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## Book reviews

Michael Williams, *Deforesting the earth; From prehistory to global crisis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002, xix + 689 pp. ISBN 0226899268. Price: USD 80.00 (hardback).

GREG BANKOFF

It is the best of books, it is the worst of books. It is a study of truly magisterial proportions but like so many gems, flawed right through to its core. In such a limited space, it is virtually impossible to convey anything like the scope and breadth of this work as it sets out the last 7,000 years of the world's forest history in its nearly 700 pages. As such, of course, it does not claim to be a book about Southeast Asia, Asia or even the tropical world. Yet, at the same time, it is one of the most unashamedly ethnocentric accounts of the past five hundred years, a period the author contends was largely only a measure of what Europeans and North Americans did to themselves and to others (pp. 166-7).

Michael Williams has written a work that is much more than simply a history of deforestation. It is also very much a study of how, why and when humans cleared the forest and forged new societies and landscapes around them. Starting with the return of the temperate forest to the northern hemisphere at the conclusion of the last Ice Age, the impact of humanity is shown to have been 'early, widespread and significant' (p. 13). The five chapters that follow constitute the first part of the study, covering the pre-modern period or the 'deep past'. There is a chapter each on how the forest was affected by the widespread use of fire by foragers, on early farmers and the domestication of plants, on the classical world and the rise of cities (a term that seemingly only encompasses the Mediterranean), and on the *grands défrichements* of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, the great forest clearance of Western Europe that comprises 'one of the most dramatic changes made to human landscapes anywhere up to that time' (p. 105). The second part, of six chapters, chronicles the commercial expansion of Europe in terms of 'core' and 'peripheries' as it reached out beyond its shores. Williams first discusses the 'sweeping changes' in the cultural climate between the sixteenth and early eighteenth centuries before detailing how rising populations and growing demand for agricultural land and wood and wood-derived products led to a renewed assault upon Europe's forests, the creation of an extensive timber trade, and finally the colonization and incorporation of the Americas. The next three chapters take the story up to 1920, still with a focus on the

temperate world but giving some consideration to tropical forests in South and Southeast Asia and the Americas. The three chapters that form the last part of the book detail the great onslaught that has been unleashed upon the forests of the developing world since 1900 and especially after World War Two. Here loss of the truly 'global' forest is no longer perceived simply as an economic balance sheet but one more closely linked to questions of pressing humanitarian concern and long-term environmental ethics that herald the impending 'crisis' in the book's subtitle.

More than anything else, this book goes far to correct the perception that sees forestry as a separate topic removed from the mainstream of historical development and fit only for the specialist geographer or dendrologist. *Deforesting the earth* is as much a work of global history as any that claims that distinction. For Williams, deforestation is as much about people as it is about numbers, about what he calls 'cultural climates' as it is about trees, and so chronicling it in each case requires linking the modification of the environment to 'ideas, ideals and practical needs' (p. 104). While there is always a co-evolution of peoples and forests over time, it is neither uniform nor linear but a complex story, as disease and population pressure have time and again debunked deeply ingrained Western ideas that envisage the march of civilization in terms of discrete upward stages (p. 39). But one of the book's most important messages is, perhaps, to remind us that deforestation is not something altogether new or just a product of the contemporary world. More trees were cleared prior to 1950 (especially in temperate forests) than have been felled since, a point worth considering when it comes to apportioning blame and one that should 'give us pause when we condemn the present deforestation of the tropical world' (p. 324).

These fine sentiments, however, are not matched by a more balanced consideration of the significance of the non-Western world. The book is riddled with a pervasive Eurocentricism that at times can be excused on the grounds of inadequate sources but at other times seems to reflect a cultural myopia that the author clearly finds it difficult to see beyond. It is the old chestnut of European actions versus the rest of the world's reactions, where the former is depicted as always the active agent and the latter as only a passive one. While conceding that Europe at the opening of the sixteenth century may not have been the whole world, Williams still maintains that 'it was certainly the most dynamic and potentially powerful part of it' and that before then 'sea contact around the globe was not very important' (pp. 210-1). The revisionist histories of the last fifteen years that recognize the continuing economic prominence of East Asia well into the eighteenth and even nineteenth centuries, and the dynamism of the Indian Ocean trade networks, have clearly passed the author by. What this means in the context of the study is that deforestation processes in the non-European world are severely under-rep-

resented, especially prior to 1945. Thus what takes place in China, Japan, the Indian sub-continent, Southeast Asia, Africa, and Latin America are largely consigned to a periphery, a new 'dark area in space' (p. 233) whose 'relative peace and harmonious relationship between inhabitants and their environment' was not shattered till the arrival of Europeans (pp. 151-2). Poppycock! In all fairness, the author does admit that his stance is deliberate, that his attitude is 'old-fashioned', and that he has no truck with any Marxist, post-modernist or political ecologist approaches (p. xxiii). Fine, but I am still not sure I follow the logic here.

For those of us whose focus is wider than Europe and North America, Williams's outlook may grate a little and perhaps lead us to be overly dismissive. This would be a mistake, because there is much material here of real value to the non-Western forest historian in terms of depicting the macro-framework, raising comparative issues, and the use of methodology. The whole text is also lavishly endowed throughout with maps, tables and graphs that facilitate evaluation and make for ease of reference. All in all, this book is a must read for anyone interested in human and natural histories: it is full of wisdom, with just a little foolishness.

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Alexander Adelaar and Nikolaus P. Himmelmann (eds), *The Austronesian languages of Asia and Madagascar*. London: Routledge, 2005, xxii + 841 pp. [Routledge Language Family Descriptions.] ISBN 0700712860. Price: GBP 165.00 (hardback).

RENÉ VAN DEN BERG

This is the second volume dealing with the Austronesian language family in the Curzon/Routledge Language Family Series and the twin sister of *The Oceanic languages*, edited by John Lynch, Malcolm Ross, and Terry Crowley and published in 2002. The Austronesian family is famous for its large number of languages (estimated at 1,200, or about 20 percent of the world's languages) and its huge geographical spread over Southeast Asia and the Pacific. This volume deals specifically with the 800 or so non-Oceanic Austronesian languages, which are found mainly in Taiwan, the Philippines, Malaysia, Brunei, Indonesia, East Timor, as well as pockets of mainland Southeast Asia. In this review I give a brief overview of the book, focusing on the introductory chapters, and ending by comparing it to its sister volume on the Oceanic languages.

Some of the remarks I made in a review of that sister volume (published in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 160, 2004, pp. 130-3) apply here

as well. The present book, too, is remarkable, and deserves high praise. At a time when scholarship is increasingly focused on details and scholars tend to limit themselves to one small area of expertise, it is refreshing to see a work of such breadth.

The first quarter of the book is taken up by five important introductory chapters, followed by 22 sketches of individual Austronesian languages. In Chapter 1 Alexander Adelaar gives a historical perspective on the study of the Austronesian language family, covering topics such as writing, the nature of Proto-Austronesian, internal classification, the Austronesian homeland, and language contact. He tries to synthesize what is known in these areas, but the coverage is necessarily somewhat shallow, especially relating to Proto-Austronesian. The section on subgroups shows how much remains to be done in the subgrouping of West-Malayo-Polynesian (if that is a valid subgroup at all). Chapter 2, by Margaret Florey, discusses language shift and endangerment. She gives a helpful list of factors that are relevant in assessing endangerment (such as domains of language use, size of speaker community, and speaker fluency) and then gives a country-by-country survey. Since in many regions so little research has been done, I found this section to be rather uninformative. A summary table listing the endangered and moribund languages would have been more helpful. But I fully concur with the quote from Dixon, addressed to all linguists, especially arm-chair theoreticians: 'There is only one thing that really needs to be done – *get out there and describe a language!*'

In Chapter 3, 'Colonial history and language policy in Insular Southeast Asia and Madagascar', Hein Steinhauer paints an interesting picture of the various ways the colonial powers handled the multi-language situation in the areas under their control, and its present-day effects. It is again a country-by-country presentation, highlighting the role of the national language and education policy. Apart from the natural focus on the 'big three' (Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines), there is considerable information on language policy in Brunei, East Timor, Madagascar, Guam, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand, and Vietnam. A wealth of information is presented here, although the bibliography seems to me rather meagre. No references, for instance, are provided in the sections on Singapore and Taiwan.

Chapter 4, titled 'Ritual languages, special registers and speech decorum in Austronesian languages', is authored by James Fox. In a book focused on language structure, this chapter provides welcome insights into language use and the cultural factors governing it. Fox discusses ritual speech, the nature of parallelism, topogenies (ordered sequences of place names), word tabooing, special language registers used when hunting or fishing, as well as honorific registers, well known from Javanese. I read this chapter (with its extensive bibliography) as an invitation to Austronesianists not to limit our research to language structure, but to keep our eyes open for the fascinating

aspects of language use.

Chapter 5 is written by Nikolaus Himmelmann and covers typological characteristics. This 70-page chapter is without doubt the jewel in the crown. I am not aware of any previous attempt at a thorough typology of western Austronesian languages, and given the variety in language structure and the widely differing descriptive and theoretical approaches taken by Austronesianists, the task of coming up with such a typology is daunting. In this chapter, which could easily have been expanded into a monograph, Himmelmann proposes two major types of western Austronesian languages: symmetrical voice languages and preposed possessor languages. The author clearly lays out the major parameters along which these language types differ, though of course only time will tell how insightful and helpful such a typology is. Himmelmann's forte is in the area of morphosyntax, and on virtually every page there are insightful comments on earlier analyses, questions raised by a particular approach, or topics needing further investigation – the equational hypothesis of Tagalog clause structure, the core-peripheral distinction, the notion of subjecthood, the controversy surrounding ergativity, to name just a few. A few topics receive just an acknowledging nod (for example, classifiers and deictics), but given the richness elsewhere, this is hardly a blemish. The section on phonology is succinct while still fairly comprehensive. All in all I found this very rewarding reading, a must for any student of Austronesian and a great springboard from which to engage in further typological research.

The 22 sketches in the remainder of the book cover the following languages: Old Malay, Colloquial Malay, Tsou, Seediq, Iloko, Tagalog, Sama (Bajau), Kimaragang, Belait, Malagasy, Phan Rang Cham, Moken and Moklen, Karo Batak, Nias, Javanese, Buol, Makassar, Mori Bawah, Kambera, Tetun and Leti, Taba, and finally Biak. They are all written by experts on these languages and they follow the same general outline in 20 to 30 pages, which facilitates making comparisons. A separate chapter by Adelaar covers structural diversity in the Malayic subgroup. I cannot possibly do justice to the wealth of material offered in these chapters; the linguistically curious reader is offered a veritable gold mine of data. I do, however, have misgivings about the choice of languages. The space allowed for Indonesian/Malay, Javanese, Tagalog, and Malagasy is defensible in the light of their status. Sketches of languages for which material is inaccessible or limited are obviously very welcome (for example, Old Malay, Kimaragang, Sama-Bajau, Buol, Mori Bawah). But why include chapters on, for instance, Kambera, Tetun, Leti and Taba when there are recent monographs by the same authors describing these languages in much more detail? In my view, the space could more usefully have been occupied by adapting some of the older Dutch grammars, such as Adriani on Bare'e (Pamona), Jonker on Roti, and Held on Waropen.

This last comment is part of my comparison of the present volume with

*The Oceanic languages (TOL)*, published in the same series (though curiously the publishers are different). In *TOL*, adaptations figure prominently and a conscious decision was made not to provide sketches of the larger and better-known languages. A statement explaining the difference in approach would have been helpful. Another conspicuous difference is that *TOL* is very strong on maps (18 maps in the introductory chapters, plus a map accompanying each of the 43 language sketches), while this volume has a total of only six. The editors point out that a new *Language atlas of the Pacific* is in preparation, but when will it come off the press and will it be affordable for the average Austronesianist? Three more minor points in comparing the two volumes: Proto-Austronesian surely deserved a separate chapter; compare the 50 pages on Proto-Oceanic in *TOL*. And rather than have a bibliography for each chapter, a general bibliography at the end of the book would have saved space. Finally, *TOL* has a helpful listing of all the Oceanic languages by subgroup, but the volume under review does not. Space is an issue of course, but such a listing would at least have recognized the existence of each western Austronesian language, as well as indicate the members of the various subgroups.

These comments do not diminish in any way my deep admiration for this work. The editors must have spent many long hours in proofreading and correspondence, and they are to be congratulated on the result. The book will be a milestone for years to come, serving both the specialist and the interested general linguist.

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Wim Ravesteijn and Jan Kop (eds), *Bouwen in de archipel; Burgerlijke Openbare Werken in Nederlands-Indië en Indonesië 1800-2000*. Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2004, 343 pp. ISBN 9057302926. Price: EUR 39.50 (hardback).

FRECK COLOMBIJN

This book is a history of Dutch technology in the Netherlands Indies. It gives a comprehensive study of public civil engineering up to 1942. It also includes a chapter on railway construction (which was done as often by private companies as by public engineers), and on urban development (which encompassed far more than civil engineering). Two chapters and the epilogue deal with civil engineering in Indonesia since Independence: the colonial heritage and the return of Dutchmen for rehabilitation projects. The book shows that technology and the society as a whole developed together. The connection between society and technology was so tight that to a certain degree a specifically Indies technology arose. Some chapters focus more on technical aspects,

which are not always clear to the lay reader. Other chapters emphasize the social, legal, political, and economic changes that influenced and reflected technological change.

The editors, Jan Kop and Wim Ravesteijn, argue in the introduction that technological change during colonial times played an important role in the formation of the unitary state of Indonesia as we know it today. Transportation, communication, irrigation, and sanitary works all contributed to the integration of the nation, bringing even the remotest corners under the control of the central state. At the beginning of the colonial period, what Kop and Ravesteijn call the 'technological regime' in Indonesia aimed at exploitation of the colony. The construction of roads, railways, bridges, and harbours reflected this technological regime of exploitation. Towards the end of colonialism the focus shifted to a development regime in which the colony, as the editors argue following J.J.A. van Doorn, was considered one large development project. The chapters on irrigation, urban development, and sanitation of the cities describe key features of this development regime. The two regimes overlapped in practice and cannot be strictly separated in time or by field of engineering. Imperialism and modernization went hand in hand.

The editors claim to have avoided being too Eurocentric, and not wishing to write an epic of technological progress full of admiration for the technological ingenuity of engineers. However, the focus on Europeans as producers of progress, and the almost exclusive use of Dutch-language sources, is precisely what characterizes the book. By now, the historiography of Indonesia has become so diverse that it perhaps no longer matters if now and then a book takes a strictly Eurocentric perspective – provided, that is, the reader does not expect to find much information about what indigenous people thought about the expropriation of land for the widening of a canal, or how they perceived the need for sanitation of their *kampung*, or what local technologies they used themselves, or how they experienced the changes in landscape and soundscape resulting from the application of foreign technologies. At a few points in *Bouwen in de archipel*, however, the degree to which Europeans take centre stage is irritating. For example, we learn that following the explosion of Krakatau, '37 Europeanen en 36,380 inheemsen' died (p. 34) – as if 37 white people outweigh in significance nearly 37,000 indigenous people. The chapter on irrigation pays almost no heed to the remarkable achievements of indigenous water management. Inevitably, the focus on the (indeed impressive) technological achievements of colonial engineers leads to colonialism itself being portrayed in rosy colours. The story of the subjugation of the indigenous landscape and the domination of Indonesian people is visible only between the lines.

