a modern nation-state. Ten Brummelhuis has succeeded in bringing that process to life. Homan van der Heide's ideas were shaped by the principles of 'ethical policy', a school in colonial political thought that emphasized the obligation of Western powers to bring prosperity and modernization to their colonies. The confrontation between this mindset and the political and social reality on the ground in nineteenth-century Siam makes for excellent reading. As Ten Brummelhuis rightly observes, the similarities between Homan van der Heide's experiences and those of modern-day development workers are striking.

Hotze Lont, *Juggling money; Financial self-help organizations and social security in Yogyakarta*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2005, x + 292 pp. [Verhandelingen 221.] ISBN 9067182400. Price: EUR 35.00 (paperback).

DIRK STEINWAND

Microfinance has become a buzzword in the last 15 years. Since there is empirical evidence that access to financial services can reduce poverty, the international development community is investing heavily in the establishment and upgrading of microfinance institutions worldwide. In his book *Juggling money*, Hotze Lont takes one step back to the very roots of microfinance: financial self-help organizations such as the *arisan* or rotating savings-and-credit associations that have long been popular in Indonesia.

Lont investigates the financial self-help organizations of Bujung, a quarter (*kampung*) of Yogyakarta in Central Java, Indonesia. He starts with a historical analysis of social organizations and a description of the income and expenditure structure of the inhabitants of Bujung. This is followed by a discussion of the history of financial self-help organizations in Indonesia. At the centre of Lont's book we find a detailed case study of one of Buyung's largest financial self-help organizations, and an analysis of the potential of such organizations to help people cope with 'adversities and deficiencies' (p. 151). Finally, he looks into the impact of the Asian currency crisis on financial self-help organizations, and examines the experience of linking such a group with the formal banking sector.

Lont's basic research question is: 'does participation in financial self-help organizations provide suitable protection against adversities and deficiencies?' (p. 11). For development romantics who place high expectations on the potential of self-help organizations, he comes up with some disillusioning findings: 'financial self-help organizations are important only to a very limited extent, and often indirectly, for coping with adversities. Their social security function, in the sense that they are a platform for sharing risks, turns out to be negligible' (p. 21). This is largely because an *arisan* is not at all a liquid financial tool. In case of emergency there is virtually no way of getting one's investment out of the system at short notice. Thus, most people focus on individual strategies. 'It is much more certain and much less troublesome to invest excess income in personal assets [...] than to give it to one's neighbours, relatives, and friends' (p. 189).

Lont's findings are not surprising. His observations were made in an urban environment in a region which by Indonesian standards is highly developed. It is a commonplace that social cohesion will decline in the course of urbanization and economic development. In their urban environment, the people of

Bujung have all kinds of individual alternatives for managing risks. However, it would have been interesting to compare the Yogyakarta case with a more backward rural setting in Indonesia. Some of the questions Lont raises have yet to be answered by microfinance practitioners. Do financial self-help organizations add value? Can they be used to deliver microfinance services more efficiently? There are plenty of examples of both successful and failed microfinance schemes that involve self-help organizations in one way or another. Yet a profound understanding of the determinants of success is still lacking.

Lont's book provides a detailed and informative picture of the daily needs and coping strategies of the people of Bujung. However, the fact that his research was restricted to a single urban case study leaves some questions open to be looked into by future research.

Henk Maier, *We are playing relatives; A survey of Malay writing*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2004, viii + 542 pp. [Verhandelingen 215.] ISBN 9067182176. Price: EUR 35.00 (paperback).

MAYA SUTEDJA-LIEM

Underlying the book *We are playing relatives* is the idea that Malay writings reflect a world of flexibility, openness and heterogeneity, a world willing to allow a group of diverse people – no matter how different and of what origin – to live together in some degree of harmony. Maier chose this idea as the leading light for his new survey of Malay writings because of his boundless admiration for the Malay text the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* (Tale of Hang Tuah). This classical text, in Maier's view, provides the best evidence of the willingness of Malay people to accept, and mix and assimilate with, 'others'. Malay writing is, so to speak, all about the willingness to pretend 'to be relatives' – words spoken by Tun Jenal of Inderapura to Hang Tuah when the latter, a visitor from Malacca, shows concern about being unfamiliar with the customs in Inderapura. 'We are playing relatives', says Tun Jenal, 'you should not have distrust in your heart.' (p. 3) Fabulous words, indeed, which serve as a good title for Maier's book and which tempt one to believe in a true (essentialist) Malayness, represented in Malay writings.

Malay playfulness and willingness to accept and assimilate, according to Maier, are manifest in cultural behaviour, manners, values and even languages that are constantly changing in form and organization. In the olden days, when *Hikayat Hang Tuah* was written down, there was not a feeling of belonging to a distinctive cultural unity with one stable centre of authority. However, in the reality of today much has gone. Maier blames it all on colo-

nialism and the inability of Dutch and British 'colonial masters' to appreciate the advantages of the lack of fixed structures, distinctions and boundaries in the Malay world. In Chapter 1 he lists the changes in language and culture caused by colonialism, and in the following chapters about literature makes an effort to restore the damage.

