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Book Reviews

Philip Houghton, *People of the Great Ocean; Aspects of human biology of the early Pacific*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, x + 292 pp. ISBN 0.521.47166.4 (hardback). Price: USD 69.95.

A.S. BAER

An anatomist may look at human biology differently from a geneticist or ecologist. Or an archaeologist, linguist, or cultural anthropologist, for that matter. In *People of the Great Ocean*, Philip Houghton shows us how one anatomist looks at prehistory in the Pacific.

After a short introduction to the geography of the Pacific, he describes a number of human bones in exhaustive detail. He relates his findings to the well-known stocky physique of mid-Pacific peoples. Today's Polynesians are said to be tall, muscular, large-chested, and short-legged because of strong selective forces, having evolved in the western Pacific (starting in island Melanesia) from smaller ancestors.

It is well to bear in mind that selection is not the only evolutionary force. Other forces include mutation, (genome) migration, and genetic drift. All do change allele frequencies and, by definition, cause evolution. However, the mixing of different gene pools accomplishes allele frequency changes most quickly – and does so for many genes at once. Thus migrational models of prehistoric Southeast Asians filtering through Melanesia and becoming proto-Polynesians (while some remained in Melanesia) can, by themselves, provide for the known genetic diversity remarked upon by Houghton in island Melanesia; it is not necessary to postulate selection as the central evolutionary force.

But Houghton's main interest is in the anatomy and morphology of Pacific islanders. His main question is why Polynesians are more robust than most human groups, including those in Southeast Asia and those near New Guinea. He argues that the Polynesian robustness is an adaptation to the cold, wet conditions common on prehistoric voyages in mid-ocean, especially at night, even near the equator. Only male and female islanders with big, robust physiques would have been able to survive long voyages. (Presumably this implies that small children, lactating mothers, and even teenagers and the elderly were not Polynesian colonizers, but the author does not pursue this question.)

Houghton also discusses some studies by prehistorians, geneticists, and linguists on Oceanic peoples, relating them to his cold-adaptation hypothesis where possible. He favours ancient people evolving in island Melanesia 'for thousands of years' before colonizing Polynesia. This view is unlike the popular paradigm that colonization of Polynesia started in Southeast Asia about 4,000 years ago, carrying Austronesian languages and the Lapita pottery complex with it. He rejects this paradigm with the question (p. 175): 'Where are these big pre-Polynesians back in Asia?' While no current genetic, archaeological, or linguistic information 'explains' Polynesian robustness, such information does firmly link Polynesia to island Southeast Asia (through common genetic and cultural markers and through languages) and cannot justly be ignored.

For a geneticist like myself, this book was disappointing. Despite Houghton's thesis, evidence continues to accumulate that the genetic relationship of peoples in the Pacific area are consistent with the Austronesian-advance paradigm mentioned above. A case in point is the recent (1999) paper by Merriweather and colleagues, 'Mitochondrial DNA variation is an indicator of Austronesian influence in island Melanesia' (*American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 110:243-70). The DNA patterns found by this group cannot be reconciled with the hypothesis that the ancestors of the Polynesians were primarily of ancient Melanesian origin, as Houghton would have us think.

Finally, I found the title of Houghton's book to be misleading. More of the book is on the minutiae of human anatomy than on Pacific peoples. While the book may be a boon for anatomists, others may have difficulty finding the people among the bones. For a wider readership, an informed comparison of cultures in Southeast Asia, Melanesia, and Polynesia would have been useful in the early chapters of the book. Such a comparison, however, would not have provided much support for Houghton's thesis. Nor, unfortunately, does his chapter on skeletal-related health problems in the Pacific throw much light on anyone's model of prehistory there, although the chapter has its own intrinsic value.

Vicente L. Rafael (ed.), *Figures of criminality in Indonesia, the Philippines, and colonial Vietnam*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program, 1999, 258 pp. ISBN 0.87727.724.9. Price: USD 18.

GREG BANKOFF

I would have to agree with Rafael's opening remarks that the essays in this volume neither present an inclusive study of the criminal in Southeast Asia,

nor share a common notion of 'criminality', nor pursue a common set of methodological approaches to the study of 'crime'. Not that individual contributions are deficient. On the contrary, the authors provide a wealth of material that reflects a wide range of analyses from various disciplinary perspectives, very ably supplemented by an editorial introduction that seeks to instil a sense of focus to the whole work. Yet, as a compilation, it fails to sustain an on-going debate over the specific nature of criminality in the region and how that might shed light on a realm of social activity usually hidden to the outside.

The ten papers in this volume are revised versions of ones presented at a conference on criminality in Southeast Asia held at the Centre for Asian Studies in Amsterdam in 1997. However, the authors mainly deal with Indonesia; there are two on the Philippines and one other on colonial Vietnam. There are recurring themes here: surveillance (Joshua Barker, Rudolf Mrázek), modes of enforcement (Daniel Lev, Hendrik Maier, John Pemberton, and Peter Zinoman), identity (Caroline Hau and James Siegel) and the nature of power (Henk Schulte Nordholt, Margreet van Till, and John Sidel) among others that link criminality to state formation and make the criminal a 'product' of the state. (Such rude categorizations cannot do any real justice to the sophisticated and often innovative analyses evident in individual contributions.) More especially, most authors explore, either implicitly or explicitly, the process by which the figure of the criminal is mythologized in societies – not simply *à la* Hobsbawmian social banditry, but in a manner that makes violent behaviour almost acceptable and that seemingly exculpates those who commit such activities. In the process, the *jago*, the *preman*, and the *criminal* merge with the Chinese, the 'foreigner' and the subversive writer as important symbols about which national identity is constructed.

But, despite the volume's title, the figure of the criminal is presented in a surprisingly passive and remote manner. With a few notable exceptions, he (and they are all 'hes') is depicted more as an agent who is acted upon rather than one who acts. This is a strange outcome given the insights into the social dynamics of a society that such a study can often reveal. Perhaps the collection might more fittingly have been entitled 'discourses' rather than 'figures' of criminality. As it is, the authors appear to credit the state with too much authority. This is not to deny its ability to kill, torture, imprison, or exile, but governments in Southeast Asia (with the possible exception of Singapore) seldom have the agency to do this in a systematic fashion that inspires respect or instils order and discipline. More frequently, they merely have the ability to unleash mayhem, most recently in East Timor.

Donald Denoon, Stewart Firth, Jocelyn Linnekin, Malama Meleisa and Karen Nero, *The Cambridge history of the Pacific Islanders*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, xvi + 518 pp. ISBN 0.521.44195.1 (hardback). Price: GBP 60.

HAROLD BROOKFIELD

Writing a history of the Pacific 'islanders', as distinct from the islands as places, is a difficult task. This book probably took its authors, and 16 other contributors of small sections, a long time. The task of trying to maintain balance must have required, as the principal editor remarks at p. xvi, constant effort. A view from within has to be matched with a view from without, the discipline of historical narrative set alongside contemporary concern to allow discourse free rein, and political and social pre-conceptions seasoned with objectivity. The resulting book, 467 pages of text including bibliographic essays, covers the whole period from the Pleistocene to the present. It offers a credible analysis of the colonial experience, and it reviews the post-war years, still not everywhere leading to independence, in a set of thematic essays.