Many authors in the collection display remarkable and admirable attention to islands other than Java. Another positive point is an eye for the role models

of the mother country and British colonies. Happily, the book has the density of information of an academic work, yet looks like a coffee-table book. The layout is chic and the book is lavishly illustrated with photographs, maps, drawings, and blueprints. A few examples are photos of a suspension bridge in Bengkulu (of course spelled Benkoelen) with two goats watching a car drive off, the placement of a bridge between two pillars, a test course for different kinds of road surface, a land surveyor at Tanjung Priok in 1878, blueprints of standard dwellings, and an illustrative drawing of the drilling of a Norton well (pp. 24, 32, 55, 140, 190, 204). Given the book's quality, its price is low.

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Susan Rodgers, *Print, poetics, and politics; A Sumatran epic in the colonial Indies and New Order Indonesia*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2005, viii + 276 pp. [Verhandelingen 225.] ISBN 9067182338. Price: EUR 35.00 (paperback).

BERNHARD DAHM

This book presents for the first time the English translation of a *turi-turian*, or chanted Batak epic. The text was originally published in Pematang Siantar in 1941 by a Batak author, M.J. Hasoendoetan, born around 1890 near Sipirok (North Sumatra). After having finished a Dutch colonial government school he migrated, like many other Bataks of his time, from the poor villages in the southern Batak highlands to the rich plantation region of Deli in search of salaried work, starting a new life in the administrative capital Pematang Siantar. Here, as elsewhere in the area, the Bataks formed diaspora communities among a multitude of migrant groups from Java, Malaya and other places, trying to maintain their identity in a time of rapid change. They clung to their home language, Angkola/Sipirok Batak, published in a rapidly growing vernacular press, and abstained from using the other channels for publication offered by the colonial government. Nor did they join the distinguished circle of the Pudjangga Baru, whose members wrote their novels and poetry in the then emerging Indonesian language. Instead they tried to preserve the cultural heritage of their home region, to revive the oratorical skill of ritual speeches, the melancholic women's laments at times of departure and death, and the chanted epics of the *turi-turian* world, such as the one reproduced in *Print, poetics, and politics*.

Susan Rodgers, to whom we owe the rediscovery of these chanted Batak epics which were almost unknown outside of Tapanuli, is a reliable guide to this literary genre. During her first longer stay in the Sipirok region she tape-recorded – assisted by local *adat* authorities – a chanted version of M.J. Soetan

Hasoendoetan's work during two nightlong sessions. What she, as a newcomer to the region, could then still only vaguely understand became more and more meaningful to her in the following years (in total, between 1974 and 2001, she spent more than four years in the area). During these visits she gained an impressive ethnographic knowledge and has become the leading Western scholar on South Tapanuli. She has published a number of important books and articles on Sipirok, Angkola and Mandailing, about their *adat* traditions, about Islamic and Christian influences in the region, and about Batak literary and folkloric themes in the late colonial period. Rodgers's present book is – following a translation of an earlier novel by Hasoendoetan (*Sitti Djaerah*, published in 1997 by the Center for Southeast Asian Studies at the University of Wisconsin) – the second work of this folkloric amateur, whose name was until then almost unknown in literary circles in Indonesia.

Soetan Hasoendoetan had called his 'epic' (as it was dubbed by Rodgers) *Datuk Tuongku Aji Malim Leman; A Turi-turian of the people of the past; A reminder to us today*. It is the story of a young nobleman: his adventures in the forest while searching for the great white deer whose liver was needed to heal his sick mother; his encounter with a spirit girl who had strayed from her father's kingdom in the upper world; his founding of a family and the birth of his son; the return of the young woman to her father's world after the discovery of her son that she had no family (*marga*) connection in the world of men; and, finally, the desperate but successful attempt of her husband to follow her and bring her back from the kingdom above the clouds to Kuwalo Batang Muar, their former residence near Sipirok. All in all a fascinating story, full of opportunities for the long passages of mourning and lament, longing and pining, which are so characteristic of the chanted *turi-turian*.

In her translation, Rodgers succeeds admirably in conveying to Western readers the special *turi-turian* atmosphere. She convincingly describes the prevailing mood of melancholy, characterized by feelings which the Bataks call *lungun*, and concludes: 'If I read these *turi-turian* books correctly, in effect they seemed to be writing laments for Angkola ritual speech universes that were "dying"' (p. 69). This literature provided a memento, or, as the subtitle of Hasoendoetan's work suggests, 'a reminder to us today' to uphold one's identity and not to spoil the valuable cultural heritage of the ancestors. The whole work is organized in such a way that readers will, as Rodgers puts it, 'know quite definitely what is to be lost when the *turi-turian* leave the Sumatran scene' (p. 77).

In a long and learned introduction, Rodgers gives a detailed account of the region and explains in particular the literary and political background of *turi-turian* writing in North Sumatra in the late colonial period as well as in New Order Indonesia under Soeharto (1966-1998). In both periods, a clear upswing occurred in the publication and circulation of traditional texts in

Batak vernacular language. For Rodgers this is not a coincidence. She sees these publications as political texts as well as artistic ones. In seeking to explain them, she draws on the genre of 'orality and literacy', with reference to works of Amin Sweeney and Walter Ong, and the writings of Margaret Beissinger, Thomas Greene, and others on epic traditions. She also makes use of recent research in other Batak areas, such as John R. Bowen's *Sumatran politics and poetics* (1991), Rita Smith Kipp's *Dissociated identities* (1993), and Mary M. Steadly's *Hanging without a rope* (1993). In relation to literature and politics she finds inspiration in the work of Laurie J. Sears on the political impact of the *wayang* in Java, in Ben Anderson's discussion of the role of print in the development of nations in *Imagined Communities* (1983, 1991), and in James Scott's work on *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (1990).

Rodgers is cautious in judging the explanatory potential of these and other theories, and does not neglect the particularities of *turi-turian* writings. There were similarities between the worlds of the *wayang* and of the *turi-turian*, but there were differences as well, for instance the prevailing mood of sadness in the latter. And the *turi-turian* were not calling for resistance (even covert resistance) to oppression, nor pleading for the emergence of a Batak nation. Nevertheless they can be seen, Rodgers suggests, as a form of 'writing back' to the powers in charge, especially in times of economic hardship, against interference in the life of Batak communities.

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Robert A. Scebald, *Central Tagbanwa: a Philippine language on the brink of extinction; Sociolinguistics, grammar, and lexicon*. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines, 2003, xiii + 168 pp. [Special Monograph Series 48.] ISBN: 9717800146. Price: USD 5.50 (paperback).

AONE VAN ENGELENHOVEN

The story of Central Tagbanwa, spoken in the northern part of Palawan Island in the Philippines, reflects a typical scenario of language endangerment in a semi-mobile agricultural community in insular Southeast Asia. The decimation of Tagbanwa speakers during the Second World War and the massive immigration of non-Tagbanwas from elsewhere in the Philippines afterwards caused a rapid shift of language allegiance in the surviving community from Tagbanwa to Cuyunon, the other language of Palawan, and to Tagalog, the national language. Interethnic marriage, and the incorporation of northern Palawan into the greater nationhood of the Republic of the Philippines through schooling and the mass media, created a situation in which the

older generation of L1 speakers keeps diminishing while the number of L2 speakers, semi-speakers, and non-speakers that have Tagalog or Cuyunon as first language keeps growing. This is discussed in Chapter 2 with tables that clearly show the allegiance shift away from Tagbanwa. Scebold sketches a society that is aware of the imminent disappearance of its cultural identity. The letter by one of Scebold's main informants preceding the text appendices shows that those who want to preserve Tagbanwa identity consider the documentation of its unique language to be an important tool in their efforts. It is clearly this philosophy that prompted the publication of this book.

As far as is possible in the case of a language that is nearly extinct, the phonology and grammar are well described in Chapters 3 and 4, respectively. Chapter 3 is devoted to the phonemes and morphophonemics of Tagbanwa. In a separate section Scebold focuses on the phonological subsystem of Spanish loanwords. Chapter 4 discusses morphology, the noun phrase, and different types of predication. Chapter 5 contains a 50-page lexicon of Tagbanwa-English entries with an English-Tagbanwa index. At the end, three texts are given with interlinear glosses and English translations.

The voice systems in Philippine languages are a well-known topic in Austronesian linguistics and have led to diverse theoretical perceptions. Scebold uses the 'classical' terminology of 'focus', but nevertheless brings the voice system back to a binary agent – non-agent distinction: Agent Focus (AF) versus Non-Agent Focus (NAF). As with other Philippine languages, the AF and NAF morpheme sets have separate allomorphs for three basic aspects. Scebold labels these aspects Not-Begun (future, contemplated, or hypothetical action), Incomplete, and Complete. Additionally, he distinguishes seven other markers (ability, potentiality, generality, participatory, participatory/generality, opportunity, and involuntary). The decision to refer to these markers as aspects is somewhat infelicitous, because they co-occur with the three basic aspects mentioned above, implying that a verb could simultaneously be inflected for two different categories of aspects. Instead, the basic Not-Begun, Complete, and Incomplete aspects could be recategorized as tenses, or, alternatively, the seven 'additional' aspects could be considered to be modes. The 'basicness' of the Not-Begun, Complete, and Incomplete aspects is evidenced by the fact that these have exclusive allomorphs for each focus set. Among the seven 'additional' aspects, only the potentiality aspect distinguishes an AF and an NAF set for the Not-Begun, Complete, and Incomplete aspects. The other six aspects inflect only the Agent Focus, and in Agent Focus, only the opportunity aspect distinguishes separate Not-Begun and Complete affixes. The involuntary aspect occurs only with a Not-Begun affix, whereas the Participatory/Generality aspect occurs only with a Complete aspect affix.

The moribund character of Tagbanwa is further evidenced by the lexicon

at the end of the book. Very often the author can list an AF affix but not its NAF counterpart. This book is an important contribution to the study of language endangerment in insular Southeast Asia. It clearly has two aims: to inform the outside world of the condition of Tagbanwa and, above all, to provide the Tagbanwa community with a symbol in their struggle to maintain their own identity.

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Adrian Vickers, *Journeys of desire; A study of the Balinese text Malat*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2005, 385 pp. [Verhandelingen 217.] ISBN 9067181374. Price: EUR 35.00 (paperback).

AMRIT GOMPERTS

Adrian Vickers has taken an unconventional but quite interesting approach to his subject, the Balinese tradition of the Middle Javanese text *Malat* that belongs to the corpus of Panji stories. Dating from the fifteenth century or a little earlier, the stories are set in historical contexts in East Java between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. Warriors mounted on horses figure prominently in the stories, possibly reflecting the influence of the Mongol-style cavalry seen in Java during the Chinese invasion of 1292-1293. Interestingly, mounted warfare and lance tournaments on Saturdays (*watangan*) or Mondays (*sĕnenan*), were continued in Islamic Java but not in Bali. Vickers extensively discusses Balinese paintings illustrating the *Malat* in which scenes of horse stabbing are portrayed. Due to the poor quality of the black-and-white reproductions of the paintings, however, they fail to illustrate the author's interpretations.

Vickers rightly argues that the palace politics, the cruelty, and the sexual violence recounted in the *Malat* accurately reflect the past in Bali and Java. In the last chapter, the author is at his best when describing the cultural, political and historical functions of the text. Stories of the *Malat* are performed during the Balinese *gambuh* dance-drama. I entirely agree with the author that textual interpretation should be combined with perspectives from the performing arts and anthropology.

In the past, one aim of a Balinese *gambuh* performance was often to explain internal palace politics to villagers. The same appears to have been true in Java. In this context, I would like to quote and translate a few lines from a Modern Javanese *babad*. In its entries for 5 and 9 November 1789, the diary of an anonymous lady warrior-scribe (who was also a wife of Prince Mangkunagara I) describes a Balinese-style *gambuh* dance-drama performance in Solo involving both Mangkunagara's soldiers and men of the VOC forces.

## [Durma metre]

*kangjěng dipati*  
*kang bala bakěksan*  
*baksa gambuh lan watang*  
*bala keh kumpěnen sami*  
*lěbět gamělan*  
*ingkang niyaga estri*

Mangkunagara I and  
 his soldiers engaged in dancing  
 They danced *gambuh* and lance-dances.  
 Many soldiers and men of the VOC  
 acted together with the *gamělan*  
 of female princely musicians.

*sarta ngajar taledhek lěbět gamělan*  
*ing jawi carabali*  
*binaksanan watang*  
*mandhapi kang gamělan*  
*pelog gambuh kang běksani*  
*ing palataran*  
*kumpěnen tur nganduri*

They also taught the dancing girls to  
 to tune in with the *gamělan*. Outside, they  
 danced in a Balinese style with lances  
 to the *gamělan pelog* in the open hall.  
 They danced the *gambuh*  
 in the courtyard.  
 The men of the VOC also buffooned.

## [Maskumambang metre]

*ingkang bala kathah*  
*baksa gambuh carabali*  
*kumpěnen tur tatayungan*

Many of the soldiers danced the  
 Balinese-style *gambuh*. The men of the  
 VOC also acted with dancing steps.

Source: *Sěrat Babad Tutur* (manuscript Or 231, KITLV Leiden), pp. 216-7.

In the eighteenth century, then, the Balinese *gambuh* dance-drama was also performed at a Central Javanese court. It would therefore be interesting to explore the possibility of a Central Javanese stage of textual transmission of the Balinese tradition of the *Malat*.

Poerbatjaraka (1940:259-333) provided a synopsis of the *Malat* in *Pandji-verhalen onderling vergeleken* (Bandung, Nix, 1940, pp. 259-333). Vickers faithfully translates important fragments of the text. However, a minor point regarding the layout is that all Javanese textual fragments have been printed in upper case.

In conclusion, Vickers's study will be of great interest to students of the *Malat* text, anthropology, and the performing arts.

B.J. Terwiel, *Thailand's political history; From the fall of Ayutthaya to recent times*. Bangkok: River Books, 2005, 328 pp. ISBN 9749863089. Price USD 30.00 (paperback).

HANS HÄGERDAL

Given the relative scarcity of readable and up-to-date general histories of Thailand, Baas Terwiel seems well placed to fill the gap. Being a prolific writer on things Thai, his production includes academic and popular texts on the history and culture not only of Thailand but also of the Thai peoples of Assam and Burma. The present book is an expanded version of his previous work *A history of modern Thailand, 1767-1942* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1983). This was intended as the first in an ambitious series of histories of Southeast Asian regions which would also include volumes on Sumatra, Kalimantan, and pre-Islamic Indonesia. Sadly, the first volume also turned out to be the last; for obscure reasons the series project imploded. Terwiel's solitary volume could be found in the international bookshops of Bangkok during the 1980s, but was not widely distributed or noticed. An updated version is therefore welcome.