Maier argues that the term *bahasa* originally referred to appropriate behaviour, leading to the acceptance of a group of people into the Malay world – including having the knowledge of how to speak or to use the most appropriate language in order not to offend others. The colonizers, however, mistook it as referring to 'language' alone. Assuming 'language' to be the equivalent of a network of words spoken or written by a certain group of people or nation, the colonizers changed the original concept of *bahasa* into one corresponding to the identity of a 'nation' or a 'people'. In the Malay world, the term Malay or *Melayu* was originally used for the community of people around the Strait of Malacca and along the coast of the South China Sea. The same term was also used for the language spoken far beyond these areas, stretching to islands further south. Thus, the notions 'nation' and 'language' were not coterminous in the old Malay world. Maier suggests that the expressions 'Malay Peninsula' and 'Malay Archipelago' were created during the colonial period just for the purpose of matching the notions 'nation' and 'language'. Inheriting the political strategies and ideas of British and Dutch colonizers, local nationalists later transformed the Malay Peninsula and the Malay Archipelago into two different entities, Malaysia and Indonesia.

Meanwhile, the Malay language had undergone redefinitions, standardization, fixation, and homogenization. European linguists and students of Malay (Valentijn, Marsden, Klinkert, Wilkenson and Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir being examples mentioned by Maier) appeared not to know what to do with the loose structure of the language, its many varieties, its hybrid and polyphonic character and its context-bound nature. In line with nineteenth-century scholarly ideas in Europe, they went in search of authoritative centres in the Malay world, seeking places where the purest or most authentic language was used. The areas thought to be most important were Riau and Johore. A form of Malay found in what they supposed to be authoritative writings, they called 'good', 'correct', 'pure', 'real' and 'high'. They wrote down the grammar of this form of Malay in printed grammar books and school textbooks. In contrast, the spoken forms of Malay were given a less glamorous treatment. These forms of Malay were usually spoken in informal situations, especially in communication with people who did not use Malay as their mother tongue. Hybrid and polyphonic in character, with constantly changing and shifting forms, they were mistaken by European scholars for *kacukan* (disorganized and mixed), 'impure', 'rude', 'incorrect', and 'low' dialects. Consequently, the colonizers decided that these spoken forms should

be removed from formal life, education, and print.

Disapproving, retrospectively, of the European intervention into Malay discursive formation and the efforts by Europeans to gain control over the internal dynamics of Malay, Maier believes there is a strong original nature in Malay which cannot be held down. 'Sooner or later it [artificial, 'correct' Malay] was to be challenged or resisted by almost every form of Malay that was used in daily life, both spoken and written. Heterogeneity has been maintained; centripetal forces have always been weak. To this very day.' (p. 12.) Thus Maier thinks in terms of 'fluidity' rather than 'history', continuity more than change.

For reasons mentioned above, Maier persists in applying the term 'Malay' to the language (still) used in areas transformed during colonial times into the Malay Peninsula and the Malay Archipelago. By ignoring all colonial and nationalist constructions and efforts at control, he secures his own idealistic construction which is built on the *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, the writing he believes reflects the most pure or genuine Malayness. Starting in Chapter 2, Maier gives an extensive survey of 'Malay' writings produced from the seventeenth century up to the year 2000. *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, *Hikayat Sempurna Jaya*, *Student Hidjo*, *Kawan Benar*, *Salina*, *Belenggoe*, *Tenggelamnya kapal Van der Wijck*, *Nyanyi sunyi seorang bisu*, the Buru quartet; these are the main examples. The writings he chooses are united by their prose form and by their incorporation of concepts of fluidity, Malayness, heterogeneity, and interaction between speaking and writing. A remarkable attention to features of the Malay writing system characterizes the survey. Maier devotes many pages to the special position of terms like 'membaca', 'karang', 'tulis', 'sastra', and of names of genres (*hikayat*, *cerita*, *dongeng*, *kisah*). Considering the best way to transpose these from Malay discursive formation into English, he explores the meaning of each term against the background of differences between Malay and English writing systems. In doing so he means to avoid the kind of active intervention in Malay discursive formation of which he accuses colonial scholars.

The survey also pays much attention to writers who, like the Malay hero Hang Tuah, have become victims of rigid politics. Some were imprisoned or exiled, their writings banned. They all serve as metaphors for 'incorrect', or so-called *kacukan*, Malay. By giving these writers a special place in the new survey, Maier seems to want to restore their positions within Malay literature.

There are other points which in my view would have deserved more careful attention. One is the introduction of the press into the world of Malay writing, which led to the start of a new discursive formation. The earliest Malay newspapers are valuable sources of information about mixing between 'old' and 'new' genres. One may find news items, letters and advertisements written in *syair* and *pantun* form, alongside modern fiction that reminds us of a folktale or a news item. Was this the beginning of a process of transfor-

mation of concepts and genres? Or should we just say, the beginning of a process of mutual acceptance and assimilation between the Malay writing system on one hand and its European and Asian counterparts on the other? Most interesting for further research is the role of journalists and writers familiar with both writing systems. Did they function as ‘agents of change’, or as ‘mediators’ between various systems? Ferdinand Wiggers (1862-1912), for one, deserves much more attention. A descendant of a Dutch family that had lived in Ternate since the eighteenth century, but born in Batavia to a Dutch father (Ernst Frederik Wiggers) and a Malay mother, Wiggers chose to become Malay, married a Malay woman, and wrote in colloquial Malay. Like his father, he earned money as an editor and writer for local newspapers, starting in 1897 with the Javanese paper *Warna Sari*, followed by the Malay newspapers *Pembrita Betawi*, *Soerat Chabar Soldadoe*, *Bendera Wolanda*, *Bintang Betawi*, *Hukum Hindia*, and *Taman Sari*. He dealt with various local, Asian, and European genres and topics and produced many news items, articles about the law, translations of European novels, and stories of his own. He collaborated with many early Malay journalists, such as Tirta Adhi Soeryo for *Warna Sari* in 1897 and J.E. Tehupeory for *Soerat Chabar Soldadoe* and *Bendera Wolanda* around the turn of the century. In 1902 he introduced Tirta Adhi Soerya to *Pembrita Betawi*. Wiggers was one of the first writers to compose lengthy feuilletons and voluminous books in colloquial Malay. Among his best stories are *Njai Isah* (1903) and *Raden Adjeng Aidali* (1910), addressing social issues such as intercultural marriages, adultery, the position of Malay women, education and emancipation of women, corruption among local elites, and prejudices against non-governmental, ‘independent’ or private occupations (*pekerdjaan particulier*) – issues also found in writings by Tirta Adhi Soeryo and Mas Marco later on. What was his role in the transfer of knowledge between foreign and local Malay writing practices? Was he an ‘agent of change’? Or did he just add to the heterogeneous character of Malay literature?