Yet, despite the length, and the discursiveness of many chapters, it is surprisingly unbalanced. Because of the range of sources used, which are by no means all the important sources available, the book is heavily weighted toward the experience of just a few groups of islanders, especially in Samoa and Hawaii, and in Tonga and Tahiti to a lesser degree. There is a surprising amount about the Maori of New Zealand, and a certain amount about the Australian aborigines. Whatever the validity of the classic threefold distinction, there is strong bias toward events in Polynesia and even Micronesia, as against the larger and more populous islands of Melanesia. Review of the contrasted events affecting the people of the island of New Guinea is patchy, and discussion of the very distinctive Fijian experience is broken up and almost nowhere profound. Armed resistance to the colonizers in New Caledonia, and to a lesser degree Fiji, in the 1870s gets mentioned only in passing, and emphasis on modern Tahitian political resistance is not paralleled by any comparable discussion of the dramatic events in New Caledonia. Although writing (at p. xvi) that scholarship has, until the 1970s, obscured 'the linkages and common experiences of the region', the authors do not really succeed in clarifying these linkages themselves. As one example, the motives for acceptance of Christianity, the rise of political movements, the so-called 'cargo cults', and even the weak industrial movements, are all discussed. Yet they are nowhere reviewed in parallel. One might have expected this in a comparative study, following Paula Brown's (1966) argument that to distinguish between 'cults' and other movements such as the above is to

cripple the power of explanation.

An important first chapter by Jocelyn Linnekin helps explain why the book is as it is. Correctly distinguishing indigenous historical genres from colonial history, 'island-oriented' revisionist history, and the work of indigenous post-colonial historians, the authors prefer the last of these and see themselves as having to do the job because indigenous post-colonial historians are still too few. They are trying to compensate for a necessarily external view, and therefore explicitly distinguish themselves both from politically focused 'colonial history' and from the revisionist 'fatal impact' view of nineteenth-century Pacific events. Distance themselves as the authors might, however, some of the best chapters in the book come close to a revisionist or 'fatal impact' view (*sensu lato*) in presenting a very harsh view of the policies and practices of high colonialism. They continue with a harsh view of much the same attitudes and policies after World War II in those parts of the region that were of strategic interest during the nuclear-testing period. Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 10, which cover these periods, offer some of the best discussion in the whole 13-chapter volume. The least satisfactory part, to this reviewer, is the attempt to treat the rest of the modern period in three thematic essays, which add up to less than a full discussion, in Chapters 11-13.

The book is the result of collaboration between historians and a selection of anthropologists. Even among their own professions they are somewhat selective in whose writings they decide to employ, or even reference. Beyond their own professions, reference to the work of others is very patchy. While this reviewer may seem to be making a special case in noting that his own historical writings have been ignored, he can express disinterested astonishment that a book which makes a lot of the extinction of Hawaiian independence, and its social consequences, can do so without mention of Lawrence Fuchs' hard-hitting *Hawaii Pono* (1961).

Lastly, can one write an effective history of a set of colonized peoples within the confines of one region alone, however large and diverse it may be? Although there is a lot about the Maori, events in East and South Asia that impinged on the Pacific are either not discussed or treated inadequately, and the vision of a world beyond the Pacific islands stops short in eastern Indonesia. The Pacific may be a 'sea of islands' and thus unique because, being so accessible by sea, each part of it has been very open to external forces, but the experience of its peoples has many parallels elsewhere. Failure to set the book in this wider context makes its extended discussion of Pacific detail a somewhat blinkered one.

Despite its length, most of the book is readable and some of it very readable. The good maps are not integrated into the text, but they are useful. The authors do not believe they have written a definitive history of the Pacific islanders, and they are right. This book has to be set in the context of others,

some of them cited, some not, if a conspectus of two centuries of change in the lives of all the island people, indigenous and immigrant, is to be obtained.

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Clifford Sather, *The Bajau Laut; Adaptation, history, and fate in a maritime fishing society of south-eastern Sabah*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1997, xviii + 359 pp. ISBN 983.560015.5. Price: MYR.105.

CYNTHIA CHOU and SHOMA MUNSHI

The Bajau Laut is a much awaited book because it fills several important gaps. There is a dearth of contemporary knowledge on the life of maritime peoples, in particular sea-faring nomads and those in transition from sea- to land-based lifestyles. Sather's painstakingly detailed ethnographic account has been compiled over a total time frame spanning thirty years (1964-1994). His account of the Bajau Laut looks in detail 'at the processes of change, at the social constitution of the community – the nature of family and marriage relations; house groups and house-group clusters; village leadership, factionalism, and conflict; Islam and village mediums [...]' (jacket flap).

Part of the Malaysian Federation, Sabah lies at the northern tip of Borneo. It is divided into four administrative residencies: Tawau, Sandakan, the interior, and the West Coast. The community of Bajau Laut who form the focus of Sather's research live in the Semporna District, which forms part of the Tawau Residency. Culturally and linguistically, the Bajau Laut are part of the larger Sama Bajau-speaking peoples. These include formerly nomadic communities like the one described in this book, groups which are still nomadic today, and permanently shore-based groups. Fewer than 200 Bajau Laut in Semporna continue to live in boats, compared to more than 3,500 now living settled land-based lives.

The book has two broad themes. The central theme is that of how sea and shore people's lives interact and interpenetrate. The second is the process of

transformation in 'the social organisation and cultural premises that structured daily life' which took place when 'the villagers abandoned boat nomadism for a sedentary way of life, altering in the process their identity as a group and their relationships with others in the larger, poly-ethnic society that historically enmeshed them' (p. 1). The result is a richly detailed analysis of how a people historically used to living entirely afloat, as a boat-dwelling, fishing and foraging community, gradually shifted and adapted, voluntarily or otherwise, to a life as commercial labourers.

Sather's ethnographic study is an exciting read because it tracks two very important transitions: one in the lives of the Bajau peoples themselves, and the other in their broader socio-economic habitus, as Semporna increasingly becomes an important nexus of shopping and trade. Sather has managed brilliantly to capture the nuances and key historical moments of these changes, and his book will be relevant for any researcher studying peoples and societies during periods of transition.

What could possibly have strengthened an otherwise rich book is a more well-defined theoretical framework in which to present the data. This, however, was perhaps not the primary aim of the author, who concentrated, successfully, on making an important ethnographic contribution. Sather includes some personal fieldwork experiences, which make very interesting reading and illuminate the dynamics of intercultural interactions. More such accounts would have been a very welcome addition. One last point which remains troublesome for us is the use of the word 'fate' in the title of the book, which might imply that whatever happens to the Bajau Laut is somehow beyond their control. In reality these people, as Sather himself records, are dynamic actors in engaging with their present and future, even if sometimes they are forced into land-based activities.

As a much-awaited consolidation of Sather's long-term and intensive fieldwork experience among the Bajau, this volume provides indispensable contemporary material on what is clearly an under-researched and under-published area. Although it focuses specifically on one community, the ethnographic data presented also has much wider relevance. Sather makes comparisons with other sea peoples, and it is challenging and illuminating to see the similarities and differences between these groups. Setting his analysis within the broader context of Southeast Asia, he highlights the fact that the Bajau, with their extensive maritime travels, have a dynamic history of movement and contact; contrary to some stereotypes, they are among the *least* 'isolated' peoples of the region.

Best of all, the book is coherent and easy to read. An extensive glossary clarifies all specialist terms used, and further jargon is absent. The chapters, although topically distinct and each readable on its own, flow easily into one another, reflecting the interconnectedness of all areas and aspects of Bajau

lives. The volume is highly enriched with beautiful line drawings and photographs. We enjoyed reading it, and recommend it highly to anyone interested in maritime communities in Southeast Asia.