The chronological scope of the book warrants a few reflections. The readable but heavily outdated classic in the field, W.A.R. Wood's *A history of Siam* (second edition 1933, Bangkok: Siam Barnakich Press) took the story up to the reign of Taksin (1767-1782), surveying the Chakri period in just eight pages. Terwiel more or less takes up where Wood left off, providing a detailed account from Taksin up to the Second World War. The period after 1945, however, is allotted a mere eleven pages, and in this respect the subtitle of the book is something of a misnomer.

The text is arranged in strictly chronological fashion with events discussed on a year-to-year basis, and the chapters mostly follow the reign periods of the successive kings, as in Wood's book. All this does not necessarily imply a 'conservative' approach to history. After all, the professed aim of the work is to provide a narrative of political history for the non-specialist reader, and in such a narrative the individual reigns serve as reasonable points of departure for the discussion.

Although intended as a reference work, the text is heavily footnoted, with the footnotes somewhat unusually appearing on the outer margins of the pages. In fact the author's ambition goes beyond mere synthesis; he claims to present a re-evaluation of a number of themes in modern Thai history, based on a new reading of contemporary materials. The traditional paternalistic image of the first Chakri reigns is played down; instead, Terwiel shows that early Chakri politics were often afflicted by dynastic intrigues and power struggles. Furthermore he critically surveys the politics of the

traditional heroes of modern Thai history, Mongkut (reigned 1851-1868) and Chulalongkorn (reigned 1868-1910). While the personal qualities of these two monarchs cannot be doubted, Terwiel sees their role in the preservation of Siam's independence in the era of imperialism as less clear-cut than several other textbooks would have it. Judging from his own writings, Mongkut appears to have been prepared in principle to accept submission to the British; the idea that his diplomacy consistently aimed at avoiding colonial subjugation is a later, ahistorical construct. That Siam continued to avoid such subjugation in the late nineteenth century was due less to the policies of his son Chulalongkorn than to quiet British-French diplomacy.

While such critical evaluations of the familiar nationalist myths are refreshing, the book is not always up to date with regard to recent research. Discussing factors conducive to the fall of Ayutthaya in 1767, Terwiel emphasizes military weakness combined with dynastic problems. But in 2000 it was strongly argued by Helen James ('The fall of Ayutthaya; a reassessment', *The Journal of Burma Studies* 5:75-108) that the very strength of Ayutthaya, rather than its weakness, was what motivated the Burmese invaders to try to eliminate it as a rival economic power, and that the two antagonists were in fact rather well matched. At the other end of the chronological continuum, the brief account of the post-1945 period has something provisional about it; for example the 1960s, a critical decade because of Thailand's involvement in the Vietnam War, are skipped over in just a few paragraphs.

The book works well as an introductory but rather detailed narrative of Thai politics from the fall of Ayutthaya to the Second World War. The text may not scale the stylistic heights of D.K. Wyatt's *Thailand; A short history* (Yale University Press, 1984), but it is written in an accessible way with generous quotations from contemporary writings. While the book is essentially the political history which its title indicates, economic and social themes are also treated. Hopefully the next edition will expand the account of the last sixty years in order to justify Terwiel's claim in the title to be describing Thailand's political history up to 'recent times'.

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Robert van Niel, *Java's Northeast Coast 1740-1840; A study in colonial encroachment and dominance*. Leiden University: CNWS Publications, 2005, xiv + 424 pp. [CNWS Publications 137, Studies in Overseas History 6.] ISBN 9057891115. Price: EUR 40.00 (paperback).

MASON C. HOADLEY

The outside observer can be forgiven for wondering whether a renaissance in the writing of Java's history is underway at Leiden. The reviewer received his review copy of Van Niel's *Java's Northeast Coast 1740-1840*, published in Leiden, on the way back from Kwee Hui Kian's public defence of her Leiden University PhD dissertation *The political economy of Java's Northeast Coast, c. 1740-1800: elite synergy*. This was followed the next day by Atsushi Ota's defence of his own Leiden doctoral thesis *Changes of regime and social dynamics in West Java: society, state and the outer world of Banten, 1750-1830*, a thesis published in book form, like Kwee's, by Brill in Leiden in 2005.

The more than 400 pages of *Java's Northeast Coast 1740-1840*, plus another hundred or so pages of appendixes on an enclosed CD diskette, are organized around some nine themes, which are conveniently used as chapter headings. The first five chapters cover the period 1740-1808 (with emphasis on the later decades), the last three chapters the period between 1808 and 1830.

Chapter 1 provides the background to the creation of the region as a political unit following its cession by the Susuhunan of Mataram to the Dutch East India Company in 1740. With its capital at Semarang, what became known as the Northeast Coast would eventually extend from the eastern border of the Cirebon-Priangan region, through the north-central coast (*pasisir*), and continue around the eastern end of the island to include the so-called East Hook. Chapter 2 outlines the government of the region under the Dutch Company. This rested on a commercial agreement between the Company as sovereign authority and the local holder of power, the regent. The contract which the regent signed upon assuming office 'spelled out the products and monies that he was to deliver to the Company' (p. 33). Despite its half-century span, the chapter is dominated by the events after 1789 and the resultant economic shifts. The title of Chapter 3, 'Javanese administration and society on Java's Northeast Coast', is misleading because the chapter deals mainly with the regents' economic relations with the Company via the contingent or quota system, and only tangentially with how these relations affected Javanese producers themselves. 'The Chinese community in Java' (Chapter 4) is one of the more succinct chapters. As on the 'Northwest Coast' (Banten-Batavia-Cirebon), the Chinese held the *shahbandarij* and toll concessions, engaged in leasing the means of agricultural production, and in general controlled the markets.

Payment of the poll (capitulation) tax and other impositions such as the gambling and *arak* taxes greatly contributed to the economic well-being if not of the Company, then certainly of its employees. Chapter 5 lists the products of the region. Under the predictable headings of rice, sugar, indigo, pepper, coffee, cotton, and timber, it summarizes an impressive amount of archival material which however might profitably have been moved to an appendix.

Only in the last three chapters does the author come into his own in analysing the intellectual history of the Europeans who created the various administrative policies. Chapter 6, covering the 1808-1811 period of transition from Company to state administration, chronicles Marshal Daendels' activities. In this period major administrative forms coincided with a lack of innovation in economic policy. One of the more unexpected changes concerned how officials were rewarded. For Europeans, 'salaries were to replace the system of compensation through gifts, extortions, percentages and privileged rights of position' (p. 193). Meanwhile the regents, although considered servants of the Dutch crown, 'were expected to draw their income from the head tax, market farms, and various rights and privileges' (p. 207). Administrative reforms also included reorganization of the judicial system to bring about a hierarchy of courts reaching from the residency level to that of Batavia. Yet it was the financial crisis that most exercised Daendels' tenure as governor-general. This was particularly irksome for him as it remained a crisis outside his control. The colony was isolated from Europe and hence could neither export agricultural produce, nor import from Europe the bullion necessary to keep the commercial wheels oiled.

The British period (1811-1816) is dealt with in Chapter 7, which more or less equates the period with the development of Raffles' ideas. Raffles seems to have been inspired as much by information made available to him by former Dutch Company servants, and by various investigative commissions, as by the 'liberal' ideas of his time. Van Niel's discussion corrects some popular misunderstandings and promotes a view of Raffles as the administrator under whom the Javanese village became 'the lowest cog in the colonial administration' (p. 276) – a development which in the long run facilitated not free trade, but the closing off of the village economy from the outside world.

One of the longest and strongest chapters is Chapter 8. This deals with the years of experimentation which intervened before the Dutch government decided upon a concrete policy for the colony to be returned to it in 1816. The chapter opens by noting the obvious over-reliance upon Dutch sources: 'we are almost totally lacking in socio-economic documents generated from the Javanese side [...] Javanese motivations, attitudes, and aims are interpreted on the basis of their actions and reactions recounted from the European side' (p. 287). Spurning emphasis upon such spectacular events as the Java War or the struggle with what would become Belgium, the author concentrates

upon the institutionally more significant work of the Commissioners General sent out from Holland to investigate and formulate an effective policy for the economic development of the colony. Very important in this context was the 'Muntinghe Report' of 1817, which established the basis for much subsequent colonial policy. Even so, this report was misunderstood by such influential writers in English as Clive Day and J.S. Furnivall. While Muntinghe's advice was an extension of Raffles' vision of the Javanese 'yeoman' cultivator as the basis for agrarian policy, it was not followed slavishly in the colony. The policy that actually emerged from the period of Van der Capellen retained a good deal of older thinking. The realities of the economic situation, in which the agricultural products of the island had to be produced at the lowest possible cost, meant that 'the European colonial administration had to keep the Javanese native economy at approximately the level at which they found it while making every effort to increase production' (p. 326). Coffee, sugar, and rice continued to be produced by unfree labour and direct compulsion rather than voluntarily via the attractions of free market forces.

Chapter 9, 'Making Java profitable', details the development of Van den Bosch's plan for putting the colony on a sound economic footing for its master, the king of the Netherlands. In contrast to Raffles, who had pre-conceived notions to which the facts of Javanese life were adapted, Van den Bosch affected an exclusive concern with empirical facts. 'Whether they were all totally true and whether all his calculations and suppositions bore the test of reality and practicality, was of minor consequence' (p. 355). At any rate his actions 'showed the lack of a detailed plan of action. Everything occurred on a piecemeal, step-by-step basis' (p. 363). Here the author again succeeds in providing a new vision of colonial ideas and their application that are contrary to popular assumptions. Despite the ideological contrast between the liberal ideas advanced by Raffles, Muntinghe, and Van der Capellen on the one side, and those of Van den Bosch supported by J.C. Baud on the other, in practice there was much agreement and continuity. Prior changes in the village and the position of its head, for instance, were confirmed and institutionalized. In explaining Van den Bosch's *nota* of March 1831, Van Niel nicely captures the patronizing attitude of Netherlands East Indies officials toward the Javanese, who they believed 'must be led and administered like children, and toward this end the influence of the Heads, for whom they have a childlike respect, must be used' (p. 373). As the colonial structure had created that influence, the reasoning here is circular. The same circular logic inspired Van den Bosch's conviction 'that compulsory labour was an essential part of Javanese life' and that as far as safeguards for the indigenous population were concerned, 'it was the government that was in the best position to protect the Javanese against abuse' (p. 378).

One cannot leave the subject of this book without some comment on the appendixes provided on an accompanying CD. On being referred to an appendix, of which there are 37, one cannot simply turn to the back of the book. The computer must be booted, the CD inserted, and the appropriate appendix found. The discomfort of reading the book while sitting in front of the computer, or being additionally encumbered with a portable computer on one's lap or sofa, is surpassed only by that of printing out the more than 120 pages on which the appendixes appear. Yet given the importance of their contents, it might be good to do just that. With the long tabular appendixes (such as 6 and 10), cutting and pasting them together to make their contents understandable seems the best option. However, one should not be petulant over details, but rather be thankful that the publisher did not omit this valuable material.

The real question in reaction to this book, however, is 'where are the Javanese?' The narrative is much like one hand clapping. Two considerations are relevant here. First, the work is a 'study in colonial encroachment and dominance'. As this encroachment was done by the Dutch, for the Dutch, and from Dutch centres of power in Batavia or Den Haag, or alternatively, by and for the British from India or Batavia, the book can be considered a kind of intellectual history of the European rulers in Java, focusing on socio-economic issues. Any expectation that this might be a book about Javanese history is misplaced. Second, a commitment to 'Indonesian-centric' history would seem to be doomed by the lack of source materials lamented on page 287, a drawback which applies to the whole period covered. Concentrated and readily accessible Javanese sources comparable to those of the Dutch are, it is true, lacking. Yet Javanese history can be written from Dutch sources, as this reviewer tried to demonstrate in his reconstruction of past changes in Javanese procedural law in Cirebon (*Selective judicial procedure*, Cornell University Southeast Asia Program, 1994). The Semarang archives, the *Overkomen brieven en papieren* in particular, contain information which could be used to reconstruct how the measures discussed in the work under review impinged upon the lives of the Javanese. Moreover, the proceedings of the Semarang *landraad* court would undoubtedly also provide considerable insight into the daily life of the Javanese – as promised in the Preface (p. vii), but not delivered in the subsequent text.

A final point concerns the use of source material within a given research orientation. What makes one uneasy is that Dutch and Javanese sources, when the latter do exist, talk in very different languages, literally and figuratively. The question of the *cacah* (literally, 'number', 'notch') provides a good example. From diligent reading of the Dutch sources, and acknowledging that what is being counted is seldom mentioned, the author chooses to see the *cacah* as a 'production unit' (p. 73), while in Appendixes 8 and 10 the *cacah* is clearly interpreted as some form of area measurement. Yet the *Archive of*

*Yogyakarta*, Section I and to a lesser extent II (Carey and Hoadley, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) lists extensively and almost exclusively *cacah gawé wong*, 'units of work'. Although not entirely incompatible, the fact that the units emphasized by Dutch and Javanese sources focus upon different things – territory or work – means that there seems to be no obvious way of reconciling them. Even more striking in this respect are the unique Yogyakarta accountancy documents (Section IV) recording the realm's economic assets and their allocation. The contents of these documents differ to an even greater degree from the Dutch records pertaining to the Northeast Coast, which until 1740 constituted an integral part of the Susuhunan's realm. If both sets of sources and their interpretation are correct, does this mean that there are different economic systems, a 'Dutchified' one in the Northeast Coast and a 'reservation' in the core realm? Or are one or both sources inaccurate or incomplete, and if so, how incomplete?

The fact that these remain open questions – discussion of which is more appropriate in a symposium than here – does not detract from the obvious value of the work under review. Despite certain less interesting (but still necessary) chapters (4 and 5), and one less convincing chapter (3), *Java's Northeast Coast 1740-1840* is an impressive tour de force of research in the more readily available Dutch and English archives and secondary materials. It is particularly strong in Chapters 6 to 9, where the author's obvious mastery of the Dutch sources becomes increasingly apparent the closer he nears the period of his previous researches on the Cultivation System.

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Terence H. Hull (ed.), *People, population, and policy in Indonesia*. Jakarta: Equinox Publishing, Singapore: ISEAS, 2005, xv + 185 pp. ISBN 9812302964. Price: USD 21.95 (hardback).

SANTO KOESOEBJONO

Hull and his colleagues present the development of population policy and its impact on the demographics of Indonesia during a period of 50 years (1950-2000) under four contrasting governments. The book consists of three sections.

The first section describes the prevailing policies under the different presidencies, the impact of those policies on societal changes, and the shift in population policy from family planning (which officially started in 1967) toward reproductive health. It clearly demonstrates the support and acceptance of family planning, and of the ideal of a small and healthy family, which has emerged among all layers of the population. The family planning

program spread over all islands step by step and had success in terms of sustained mobilization of the people, number of acceptors, and assimilation of the programme by different social classes. The proportion of women using contraception did not decline during the period of severe economic crisis at the end of 1990s. Hull notes that the changing thinking of Indonesians to support the 'small, healthy, prosperous family' is a substantial achievement of the programme (p. 47).