Maier is far-sighted when he claims that the strong nature of Malay is still preserved in today’s writings and will sooner or later resist the centripetal forces that have always been too weak for it. However, he could not have predicted the massive centrifugal forces that came into being in Indonesia after 2000, forces which have broadened the concept of Indonesianness and enriched the literary world with *sastra wangi*, *sastra pembebasan*, *TeenLit*, *sastra remaja* and many more new genres.⁶ Young women writers are introducing themselves to the ‘play’ of being relatives – an activity long thought to be reserved for men – and enjoying a regained freedom of expression after the oppressive years under the New Order. A new generation of writers is coming up with refreshing ideas about ‘reality’ and ‘history’. More and more writers

⁶ See the excellent study by Michael Nieto García, ‘The Indonesian Free Book Press’, *Indonesia* 78, 2004, pp. 121-45.

are linking up with ever-expanding international, national and regional networks, producing new ideas and topics. Even playful teenagers now join the dance, mocking everything rigid and fanatic by introducing in writing a form of non-standardized colloquial youth language, now called *bahasa gaul*. Maier's book could have had a more positive ending if it had included new male and female writers like Dorothea Rosa Herliany, Nukila Amal, Eka Kurniawan, Djenar Maesa Ayu, Dewi Lestari, Dinar Rahayu, Richard Oh, Esti Kinasih, Laire Siwi, and Dyan Nuranandy. But as it stands, too, Maier's extraordinary extensive survey is certainly worth reading, carefully and critically.

Hjorleifur Jonsson, *Mien relations; Mountain people and state control in Thailand*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2005, xi + 198 pp. ISBN 0801443381. Price: USD 55.00 (hardback); 0801472848, USD 21.95 (paperback).

NICHOLAS TAPP

'Most or all things and terms are contingent, and their reality lies in relations and histories', announces the introductory note to this book bravely (p. xiv). Against Appadurai's view that identities have only recently become deterritorialized or culturally heterogeneous, the argument here is that '[t]he Yao/Mien case suggests that identities have always been contingent and contested', and more than local, always framed in relation to a 'regional and political dimension' (p. 3). Neither Mien nor the state exist in a 'thing-like' way; both are 'projects that mobilize people in their terms and thus create the effect of an ethnic group or of the state' (p. 14). Apparently radical, these remarks on the movement from rank to ethnicity fairly well summarize the general consensus which has emerged about ethnic groups in mainland Southeast Asia and the related borderlands of China over the past half-century (since Leach, as the author notes on page 6, and also under the influence of more recent work by Keyes). The argument on page 37 that state and local identities were mutually constituted is pure Morton Fried.

The ethnographic evidence mobilized in support of these assertions is interesting for what it tells us about the kind of ethnography such approaches necessitate, or perhaps what approaches are entailed by particular types of ethnography. There are several main ethnographic focuses in this work. Some evidence comes from a village festival-cum-sporting event in Thailand in 2002, which constituted a deliberate presentation of Mien culture; there are notes and remarks about other tourist presentations of the Mien such as the Tribal Museum and the statutory northern Thai dinner at a cultural

centre in Chiangmai; a novel village-level ritual around the New Year is also described which drew upon elements of traditional Mien culture 'reworked' according to the ideas of a local headmaster (p. 106); there are sporting events, and another cultural presentation event, in Chapter 4. There is a revealing account of a village protest about forestry in 1999 (pp. 131-42); and what I found most intriguing, in terms of the argument that 'ethnicity was primarily about rank' (p. 17), a comparison of the traditional Yao contracts which granted them exemption from Chinese taxes and corvée labour, with somewhat similar Tai documents issued to Lawa leaders in the Tai states of the region. The latter material forms the stuff of Chapter 1 ('Yao origins and the state of nature'). Finally, and perhaps as a kind of sop to the older anthropology which the author accuses of having exaggerated the strength of ethnic identities in the region (p. 62), on the last two pages we are given, almost as an afterthought, a traditional Mien ritual prayer to the ancestors to show that the Mien always define themselves in relation to the spirits. We also get a rough account of the flood legend of origin in these 'Conclusions'. Dangerous supplements, indeed.