Krishna Sen and Maila Stivens (eds), *Gender and power in affluent Asia*. London: Routledge, 1998, xiii + 323 pp. ISBN 0.415.16472.9. Price: GBP 15.99.

CYNTHIA CHOU and SHOMA MUNSHI

This book presents several essays comparing different perspectives on the similar phenomena of gender, power and modernity in 'affluent Asia', in particular the countries of East and Southeast Asia. This book, which is a compilation of conference papers, examines what the 'modern woman' uses as signifiers, symbols and signals in her construction of an 'Asian modernity'.

The main strength of this edited volume is an outstanding introductory chapter by Maila Stivens, which serves in no small measure to hold together a diverse and not always tightly argued set of contributions (which is only to be expected in the challenge of compiling conference papers). Even if the brief of the book is clearly stated as looking mainly at the 'Asian phenomenon', Stivens frames the theoretical discussion on modernity well beyond this, by examining other well-known arguments in this field as well. It is, however, exactly here that we differ in opinion when she argues that 'there are as many "Asias" and as many modernities' as there are pieces in Asia's cultural mosaic (p. 10). While we cannot deny that there are multiple realities of modernities, still, these modernities cannot be comprehended in a linear fashion. Rather, 'it might be preferable to speak of a single modernity and a multiplicity of histories' (Van der Veer 1998:285).

The Introduction highlights two central themes in the book: 'first, that gender relations are central to the making of middle classes and modernity in the region and, second, that representations of gender occupy a central place in the contests about meanings and identities accompanying these processes' (back cover and p. 1). While Stivens goes on to add (p. 5) that the contributions to the volume specifically focus on the theme of 'consumption as a pivotal concept to use in the thinking about the place of gender in the new affluence', the purpose of placing consumption practices as such a central theme might have been better served if it had been highlighted from the very start, and on the back cover of the book itself. It would be a pity if someone working on consumption practices did not appreciate the relevance of this volume at first glance.

The diverse articles make for new and fresh reading of Asian case studies, in particular given the current academic interest and debate on gender, consumption and transnationalism. Kathryn Robinson's and Krishna Sen's contributions deal with discourses of femininity in Indonesia, and how transnational, global flows influence these. Their chapters are very well-focused, being based on extensive fieldwork in examining the paths of signals, symbols and signifiers in their path towards modernization in Indonesia. The illustrations in Sen's contribution are to be complimented in particular. An important comparison in Sen's chapter could have been made by referring to Laurie Sears' work on the feminine in Indonesia (1996), which Robinson does take into account.

The chapters by Beverley Hooper, Anne E. McLaren and Stephanie Fahey deal with how post-Mao China (Hooper, McLaren) and post-revolutionary Vietnam (Fahey) have responded to transnational flows which result in increased levels of consumerist discourse, and with the concomitant changes and reconstructions of femininities in the two countries. Another shared topic is the reciprocal interaction between state (official) and societal (popular) discourses on womanhood and femininity. Hooper, like Sen, reproduces media representations of women; these pictorial additions are doubly welcome given their closeness to the core of the topic.

Mina Rocés' chapter on women in the Philippines explores how within kinship politics, women sometimes exercise effective political agency, albeit from behind the scenes. Although Rocés' interesting 'main argument' is to suggest 'that an understanding of kinship politics is vital to understanding the gendering of politics and images of power' (p. 291), in our opinion the greater challenge would actually be to offer an interpretation of the power of women *outside* of kinship politics. Viewing women only through the lens of kinship politics limits their power and relegates them, albeit unwittingly, to second place once again.

Nirmala Puru Shotam's chapter provides a lot of details on many aspects of the 'constructions of the middle class way of life' (p. 127) of the women in Singapore. Although these descriptions are varied and painstakingly detailed, and reflect the reality of the multiple ways of constructing middle class lives in Singapore, at times the details seem diffuse and not very tightly argued.

Nerida Cook's chapter on Thailand is rich in detail and lucidly traces how Western discourses have influenced the way in which Thai women define themselves, particularly in relation to Thailand's sex trade. Cook also outlines how such historical and ideological imperatives can provide a framework for our understanding of Thai femininity.

Maila Stivens' contribution on Malaysia, like her introduction, demonstrates her grasp of theoretical issues. She uses consumption practices to

examine private and public spheres among the Malay middle classes, analysing political, economic and religious practices on the basis of scrupulously detailed ethnographic data.

Overall, this volume must be highly recommended because it is easy to read and comprehend, and can be used both for research and teaching purposes. It examines the very topical themes of gender, consumption, modernity, and the reworking of public and private spheres in today's world of transnational flows.

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Arne Kalland and Gerard Persoon (eds), *Environmental movements in Asia*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 1998, xiii + 296 pp. [Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, Man and Nature in Asia Series 4.] ISBN 0.7007.0616.X. Price: GBP 15.99.

FRECK COLOMBIJN

This book, the outcome of a 1994 workshop held under the auspices of the NIAS at Copenhagen and the IIAS at Leiden, contains twelve chapters about environmental movements in Asia. The authors are from four different continents.

For some time it has been a popular idea that there exists an idiosyncratic Asian perception of nature which induces Asians to live harmoniously as part of their environment. In the introductory chapter, Kalland and Persoon take the opportunity to do away with this idea, on good grounds, clearing the path for other anthropological approaches to the human-nature relationship. They then wish to make two points. First, they state that environmental campaigns in Asia, compared to those in the West, tend to have a local focus on very concrete conflicts over the use of natural resources. The NGOs have met with some success, but not over big, national issues such as transnational highways or large dams. Second, environmental campaigns are not fought exclusively over environmental issues, but are also, more than would be the case in the West, a means to air general discontent with social inequality and

political injustice. Because of these two characteristics (the local focus, and the use of an environmental discourse for purposes of political protest), local action groups select campaign issues different from those chosen by the national and international NGOs. Despite the differences, however, NGOs at the local and international levels often find grounds for collaboration.

The first seven chapters after the introduction each discuss one or several examples of environmental movements. They reveal that these movements are very diverse as far as issue, scale, method, and success are concerned. What the case studies have in common is that they all demonstrate how an environmental discourse develops in the course of a conflict. 'Recontextualization' is the word which Michael Dove uses to describe the process by which old phenomena assume new meanings. One of the parties in a certain conflict 'recontextualizes' the issue in order to give a social problem an environmental turn, or to condemn a form of environmental exploitation on religious or traditional grounds. Examples are: the styling of local complaints in Kalimantan (Indonesian Borneo) in 'officialese', and, conversely, the attachment of new, ironic meanings to official acronyms; the official representation of the 1991 Bangladesh cyclone; the alleged environmentalism in the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi; the use of religion, temples, and the idea of filial piety by green movements in Taiwan; the redefinition of Japanese timber forests as costless water catchment areas (making dams superfluous), as a carbon-dioxide sink, and as places that deserve respect because they embody the toil of the forefathers; the shaping of American and European criticism regarding Japan's consumption of tropical timber in a style sensitive to Japanese feelings and norms; the use of Buddhist and international environmentalist arguments by Thai farmers in their negotiations with forest authorities; and the rising opposition, voiced in a local, independent newspaper using cultural arguments, against tourist mega-projects on Bali.