The second section presents the impact of the development during 50 years on family, family formation, and the struggle of women for emancipation and independence in organizing their lives. This section is illustrated by numerous narratives of women from different socioeconomic and educational levels in urban and rural areas. The narratives bring out the diversity of behaviours and reactions to modernization, and the impact of modernization on women's personal and family life. The decision-making process in sensitive matters such as family formation remains, however, a product of gender roles and traditional norms and values. The account reveals the crucial role of women in issues of reproductive health, since messages on the subject are mostly targeted at women, leaving a knowledge gap between men and women in this area (p. 111).

The last section demonstrates the impact of shifts in population policy and of changes in behaviour, such as rising participation of women in education and work outside the home. It looks at the consequences for timing of marriage formation, and for ideas on family size and use of contraception. The acceptance of a small ideal family size resulted in a decline in fertility. Continuation of this trend will lead to a level of fertility below the replacement level of just over two children per woman, which is essential for maintaining a stable population. A continued decline of fertility will overshoot the goal of the 'two is enough' policy and result in an ageing population, with a rising proportion and number of old people, and a fall in the total size of the population. It is therefore heartening to note in the postscript the statement that 'it is unwise to underestimate the power of the Indonesian people to overcome difficulties' (p. 174). Facing the challenge of declining fertility will demand both investment in the education of the people, and respect for their wisdom and abilities.

*People, population, and policy in Indonesia* gives a good and lucid synthesis, for interested lay readers and for policy-makers, of Indonesian history, sociology, and demography. Two remarks can be added. First, it would be edifying to describe more explicitly what made politicians change their thinking about population policy from transmigration (the movement of population from densely to sparsely populated areas) to reducing the birth rate. This would give a broader understanding of the choice for a family planning programme that was made in the turbulent period of ideological controversies

in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Second, it is a pity that the role of Islam and Islamic leaders is not described more explicitly. This would be an eye-opener for specialists in countries still struggling with the issue of family planning. Indonesia is frequently mentioned as 'the biggest Muslim country in the world', but knowledge about Islam and the role of Islamic leaders regarding family planning in this country is very limited. In Europe, Islam is often thought of only as the religion of ethnic minorities from Morocco, Turkey, and the Horn of Africa.

The publication of this book by Hull and his colleagues is timely. It provides a recent history of Indonesian population issues that is based on more than juggling with demographic statistics. As the demographer Alfred Sauvy used to teach his students, what is relevant is not merely the data but the 'meat' or story behind the data. This meat is indeed appetizing.

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W.L. Korthals Altes, *Tussen cultures en kredieten; Een institutionele geschiedenis van de Nederlandsch-Indische Handelsbank en Nationale Handelsbank, 1863-1964*. Amsterdam: Nederlands Instituut voor het Bank-, Verzekerings- en Effectenbedrijf (NIBE-SVV), 2004, 574 pp. ISBN 9055162078. Price: EUR 44.90 (hardback).

KOH KENG WE

This history of the NIHB or the Nederlandsch-Indische Handelsbank is a long-awaited study of an important institution in the colonial economy of the Netherlands East Indies. The book provides a comprehensive survey of the history of the NIHB from its foundation in the mid-nineteenth century up to its reorganization and absorption into the Rotterdam Bank in the 1960s.

The book takes a chronological approach, structured with reference to major global events such as the first and second world wars, to key events of the transition from Dutch colonial to Indonesian nation-state, and to the historical fluctuations of the Asian economy. While the bank began within the parameters of the Dutch colonial economy in Java and its metropole connections during the latter stages of the Cultivation System in the mid-nineteenth century, it was to grow, first in parallel to the expansion of the colonial state, into a network of branch offices encompassing the major trading and urban centres of the Netherlands East Indies, later extending to major cities elsewhere in Southeast and East Asia. The fortunes of the bank ultimately transcended Dutch colonial boundaries. The NIHB was in many ways on the road to becoming a global financial institution, or at least had such ambitions, until the global crises brought about by the two world wars put paid to them.

The first two chapters cover the bank's emergence: the plans, the mobilization of capital, and the organization of the first branches in the Netherlands Indies between the 1850s and the early 1870s. The third chapter takes stock of the NIHB's achievements in these formative years, analyses the circumstances leading to its reorganization in the 1870s as a result of tensions between its Amsterdam and Batavia offices, and details its ties to the various cultivation industries. The bank underwent an important period of growth between the disappearance of the Cultivation System and the Sugar Crisis of 1884. The subsequent period marked the expansion of the bank's stake in the colonial cultivation economy, especially through its shares in the NILM (*Nederlandsch Indische Landbouw Maatschappij*). Chapters 4 and 5 provide important insights into the firm's expansion in Indonesia outside of Java, and in Singapore and Hong Kong, while also dealing with the continued tensions between Amsterdam and Batavia. The subsequent two chapters cover the first world war and the inter-war period, examining such topics as capital crises and new strategies of expansion in the Far East and Central Europe. The final two chapters deal with the fortunes of the bank during and after the outbreak of war in Europe and the Asia-Pacific, as well as its travails during and after the Indonesian war of independence. The book concludes with a look at the circumstances surrounding the nationalization of the Indonesian operations of the bank by the Indonesian government, and the subsequent absorption of what remained into the Rotterdam Bank in 1964.

It is perhaps unfair, in view of the scope of the undertaking, to ask for more. The author has attempted to chart the making of a global financial institution. He has managed, considering the scale of this book, to balance a history of the bank's institutions and structures against the roles played by its agents and other important personalities, such as N.P. van den Berg, Frans van Heukelom, and later G.A. Dunlop. Some of the branches and agents might merit separate monographs in their own right. Another interesting dimension for further investigation would be the ties of the bank to non-European entrepreneurs, enterprises, and banks in the Netherlands East Indies and in its other spheres of operation in Asia. The social networks and business cultures underlying the operations of the bank also merit further investigation. Nevertheless the book creates the foundations for important future work in the field of banking history, a much neglected field in the economic history of Southeast Asia.

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William van der Heide, *Malaysian cinema, Asian film; Border crossings and national cultures*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002, 301 pp. [Film Culture in Transition.] ISBN 9053565191, price: EUR 31.30 (paperback); 9053565809, EUR 43.15 (hardback).

BENJAMIN MCKAY

William van der Heide hopes in this important and intriguing book to discover some inherent truths about Malaysian cinema and film culture by interrogating it at what he describes as the 'borders' – literal, geographical, historical, and metaphorical – that have shaped this little understood and sadly neglected cinematic culture. His theoretical approach to understanding Malaysian cinema is a novel one, and while it is intriguing to witness the author unravelling his claims and arguments through his own theoretical positioning, it has perhaps left him somewhat vulnerable in a number of key areas.

In critiquing the established film studies behemoths of national cinema and genre analysis, Van der Heide in a whimsically adventurous chapter creates a transtextual rubric around the cross-cultural reinterpretations of the classic Hollywood Western genre and traces its influence across cinematic borders in his study of how the 'Hamburger' Western became a 'Spaghetti' Western became a 'Noodle' Western became a 'Chop Suey' Western and ended up as a 'Curry' Western. In short, his culinary trajectory charts how a Hollywood genre helped to influence the samurai films of Japan, the martial arts films of China and Hong Kong, and the stunt films of Hindi cinema.

His argument is interesting on many levels, and as an opportunity for defending a transtextual approach to a reading of Malaysian cinema it has, on the surface, a certain intellectual appeal. I am concerned, however, about its overall usefulness in this particular study. Malaysian cinema has never been overtly interested in the Western genre in any of its culinary guises, and Van der Heide concedes this. He does, however, build an argument for the continuing influence on Malaysian cinema of the film cultures of both India and China (in particular Hong Kong) and the lesser influences of films from Indonesia, the United States, and Europe. This belief, held by many who have studied Malaysian cinema, needs, however, to be revisited. This does not mean that we should not be looking for global cinematic influences; after all, Malay and later Malaysian cinema has always been a largely mainstream and popular form and it has borrowed freely from global popular culture. But a widely held belief that these films are uniquely Malaysian because of their traces of Indic and Sinic influences needs to be rigorously questioned.

The author is correct in saying that a national cinema approach is limiting in the case of Malaysia. He cites a need to acknowledge Malaysia's unique

plurality and multicultural society and its complex history – pre-colonial, multi-colonial, and post-colonial. It could be further argued that in the Malaysian case we may need to recognize a proto-national film culture, one that is still embryonic rather than fully formed, and it may well be that the very pluralism we need to recognize as a hallmark of Malaysian society is in itself responsible for such an embryonic national cinema.

In his second chapter, 'Malaysian Society and Culture' (pp. 57-103), Van der Heide provides a thorough contextual background for a further understanding of his specific film analysis later in the book. This provides a timely service to film scholars who may not be conversant with the intricate complexities of contemporary Malaysian society and the rich heritage of Malay culture in particular. It also allows us, later in the book, to begin to see how the films the author has singled out as particular case studies fit more broadly into the national culture and how they might reflect the aspirations and desires of the society they address.

I emphasize Malay culture here because Van der Heide also agrees that the National Cultural Policy, among other policies and enforceable laws, now attempts to build a Malaysian society that is based upon the primacy of Malay culture. Malaysian cinema, particularly since the May 1969 racial riots, should be seen largely as a hegemonic cinema. Only very recently have independent filmmakers in Malaysia begun to make films about non-Malay Malaysians and in languages other than Malay. Only recently, too, have filmmakers really attempted to make films about cross-cultural relationships and dialogues. The fact that these films are often officially deemed 'foreign' rather than Malaysian highlights the cultural hegemony at work in contemporary Malaysian society. This book skirts around the issues of cultural hegemony largely because it has theoretically positioned itself in search of cross-cultural flows and currents. A deeper understanding of the real issues of ethnicity and the politics of culture in the Malaysian context would, I believe, have provided a rounder and richer assessment of Malaysia's cinematic legacy. Adherence to some of the less value-laden niceties and certainties of contemporary cultural studies appears to make this problematic, if not impossible.

The supposed primacy of Indic influences in the early Malay cinema of the post-war period (produced then in the studios of Singapore) needs to be recognized, but not at the expense of acknowledging that this was, and still is, an industry largely catering to an ethnically Malay audience. The author does give a fine background history of the industry, tracing the influences of Parsee theatre and Bangsawan on the development of Malay cinema. He also acknowledges rightly the long history of Malay cultural absorption and the legacy of Indic influences in Malay culture. The pioneers of the industry were well served by Indian directors, but even these early films were about constructions of Malay identity rather than about a multicultural, plural society.

Many have claimed to see similarities with contemporaneous Indian cinema, but rarely have these claims been subjected to a serious cultural analysis that positions the films firmly as Malay. That may not have been Van der Heide's intention, but his scholarship would have been stronger if he had been more critical in his intertextual search for commonalities. Supposedly heterogeneous influences need greater scrutiny in a Malaysian context.

The book is particularly strong in its chronologically arranged analysis of eleven chosen films. William van der Heide's scrupulous assessment of P. Ramlee's *Semerah padi* (1956) is a particularly fine reading of a very important film. Indeed, I would argue that this book may have been better if it had focused more on the films themselves and covered a larger number of films. His readings of more recent works like Rahim Razali's *Matinya seorang patriot* (1984), Shuhaimi Baba's *Selubung* (1992), and U-Wei bin Hajisaari's provocative feature *Perempuan, isteri dan jalang* (1993) are all important contributions to the critical and scholarly reception of Malaysian cinema. Of the earlier cinema – from the so-called 'golden age' of the 1950s and 1960s studio era – it is regrettable that the author limits himself to only six films, although all of them are excellent choices for discussion and he has served those films well in his critical analysis.

For scholars of film studies and of Malaysia, this is an important and long overdue addition to the literature. Aside from some reservations as to emphasis and theoretical positioning, I welcome this book as an important contribution to an area of enquiry that has been largely and sadly ignored. William van der Heide has helped to give due prominence to a fertile area of study and to a film industry and culture that deserves more global exposure.

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Angela Romano, *Politics and the press in Indonesia; Understanding an evolving political culture*. London: RoutledgeCurzon. 2003, xvii + 222 pp. ISBN 0700717455. Price: GBP 75.00 (hardback).

SOE TJEN MARCHING

In this book, Angela Romano discusses how journalists in Indonesia have worked and related to one another, and how their profession has evolved, from the beginnings of the Soeharto period up to the early part of the Megawati Soekarnoputri presidency. In contrast to most books on the Indonesian press, in which the analysis usually depends upon the comments or opinions of a few prominent journalists, Romano's book uses information obtained from 'unknown' journalists about their formal as well as informal work ethics, cultures, and political practices.

The first chapter explains the philosophy that has shaped 'authentic' Indonesian national characteristics, which were constructed at the end of the Japanese occupation in Indonesia. Chapters 2 and 3 describe the socio-political conditions that prevailed from the Soeharto period until the beginning of Megawati Soekarnoputri's rule, exploring how various Indonesian governments have shaped and used the press for their own political purposes. These three chapters provide a broad background on Indonesian politics and history, making the book accessible for a wide audience of readers who may not be familiar with recent Indonesian political history.

In Chapter 4, Romano analyses how the Indonesian press defined its ethics in relation to the integralistic philosophy of Pancasila. By comparing journalism in Indonesia with journalism in 'the West', Romano clarifies what is meant by the term 'integralistic': governments in Indonesia have required that Indonesian journalists should, in writing their reports, maintain 'peace' with the government and foster stability in society, rather than acting as 'watchdogs' on executive power as in the West. Although Romano discusses the characteristics of Indonesian journalism in the earlier chapters, this book is not just a series of generalizations about the Indonesian press. This is demonstrated in Chapter 5, which analyses how the views of several journalists have differed from each other as well as from prevailing government ideology. Chapters 6 and 7 also show that several Indonesian journalists have tried to challenge the severe restrictions placed upon them by governments, to redefine their profession, and to organize themselves in order to obtain better working rights.

When one talks about journalists in Indonesia one refers mainly to men, as female journalists are very rare. For this very reason, Romano's discussion of female journalists is crucial. Chapter 8 focuses on the problems of women pursuing a career in journalism in Indonesia. The demands of a journalistic career, combined with the perceived importance of being a good wife and mother, mean that female journalists often effectively have to do two full-time jobs.

Romano's analysis continues in Chapters 9 and 10 with an examination of the relationship between Indonesian journalists and their sources. Chapter 11 is in my opinion the most interesting chapter. It discusses the 'envelope' culture: that is, the culture of bribery in Indonesian journalism. Although this phenomenon has been discussed in other books, the detailed history of the envelope culture outlined by Romano is something that I have not encountered elsewhere. Romano traces bribery in Indonesian journalism back to the 1950s. It has continued since Soeharto's resignation, mainly because of the financial difficulties experienced by many journalists.