I confess I found the argument, particularly about historical changes, difficult to follow at points. For example, we are told on page 8 that there has been a growing 'acceptance' of ethnic difference and an 'upland-lowland divide' in the region, linked with modernism, cultural tourism and changes in nationalist imagery. But we are also told that national integration in the last part of the twentieth century has led to *less* pronounced differences between uplanders and lowlanders (p. 5). There are problems with trying to argue there is no sharp divide between the modern and the traditional, because this then makes it difficult for you to describe what changes there really have been. Thus we learn that household agency has *recently* been undermined by new laws (p. 122), although the argument elsewhere (see below) seems to be that household centrality was an ethnographic fiction as well as a historical aberration. We are told that villagers are (now) taking part in wider national and global networks (p. 103), while at the same time the author wishes to impress upon us that it was a mistake ever to consider them in isolation. It is worth pointing out that the upland-lowland separation was (and is) primarily an *ecological* division, whereas here it is attributed on page 55 primarily to ethnic/national classifications. At some points the argument is that 'the Mien people are positioning themselves on this landscape of national sovereignty' (p. 10, in relation to new forms of association and cultural self-presentation); at others that they have never been anywhere else, that there has *not* been a sharp difference between tradition and modernity (p. 5), and indeed that it has *always* been necessary to understand the Mien (and others) in relation to larger state structures, from which ethnography of a certain kind (!) has in the past artificially isolated them. Chapter 3 ('From strongmen to farmers'!)

presents a quite convoluted argument to the effect that the 'household centrality' hitherto assumed to be an aspect of traditional Yao social organization actually marked a historical change away from a more chiefly kind of social organization, and that an ethnographic emphasis on wealthier households somehow obscured 'systemic social inequality' and variations of household composition. But much of the evidence for this comes precisely from the wealthier families of political leaders who emerged in the early part of the twentieth century, and no good reason is given why these should not be seen as the historical novelties in an otherwise fairly egalitarian agrarian and household-based society as has long been assumed. Frankly I think there is little evidence for the 'relatively hierarchical arrangements' which the author posits for the nineteenth century (p. 92).

The attempts to question, criticize, and take exception to previous paradigms are all praiseworthy, as is the main project of placing the Mien within a broader historical and regional context and revealing their historical relations with wider political and economic structures. Few ethnographers of the region would disagree. It also asks us, and invites us, to look in more detail at the minute changes in social organization and village structure which there have been in recent history. But there are, I am afraid, some endemic problems with the way in which this book tries to achieve its central aims. For one thing the ethnographic evidence is often not very substantial, and at times too impressionistic to be convincing. The larger claims need to be based on much more solid historical materials. For another thing, anthropology has to make sense to people other than anthropologists, and this book tells one very little about how the Mien see themselves or what they say about themselves. It is assumed people know all about the Mien from previous ethnographies which, of course, few will actually have read. It might have been better to have started with a classic depiction of the timeless Yao world, taken from previous ethnographies, and then to have demolished this straw man. This raises a common problem in postmodern ethnography: on what basis does one start? Why even look at the Mien at all? If what the author claims about their identity is broadly correct, then surely we should have either regional multi-ethnic studies of a geographical kind, or proper historical studies based on a real appreciation of the textual and archaeological past (for example, the Khmer influences on the Tai and the Mon-Khmer background of the 'Lawa'). Then there is the great pitfall, if one does not consider people at least partly in the terms they present to themselves, or to us, but rather insists on a state-oriented perspective and on statements like 'Yao identity was state-sanctioned' (page 26 – although we are also told on page 127 of 'recent Mien attempts to forge an identity in relation to the state'), that one ends up by *only* portraying local identities from a state or external point of view, and failing to do justice to their felt reality. And then there is the related problem, which

Dirlik has perhaps dealt with best, that while we theoreticians blithely argue that identities have always been contingent and fluid and flexible, the people we study are often insisting on precisely the opposite. I think we should take those claims seriously; they may be constructed, but that does not mean they are not real.

This book is excellently written, contains some fascinating materials, and will be of great interest to students of northern Thai ethnography for the claims it makes, the broad view it presents, and the questions it raises. It tells us a lot about Thai-ness and Thai notions of minorities. Beyond that, I am afraid, its appeal may be limited by its failure to present Yao/Mien daily life or views in much detail or strength.

Lee Hock Guan (ed.), *Civil society in Southeast Asia*. Singapore: ISEAS Press, 2004, xi + 276 pp. ISBN 9812302581. Price: USD 43.15 (hardback); 9812302573, USD 24.63 (paperback).

BRYAN S. TURNER

The concept of 'civil society' first emerged in European political and economic theory in Adam Ferguson's *An essay on the history of civil society* (1767), in which he intended to contrast 'civilization' in Europe with despotism in the East. The concept was then developed by G.W.F. Hegel in his *The philosophy of right* (1821). For Hegel, civil society is a social sphere that exists between the family and the state. It was the space in which individuals followed their ethical lives and came to enjoy certain rights. The idea of civil society was later criticized by Karl Marx, who argued that civil society was a bourgeois arena in which 'individual rights' in fact expressed the alienation of capitalist society in which there was a false division between the social and the political. The debate about civil society was revived in Europe in the late twentieth century as a criticism of the Soviet Union and its satellites in Eastern Europe, where the dominance of the state and the Party had destroyed civil society, namely the network of voluntary associations, clubs, meeting places, and organizations in which the individual could live a rich and free social existence.

We should note two additional preliminary issues. The first is that, in this conceptualization, it is impossible to separate the idea of 'citizenship' (*Bürgerschaft*) from 'civil society' (*bürgerliche Gesellschaft*). In European languages, both concepts refer to the existence of a burgher or bourgeois class and to bourgeois values. The rise of civil society implies the rise of a successful, large and relatively independent middle class, enjoying a range of civil liberties and corresponding duties. The second issue is the complex question

of the separation of state and society, and their relative independence. Social scientists who support the idea of civil society argue that it is a basis of democratic politics and an arena that is necessary for the regulation and accountability of the state. The contrary view is that the state needs to be independent of civil society if it is to act as an arbiter of sectional interests and factional politics. For example, there is a political theory that asserts that states vary in effectiveness depending on their ties to society; states are not unitary actors but clusters of institutions and groups with conflicting interests. State policies reflect contingent pressures from their broader social context; and finally, state and society can under certain circumstances, for example in societies that are deeply divided by ethnic and religious differences, stand in a mutually corrosive relationship. It is not obvious that a vibrant civil society can be translated into democratic politics or efficient state policies.