The last four chapters deal, respectively, with: the way in which residents of a small Indonesian island rationalize their over-exploitation of renewable resources; the struggle of women in one Indian village against the state enclosure of a forest which they exploit; a categorization involving four pairs of approaches to the environment, applied to the Indian state of Kerala; and the contrast between the ways in which NGOs with a 'green' focus (on the waste) and a 'red' focus (on the waste-collectors) address waste disposal issues in urban India.

The strength of a collective volume depends not only on the quality of the individual articles, but also on the coherence of the book as a whole, and the depth of insight shown in the introduction. On all three criteria, this book clearly merits a positive judgement. It would nevertheless have gained, I believe, if the last four chapters had been published elsewhere, since the truncated volume could then have been focused squarely on the recontext-

tualization of the environmental discourses. I must admit, on the other hand, that taking recontextualization as the unequivocal leitmotif of the collection is my own reading rather than the editors' intention.

I found many of the general ideas presented in the introduction to be confirmed by my own research on environmental NGOs in Indonesia. I wonder, however, if the editors (and most authors) are not too optimistic about the degree of co-operation between local, national, and international NGOs. All groups have their own agendas, and are more partners of convenience than partners of conviction.

Phan Huy Chu, *Hai trinh chi luoc; Récit sommaire d'un voyage en mer* (1833); *Un émissaire Vietnamien à Batavia*. Paris: EHESS, 1994, viii + 228 pp. [Cahier d'Archipel 25.] ISBN 2.910513.03.3.

KIRSTEN W. ENDRES

Hai trinh chi luoc is the thoughtfully translated and meticulously edited narrative of Vietnamese court emissary Phan Huy Chu's journey to Singapore and Batavia in 1832-1833. After a brief introduction, the book proceeds with a detailed overview of his life and works. Phan Huy Chu's *oeuvre* as a Confucian scholar includes the first encyclopaedia of Vietnamese history and culture, titled *Institutions of the different dynasties*. His career in the service of the imperial court of Hue lasted from 1820 to his retirement in 1833, and was somewhat flawed by several reprimands and a degradation in rank for allegedly overstepping his official functions. On his second mission to China in 1830, Phan Huy Chu had failed to properly fulfill the tasks assigned to him by Emperor Minh Mang. His voyage to Batavia – then known in the Sinicized world as Kelapa – gave him the chance to make up for his previous shortcomings.

Missions to important ports and bases in the Southern Seas were not uncommon during the early period of the Nguyen reign. Due to the Nguyen emperors' preoccupation with European involvement in the region, these missions were covertly charged with the task of reporting on the conditions of European settlements, their commercial activities, and their political views. Before presenting the reader with the translation of Phan Huy Chu's summary report, the editors provide a profound analysis of his main points of view, thus directing the readers' attention towards the most crucial parts of the narrative. In fact Phan Huy Chu's rather sketchy impressions tell little about the political and economic state of affairs in the region. They rather exemplify the (naturally) ethnocentric *Weltanschauung* of a Confucian scholar

who ventured out to confirm the superiority of Chinese culture and values: various talents notwithstanding, to him the 'Occidentals' ultimately remained barbarians. However, the editors do not confine themselves to their introductory comments on the text. The true value of the narrative is to be found in their numerous footnotes, conveniently located at the bottom of the page. With painstaking erudition, historical inaccuracies are discussed and supplemented or counterbalanced by further references and quotations from other travelogues of the same period.

The carefully chosen illustrations include several maps and historical drawings, as well as recent photographs of places mentioned in Phan Huy Chu's narrative. Following the Vietnamese version of the book, the Han Nom-versed reader may even check the editors' translations against the original manuscript.

Phan Huy Le, Claudine Salmon and Ta Trong Hiep have produced a valuable contribution to the study of pre-colonial Vietnamese thought and literature. It would indeed be very interesting to pursue the questions the editors themselves pose: how were reports like these received by the higher echelons of pre-colonial Vietnamese bureaucracy? Did they exert any influence on Hue court foreign policy?

Veronica Du Feu, *Rapanui*. London: Routledge, 1996, xv + 217 pp. [Routledge Descriptive Grammars.] ISBN 0.415.00011.4. Price: GBP 75.

AONE VAN ENGELENHOVEN

The topic of this book is the language of Easter Island, on the easternmost edge of the Pacific Ocean. Rapanui is the indigenous name of both the island and its language. The island owes its fame in the first instance to its enigmatic giant statues, which have given rise to divergent and sometimes provocative theories. The reference in the bibliography to Thor Heyerdahl's raft expedition seems warranted only by its impact on the layman. The conclusions of this expedition were decisively disputed from the field of comparative Austronesian linguistics. A feature that is at least as exciting as the statues is the indigenous Rongorongo script, the only Austronesian writing system that has not been influenced from the great cultural centres in South and Southeast Asia. I was therefore very surprised not to find any reference to the pioneering work on this script by Thomas Barthel.

One reason for this omission may be the rationale behind the series in which Du Feu's book appears. Routledge Descriptive Grammars, and its

predecessor *Lingua Descriptive Studies*, focus primarily on a linguistic audience and intend to create a forum where descriptivists and theoreticians meet. There is implicitly little room for non-linguistic or contextual data, such as the Rongorongo script or the sociolinguistic situation on Easter Island. While the author hints at an ongoing shift of allegiance, especially among young Easter islanders, from Rapanui to Spanish, this point is nowhere elaborated. Although reference is made to Victor Krupa's work, very little information is provided regarding the genetic relations between Rapanui and the other Polynesian languages.

The book is definitely intended for those linguists whose primary interest is in typology and universals. All authors contributing to the series are provided with a questionnaire which lists the typological phenomena displayed in all languages of the world, presenting them from the syntactic level down to phonology. I approve very much of the chosen methodology for description, with its accessibility to linguists of all feathers. Since languages and language families feature different strategies, however, this approach sometimes leads to the puzzling experience that a universal or morpheme appears not to exist, but is nevertheless listed in the index (reflexivity or reciprocity, for instance). 'Empty headings', and the recurrent use of phrases like 'there are no [...]' (for example, in sections 1.3.2, 'Omission of elements', and 1.3.2.1, 'Omission of elements under identity'), may produce an uneasy and unjustified impression of grammatical poverty. The reader is therefore advised to concentrate on the numerous references in the text to grammatical alternatives that do exist in Rapanui; but needless to say, this is an exhausting exercise.

Reading Du Feu's grammar is certainly not an uncomplicated task, and especially not for a reader who is unfamiliar with Polynesian grammar. A major feature of all Polynesian languages is pervasive homonymy and polysemy. The reader, consequently, is fully dependent on the author. I did not encounter serious errors in the transcriptions, although one might question some of the glottal stops. The many typographic errors force the reader to check each gloss with the list of abbreviations on pages 6-8.

This is not a book, then, which one wants to read in front of an open fire. Although I accredit its importance as a publication on a highly endangered language, I suspect that only Polynesianists will be able to appreciate it fully. For a good insight into the peculiarities of Polynesian grammar I would recommend Winifred Bauer's Maori grammar, published in the same series.

Peter Boomgaard, Freek Colombijn and David Henley (eds), *Paper landscapes; Explorations in the environmental history of Indonesia, 1997*, vi + 424 pp. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 178.] ISBN 90.6718.124.2. Price: NGL 60.

FUKUI HAYAO

A principal *raison d'être* of environmental history, according to Boomgaard in his introduction to this volume, is 'the importance of a long-term historical perspective when it comes to assessing current cases of environmental degradation' (p. 19). What messages, then, do the 14 essays included here send in relation to contemporary environmental issues?