In this book Romano is interested not only in describing and investigating the Indonesian press, but also in understanding it. Having discussed its corruption and restrictiveness, in her concluding chapter she emphasizes that

these characteristics should not be explained in cultural terms. Rather, they are consequences of political and economic pressures.

This book is not only well written and detailed, but also timely given the socio-political changes that Indonesia has been experiencing recently. My only criticism is that the index is rather limited and inadequate, a feature which may not be the fault of the author, and which is a minor blemish when compared with the importance of this book as a whole.

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Simon Harrison, *Fracturing resemblances; Identity and mimetic conflict in Melanesia and the West*. Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2006, xii + 182 pp. ISBN 1571816801. Price: GBP 36.50 (hardback).

TOON VAN MEIJL

This innovative and important book questions two central assumptions in social theory, namely that shared culture or affiliation to shared cultural symbols is a source of social cohesion, and that ethnic divisions are associated specifically with perceptions or attributions of cultural difference. These assumptions are part of a dominant tradition in Western social thought in which social cohesion is understood to rest upon commonalities among people, while conflict is believed to arise out of dissimilarities. In contrast, this book builds on another, often neglected tradition of thinking in which conflict is understood as capable of arising from too many resemblances, and social order thus appears to require that social actors maintain a degree of mutual differentiation and distance. The idea that the most destructive antagonisms usually occur in the closest relationships was first launched by Simmel, while Freud's description of the phenomenon of 'narcissism of minor differences' can also be placed in this tradition. This subdominant strand of thought in the social sciences is now further developed and refined in this book

The author elaborates the perspective of what he labels 'mimetic conflict', with special attention for the nature of social identities whose outward symbols or markers are considered as property, and which may therefore also be disputed as property. These 'proprietary identities', as Harrison describes them, are often characterized by symbols through which culture is objectified and essentialized. This, in turn, is intertwined with anxieties concerned with the preservation of identity over time. These anxieties focus on somehow regulating, managing or limiting either the inflow of culturally foreign symbols, which are considered as impure, or the outflow of culturally indigenous symbols, which is considered as a form of piracy or theft. In some instances both of these processes may occur at the same time. In socio-political practic-

es this theoretical framework makes possible a diversity of cultural styles of constructing cultural identity, including different concepts of 'objectification' and different ways of defining what sorts of inward or outward flows of symbols are possible, between what kinds of agents and under what conditions.

Harrison illustrates his views of identity primarily with reference to the phenomena of ethnicity and nationalism. A central feature of these forms of identity is their modelling of groups as collective individuals, as abstract entities that define themselves by historically producing distinctive cultures, and by owning them thereafter as their perpetual legacies. The metaphorical foundation of ethnicity and nationalism in the image of individuals as self-sufficient creators and holders of private property contrasts markedly with precolonial Melanesia, where the dominant images on which leaders drew were those of relational persons, immanent in their social relations with one another and made manifest mainly in those transactions of gifts and prestige goods on which the power of Melanesian leaders was routinely based. The denial of resemblances is a key process in the constitution of the apparent 'individuality' of ethnic groups or nations in Western societies, whereas the recognition of mimesis is self-evident in Melanesian exchange systems, in which not 'individual' groups but rather intergroup relationships determine stability in the long term through the production and exchange of a variety of goods, including cultural or religious forms and practices. Harrison draws regularly on the contrast between Western and Melanesian societies throughout his book in order to highlight the ideological nature of Western constructs of ethnicity and nationalism, in which assertions of cultural distinctiveness, uniqueness, and individuality are in his view also linked inextricably with other, less visible assertions concerned with the denial, forgetting, and severing of felt resemblances.

The book is partly based on a series of papers that the author has published since the early 1990s, but here they have been revised completely and synthesized into a single work. *Fracturing resemblances* opens with a theoretical introduction in which the main argument is set out, following which several aspects of that argument are elaborated in ten chapters before being integrated once more into a substantial conclusion. In the first couple of chapters Harrison outlines three broadly distinct configurations of muted similarities in discourses of ethnic and nationalist differences, configurations in which the Other is valorized respectively as inferior, superior, or equal to the Self. In the second part of the book the author elaborates a variety of mimetic conflicts arising in the negotiation of collective identities, which he clusters into four kinds that are generated by the intersection of two axes, one being degrees of power and the other being degrees of intended exclusion or inclusion. All theoretical varieties of power configurations and identity conflicts are richly illustrated with numerous ethnographic examples and case

studies from all over the world, while the contrast between Western individuality and Melanesian sociality is pointed out to highlight the ideological nature of fractured resemblances and mimetic conflict. In sum, this book is compulsory reading for anyone interested in the anthropology of identity, ethnicity, nationalism, and social conflict.

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Daniel Fitzpatrick, *Land claims in East Timor*. Canberra: Asia Pacific Press, 2002, x + 246 pp. ISBN 0731536886. Price: AUD 40.00 (paperback).

JOHANNA VAN REENEN

This excellent book provides a scholarly analysis of, and possible solutions to, issues surrounding land claims in the newly independent state of East Timor. It is of interest both to academics and to policy makers. Part of the material in the book derives from three months of work in early 2000 with the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET).

East Timor is emerging from a difficult colonial past. It has suffered successive waves of dispossession, from Portuguese colonization to Japanese occupation to Indonesian invasion. These events have created multiple competing claims to land. Currently there are four categories of potential land claimants in East Timor: underlying traditional interests, holders of titles issued in the Portuguese era, holders of titles issued in the Indonesian era, and current occupiers. The conflict of late 1999 has further complicated this heritage of occupation and colonization. After the massive vote for independence from Indonesia, pro-Indonesia militia, apparently supported and funded by Indonesian military interests, caused widespread population displacement and property destruction. Returning refugees occupied empty houses, particularly in Dili, which were not their own. Land claims in East Timor thus involve the tangled threads of post-colonial and post-conflict experience.

In such circumstances, land policy plays a fundamental role in nation-building. First, it must deal with the immediate chaos of property destruction and population displacement caused by conflict. Second, land policy must create institutions and laws to meet claims for property restitution. Such claims will come from returning refugees, from those who acquired titles under previous regimes, and from those who lost land under previous regimes. Third, land policy fundamentally shapes future social and economic structures. This is the long-term aspect of land policy. It involves such questions as: should land management be organized on a collective, cooperative, or individual basis? Is land reform necessary to achieve social justice and

overcome poverty traps?

The author analyses the various types of land claims in a very readable, informative, critical and comprehensive manner. Anthropological materials are used side by side with legal considerations. The author proposes alternative solutions to all issues that are discussed, carefully weighing pros and cons. Sir Gerard Brennan, the former chief justice of the High Court of Australia, rightly observes in his foreword: 'Mr Fitzpatrick's proposals are finely nuanced – see, for example, his reservations about applying a tenure reform principle to traditional, non-urban land – and provide a valuable and necessary checklist for those who are creating the laws and the administration affecting land in the new nation' (p. 10).

This being said, the question remains to what extent writings like Fitzpatrick's will influence the formulation of land policy in East Timor and, more importantly, the actual application of new land laws. Late in 2000 the national cabinet, which was a body established within UNTAET to head the East Timor administration, advised UNTAET's transitional administrator not to proceed with plans to establish a land claims commission. As a result, the issues and conflicts could not be addressed until East Timor had its own democratic government in May 2002 – in other words, shortly after the publication of the book under review. The author himself refers in various instances to corruption in land registration during the Indonesian period. Can this be avoided in independent East Timor? More generally speaking, will the East Timorese government have the institutional power to deal with all these highly complicated and urgent land issues? As Fitzpatrick himself states:

These events [the population displacement and property destruction after September 1999] created a vast humanitarian crisis. Institutional conditions for resolving land claims were as close to 'ground zero' as could be imagined. (p. 1)

The East Timorese government has a vast task ahead. Let's hope this work is of help.

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Susi Moeimam en Hein Steinhauer, *Nederlands-Indonesisch Woordenboek*, Met medewerking van Nurhayu W. Santoso en met bijdragen van Ewald F. Ebing. Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land en Volkenkunde. Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij, 2004, xxi + 1125 pp. ISBN 9067182273. Price: EUR 49,90 (hardback).

Susi Moeimam dan Hein Steinhauer, *Kamus Belanda-Indonesia*, Dengan bantuan Nurhayu W. Santoso dan sumbangan dari Ewald F. Ebing. Jakarta: Penerbit PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2005, 1263 pp. ISBN 9792214984. Price: IDR 325,000 (hardback).

STUART ROBSON

Lexicography is a highly specialized business. As a result there are professional products, and rather amateurish ones. The dictionary produced has to be satisfactory on at least two fronts: first, selection of the items to be translated, and second, the process of translation itself.

The subject of this review is the two titles above, which have to be taken in tandem, as they are in essence the same dictionary, by the same authors, with the same aim, namely to render Dutch into Indonesian. The difference between the two is that they have different target audiences; the first is aimed at Dutch-speaking persons who wish to produce texts in modern standard Indonesian, and the second at Indonesian-speaking persons who wish to understand Dutch texts.

The source language is contemporary Dutch, and the number of entries is said to be 46,000 in the Dutch version and 50,000 in the Indonesian version. The number of meanings distinguished is said to be 60,000, and these are illustrated with 55,000 example sentences, expressions, and idioms. The choice of items to include was based on the *Referentiestand Nederlands*, a databank compiled under the supervision of Prof. W. Martin, on behalf of the main sponsor of the dictionary project, the *Commissie voor Lexicografische Vertaalvoorzieningen (CLVV)*. According to the introduction, in order to prepare the database from which the two versions were created, use was made of another dictionary program developed by the CLVV, the *Omkeerbaar Bilinguaal Bestand (OMBI)*. In other words, the authors had the benefit of sophisticated computer know-how in setting up the Dutch side of their dictionaries.

The Dutch-Indonesian dictionary project was a form of collaboration between the University of Indonesia and Leiden University, which made it possible for Susi Moeimam and Hein Steinhauer to work on it for more than five years. Moeimam has been interested in Dutch-Indonesian dictionaries since her Leiden dissertation of 1994, while Steinhauer has a number of highly regarded publications to his name on the study of Indonesian, so the

two (main) authors were well qualified for this onerous task.

Financial support came from the CLVV, the Koninklijke Nederlandse Academie van Wetenschappen (KNAW), Leiden University, the International Institute for Asian Studies, and the Faculty of Letters of Leiden University. Advice and support were provided by Prof. A. Teeuw and Prof. Anton Moeliono, among others. One could not be better supported than this.

But in the end, it comes down to the quality of the translations offered. Of course, there have been earlier Dutch-Indonesian or Dutch-Malay dictionaries, as well as Indonesian-Dutch. There are also Indonesian-English and English-Indonesian dictionaries, not to mention Indonesian-Indonesian dictionaries. All these would have been of assistance. However, readers should be aware of the highly idiomatic nature of some Dutch expressions, demanding a remarkably high degree of skill to render them into clear Indonesian. I admit that I have not read the dictionaries in full, but the samples taken show a truly remarkable level of clarity and accuracy. One small example may suffice as illustration of how Dutch idiomatic expressions are dealt with (p. 874):

**stuip** [*n*] setip, stuip; *een stuip krijgen (van schrik) terkejut setengah mati; iemand de stuipen op het lijf jagen* sangat mengejutkan sso; *in de stuip liggen van het lachen* tertawa terkial-kial.

There is more. In the Dutch version we find grammatical information regarding word-class, and sub-entries are glossed between square brackets, thus: under **als** meaning **1.** [net zoals, gelijk]; **2.** [alsof]; **3.** [op de manier van]; **4.** [in de hoedanigheid van], and so on, down to **11**. This is most helpful. The Introduction provides excellent information on how to use the dictionary, with regard to spelling and word order, structure of the entries, how homonyms are to be distinguished, and how meanings are defined. This is followed by a 'grammatical compendium', that is, of Indonesian grammar for the benefit of Dutch users.

Something that I did not find is an assessment of the work of predecessors in the field of Dutch-Indonesian lexicography, a reference to the place of the present work in the field, or a description of its value or relevance to Dutch-Indonesian relations at this time – but perhaps all this belongs in a separate essay.

The Indonesian version also has an informative introduction in Indonesian, with clues on how to pronounce Dutch and a summary of Dutch grammar. The dictionary entries indicate where to put the stress, word-class, and whether a noun takes *het* or *de* – all useful stuff for the Indonesian user trying to get to grips with Dutch.

The two volumes, both hard-covered, are beautifully printed and should withstand the test of time.

In short, this specimen of lexicography is an example of the craft at its best. Highly recommended.

Terance W. Bigalke, *Tana Toraja: a social history of an Indonesian people*. Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2005, xxv + 395 pp. ISBN 9971693155, price: SGD 63.00 (hardback); 9971693135. SGD 42.00 (paperback).

DIK ROTH

This book is a welcome and long awaited addition to the literature on South Sulawesi and on the district of Tana Toraja, located in the northern highlands of this province. Originally written as a PhD dissertation defended in 1981, until recently Bigalke's study was only available as a photocopy or microfiche copy (Bigalke 1981). Yet in the past decades it has become a much-cited key source on the history of Tana Toraja and its population. It proved to be a rich and reliable source when I started my own explorations of regional history of the Luwu-Tana Toraja area. The book published now by Singapore University Press (and simultaneously by KITLV Press) closely follows the original text, with some updates and reorganization of chapters. One new chapter has been added, on developments in Tana Toraja after 1965.

One of the main merits of the book is its focus on social history rather than on 'culture'. Instead of presenting Tana Toraja as a museum of an assumed 'traditional' culture and its inhabitants as a 'cultural minority' threatened by the outside world, Bigalke approaches Tana Toraja primarily as a historian interested in the multiple forces of societal change. Though initially conceived as a study of religious change, Bigalke's research developed into a comprehensive study of a highland society in a period of rapid socio-political and religious change. The author gives in-depth analyses of the period before the arrival of the Dutch, the Dutch occupation of and administrative interventions in the highlands, Christian mission and the changes associated with it, and the educational system and emergence of organizations that reflect and represent 'Toraja' ethnic identity, mainly taking shape in contrast to the lowland Islamic Other. *Tana Toraja* also covers the turbulent periods of the Japanese occupation and revolution, the post-war social revolution, and the Darul Islam rebellion in the 1950s and 1960s.

Some major contributions of the book deserve special mention here. Chapter 2 analyses the trade networks in coffee, slaves, and firearms that were established between highland and lowland elites from the mid-nineteenth century under the influence of broader processes of demographic, socio-political, and economic change. These processes generated a lowland demand for slave labour from the highlands. Bigalke's analysis makes clear that this slave trade should not simply be seen as the exploitation of a vulnerable highland population by powerful lowland kingdoms (see also Bigalke 1983; Li 1999). Trade networks that joined together lowland and highland

elites were a crucial characteristic of this slave trade, which was closely related to the trade in coffee and firearms. These highland-lowland interactions also brought wider socio-cultural changes in the highlands: lowland court cultures became a cultural model for (especially) the southern highland elites, while the trade networks led to intensified power struggles and conflicts between highland elites.