Civil society in Southeast Asia is an excellent collection of essays that to varying degrees explore both the issue of the evolution of civil society in post-colonial Asian societies and the issue of the independence of the state from societies that are often deeply divided by religion and ethnicity. Lee Hock Guan's 'Introduction' provides a succinct statement of the general problem, namely that the shape of civil societies in Asia is to a large measure dependent on their various colonial histories and on the legacy of state administration and rule of law in the region. The evolution of civil society in Vietnam (Chapter 7), Cambodia and Laos was aborted in the 1970s by the spread of communism, which saw civil associations in competition with the Party. By contrast, civil society groups were relatively active in the Philippines (Chapters 3 and 5), Malaysia (Chapters 1, 6 and 9), and Singapore (Chapter 8), but in the 1970s, in the face of mounting oppositional forces, the state came to exercise considerable surveillance or coercion over civil society. Despite the prevalence of authoritarianism in the region, civil society groups have continued to flourish in the Philippines, Thailand (Chapter 11), Indonesia (Chapter 10), and Malaysia.

This volume provides a clear and convincing picture of the role and importance of women's groups in Asian civil society, especially in Malaysia and the Philippines. It also explores the importance of religious groups and institutions in these societies: Islam in Malaysia (Chapter 2), Christianity in the Philippines (Chapter 3), and Buddhism in Thailand (Chapter 4). The recent and contemporary crises in the southern provinces of Thailand, in Mindanao, and in the Moluccas only serve to show that the presence of strong associational groups in civil society does not necessarily translate into liberal politics if the state is, for example, seen to participate on behalf of a majority against a minority (or, less frequently, for a minority against a majority). In more technical terms, social capital does not necessarily convert into democratic politics or a transparently just system. Inevitably these

essays therefore raise the problem of how (if at all) the transnational loyalties and identities of the major religions (Christianity, Islam and Buddhism) can be accommodated in civil society, in a context where the state is often wary of civil society associations. In particular it raises the problem of how the state can manage social groups that are defined by the major religions or by the state as deviant sects or cults. The assumption behind much civil society theory is that economic prosperity will eventually create opportunities for social mobility, enabling economically deprived or socially marginal groups to join the mainstream society. To some extent, prosperity in Singapore and the rise of a Singaporean middle class allowed the state to promote the idea of 'active citizenship' in the 1980s, as individuals were encouraged to form voluntary associations for philanthropic purposes. Elsewhere, however, the very prosperity of Chinese minorities in Malaysia and Indonesia reinforced their ethnic distinctiveness and social sequestration. In Indonesia the division between *pendatang* and *pribumi* resulted in discriminatory policies towards the Indonesian Chinese. To what extent the growth of fundamentalism (in both Christianity and Islam) will paradoxically limit the effectiveness of civil society as a buttress of democracy remains to be seen.

In conclusion, *Civil society in Southeast Asia* is essential reading for politics and sociology students who wish to understand the social and cultural foundations of state politics in the region, both historically and in the contemporary period. On balance, these essays do not answer the underlying intellectual puzzle – does civil society contribute to effective democratic politics, or can too much vibrancy in civil society undermine the capacity of the state to enforce the rule of law with some degree of neutrality? However, the very richness of these case studies probably defies any neat intellectual solution.

Jan Mrázek, *Phenomenology of a puppet theatre; Contemplations on the art of Javanese wayang kulit*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2005, xix + 567 pp. [Verhandelingen 230.] ISBN 9067182524. Price: EUR 45.00 (paperback).

SARAH WEISS

As the subtitle of this extraordinary book suggests, Jan Mrázek's *Phenomenology of a puppet theatre; Contemplations on the art of Javanese wayang kulit* is an extended musing on myriad aspects of Javanese shadow puppet theatre. As readers, we are invited into the thought world of Mrázek while he ponders *wayang* as he has come to know it, through years of study and research and hours of conversation with Javanese *dhalang*, musicians, and others. This is

not a book for the reader in a hurry. Nor is it a book for the reader longing for a simple précis outlining the essentials of Javanese *wayang kulit* in order to prepare an introductory lecture on the topic. Instead, this book is for those who wonder about the way things are and what those things mean from a variety of perspectives. It is a book for those who like to stop and contemplate 'the thing in itself'. And, in particular, it is a book for people who understand and love Javanese *wayang*.

Mrázek's goal is to move beyond a superficial description of Javanese *wayang* performance using a phenomenological approach to reveal 'the thing in itself'. The greater part of the text is devoted to observations, analyses, and thoughts about *wayang*, with fairly minimal reference to secondary literature. Mrázek justifies his position by pointing out that he is writing about the performance itself, not what others have said about it. He states that he uses secondary literature only when it serves to demonstrate something he is arguing. In an average scholarly book, this would be an odd and perhaps even arrogant thing to say. However, Mrázek's book is a phenomenological study and the reader comes to know the subject as described through the lens of Mrázek's own experience and observation. The reader may initially be put off by this, but it is worth persevering, because the kinds of things to which Mrázek directs our attention are not likely to be those that we have focused on previously. This in itself is a major contribution to the study of Central Javanese *wayang*.