The question of how climate change will affect food security is currently of major concern. Food shortage in years of climatic anomalies affected demography even where the population density was well below the calculated carrying capacity among swidden farmers in Sulawesi in the nineteenth century (D. Henley, 'Carrying capacity, climatic variation, and the problem of low population growth among Indonesian swidden farmers'). The fact that agricultural systems are adapted to anomalous climates rather than normal climates has an important bearing for studies on the impact of climate change on contemporary agriculture. The risk-avoiding 'isolationist' attitude and the risk-taking 'gambler' attitude were both observed among Dayak people in Borneo during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and their occurrence can be related to the kind and degree of risks encountered (H. Knapen, 'Epidemics, droughts, and other uncertainties on Southeast Borneo'). The issue of risks and uncertainties is a key aspect of the human-environment interaction, and due attention is paid to it in this volume.

Demand for and supply of certain natural resources are often unpredictable. The demand for sappan trees for dye in Sumbawa, for instance, quickly disappeared after the invention of chemical dyes (B. de Jong Boers, 'Sustainability and time perspective in natural resource management'). Sea-bottom telegraph cables, when first developed, needed gutta percha, but eventually para rubber provided a cheaper substitute, destroying the market for gutta percha (L.M. Potter, 'A forest product out of control'). The fate of birds of paradise in New Guinea was determined by changes in women's hat fashions in Europe (R. Cribb, 'Birds of paradise and environmental politics in colonial Indonesia'). Various measures (of varying efficacy) were taken to promote sustainable exploitation in some of these cases, but it was disappearance of demand that finally removed the pressure on the resources concerned. The general question, then, is whether in the future only diminishing demand will prevent resource exhaustion.

Several of the essays tell us that increasing human influence has not

always been the sole cause of environmental deterioration, and that sometimes, humans actually ameliorated the situation, or at least prevented further deterioration. Grasslands, for example, may be survivals of the Pleistocene environment as much as the product of more recent human activities (H. Brookfield, 'Land degradation in the Indonesian region'). Soil conservation measures in Java have been prompted by growing population pressure (J.W. Nibbering, 'Upland cultivation and soil conservation in limestone regions on Java's south coast'). Populations of large mammals expanded thanks to the increase in area of grasslands resulting from forest clearance (P. Boomgaard, 'Hunting and trapping in the Indonesian archipelago'; J. Kathirithamby-Wells, 'Human impact on large mammal populations in peninsular Malaysia'). Tin mining, gambier cultivation, and *panglong* logging, in their early days, were pursued in a sort of frontier society where windfalls were made from ignoring replacement costs, thus causing remarkable land degradation. Subsequently, however, people began to invest in restoring their environment when they recognized that they had a direct personal interest in sustainability (F. Colombijn, 'The ecological sustainability of frontier societies in eastern Sumatra').

The overall tone of the essays in this volume is essentially an optimistic one, reflecting the fact that Southeast Asia was only sparsely populated until the mid-nineteenth century, although it saw rapid population growth thereafter. If we take the rate of reproduction as a yardstick of adaptation, people of the region can be said to have become better adapted to the environment. Similar research in regions that have been under population pressure for a much longer period, such as China and India, might lead to a different conclusion, as would investigation of civilizations which suffered more serious decline as a result of environment degradation.

J. Miedema (ed.), *Texts from the oral tradition in the south-western Bird's Head Peninsula of Irian Jaya; Teminabuan and hinterland*. Leiden: DSALCUL, Jakarta: ISIR, 1995, vi + 98 pp. [Irian Jaya Source Materials 14.] ISBN 979.828200.0.

J. Miedema (ed.), *Texts from the oral tradition in the southern Bird's Head Peninsula of Irian Jaya; Inanwatan-Berau, Arandai-Bintuni, and hinterland*. Leiden: DSALCUL, Jakarta: ISIR, 1997, vii + 120 pp. [Irian Jaya Source Materials 15.] ISBN 979.828200.0.

These 'materials' form part of the rich Dutch tradition according to which either linguistic work combines grammar and the edition of texts (as, for instance, in the publications of Drabbe or Held), or ethnology relies heavily on the presentation of texts or consists in interpretations of narratives or indigenous statements (Van Baal, for instance, or Hylkema). Indeed, half of the 20 sacred narratives presented in the first volume of 'texts from the oral tradition' were recorded by Kamma, who is another well-known adherent of that tradition. In addition to the general aim of increasing our knowledge of origin and migration narratives in New Guinea and preparing material for comparative studies, the present volumes complete research realized by the anthropology branch of the 'Irian Jaya Studies programme for Interdisciplinary Research' (ISIR), which focuses on the southern part of the Bird's Head peninsula. Texts are presented from missionary archives, from the General State Archive in The Hague, and from private collections. They were written in Dutch, Indonesian, 'or a mixture of both languages' (Vol. I, p. 1), and most of them remained unpublished and inaccessible due to the language barriers. The editor presents the original versions alongside English translations, to which he painstakingly adds missing words, phrases, Dutch, Indonesian or native terms in the running text as well as explanations in the footnotes 'in order to facilitate a correct understanding' (Vol. I, p. 5). (A third volume with 'texts from the oral traditions in the eastern Bird's Head peninsula' presents only Dutch and Indonesian versions, which make access difficult for the general, exclusively English-speaking community). Where they are known, location, informant, date, collector, and archival source are indicated at the end of each translated version. Among the non-native authors are Bergh, Kamma, Mahler, Van Rhijn, Van Hasselt and Galis, while the native authors include Flassy, Momot, Tesia and many whose names were not recorded. Maps, illustrations of manuscripts, indices, and references add to the value of the source materials.

With respect to content, the volumes focus on origin and migration stories, narratives dealing with totems, and accounts of the establishment of taboo relationships. For the reader generally interested in New Guinea they round off knowledge derived from Kamma's religious texts or Miedema's work on myth in the Bird's Head area. They include, for instance, common New Guinean themes like transformations of a killed totem, the tree which is cut up and the pieces of which change into cultural plants and goods, or the noise which announces creation events. The content, themes, and event structure of these texts seem to be pan-Melanesian and can be discovered, or reconstructed, in data from distant areas like the Ok Region or Enga Province (see the works of Brumbaugh and Polly Wiessner). The Bird's Head specialist will find new instances of key features of the history of that area, including the dangers and advantages of being exposed to trade and to powerful

neighbours. It should be borne in mind, however, that the aim of the series is restricted to 'the publication of source materials as such', all discussion of the meaning of the stories being 'difficult and premature' (Vol. I, p. 3).

The main flaw of this publication results from the fact that all of the texts which it presents are more or less distanced from local languages, traditions, and orality. Composed from fieldnotes, they often have a 'home-made' or 'telegram-like' style. The non-native authors, moreover, sometimes had 'a limited knowledge of the cultures concerned' (Vol. I, p. 3), while some of the native authors, being Bible teachers or church leaders, were alienated from their own cultures. Other local narrators had a limited knowledge of the lingua franca, Indonesian. Miedema presents *reconstructions*, in which the original style and closeness to pre-contact social life and religion have unfortunately been lost. The sheer number of texts, on the other hand, provides some compensation for this unavoidable weakness, as does the careful circumspection of Miedema's reconstruction work.

Daniel Chirot and Anthony Reid (eds), *Essential outsiders: Chinese and Jews in the modern transformation of Southeast Asia and Central Europe*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997, vii + 335 pp. ISBN 0.295.97613.6. Price: USD 25.