In his analysis of the slave trade Bigalke also places South Sulawesi slavery in its Southeast Asian context. Upward social mobility was possible and even quite common for Toraja slaves in the lowlands. This form of slavery in the lowlands was the solution to a labour shortage problem; land was not the main limiting factor here. Many slaves originating from the highlands assimilated into lowland Islamic culture. Often they even preferred staying in the lowlands over returning to the highlands (see also Bigalke 1983).

Another important contribution is Bigalke's historical analysis of the 'invention' of Toraja identity. It was only in the first half of the twentieth century that 'Toraja' changed meaning from a general denominator used by lowland people to denote the upland population into a classificatory category of ethnic groups internalized and actively used as an ethnic label by the highland population of what is now Tana Toraja. 'Toraja' as an ethnic marker was a product of the colonial and missionary presence in the highlands from 1905 onwards. It also became instrumental in colonial plans for creating 'Greater Toraja', a Christian highland buffer region against the mainly Islamic lowlands of South and Central Sulawesi. After decolonization, this political ideal of Toraja autonomy from the lowlands, referred to as 'Toraja Raya', continued to play an important role, though the only tangible administrative product of the autonomy movement was the current district of Tana Toraja. In the early 1980s, when reification of ethnic categories was still quite common, Bigalke's analysis shows that 'the Toraja' were primarily a product of Dutch administrative and missionary intervention. Moreover, in their political use of this label they are themselves agents of change rather than merely passive objects or victims of outside agency (see also Li 1999).

The final and newly added chapter on developments since 1965 increases the relevance of this book. It discusses the important role played immediately before 1965 by Muhamad Jusuf's Regional Military Command in South Sulawesi (KODAM Hasanuddin), which brought to an end Kahar Muzakkar's Darul Islam and isolated the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) in the region. It is remarkable that in Tana Toraja, which had a long history of land conflict that provided a fertile ground for PKI political activity, no mass killings took place after 30 September 1965.

The same chapter also discusses the downfall of Protestant politics, represented by Parkindo (the Indonesian Christian Party), in the New Order period. In the 1950s mission-educated Toraja had still been able to capital-

ize on their educational advantage and occupation of crucial administrative positions. In the 1960s, however, the emergence of new Bugis-Makassarese elites brought radical changes. In the administrative and political system the Toraja were gradually marginalized. This trend continued in the New Order period, when Parkindo support declined steadily until the party was forced to merge into PDI in the mid-1970s. While leading to the demise of Parkindo as a political force, the New Order provided a major opportunity for the Toraja aristocracy to regain its lost power.

In some respects, this last chapter represents a break with the preceding ones. Though important as a post-1965 update, it misses a number of important developments that are closely related to issues discussed earlier in the book. Land pressure and out-migration are mainly discussed as phenomena of economic change: in terms of the cash flows they generate. Thus, Bigalke largely misses the politically very important and sensitive issue of Toraja out-migration to neighbouring Luwu. Resource conflicts translated into ethno-religious conflicts, and regular attempts to restrict or regulate out-migration to Luwu in recent decades testify to the sensitive nature of Toraja relationships with Luwu. Agriculture-based out-migration to lowland Luwu was, moreover, to a certain extent politically organized rather than spontaneous, forming part of the agenda of Toraja identity politics. Thus it has more than just an economic meaning: it touches on crucial issues of Toraja identity, of drawing or transcending boundaries between 'us' and 'them', and of the future of Tana Toraja in the political constellation of South Sulawesi (see Roth 2005 and forthcoming).

It is a pity that the book ends before the downfall of the Soeharto regime, which triggered new and important socio-political developments in the region. Recently emerging regional autonomy movements at various levels of government lay bare the fault lines originating in the period before the New Order. After 2000, the movement for (Greater) Luwu Province collapsed in internal squabbling over the identity of the province and the position of Tana Toraja within it. District-level movements for regional autonomy in Tana Toraja triggered heated debates about the consequences for Toraja identity of splitting up the district. Even though these recent developments are not covered, it is mainly thanks to Bigalke's book that we can now appreciate them in a context of 'changing continuities' (Schulte Nordholt 2003) over a longer time span.

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K. Alexander Adelaar (with the assistance of Pak Vitus Kaslem), *Salako or Badameà; Sketch grammar, texts and lexicon of a Kanayatn dialect in West Borneo*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005, vii + 328 pp. [Frankfurter Forschungen zu Südostasien 2.] ISBN 3447051027. Price: EUR 78.00 (hardback).

HEIN STEINHAUER

Over the last twenty years western Borneo, in particular the Indonesian province of West Kalimantan, has drawn the special attention of linguists. The apparent diversity of local Malay-like language varieties has given rise to the assumption that West Borneo must have been the homeland of the ancestors of present-day Malay, and of the Malay-like languages of Sumatra and mainland Malaysia. In-depth studies of the languages of West Borneo are rare, however. The present study is therefore particularly welcome.

The language variety described in this book is spoken in separated pockets of West Kalimantan and Sarawak by well over 33,000 speakers. As the title of the book indicates, it is known by more than one name. The group of Malayic dialects the language belongs to is known as Kendayan in the literature and in Indonesian/Malay. However, since this name also has an ethnic meaning and is used to refer to people speaking non-Malayic languages as well,

Adelaar prefers the local etymon *kanayatn* to refer specifically to the group of related Malayic language varieties to which Salako belongs. According to the rules Adelaar presents for the pronunciation of this Salako variety, one would have expected the spelling *kanayàtn* [kanāy<sup>1</sup>ɔtn], but the rounding of /a/ to [ɔ] may be too restricted to befit the general name. Among the *kanayatn* speakers themselves the different varieties are known by shibboleths, such as the word for 'what', which in Salako is *dameà* [damɛy<sup>1</sup>ɔ]. The names used by speakers of the dialect itself are *bahasa badameà* 'language characterized by *dameà*', *bahasa dameà* 'dameà language', or just *katà diri* [katɔ dir<sup>1</sup>i?] 'our language'; the name *bahasa Salako* comes from the name of the river and town located slightly north of the area where the language variety is spoken today.

Adelaar's study consists of four parts: an introduction with references (pp. 1-18), a sketch grammar (pp. 19-83), a collection of twenty texts (pp. 86-219), and a Salako-English lexicon (pp. 221-328). Only the first text is provided with interlinear glosses and sentence-by-sentence translations. The lemmas in the lexicon are roots and are followed by semantic, morphological, and idiomatic information, and often also collocations and example sentences, largely taken from the texts. In addition etymological information is presented, whereby the author distinguishes borrowing from or through Indonesian and lexical items which can be identified as cases of interference or code switching. The influence of modern Indonesian on the lexicon and language use is obviously strong.

This influence has led to considerable complications in the sound system of the language. The lexicon consists of inherited Malay(ic) words which have undergone all typical *kanayatn* sound changes, and Malay(ic) and more foreign words (borrowed from or through Malay/Indonesian) which have not undergone these changes, or only partially so. Adelaar's approach in the sketch grammar is purely synchronic, which leaves the reader with a picture that is unnecessarily confusing, especially with regard to phonology, spelling, and pronunciation. It would be interesting to analyse Adelaar's data diachronically as an ordered sequence of sound changes.

The most interesting feature of Salako grammar is the verbal system. What in Indonesian is or has become the prefix *di-* (for the undergoer-oriented – or passive – voice with a third-person actor) corresponds in Salako to a proclitic *di* which, when no actor is expressed, is attached to the verb (which may have a nasal prefix indicating that the action of the verb reached its completion), but otherwise to the expression of the actor. The latter may be any personal pronoun or a regular noun phrase and should precede the verb (which in turn may be marked by a nasal prefix to express completion). These phenomena have already led to new hypotheses about the history of the Malayic group of languages, including Malay/Indonesian.

In several places Adelaar compares features of Salako with the latter language. Indeed, knowledge of Indonesian helps in understanding much of Salako's grammar: similarities and 'deviations' are easier to digest. Readers who lack that knowledge may find Adelaar's description too sketchy on some points. Word structure is not immediately transparent if one does not know Indonesian, and this hampers recognition of lexical roots and consequently the use of the lexicon, without which the texts are rather difficult to read. The more so since nineteen out of the twenty texts are presented without interlinear translations and without any indication of boundaries between roots and affixes or words and clitics, whereas the (free) translations of the complete texts are not even printed on the facing page.

It is possible that the editors of the series in which Adelaar's study appears had a say in this. The result in any case is a book which (though by no means free of printing errors and notational inconsistencies) is a welcome contribution to the study of a lesser-known group of Malayic language varieties, but which can only be properly appreciated by Malayologists.

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John Bowden and Nikolaus Himmelmann (eds), *Papers in Austronesian subgrouping and dialectology*. Canberra: Department of Pacific Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 2005, vii + 169 pp. [Pacific Linguistics 563.] ISBN 0858834772. Price: AUD 49.50 (paperback).

HEIN STEINHAUER

Because of the large size of the Austronesian language family, Austronesianists have so far only succeeded in offering fragmentary notes on its development and internal structure. The present collection of papers fills some of the gaps in our knowledge.

In the first chapter, the late Terry Crowley discusses the problematic distinction between dialect and language in general and in Oceania in particular, concentrating on traditional naming of communalects by speakers of Oceanic languages themselves. His findings amply demonstrate Peter Mühlhäusler's bias when he asserted in his *Linguistic ecology; Language change and linguistic imperialism in the Pacific region* (London: Routledge, 1996) that traditional Pacific societies had no concept of 'language', and that naming and identifying languages were deplorable and unjustified practices by colonial politicians and European missionaries. At the same time, Crowley stresses the well-known fact that it is in practice impossible to determine on

purely linguistic grounds whether a communalect is a language or a dialect.

The second paper, by Marc Donahue, critically examines to what extent the subgrouping hypotheses proposed for the Muna-Buton language group can stand up to scrutiny. In the literature these subgroupings are put forward without presentation of evidence or methodology. A second problem Donahue discusses is the enigmatic position of Wotu (spoken in an enclave on the northern shore of the Gulf of Bone), which in the literature has been variously described as related to Makassar-Bugis, to Toraja, to the Muna-Buton group, and as constituting a separate group with Wolio (Muna), Layola (Selayar), and possibly some unknown dialects of Buton. Using evidence from published sources and personal field notes, and based on shared phonemic innovations, Donahue arrives at a new subgrouping of the Muna-Buton languages. His findings support Sirk's hypothesis that Wotu forms a separate language group together with Wolio and Layola, as well as with the as yet unstudied languages Kamaru (Buton) and Kalao (Bonerate).

In the lengthy third paper, Der-Hwa Victoria Rau compares three Atayalic language varieties of Ren-Ai Township, in Nantou County (Central Taiwan). The three communities concerned are Rui-Yan in Fa-Xiang Village where the local language variety is known as Mstbaun, Wan-Da in Qin-Ai Village with language variety Palngawan, and Song-Lin (also in Qin-Ai Village) where the local language variety appears to be called Inago. Rather confusingly, this Song-Lin (also shown on Map 2) seems to be called Mei-Yuan on Map 3, whereas the local language on that map and in that village (to be distinguished from 'Village') appears to be B'ala'. Using several criteria, the author evaluates the position of Palngawan within the Atayalic language family, more specifically vis-à-vis Mstbaun and Inago, being representatives of the two Atayalic dialect groups, Atayal and Sediq. In earlier studies Palngawan was identified as a dialect of Atayal, based on lexical correspondences with various Atayal dialects. Presenting lists of shared vocabulary, sound correspondences, and shared sound changes (ordered according to impact), Rau concludes that according to all three criteria the three dialects form a dialect chain in which Palngawan is more closely related to Mstbaun and Mstbaun to Inago. This conclusion is corroborated by mutual intelligibility tests. For each of the three dialects a short text is presented which was used in these tests, followed by a (rather free) translation. It is a pity that the uninitiated reader does not get a clear impression of the structure of the dialects: without glosses and interlinear translations the texts are hardly accessible.

The fifth contribution is a plea by Jae Jung Song to use paradigms of forms and the categories they represent as criteria for internal subgrouping of related languages. By studying innovations in the pronominal system for Central Micronesian languages (notably with regard to the focus and possessive pronominal paradigms), Jae Jung Song tries to find additional evidence

for a stratified tree model depicting the historical relationships between these languages. The paper ends, without further explanation and rather abruptly, with the conclusion that the author's findings for Marshallese appear to be at odds with the stratified tree model proposed on other grounds by earlier researchers.

Malcolm Ross's lucid reconstruction of the prehistory and internal subgrouping of Malayic precedes Jae Jung Song's contribution and is in fact an excellent example of the paradigmatic approach the latter advocates. Ross reconstructs in several stages how the Proto-Malayo-Polynesian verbal system developed into the Proto-Malayic system. The innovations leading to this system explain the observed variety in languages qualified as Malayic by Alexander Adelaar and other linguists. But since some of these innovations are not shared by Old Malay, Ross concludes that this latter language variety in spite of its name cannot be classified as Malayic. Part of the evidence here is the hotly debated origin of the passive prefix *di-* in Indonesian, which Ross reconstructs as a proclitic in Proto-Malayic, but which is absent in Old Malay. The new subgrouping of the Malayic communalects that Ross arrives at on the basis of further, only partially shared innovations is a bifurcation into two groups: a small one comprising the Western Malayic Dayak communalects including Salako, Ahe, Kendayan, and Belangin, and a large one, coined Nuclear Malayic, comprising all other Malayic communalects.

The final contribution is an exemplary contrastive analysis by René van den Berg of the southern Muna dialect as compared to the standard northern variety. This latter variety was described in great detail by the same author in 1989. In this paper, which is the most data-oriented of the whole volume, an elaborate picture is presented of the major features differentiating southern from standard Muna. These differences are largest in phonology and lexicon, but morphonological, morphological, and syntactic differences can also be observed. All are comprehensively discussed and illustrated. The paper ends with a comparative (English-Indonesian) South Muna-North Muna wordlist, covering 210 basic concepts, and a South Muna text with interlinear glosses followed by a running English translation.

Sebastian Pompe, *The Indonesian Supreme Court; A study of institutional collapse*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program, 2005, ix + 494 pp. [Studies on Southeast Asia 39.] ISBN: 139780877277392, price: USD 48.00 (hardback); 139780877277385, USD 24.00 (paperback).

BRYAN S. TURNER

This study of Indonesian legal history from the Dutch colony to the resignation of President Soeharto in 1998 is a meticulous, detailed and important study of institutional failure. Although it is a revised version of a dissertation presented to Leiden University faculty of law, it retains some of the weaknesses of an academic thesis – insufficiently bold in its conclusions and unnecessarily generous in its use of footnotes. However, it survives those defects to provide a study of how a succession of legal officers has failed to solve two persistent problems: one was the conditions that secure juridical independence and the other was the components of the Indonesian acronym KKN (corruption, collusion, and nepotism). The independence of the judiciary from the government is an important component of the rule of law and hence a major plank in the armoury of democracy. In particular, the role of the Supreme Court is to keep governments honest, and in that sense the institutional collapse of the judiciary – in essence the failure of judges to act independently of government ministers – has been a major feature of the ongoing weakness of Indonesian democracy.