Mrázek's fervent belief about *wayang* is that it can only be understood as a united whole. He argues that one cannot truly know *wayang* if one approaches it singularly as literature, or theatre or music or comedy. Ironically, the way Mrázek convinces us that he is correct is by taking *wayang* apart. In the beginning he asks us to focus on a puppet. He leads us through thinking about the feel of the *gapit* or hand grips, the weight of the puppet, the way the eye of the puppet is crucial for determining whether a puppet is alive or is dead as a performative object, how *dhalang* talk about what makes a puppet *penak* or delightful to hold, the way the puppet already is something once it is created but before being used in performance, the way the embodied connection between the *dhalang*'s arm and the puppet breathes life into the character represented by the puppet. Whichever aspect on which he chooses to focus, Mrázek first employs an intense and highly magnified lens from which he gradually draws back, eventually allowing us to view the whole but only from the perspective of having known its smallest details. To aid the reader in understanding his analyses, Mrázek makes extensive use of analogy throughout his text. His theoretical ideas are influenced by discourses from film and stage theory, art history, performance studies, aesthetics, and anthropology.

Mrázek argues cogent and important points about aspects of *wayang* performance that might be surprising to some readers, perhaps even to *wayang* experts and practitioners. For *wayang* experts, however, the interest here would

not be in new facts but in the ways in which Mrázek's juxtaposition of ideas and concepts reveals new ways of thinking about those facts. For instance, in the second chapter Mrázek devotes several sections to the ways in which the puppets themselves create the space in which they are placed. Commenting on the pictorial nature of the placement of *wayang* puppets on the screen during audience scenes, Mrázek moves from imagining storytelling based on temple reliefs to articulating the way in which the placement of a puppet both affects and is affected by its character. Mrázek's analysis of the vertical and horizontal aspects of the space on the screen or frame reveals that common puppet movements themselves articulate the frame at the same time that they are given meaning by it. This interactive relationship between puppet and frame is not the first thing one notices while watching a *wayang* performance. It is possible that even the *dhalang* with whom Mrázek worked might not have articulated the relationship between puppet and screen in this way. Yet, it is likely that when they read his analysis, they will recognize it as a reasonable, perhaps even enlightening, way of describing that relationship. Mrázek performs other similarly ingenious analyses exploring the phenomenology of battle scenes, dramatic music, and clown scenes, among other topics.

Mrázek urges us to realize that his book provides no real conclusions but, rather, offers 'the work-process of learning to understand the performance, of letting it be seen. [...] The reader should gradually acquire an impression of what the performance is like.' (p. 2) In this, I believe, Mrázek has been more than successful. Additionally, Mrázek's commitment to the inter-relatedness of the parts of *wayang* performance is palpable in his constant internal referencing, reminding the reader of an argument several chapters back or instructing the reader to wait until the next chapter for further discussion on a particular topic. The chatty and informal relationship Mrázek develops with the reader is appealing and renders the long book more accessible. That said, and even though Mrázek thanks the editors for not insisting that the manuscript be reduced, in fact, the true elegance of his arguments could be revealed with greater clarity and their impact made more intense had the text been vigorously self-edited.

Mrázek suggests that works – books, performances, genres, buildings – have a life of their own beyond our efforts to create them, such that while we create them they are simultaneously forming our initiatives and ideas. I would add that readers continue to develop the life of a book once it is launched. As they contemplate and argue its merits, it also changes them.

Janet Steele, *Wars within; The story of Tempo, an independent magazine in Soeharto's Indonesia*. Jakarta: Equinox/Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005, xxxiv + 328 pp. ISBN 9793780088. Price: USD 16.95 (paperback).

ROBERT WESSING

Janet Steele's engaging and highly readable book about the Indonesian news magazine *Tempo* is at once a history of this magazine in the context of Soeharto's New Order regime, and an insight into the contest for the right to depict Indonesia as it is variously perceived or projected by the regime and its critics. One of Steele's goals is to understand the New Order regime through its news coverage, for instance through the public narratives about its internal workings: '*Tempo* as a window into the history of the New Order' (p. xvii) and there are always various possible takes on current events, some of which are more pleasing to those in power than others. Sharing an origin in the end of the Sukarno era, the two were involved in a love/hate relationship that *Tempo* ultimately survived, in spite of being banned for a time. The book is also a depiction of the internal workings of *Tempo's* extraordinary team of reporters and editors assembled under the charismatic leadership of its editor-in-chief.

As such it is also the story of Goenawan Mohamad, an interview with whom, reflecting on the fall of the Soeharto regime, opens and set the tone for the book, immediately making clear the difficulty of publicly taking a position that differs from that of the authorities, who can close down a magazine at will by withdrawing its permit to publish and/or print. Next the reader is plunged right into the atmosphere of *Tempo* on deadline day: focused activity and a feeling of community. This feeling is the result of both the pressure of the day, and the process through which individuals become members of the team in which they learn how to write for *Tempo* and what is expected of them as reporters and editors. Through it all one feels the charismatic influence of Goenawan Mohamad.

Steele then steps back and focuses on Goenawan Mohamad's background as a provincial Javanese student at the Universitas Indonesia in the 1960s: the influence of the literary figure H.B. Jassim, his friendships, and the socialist ideas he became acquainted with. Goenawan was involved with the Cultural Manifesto, opposing claims by Lekra (the cultural institute) to solely determine the nature of the arts in Indonesia. After the events of 1965 he was active in the anti-Soekarno movement and the newspaper *Harian Kami*, but soon became disillusioned as the military regime for which he had had high hopes began to show its true colours.