ROBERT W. HEFNER

Although for centuries Europeans have been struck by perceived similarities of status and economic function between Southeast Asian Chinese and European Jews, the comparison has attracted surprisingly little systematic attention in recent years. Based on a Social Science Research Council Conference held in La Jolla, California in January 1994, *Essential outsiders* brings together twelve essays that collectively seek to explore this thorny problem. Nine are case studies of countries or regions, with the majority (six) taking their examples from Southeast Asia. As best illustrated by Gary G. Hamilton and Tony Waters' essay on the changing nature of Chinese capitalism in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Thailand, however, even the case studies are animated by a lively sense of historical comparison, although they pursue their comparisons most vigorously within Southeast Asia or Europe rather than across regions. However, the volume's other two essays, separate introductions by editors Daniel Chirot and Anthony Reid, are so brilliantly comparative as to allow the case studies to speak to each other. The result is a delightfully effective work in comparative sociology.

A political sociologist specializing in East-Central Europe (although well-travelled in Southeast Asia as well), Daniel Chirot attempts in his introduc-

ory essay to provide a theoretical explanation of the origins and transformation of European anti-Semitism, and to assess the parallel implications for the future of ethnic relations in Southeast Asia. The critical variable, he asserts, is whether the nationalist polities that arise in the aftermath of the decline of agrarian societies are 'blood'-based and exclusive, or civic and assimilationist. Which one of these two ideological varieties predominates depends in turn upon a host of other influences, including rivalries among local élites and the nature of the external power against which the early nation defines itself. Although individual authors adopt varied perspectives on ethnic problems, the essays in this volume on Thailand, Java, the Philippines, Austria, and Hungary provide ample illustration of Chirot's cogent argument.

Anthony Reid's introduction is equally synthetic. Reid outlines the similarities and differences between the Jewish and Chinese diasporas, explains the changing nature of their role relative to state élites from premodern to modern times, and explores the unsteady impact of anticolonialist nationalism on Chinese and Jewish relations with ruling élites. Like several of the case studies, Reid's piece shows that the latter relationship has been anything but stable over the past century, shifting, often dramatically, with changes in political economy and international rivalries. He notes nonetheless that Burmese, Thai, Khmer, Vietnamese, and Malay nationalisms differ from those of Indonesia and the Philippines in that the former tend to emphasize a core ethnolinguistic identity, while the latter tend toward a multiethnic or 'civic' nationalism. Written before the Asian crisis of 1997-1999, his essay ends with the perspicacious observation that even in Indonesia and the Philippines the civic option is far from secure, and 'if the economies falter [...] the dangers of violence remain real' (p. 65).

In an age in which many of us speak of the importance of regional and global comparison, books like this one remind us how rare that achievement is. This extraordinary book should be required reading for anyone interested in nationalism, the sociology of capitalism, and the social forces that have created the modern world while guaranteeing that there is no 'end to history'.

Lambert Giebels, *Soekarno, Nederlandsch onderdaan; Biografie 1901-1950*. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 1999, 531 pp. ISBN 90.351.2114.7 (hardback); 90.351.2088.4 (paperback). Price: NLG 69,90 (hardback); NLG 49,90 (paperback).

BOB HERING

Having dealt with Louis Beel and Albert Speer in a mere span of three years, Lambert Giebels now concludes his triplet of political biographies with an account (covering more than 500 pages!) of Soekarno's first half-century of life. And while one may wonder about the sudden shift from two Europeans to a rather bold choice for a debut biography of an Asian, we are told that this book deals merely with 'a Dutch subject'! Out to shock Dutch readers, and perhaps also with an eye to boosting sales, Giebels suggests that no other 'Dutch subject' ever reached the lofty Olympic heights of international statesmanship so dazzlingly scaled by Soekarno. Yet in the Netherlands, on the whole, the founding father of the Indonesian state remained an object of contempt, if not hatred.

Fortunately, Lambert Giebels' rather impressive but, alas, somewhat one-sided research (the lack of good Indonesian sources is appalling) is underpinned by his ability (already convincingly demonstrated by his Beel biography) to tell a compelling story. Yet for me, this tale of Soekarno's life up to the founding of the unitary state remains frustrating as well as refreshing. It looks at a world through the eyes of a man who is both oppressed by his culture, and enamoured of it; hence Giebels' stress upon Soekarno's European-style secondary and tertiary education, albeit spiced to some extent with references to the Balinese-Javanese cultural background. Coming from a biographer who is not familiar with the Indonesian language, let alone with Javanese or Sundanese, a work like this represents a real *tour de force*. Giebels has, however, made good use of Dutch- and English-language sources, and was also able (most likely via indigenous interpreters) to interview some members of Soekarno's former inner circle, as well as some of his opponents. Soekarno's autobiography, as told to the American journalist Cindy Adams, is a particularly important source for Giebels. Clearly an attempt by Soekarno to boost his waning political standing at home and abroad, this consists of a remarkable story related to his self-appointed and charming female biographer. Giebels refers to it throughout his own book, following Soekarno's own portrayal of a David Copperfield-like, poverty-stricken youth (Dickens' *magnum opus* was compulsory reading at Soekarno's secondary school in Surabaya, and may well have inspired him), further aggravated by racial discrimination from white teachers and fellow-pupils. There is even an episode in which a prospective Dutch father-in-law angrily throws Soekarno out of his house for daring to ask for his daughter's hand in marriage.

Later episodes of Soekarno's life are presented in the Adams tale as purely heroic political struggles waged first against Dutch, later (and more subtly) against Japanese oppressors. Here, however, Giebels is less credulous, dismissing some of the mythology with the help of the HBS jubilee book for the years in which Soekarno was at that school. Like Dahm before him, for instance, Giebels rejects the story of Soekarno contributing some 500 articles

to *Oetoesan Hindia* (the daily of his political mentor and first father-in-law H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto) using Bima as a *nom de plume*. Giebels points out that only five articles, all of them quite moderate in tone, appeared in *Oetoesan Hindia* – and then simply under Soekarno's own name. Considering that Giebels likes presenting his subject partly as a product of the Javanese cultural world and the dramatics of the *wayang*, however, it seems strange that he does not probe the real facts concerning the use of Bima as a nickname for Soekarno, or the role which Soekarno and Tjokroaminoto both played in the Djowo Dipo movement after 1917. As a member of Tri Koro Dharmo, the predecessor of the student association Jong Java, Soekarno often clashed with the rather conservative leadership, earning him the nickname of Bima; somewhat later he was also branded as a 'red' leader of the Surabaya branch of Jong Java. All this can be traced in a dozen *Oetoesan Hindia* issues from the years 1916-1921, and also in an *Asia Raya* report of 12 December 1942 (1942). Naturally such reports are not the ones Giebels prefers to read, since it costs time and effort to engage interpreters; but why not consult such excellent and well-documented works as Takashi Shiraishi's *An age in motion* (1990) or Hans van Miert's *Een koel hoofd en een warm hart* (1995), both of which put the events of Soekarno's young years neatly into focus?