The Dutch colonial court system was based in principle on the idea of a *rechystaat* or ‘law state’ that was the product of continental Roman law in which there was clear division of authority between the state and the law. Dutch authorities had been influenced by the ideas of the French Enlightenment and these principles were embodied in the Nederburgh Report of 1803 (from the *Rapport der Commissie tot de Oost-Indische Zaken* of 31 August 1803), which was approved in 1804. This report recommended: a separate judicial institution, free from government interference; adequate and appropriate legal training of judges; a neutral system of appointments; proper remuneration for judges; and dismissal only on the basis of misconduct. The colonial elite preferred strong government to strong courts, and thus allowed extensive executive discretion to act in the interests of the colonial powers over its subordinated population. Hence the quest to reform the legal system that was part of *Reformasi* was in a sense an attempt to enforce the enlightened principles of the Nederburgh Report two hundred years later.

Defects in the Dutch system were inherited by post-colonial Indonesia, and these fault lines have continued shaping legal developments throughout the period of Indonesia’s independence. These are the fact that the court

administration is under the control of the Department of Justice, and that the court does not have power of constitutional review. A wide range of executive decisions are discretionary and not subject to review by the courts. Recruitment to the courts is largely from career judges who are not sufficiently independent of government. Finally, the Supreme Court remains remote from the everyday world of Indonesians, and their needs for social justice.

Pompe's account is essentially the work of a legal historian, and he traces the structural limitations of the Supreme Court through various stages: the parliamentary system and guided democracy (1945-1965), early New Order (1965-1970), and entrenched New Order (post-1970). The remainder of his study provides an in-depth analysis of key components of the legal system – the Supreme Court itself, judicial functions, the judges and the impact of legal decisions. It is important to keep in mind that, as Pompe shows, while many judges were inept and incompetent, many were courageous, independent, and scholarly. However, the scope for independent and heroic action was always limited by the structural relations between government and the Supreme Court. Despite these objective constraints, Pompe considers a number of famous cases where the will of the government was challenged by the courts. Perhaps the most notorious were the Kedung Ombo case, which struck critically at the core of the development strategies of New Order, and the Ohee case, which involved compensation for unlawful occupation of land in Irian Jaya. Such was the embarrassment caused by the Kedung Ombo episode that President Soeharto was forced to exclaim 'Let's not have another Kedung Ombo again!' In the great majority of cases, the government was able to prevail over such legal processes.

*The Indonesian Supreme Court* makes for depressing reading. Pompe concludes that in the crucial period from 1998 to 2000 when the media were calling for change, the judges remained inactive and silent, denying that there were legal problems that required solution. The Judges' Association (Ikatan Hakim Indonesia), which had been at the vanguard of reform movements in the 1950s and 1960s, was silent in the 1990s, mainly because it had been co-opted by the conservative judicial elite. This inability to act was the legacy of the 'servant mentality' of the New Order, but it also ran deeper. Political marginalization was 'reflected in reduced status, reduced budget and pay, reduced power, declining educational standards, skewed recruitment policies, and the collapse of internal management and performance monitoring' (p. 473).

The sociological and political consequences of this institutional collapse are worrisome. First, courts offer solutions to social disputes and hence make a contribution to civil security. As the capacity of courts to offer solutions decline, people turn to low-level violence to solve disputes. Second, good courts provide a stable and predictable environment for international business, and hence they contribute to economic growth. Finally, courts are

important in securing effective and legitimate government, without which trust in public institutions is eroded.

Sebastian Pompe has made an important and decisive contribution to the study of the legal culture of modern Indonesia. Every student with an interest in the conditions that are necessary for democracy should read this monograph carefully and diligently.

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Zimmermann, Gerd R., *Indonesien; Eine geographische Landeskunde*. Nackenheim/Rh: Edition Matahari, 2003, xvii + 598 pp. ISBN: 3000118144 (hardback).

ROBERT WESSING

Early in this richly documented social geography the author, Gerd R. Zimmermann, poses the question how one is to portray the space in which the processes of history take place. Writing geography is especially challenging in the case of Indonesia, with its population of over 200 million, its documented history stretching back to precolonial times, and with 17,508 islands the world's largest archipelago. The problem is in fact twofold: how to organize such a book, and how to divide up the material in such a way as to make it accessible to the reader.

Zimmerman solves the first problem by dividing the book into three parts, covering: 1) the cultural-geographic and historical dimensions; 2) the current social organization of Indonesia; and 3) a brief look at the nation's critical potentials. In approaching the second problem, he divides Indonesia into six parts: a central one composed of Java and Madura from which emerge the five peripheral 'fingers' of Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Nusa Tenggara (including Bali), and Maluku and Papua. Each of these, which has its own centre and periphery, is analysed separately in the first part of the book, the first 90 pages of which look at the nation's geography and ecology: climate and rainfall, geology, flora and fauna, and soil fertility. Zimmerman then discusses Indonesia's history, from the Palaeolithic through early agriculture, Indian influence, the arrival of Islam, and the European period from the first Portuguese contacts, through the VOC, the beginning of Dutch colonial rule at the end of the eighteenth century, the interregnum, the return of Dutch rule with its policies of forced cultivation, and the subsequent ethical and liberal policies.

With this Zimmerman arrives at the heart of the subject of the first section, a detailed analysis of the six regions in which he consecutively discusses demography, settlements, economy, health care, education, leisure activities and tourism – all copiously documented with clear charts, tables, maps and

statistics. Not surprisingly, he sees the arrival of the European powers, drawn by the Moluccan spice trade, as a crucial event. The increasing competition and quest for profits among these powers soon led to waste, destruction of crops, and impoverishment (and worse) of Moluccan farmers. As the available figures show, the decline of the VOC and the rise of the colonial Dutch East Indies did little to improve things. While Zimmerman does not make too obvious a point of this, it is clear to the careful reader that while the colony yielded great profits, these were usually not to the benefit of local people.

The centre-periphery model that the author uses to order his data nicely captures an important aspect of the colonial period: Java was the centre and it was there that colonial interests were concentrated. Where Dutch interests were minimal, facilities like health care and education were also minimal. This pattern was replicated within the peripheral areas, where such services were concentrated in administrative towns. Often Christian missions were the only sources of health care and education. In late colonial times only 15 percent of children attended schools, mostly in areas where business interests needed literate clerks. Even in the centres of Dutch activity, native poverty was a prominent feature of life, as land was co-opted for plantations. Theoretically this often took place under some beneficial rotation scheme, but in practice what Boeke called the 'dual economy' worked to the detriment of farmers. This has, of course, all been discussed before, but Zimmermann illustrates it with copious statistics.

In this part of the book the author rather curiously insists on making a distinction between 'Proto-Malays' and 'Deutero-Malays' – a model which has little bearing on the thrust of his argument, and which he acknowledges has generally fallen out of favour. Proto-Malays are characterized as living in the uplands, practising shifting dry-rice agriculture, venerating their ancestors, holding animist beliefs, having matrilineal clan structures, and living in multi-family dwellings raised on posts. Deutero-Malays, on the other hand, lived along rivers in the lowlands, grew wet rice, and had trade, states, and Indian-influenced religions (pp. 38, 56). People like the Baduy of West Java and the Tengger of East Java are thought to be possible Proto-Malay remnants (p. 90). All this ignores the role of upland peoples in the trade links of the lowlanders, and in the case of the Baduy their relationship with the courts of West Java, of which the Baduy claim to be a remnant. Rather than following from an 'innate predisposition' (p. 184), living in raised houses was probably a question of safety, reflecting dangers from humans or wild animals. Even the Sundanese, who are classified as Deutero-Malays, lived in houses raised more than a metre from the ground in areas where there were marauding tigers. Their house posts are considerably lower now. In essence, raised multi-family structures are settlements raised on posts for defensive reasons. It would be fruitful to ask how these are similar to such structures as the Madurese *tanean*

*lanjeung*. There is an old Sundanese custom of building the house of a daughter in line with that of her parents in such a way that the shadow of the child's house does not fall on that of the parents' – thereby in essence creating a 'longhouse' effect on the ground. Concerning the 'matrilineality' of the Proto-Malay, many so-called Deutero-Malays have a strong matrifocal emphasis, and the common uxorilocal pattern of post-marital residence would tend to lead to de facto matrilineages within the family compound.

The crucial features of the distinction, in Zimmerman's view, are wet versus dry agriculture and upland versus lowland residence. Wet-rice agriculture presumes the presence of irrigation, which in turn requires a critical level of population below which the necessary work just cannot be carried out or sustained. The upland/lowland differentiation is also found in mainland Southeast Asia, where it has nothing to do with Proto- and Deutero-Malays but reflects different adaptations to ecological conditions with their economic and social consequences. As we know from Leach's *Political Systems of Highland Burma*, people often redefine themselves in the face of new conditions; the more interesting question is when highlanders become lowlanders (or visa versa) and why.

These distinctions are largely absent from the second part of the book. Opening with the colophon that 'Soeharto's government sought legitimacy with the promise of future economic development', it looks at the social and economic organization of modern Indonesia as a whole, focusing on the same topics treated for the individual regions in the first part. Statistical tables continue to display the comparative positions of the six regions.

On the face of it, and as Zimmermann's statistics show, Indonesia has experienced a remarkable economic boom since independence, and especially since the advent of Soeharto's New Order and its liberal economic policies. This boom was driven first by timber, and later by the exploitation of oil and gas resources. However, the clear-cutting of large tracts of forest has also led to soil erosion, floods, forest fires, and pollution. While the profits from these sources drove the development of trade and local industries (p. 405), there are limits to the supplies of natural resources and thought must be given to the future.

One question faced by Indonesian governments has been how to unite the diverse peoples of the archipelago. A sensitive point is the relationship between Java – the centre – and the peripheral rest of the country. With 121,293 million people in 2000, Java has 1.4 times the population of the rest of Indonesia together (p. 254). Java, which has no great abundance of natural resources, consumes a major part of the national income, something that has not gone unnoticed by the rest of the nation.

Population growth, especially in Java, has indeed been phenomenal, though astute government management and fortuitous developments like improved

rice varieties have allowed agriculture to keep up with it. The additional population, however, has led to greater pressure on land. New agricultural techniques have mostly benefited larger landholders, leading the less fortunate either to clear more forest – with the attendant dangers – or to migrate. Transmigration, mostly to Sumatra and Kalimantan (p. 260), has not really reduced population pressure in Java, but it has at times led to ethnic tensions and cultural conflicts in the target areas. Labour migration overseas (p. 291) has helped somewhat, although it obviously cannot solve the overall problem of poverty at home. As people leave the land to seek their fortune in the cities, urbanization has been a major challenge. Jakarta has become a megalopolis (p. 263) and other cities are exploding as well. At the same time the pattern of settlements has changed as old central places lost their position to new ones in response to changed technologies (p. 326, 329, 338). New urban densities have brought problems of pollution and disease (p. 335). As in colonial times, Java and Sumatra are still the most important demographic and economic centres (p. 297), leaving the rest of Indonesia in their wake. As before, this contrast is reflected in the level and accessibility of social services.

In the recovery following the Asian economic crisis (p. 272), the well-to-do have tended to benefit more than the (urban) poor, among whom child malnutrition became more widespread. While the incidence of poverty declined on average through the 1990s (p. 272), it is still very evident (p. 372).

In Section 3, Zimmerman takes a cautious look at Indonesia's 'critical potentials'. The section's colophon, 'Things fall apart, the centre cannot hold', indicates his view that all is not well with Indonesia. He expresses his concerns about the environmental situation, from forest fires to loss of biodiversity (p. 475). While the creation of nature reserves points to a national awareness of the problems, ecology tends to lose when in competition with economy (p. 477). Economic forces have powered deforestation and rural-urban migration. While new mineral reserves may be found, the future must lie in local manufacturing and continued foreign investment, hopefully stimulated by political stability and a decline in corruption (p. 479).

While unemployment and lack of social security continue to be threats (pp. 480-1), starvation, Zimmerman claims, has become a thing of the past. However, it must be added here that recent (2006) news reports speak of an increase in child malnutrition and a decline in general health.

In terms of inter-ethnic relations, the centre-periphery question continues to be relevant. Recent years have seen a decline in people's readiness to accept central authority, a trend which hastened Soeharto's resignation but could eventually lead to national disintegration (pp. 484-5).

## REVIEW ESSAY

DICK VAN DER MEIJ

# Latest editions of Indonesian classical texts

A. Teeuw, R. Dumas, Muhammad Haji Salleh, R. Tol, and M.J. van Yperen (eds), *A merry senhor in the Malay world; Four texts of the Syair Sinyor Kosta*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2004, a set of 2 volumes, vol. 1: x + 238 pp., vol. 2: vi + 226 pp. [Bibliotheca Indonesica 30.] ISBN 9067182168. Price: EUR 50.00 (paperback).

Julian Millie, *Bidasari; Jewel of Malay Muslim culture*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2004, vi + 310 pp. [Bibliotheca Indonesica 31.] ISBN 9067182249. Price: EUR 30.00 (paperback).

A. Teeuw and S.O. Robson (eds), *Bhomāntaka; The death of Bhoma*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2005, viii + 695 pp. [Bibliotheca Indonesica 32.] ISBN 9067182532. Price: EUR 45.00 (paperback).

J. Noorduyn and A. Teeuw, *Three Old Sundanese poems*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2006, xii + 495 pp. [Bibliotheca Indonesica 29.] ISBN 906718182X. Price: EUR 40.00 (paperback).

Anyone who claims that philology is dead, and that ancient texts belong to ancient times and outdated scholarly traditions, is proven seriously wrong by the publications discussed in this review essay. Never before has KITLV published so many philological works in so short a time, and KITLV Press should be warmly applauded for these additions to its Bibliotheca Indonesica series. The works contain six text editions; two are Malay, one is Old Javanese, and three are Old Sundanese.

Two of the authors, A. Teeuw and S. Robson, are old hands in the field. Both have edited and translated numerous Malay and Old Javanese works, often working together, and it is praiseworthy that at his advanced age Teeuw has been willing and able to continue to be involved in five of the text editions presented here. Julian Millie is a comparative newcomer. Former students working with Teeuw on the Syair Sinyor Kosta edition include Roger Tol, who is highly acclaimed in Malay and Bugis studies. Teeuw's other students in the Sinyor Kosta project have unfortunately discontinued

their involvement in text and manuscript studies.

The present works show once again that experience gained in editing texts in one language adds to knowledge useful for preparing an edition of a text in another language.

It is impossible to evaluate the entirety of these books in only a few pages; my remarks should be regarded as notes and additions rather than as an attempt to weigh up the content of the works in any comprehensive manner.