Tempo was founded in 1971 with the goal of being a fresh, bright, smart and pleasurable source of news. In the 1970s the New Order's develop-

ment policies began to be implemented. Goenawan Mohamad initially supported these efforts though he did have his criticisms, as did the public, which showed its displeasure with demonstrations in 1973 and 1974. Steele recounts some of the events in considerable detail, devoting a whole chapter to the September 1984 incident at Tanjung Priok during which a Muslim leader was killed by security forces. Amidst this detail I at times felt that *Tempo's* role tended to get lost. Although freedom of the press had been guaranteed in 1966, the regime maintained that the time for criticism had not yet come. The press was free to report favourably on the government but was not to include negative news. This made the reporting of anything controversial difficult, forcing *Tempo* to tread carefully while attempting not to compromise its reporting. The problem for both reporters and editors at *Tempo* was how to stay free of entanglements. They adhered to a policy of maintaining a distance from officials who might want to influence the magazine's content (p. 95) while at the same time cultivating certain functionaries for information and, at times, protection (p. 106).

The most sensitive subject each week was national events. The challenge was to present issues without running afoul of government sensibilities, in such a way that the truth about them was revealed while staying true to *Tempo's* aim to 'defend those who can not defend themselves' (p. 157). This aim later changed to the defence of the truth (p. 212). The strategy was to always first report the official version of an event, and then subtly counter this with additional information, often presented in a time-line of occurrences. In the case of the Tanjung Priok affair this strategy won *Tempo* the admiration of the Muslim public. Generally it helped the magazine get away with much, except in 1982 when it went astray and was closed down for a few weeks.

In her analysis of *Tempo's* lead stories, Steele also learned that the standard questions of Western reporting, who, what, where, why and how, do not always apply in the same way to Indonesian stories. In the process we learn something about (especially) Javanese culture and the way that news is approached in Indonesia. *Tempo's* approach to news also had to be in tune with the sensibilities and concerns of its readership – which, as is made clear from an analysis of the magazine's advertisements and the emphases of its stories, were mostly upwardly mobile, middle-class male managers and executives with the addition of people like university lecturers who might aspire to a middle-class lifestyle without the requisite income. The advertisements show this group to be fairly traditional and to be concerned with safety and social order (p. 175).

When *Tempo* was founded in 1971, its financial future was uncertain. Share allotments were agreed on and, there being no money, not much worried about. Management, too, was informal and egalitarian. With growth and success the style of management became more formal and the financial position

improved, leading to discontent among people who preferred the old informal days and those who envied the founders' greater share of the profits. In 1987 a number of employees walked out and set up the competing magazine *Editor*, hoping to improve their chances of both career and financial advancement.

In 1994 *Tempo's* report on the purchase of East German navy ships was deemed to jeopardize national stability and the magazine was closed down, leading to protests and demonstrations by its middle-class readers. The closing removed the constraints of (self-) censorship on Goenawan Mohamad, who was now free to say what he thought. He and a group of followers began to put out a number of underground publications, as well as the above-ground *Tempo Interaktif* on the Internet. Soon he was called 'the most dangerous man in Indonesia' (p. 233). After the fall of the Soeharto regime, *Tempo* was able to return, but in a considerably changed political climate. This is reflected in changes in the magazine's format but also in the new challenges it now faces: while the threat of censorship has lessened considerably, there is now the worry about legal harassment by individuals and thus having to deal with a still notoriously corrupt legal system (p. 279).

'News', writes Steele citing Leon Sigel, 'is not what happens but is what someone says has happened or will happen' (p. 128). In other words, the one whose voice is heard determines the news. Within the New Order regime, too, there were competing voices, making reporting on events extra difficult, as being associated with the wrong viewpoint could get one closed down (p. 83). Steele sees the way *Tempo* presents the news as a moral drama, a struggle between the government and the people, in which *Tempo* sided with the people (p. 159). In this drama the various sides attempted to define the nature of the nation of Indonesia, a discussion that is ongoing. *Tempo's* was but one voice, in the end the longer-lasting one, but its banning for a time shows that going counter to powerful, official versions of the truth can be perilous.

REVIEW ESSAY

SEAN TURNELL

Burma today

Kyaw Yin Hlaing, Robert Taylor and Tin Maung Maung Than (eds), *Myanmar; Beyond politics to societal imperatives*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005, xvi + 192 pp. ISBN 9812303006. Price: SGD 39.90 (paperback).

Monique Skidmore (ed.), *Burma at the turn of the 21st century*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005, vii + 304 pp. ISBN 0824828974. Price: USD 59.00 (paperback).

Mya Than, *Myanmar in ASEAN*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005, xvii + 215 pp. ISBN 9812302107. Price: SGD 35.90 (paperback).

Forty years of unenlightened military rule has transformed Burma, once the 'rice bowl' of Asia, into a country that can barely feed itself. Over the same period Burma's peers and neighbours, the countries that make up the remainder of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), have undergone dramatic economic, political and social development. The three recent books that are the subject of this review attempt, in very different ways, to explain Burma's current predicament, and to suggest possible ways forward.

Myanmar; Beyond politics to societal imperatives, edited by Kyaw Yin Hlaing and others, comes out of a series of conferences that took place in Washington, in Singapore, and in Burma itself from 2002 to 2004. Its contributors include some of the most prominent contemporary commentators on Burma, including David Steinberg and Robert Taylor. But curiously, and beyond two of the editors who do not contribute papers, none are Burmese. The volume is slanted towards politics and economics, with its seven essays covering foreign policy, ethnic relations, Burma's civil bureaucracy, the country's economic malaise, and the impact of HIV and other chronic health problems in limiting Burma's development.

Since it achieved independence in 1948, Burma has struggled to craft a coherent nation among its many ethnic communities, many of whom have

long suffered from oppressive policies directed from the central government. Martin Smith has contributed an important essay on this key question, the core message of which is that 'a light restructuring of the political map will not bring about a resolution' (p. 76). A new constitution for Burma will be a necessary but not sufficient solution, according to Smith, who points out that what is crucial is that a 'real intention and determination exists to guarantee ethnic inclusiveness and equality of opportunity' (p. 76). Alas, though a new constitution is currently being drafted in Burma, it contains little of these essential elements.