For later periods of Soekarno's political life, a score of documentary sources, mostly in Dutch or in English translation, are referred to by Giebels, as is one English-language biography, that of the Sumatran Abu Hanifah. In spite of the many posts which Soekarno appointed him to, Abu Hanifah was not an admirer of Indonesia's first president; Giebels is quick to present us with a piece from this biography describing an incident in which Soekarno clashed with the newly-founded students union Perhimpunan Peladjar Peladjar Indonesia (PPPI), allegedly storming out of the meeting-hall in anger. The jubilee book *45 tahun Sumpah Pemuda* (1974:44) and our own piece 'Politiek' in *Batavia/Djakarta/Jakarta* (1997:19), however, show that it was Soekarno's own Pemoeda Indonesia, founded in 1927, which was the driving force behind the formation of the PPPI – an association, moreover, which (thanks to the efforts of Amir Sjarifoeddin) would evolve into a true bulwark of support for Soekarno.

As we arrive at the Japanese period, we see that Giebels is not tempted to follow L. de Jong's portrayal of Soekarno as an outright collaborator. Giebels, to his credit, considers that any judgement on this issue must be left to the Indonesian people themselves. Regarding Soekarno's so-called *rômusha* policy, Giebels correctly follows recently published dissertations by Aiko Kurasawa and Shigeru Sato in concluding that Soekarno had no say at all in the implementation of the Japanese forced labour policies. At first this was a matter for local *pangreh pradja*, and later, when increasing labour shortages were experienced in the *Buitengewesten* (Outer Islands), for the Badan Pembantoe

Peradjoerit Pekerdja, a body directed by Hatta and Wilopo. Giebels makes a comparison here with the colonial *herendiensten*. He could also have referred to the *poenale sancties* (penal sanctions) and Sumatran contract coolies, a black page in the history of Dutch colonial labour relations which has been well covered by Jan Breman and the late Wim Wertheim.

I was rather disappointed to find that Giebels makes no use of Solichin Salam's biography *Bung Karno putera fajar*. Like that written by Cindy Adams, this was based on a series of intimate interviews, and although it appeared at the same time, it presents quite a number of different facts. And here we have arrived at the real weak spot of Giebels' biography; without access to the many relevant Indonesian-language monographs and memoirs (he cites only nine Indonesian works, only three of which are really well chosen), he inevitably makes mistakes, some of them quite silly. The several Dutch Indonesianists who read earlier concepts of his book do not seem to have been much help here. Besides repeatedly misspelling Indonesian names and words, he fails, on the whole, to create a meaningful and well-documented image of Indonesian political developments in the period which he describes. His lack of familiarity with the Indonesian source material also prevents him from drawing some useful and appropriate conclusions, often leaving the reader with a shallow summary of bare facts. Some rather irresponsible concoctions and irksome half-truths, moreover, are served up to disguise these shortcomings.

We are told, for instance, that KNIL major Soeria Santoso was the father of Hoegeng Iman Santoso (p. 284) and not Mas Soekario Kario Hatmodjo, as reported in the Gunseikanbu's 2604 (1944) *Orang Indonesia jang terkemoeka di Djawa* (p. 143), as well as in Abrar Yusra and Ramadhan's excellent 1993 Hoegeng biography (p. 31). Soeria Santoso's son Iwan Santoso was a medical student at the Japanese sponsored Ika Daigaku, the successor to Batavia's Medische Hoge School at Salemba. The closeness of the Santosos' first names may have fooled Giebels here, particularly since Hoegeng, by mid-1943, was a law student at the Japanese-sponsored law faculty. Had he consulted the Hoegeng biography, John Legge's *Intellectuals and nationalism in Indonesia; A study of the following recruited by Sutan Sjahrir in occupation Jakarta* (Ithaca 1988), and Aboe Bakar Loebis' *Kilas balik Revolusi; Kenangan, pelaku dan saksi* (Jakarta 1995), these silly mistakes could easily have been avoided. Worse, however, is Giebels' description of an alleged NEFIS plot to poison Soekarno by some members of Yogya's *kraton* nobility, earlier referred to in his and Van Wiechen's Dutch-language edition of Ketoet Tantri's *Revolt in paradise*. This plot is described as being bravely foiled by Hoegeng, then a TNI intelligence officer, and Ketoet Tantri. Almost nowhere, and certainly not in the excellent Hoegeng biography, has this ridiculous story been substantiated; the only affirmation elsewhere comes from Timothy Lindsey's *The romance of Ktut*

Tantri and Indonesia (New York 1997), which refers to a 1994 letter written by Giebels himself to Lindsey recounting an interview with Hoegeng! During a telephone conversation of my own with Hoegeng in November 1999, he informed me that in 1946 or 1947, Ketoet Tantri had told him something about a NEFIS plot. Hoegeng insisted, however, that he himself had no role in foiling it, since in these years he served first with the Angkatan Laut (Indonesian Navy), and later with the Polri (Republican police) at locations outside Yogya. He also denied having been a TNI intelligence officer as alleged by Giebels (p. 512).

If Giebels really wanted to score with an event which had hitherto remained obscure, he should have consulted the above-mentioned work by Aboe Bakar Loebis (1995:44-5). This writer, a member of Sjahrir's underground circle during the Japanese period, and later a close associate of Hatta, alleges that the well-known 1942 'agreement' that Hatta and Soekarno would collaborate with the Japanese, while Sjahrir went underground to lead anti-Japanese resistance, was actually a fable made up by Sjahrir to fool the Allied Forces when they entered Jakarta after the Japanese capitulation, and to save both Hatta and Soekarno from being indicted. Alas, let us continue tabling the mistakes which appear in Giebels' biography of Soekarno.

The 4 March 1941 report written to the Indies viceroy about anti-fascist articles written by Soekarno in Bencoolen was not prepared by Hartevelt, but by Levelt (pp. 250-1). The source which Giebels cites is also wrong: not Kwantes, but Van der Wal (note 117, p. 500). It is also odd that Giebels (p. 248) cites a Japanese source (Nishijima, in Reid and Oki, *The Japanese experience in Indonesia*, Athens, Ohio, 1986, p. 252) to confirm that Mohammad Hoesni Thamrin was a 'fifth column' (*dai-goretsu katsudo*) member; not only is Thamrin not mentioned by Reid and Oki at this page, but nowhere else in their book either. To stay with Thamrin, Giebels correctly mentions the Parindra foreman as being a member of the prestigious Volksraad Committee of Delegates (p. 158), but then alleges that this committee was 'a kind of daily management of the Volksraad'. For someone who considers himself a jurist and a political scientist to boot, Giebels shows little inkling of Indies' constitutional matters here: The Committee of Delegates (with 20, later 15 deputies, and often seen as a sort of inner sanctum) was only in session during the Volksraad's adjournment, and sat during that lengthy period of five months in order to deal with pressing matters.

Ignoring the Gunseikanbu data-bank leads to another set of sloppy mistakes. Mas Poegoeh (not 'Poegoe', as Giebels states on pp. 56, 528) was not a BOW (Public Works)-*commies* (administrative assistant), but a BOW site-foreman (*opzichter*), and since 1936 a site-supervisor (*hoofdopzichter*) (Gunseikanbu 1944, p. 236). The Solonese dr. Samsi (Giebels does not use the family name Sastrawidagda in his text) was not 30 years old, but 33 at the time of

the founding of Soekarno's PNI. Soekarno's first political treatise of 1926 appeared as a series of articles in *Indonesia Moeda* and not, as Giebels states, in *Soeloeh Indonesia Moeda*, which came into existence in December 1927 (a fact already established by Dahm 33 years ago). The clubhouse belonging to Thamrin at Gang Kenari 15 in Weltevreden was named Gedoeng Permoefakatan Indonesia, and not Gedoeng Nasional, in the late 1920s and 30s. Referring to Siti Oetari's second husband Mas Sigit Bachroen Salam, the family name Sigit is not mentioned by Giebels; Cindy Adams' account has been accepted here without any recheck with the children of the couple still living at Jl. Kalikepiting in Surabaya. Soekarno's second son from his marriage with Fatmawati is named Guru by Giebels, instead of Guruh Irianto. Fatmawati herself relates the story of her second son's naming in *Pos Kita* of 13 July 1977: after Guntur (thunder), the first son's name, comes vibration (Guruh). Irianto was added in reference to the struggle then being waged over West Irian.