*Syair Sinyor Kosta and Syair Bidasari*

The works by Teeuw et al. and Millie are editions of Malay *syair*. A *syair* is a poem that consists of a number (sometimes a large number) of four-lined stanzas, each stanza having (ideally and by no means always) four words and a rhyme scheme of a a a a. When exactly the *syair* first came into being in the Malay world has been discussed by many and is still a matter of conjecture. Teeuw is one of the scholars who have been involved for a long time in the study of this particular type of Malay verse; he edited the *Syair Ken Tambuhan*, published forty years ago (Teeuw 1966). Co-authors of the present edition of the *Syair Sinyor Kosta* include Professor Muhammad Haji Salleh from the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Bangli, Selangor, himself a poet laureate of Malaysia. He contributed the chapter 'Continuing a tradition; Recreating the *Syair Sinyor Kosta*', and we can profit from his remark that a text edition should not be regarded as the final stage in the fossilization of the text, but rather as the continuation of traditions. The second work, *Bidasari* by Julian Millie, was written, according to the back cover text, with the goal of obtaining a master's degree from Monash University, Melbourne, Australia. It is his first published work in the field.

Both *syair* are said to have been popular in nineteenth-century Malay society.<sup>1</sup> But how different they are in content! The *Syair Sinyor Kosta* is set in a rather realistic fantasy world where references to things that (might) actually have existed are frequent. The *Syair Bidasari*, in contrast, is an 'old-fashioned' fairytale-like story about kings and princesses and their surroundings, also set in an imaginary world, but one totally different from that of the *Syair Sinyor Kosta*. Yet, the basic romantic themes of both are similar: relations between

<sup>1</sup> In the case of the *Sinyor Kosta* it is even said that it was 'extremely' popular (p. 1). Millie likewise points to the popularity of the *Bidasari*. However, since so little is really known about readership and dissemination of texts in the Malay world, some caution is called for here. Moreover, basing ourselves on collections in libraries in order to say something about actual availability of manuscripts is tricky. The case of the *Puspakrema* which I edited is a case in point (Van der Meij 2002). Initially very little material was found in public libraries, but it became apparent that the text was ubiquitous in Lombok in private hands and that hundreds of manuscripts could be found in the island itself. Apart from all this, the authors seem to imply that 'unpopular' texts would not merit our attention.

desiring men and women are never easy and can lead to happiness, but also to disaster. This is the case in the world of foreign traders and exotic ladies at the harbour of Batavia as well as in the realm of imaginary kings and queens. The themes of both stories may answer the question as to why these texts were so popular. It transpires that the stories were not only transmitted in written form, but were also used for theatrical purposes, thus adding to their popularity.

The authors of both editions point to the importance of extra-textual knowledge in order to appreciate and understand the stories in the texts. Millie goes so far as to say that the Leiden Codex Orientalis 1964 manuscript which he used for his edition of the *Syair Bidasari* is to a large extent a 'theatre text', and should perhaps be viewed as a recording of a performance rather than as a copied version of an earlier manuscript. He points out that most of the knowledge needed for appreciating the manuscript is not contained in it (p. 10). No text in the world stands apart from other texts or from other expressions of the culture it stems from. A cultural interpretation rather than a textual interpretation *pur sang* leads to greater understanding. Luckily, this is what has been done in the Malay works under discussion here.

The subtitle of Millie's book, 'Jewel of Malay Muslim culture', does not seem to me apt, and I truly wonder where it comes from. The story does not strike me as particularly Islamic, and references to things Islamic in the story are few and far between. Millie does not explain the issue in more detail. It may very well be that for Malays – and, probably, for Millie – the story is Islamic in such an obvious way that explicating its Islamic aspects was considered superfluous. If Millie is able to prove this point in future publications he will gratify all of us who are interested in older stories from the Indonesian area. I think that many stories from Lombok, for instance, are full of references to Malay/Javanese Muslim culture, but much of this escapes the untrained (Western) eye. This may be the case with many Malay literary products, the *syair* among them. On the other hand, if it is the case that literary conventions from one cultural period have been taken over into another period, then we should not oversimplify things by calling a text 'Islamic' and thus dismissing other layers of cultural meaning.

*The Bhomāntaka; The death of Bhoma*

A *kakawin* is an Old Javanese verse in Indian or Indian-inspired poetic metres, written in Java or Bali. The *kakawin* *Bhomāntaka* was the subject of Teeuw's dissertation in 1946. He made a Dutch translation, accompanied by introductory chapters, without however presenting a text edition (Teeuw 1946). Now, almost sixty years later, an edition with English translation has seen the light, prepared by Teeuw in cooperation with Robson. They are two of the few

scholars left who are still actively involved in *kakawin* study.<sup>2</sup> Teeuw previously edited the Hariwaṅśa (1950), together with Robson the Kuñjarakaṇa Dharmakathana (1981), and with Robson and others the Śiwarātrikalpa (1969). Robson translated the Deśawarnana (Nāgarakṛtāgama) (1995). Incidentally, all these works were published by KITLV.

The book can be called an old-fashioned text edition in which six sources were used, one the printed version by Friederich from 1852, and five manuscripts, all in the Leiden University library.<sup>3</sup> The text is presented with translation, introductory chapters, and a commentary on the translation, as well as indexes and glossaries. The text edition itself is clear and provided with a critical apparatus in the footnotes. The presentation of the text and translation was quite a task, as the Old Javanese text is very long (about 285 pages in print).

Interestingly, Teeuw and his co-authors mention the popularity of the Syair Sinyor Kosta without considering manuscripts extant among the Malays themselves. Now, this can indeed no longer be checked, as the manuscript culture among the Malay people is virtually dead. In Bali, however, this is not the case; many manuscripts may still be found among the Balinese.

The section 'The reception of the Bhomāntaka in Bali' (pp. 60-2) is far too short, perhaps due to time constraints or to keep the book from becoming even more bulky than it already is. However, Bali has been instrumental in the preservation of *kakawin*, and, that being so, the role of *kakawin* in Bali must have been prominent and might have given rise to more discussion in this volume. In Bali up to the present day, *kakawin* are being sung and the contents discussed at *pepaosan* events. These events have been described at length by Raechelle Rubinstein (1992). She even mentions that *kakawin* that were produced in ancient Java (but preserved in Bali) are the most popular for these events, the Bhomāntaka among them (Rubinstein 1992:87). A simple reference to the works of this important *kakawin* scholar (Rubinstein 1992, 2000) would have been useful for the reader.

The past tense used by the authors in this section would also seem to imply that we are speaking of matters no longer current, which is not entirely the case, as Robson knows (see his 2001 article). In Bali, *kakawin* are still being

<sup>2</sup> The number of scholars interested in working on *kakawin* texts is becoming dangerously small. There seems to be no money available for this craft. Both Teeuw and Robson are no longer employed in academia and devote their spare time to this work. Raechelle Rubinstein has fallen out of the trade because employment is unavailable. Helen Creese is nowadays spending her professional time teaching students the basics of modern Indonesian. If we take this matter seriously, something should be done to address this situation, otherwise the *kakawin* will soon be dead in the modern Western world. In Bali the people remain interested, but their knowledge and efforts hardly ever reach the general public in the West, in part because they write in Indonesian. Incidentally, the situation with regard to Malay texts is hardly more promising.

<sup>3</sup> For unknown reasons the seven (at least) typed copies of manuscripts in Bali belonging to the so-called Hooykaas-I Gusti Ngurah Ketut Sangka/Hedi Hinzler 'Proyek Tik' collection, also available in the library, were not deemed worth mentioning and have not been used.

composed today, in addition to being sung. Recent products include the *Kakawin Rāwaṇa* (I Wayan Pamit 2002b), *Kakawin Candrabhānu* (I Wayan Pamit 2002a), and *Kakawin Karṇāntaka* (I Wayan Sregeg 2000), which have only come to my notice in printed form and of which no manuscripts have been found. In Bali many modern printed text versions in Balinese script of *kakawin* and thus also of the *Bhomāntaka* have been produced (for example, *Kekawin Boma* [1989] and *Bhomāntaka* 1990, *Kakawin Bhomantaka* (I Made Bidja n.d.)) and to this day are for sale in bookshops in Bali, for instance in Denpasar and Tabanan. This attests to the popularity of this *kakawin* and it may well be that by means of these editions the text has even gained in popularity, as opposed to earlier times when the only copies were on palm-leaf and kept in household repositories of Brahmin priests and Ksatriya rulers.

Some discussion about other manuscripts in public collections in Indonesia and elsewhere, and those owned by private individuals in Bali and among the Balinese people living in western Lombok, might have given the reader an opportunity to judge the quantitative position of the material used for this edition.<sup>4</sup> The Balinese of western Lombok often possess large collections of manuscripts, the *kakawin* under discussion among them, and *pepaosan* groups also exist in that area.<sup>5</sup> As it stands, the small section devoted to Lombok is completely insufficient, and reference to Marrison's work (1999a, 1999b) on Sasak and Javanese literature on Lombok is superfluous since he does not discuss the Balinese part of Lombok at all.

Occasional puzzling remarks in this section may stem from an old bias against *kakawin* composed in Bali in favour of those produced in ancient Java. The distinction between the 'major' *kakawin* (those originating from ancient Java) and the 'minor' *kakawin* (composed in Bali), as made by Zoetmulder (1974), still lingers on without any purpose. Even the latest book on *kakawin* by Helen Creese does not escape spreading this curious notion, as if the *kakawin* originating from Java are superior to those composed in Bali (Creese 2004). This leads to curious ideas such as the following. There seems to be an Old Javanese sequence to the *Bhomāntaka* made in Bali, the *Narakawijaya*, which, according to Teeuw and Robson (p. 61), 'is a curious text, first of all because it describes the victory of the demon king Naraka, a theme which in the framework of Javanese literary conventions is exceptional, if not unacceptable. Another remarkable point is the very large number of Cantos (173) of the text and its great variety of metres.' This quotation gives rise to ques-

<sup>4</sup> The mailing lists of the Proyek Tik may be consulted to discover the provenance in Bali of the original manuscripts used for the typescript copies in Leiden University Library.

<sup>5</sup> The 1993 project Pemetaan Naskah Lombok funded by the Ford Foundation found the following owners of *Kakawin Bhomantaka* in the Mataram area in western Lombok alone: Sekehe Papaosan 'Satya Dharmasanti', Pagesangan (kept by Ida Made Gianyar); Gede Mantri, Pagesangan; and I Ketut Gede Marda, Karang Tulamben, Monjok.

tions. What literary Javanese conventions are we talking about? Are these conventions Javanese, as opposed to Balinese interpretations of these conventions? Would not one assume that if the theme of the text was unacceptable, the text would never have been written? Perhaps 173 cantos is a lot, but the text of the *Bhomāntaka* has 118 cantos, which also might be called many. The plot is said to be 'unusual' (p. 61), but the reasons why it is unusual I do not find convincing. It is as if the authors assume there is an established notion of what the conventions in this literature are and that we have the tools necessary to evaluate texts in the light of these conventions, but I cannot agree with this standpoint.

### *The Old Sundanese poems*

Never before have Old Sundanese poems been edited and translated into English. The texts presented are: 1. The sons of Rama and Rahwana; 2. The ascension of Sri Ajnyana; and 3. The story of Bujangga Manik: a pilgrim's progress. The work necessary for producing these editions and translations, and the wealth of other information contained in this volume, was started by J. Noorduyn. Just before his death, Noorduyn asked Teeuw to continue the work on these texts, and luckily Teeuw did so. The book is a virtual manual for Old Sundanese literary study; the texts are well presented and the translations are highly readable.

The history of Old Sundanese studies is presented, with due attention to the role of Sundanese scholars. This is as it should be and stands in sharp contrast with the *Bhomāntaka* edition, where indigenous scholars on *kakawin* texts are afforded far less space.

The extensive glossary (which might more aptly be called a small dictionary), the appendices on Sundanese script, and the notes on the texts and translations are invaluable as they offer the interested scholar indispensable tools in English which are not available elsewhere.

### *Translations*

All the texts edited in the works under discussion have been provided with an English translation. Quite rightly, the book on the Sinyor Kosta discusses at great length the problems of translating such texts. Indeed, translations of older texts in languages of the Indonesian archipelago are extremely difficult to make, and problems of correct understanding and interpretation lurk at every syllable and every comma. Often basic tools, such as dictionaries or cultural information about matters presented in texts, are unavailable or ill understood. However, one thing is clear: a translation should be an enjoyable and readable text in its own right. If we wish to see these texts included in the

canon of world literature (as implied by Teeuw and Robson, p. 9), the quality of the translations is of key importance.

The *syair* translations, especially the one made by Millie, are highly readable. At times I do not agree with translational choices made, but that is often a matter of personal preference. The translations of the Sundanese texts are very readable as well. Parts of the *Bhomāntaka* – especially the beginning – were particularly difficult to translate and resulted at times in curious and unnecessarily difficult choices. This is of course due to the constraints mentioned above. Nevertheless, I fear that Robson's statement still holds true:

In the field of Old Javanese we seem to have established our own way of doing things, and this has been moderately productive. However, I suggest that the results are not yet such that they can appeal to a wider audience, and may benefit from our reflecting on our aims and methods once more. (Robson 2001:41.)

Finally, a word about the cover designs of the books, all made by Crea Ontwerpen in Leiderdorp. Some supervision might have been in order to aid the designer and ensure that the covers had some significant bearing on the content of the books. The cover of the *Sinyor Kosta* shows a text – probably a manuscript, but this is not indicated – and the text is clearly in Chinese. The text of the *Syair Sinyor Kosta* is in Malay; there is no mention in the book of any extant Chinese versions of the text, so that the cover seems to be at odds with the content of the book itself.

The front cover of the *Bidasari* is also curious. It shows a voluptuous lady in a modern version of Malay-Indonesian dress, and behind her we see some figures wearing turbans. As in the case of the *Sinyor Kosta* book, there is no reference in this book to where the picture comes from. It may be from one of the Malaysian motion pictures that were made of the story. Also unclear is whether the picture of the girl and that of the old men are indeed one picture, or rather two or more pictures superimposed. Whatever the case, this lady – clearly not a princess – ill matches the impression we get from the story of the demure and lovely princess *Bidasari*. If there is any relation between the book and the picture, the reader should have been told.

The cover of the *Bhomāntaka* does indeed, as mentioned, portray a Balinese illustrated (*prasi*) manuscript of the *Bhomāntaka*. However, the information that the sequence of the manuscript pages shown should be bottom to top would have been useful. The picture was copied from *Illuminations*, but it shows a manuscript preserved in the National Library of Indonesia which probably originates from the Gedong Kirtya in Singaraja where I first saw it in the 1980s. It was frequently copied, and this would have been worth mentioning as well. It may be hoped that in the future the editorial board will pay more attention to these matters to avoid misunderstandings.

### Conclusion

Six texts in three languages have been made accessible to scholars and the general public. The authors and KITLV have done the world of international literature an enormous favour, and my remarks do not lessen my admiration for what has been achieved. It is to be hoped that at least one of these texts will be taken up by people involved not in Indonesian studies but in the discipline of comparative literature. Two final remarks for KITLV. First, the language editors and copy editors of the institute have done a marvellous job. These books are hard to produce and the level of accuracy here is to be lauded. Second, please present text editions in hard cover. They will most likely not be repeated for a considerable time to come, and will need to survive for decades. These soft cover books will likely not survive that long.

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