Long-time Burma watcher and scholar David Steinberg contributes a paper to the volume on the roots of Burma's economic malaise. He insightfully observes that Burma's military junta has failed to understand the meaning of economic reform (in great contrast to the leaders of most of Burma's neighbours), mistaking 'the construction of infrastructure of all varieties' for a demonstration of their 'economic and political efficacy' (p. 110). He also points out the essential but missing elements in the sporadic economic reforms that have taken place in Burma thus far, elements that together constitute a system that includes at least a degree of government accountability, certain basic economic and political rights (including that to property), and an openness to information necessary for economic actors to make rational decisions. Steinberg is pessimistic, however, that such elements will be delivered under the current regime in Burma, noting that the 'degree of freedom in decision-making and broad access to timely information' required is often 'repugnant', and sometimes even 'dangerous to the survival', of regimes such as Burma's (p. 88).

A number of the papers in this volume place undue responsibility upon other countries (especially in the West, and their application of sanctions) for Burma's poverty and the inability of its leadership to find a way out from under it. Such a sentiment, unfortunately not uncommon in much commentary on Burma, is misplaced. Burma's economic miasma (in a nation unusually blessed with natural resources) is the result of a political economy that is not conducive to growth. Stated simply, the country lacks the institutions that history tells us are necessary for growth. One of these is a competent and relatively honest bureaucracy. As Alex Mutebi points out, however, in a particularly splendid paper in the volume (that stands in contrast to some of the problematic commentary noted above), Burma's highly centralized bureaucracy is anything but honest or competent, and instead is little but a venue for 'seeking out opportunities for privilege, nepotism, and kickbacks' (p. 156).

Burma at the turn of the 21st century, edited by Monique Skidmore, is likewise a conference volume, in this case the 2002 Burma Studies Conference held in Gothenberg, Sweden. It is, however, a very different product from the book above. Its subject is not high politics, diplomacy or economics. Rather,

as Skidmore writes, this is 'the first collection of essays about everyday life in Burma in forty years' (p. 1). The book includes ten separate papers, together with a splendid introduction and conclusion by Skidmore herself. The topics covered are broad indeed, and include studies of Burma's religious hierarchies and practices (with a special emphasis on the meanings of the country's major Buddhist festivals), the prominence of rumour and gambling in everyday life, and the role of Burmese writers, performers and musicians in carving out space for expression in an otherwise tightly controlled and oppressive political environment.

An essay in this volume by Gustaav Houtman on the demonization of Aung San Suu Kyi by Burma's military regime – an effort he suggests is unlikely to be successful – is particularly impressive, as is a study by Gavin Douglass on the regime's patronage of musicians in an effort to 'codify, organise and simplify' Burmese traditional music to suit current ideologies (p. 246). This effort too, the author concludes, is likely doomed to failure. Skidmore's concluding essay on the declining fertility of Burmese women is similarly impressive. Children, she writes, are the vessels through which Burma's people 'project hope into the future' (p. 268). Yet, even this hope is constrained by the country's military regime, and its mismanagement of the country's economy. The economic hardships suffered by the people of Burma limit the succour that even children provide, prompting a saying commonly heard throughout the country that 'one child is good enough to love' (p. 268).

The final book reviewed here, *Myanmar in ASEAN* by Mya Than, will appeal to beginner and specialist alike on both topics. Mya Than, a Burmese national long resident in Singapore, has written much on Burma's economy, and particularly the agricultural sector. In this book, however, he focuses his attention on Burma's external economic relations and the most significant development therein in recent times – Burma's joining of ASEAN in 1997. As Mya Than notes, the timing of Burma's entry into the grouping was highly unfortunate, coinciding as it did with the beginnings of the economic and financial crisis that was to engulf the region. This fact alone meant that the benefits to Burma from its accession to ASEAN have been far less than the country's leaders might have hoped for. Dramatic increases in trade and investment flows from the ASEAN member countries had been widely expected, but on neither point has much positive movement been seen. That said, Burma has hardly made the most of the economic opportunities provided by its membership of ASEAN. Burma's mismanaged economy, along with the lack of security it offers to potential investors, marks it out as a most unattractive location for doing business.

Yet, if the advantages delivered to Burma from its membership of ASEAN have been less than hoped, then far worse have been the effects on ASEAN of having Burma as a member. Burma's recalcitrant leadership has proved a

significant obstacle to ASEAN in its own efforts to conduct a dialogue with other global players. This has most obviously been the case with respect to the annual ASEAN-European Union talks which are bedevilled each year by the question of whether Burma's delegation will or will not be allowed to attend, but the issue remains a thorn in the side of other key relationships too. At the time of writing it appears that ASEAN has finally run out of patience with Burma, and has given up on the idea that the country's leadership is either willing or capable of making any meaningful progress towards political, economic or social reform. This has been made manifest in a number of ways, but most importantly in ASEAN's implicit approval in 2006 of Burma being referred to the Security Council of the United Nations.

The travails of Burma in ASEAN, as well as the initial hopes, are well documented and explored in Mya Than's valuable book. The book's appendices are likewise very helpful, containing as they do the key documents of not only Burma's accession, but the foundations of ASEAN itself. Mya Than concludes, in an assessment in sympathy with each of the works reviewed here, that any positive effect of Burma's joining of ASEAN will, in the end, 'depend on the country's further economic liberalization as well as an improved political climate' (p. 125). Whether this will occur is, of course, the fundamental question Burma faces in the twenty-first century.