Then it is Tjipto Mangoenkoesoemo, and not, as Giebels has it, Mangoe-koesono (p. 530); Mohammad Hoesni Thamrin, not Husrin Thamrin (p. 530); Hamengkoeboewono, not Hamengkobowono (p. 524); Iwa Koesoema Soemantri, not Iwa Koesoemoemantrir (p. 525); Mohammad Tabrani, not Mohammad Tambrani (pp. 371, 530); Soemitro Djojohadikoesoemo, not Soemitro Djojohadikowesoemo (p. 529); Soetardjo Kartohadikoesoemo, not Soetardjo Katohadikoesoemo (p. 529); Wiwoho Poerbohadidjojo, not Wiwoho Perbohadidjojo (p. 531); Ki Hadjar Dewantoro, not Hijahi Adjar Dewantoro (p. 523); Sastromoeljono, not Sastromoeljowo (p. 141) – this man, it should be added, was never a member of the Volksraad (Giebels, p. 128); Tan Po Gwan, not Po Gwan (pp. 423, 528). Discussing the latter, a PSI minister without portfolio in Sjahrir's third cabinet (2 October 1946 – 3 July 1947), Giebels states that for the first time a woman (Maria Ulfah Santoso) served as a minister (of Social Affairs) in that cabinet (p. 423), overlooking the fact that she already had served as a minister in Sjahrir's second cabinet (formed 29 June 1946). During the Japanese period, Soekarno and family lived not at Pegasaan Oost but at Pegangsaan Oost. It is not Mangoewo (Yogya's airbase), but Magoewo. Soekarno's marriage to Siti Oetari was a *kawin gantung* and not a *kawin ganteng* (p. 63). All in all, such a list of wrongly spelled names and events does not belong in a properly conceived biography; yet it is still a rather small sample, put together without even starting on the errors made by Giebels in Japanese words and concepts.

Even with non-Indonesian names, Giebels remains quite sloppy. J.G.A. Parrott, the historian accountable for the most influential description of the battle of Surabaya and the death of brigadier Mallaby, becomes 'Parot' (p. 518) – or, alternatively, 'Parrot' (p. 507). Parrott's account, incidentally, was recently corrected by Barlan Setiadijaya in *10 November 1945; Gelora kepahlawanan Indonesia* (Jakarta 1992), which identifies Mallaby's killer by

name (p. 454). Jonkers becomes Jonker (pp. 498-9), Maria Paulina de la Rivière becomes Van de Rivière (p. 528), the legal expert T.J. Noyon becomes Noyons (p. 150). It is Hector C. Bywater, a British naval expert, and not Hector Byswater, and the title of his book is also incorrectly given (p. 140). As for P. Maltby, he was not a general but an air vice marshall (p. 526), and Laurens van der Post a lieutenant colonel, not a major (p. 526). Captain A.V. Vosveld was not in charge of a KNIL battalion (p. 459) but of a much smaller T brigade infantry-security unit charged with interrogating Soekarno (among others) in Yogya during the final weeks of December 1948. Giebels' allegation that no regular Indonesian KNIL officer ever achieved a rank beyond that of major (p. 399) is not correct. In 1931, J.A.J. Kawilarang was a lieutenant colonel of the KNIL medical services. Soeria Santoso, together with Hamid Alkadrie and Soebiakto (later named John Mansfelt), all alumni of Breda's military academy in the 1920s and 30s, became full colonels (the first two) or lieutenant colonel (Soebiakto) in 1947 and 1948. Some sloppiness is also apparent where photographs are concerned. The photo on page 285 is not that of Imamura, but that of his successor Harada Kumakichi, Saiko Sikikan during November 1942 – April 1945. The photograph on page 18 is not of a regent, but that of the Susuhunan Pakubuwono X. The photo of Hatta on page 101 does not resemble him at all compared with other photographs of that period which I have looked at.

The historical literature on Soekarno is vast and still growing, especially in his own Asian world. The bibliography of Giebels' own Soekarno biography, containing no serious Indonesian, Indian or Japanese treatises, covers some 173 titles, and this represents only a small proportion of the total which I have seen and scrutinized over a quarter of a century of engagement with Soekarno in my function as director (together with Dewi Soekarno and Antoinette Liem) of the Yayasan Soekarno. So there is no lack of studies of this extraordinary figure. Only if an author can produce novel information, or give a convincing reinterpretation of old information, is there a case for a new life of an already much-biographized character; in my opinion Lambert Giebels has done neither of these things. Is there any real justification for a long-winded and often repetitive account of a man about whom so much has already been written? Giebels' own foretaste of how he will tackle the second volume, to appear in 2001, also leaves me with feelings of despair, even alarm. In an interview to the 'Boekenblad' of the *Drents-Groningse Dagbladen* on 21 September 1999, he promised among other things to reveal an 'erotomanic sultan', a 'spectre of all the continents' brothels! This, unfortunately, smacks of racism in view of the fact that in his own biography of Beel, Giebels deliberately chose not to deal with intimate or sordid detail. Beel's wife did not join her husband during his viceregal tenure in Batavia; instead, his twenty years-younger female secretary, Mia Vlemmings, lived under the

same roof at Koningsplein Noord! This was widely gossiped about in Batavia (and in our own KNIL officers' mess) at the time, yet Giebels interprets it as a matter of 'fatherly love' (Beel biography, p. 307)! As for the many women whom Soekarno loved, I would like to cite a piece from Jef Last's memoirs (a copy of which was kindly given to us by his daughter): 'Soekarno had many lovers, but at least he did marry them, which cannot be said of quite a number of Western leaders'.

David Brown, *The state and ethnic politics in Southeast Asia*. London: Routledge, 1994, xxi + 354 pp. ISBN 0.415.04993.8 (paperback). Price: GBP 17.99.

KARIN VAN LOTRINGEN

Some tumultuous years in Southeast Asia have followed the publication of this book in 1994. While initially the crisis that started in 1997 seemed to have a financial-economic character, in some of the affected countries it developed into a political one. The analyses in this book are of particular interest in the light of the recent unrest at several spots in the region, such as Indonesia's outer provinces.

The book provides a general overview of the ties between ethnicity and the state, illustrated by five country-studies. The author, moreover, presents an explanation for the role of the state in the development of ethnic consciousness, and offers a distinct view on the general nature of ethnic politics. The first chapter, on ethnicity and the state, shows that the debate on ethnicity has developed between the polar positions of primordialism and situationalism. In the former approach ethnicity is considered as historically determined and the dominant feature of social structures, while situationalism refers to ethnic attachment in terms of responsiveness to environmental realities, and as just one of many features of society. By defining ethnic consciousness as both a psychological and a political ideology, Brown seeks to explain its resilience in terms of a primordial sense of identity as well as the influence of situational factors such as the state.

Chapters 2-6 concern studies of ethnic politics in Burma, Singapore, Indonesia, Thailand, and Malaysia, offering explanations for the uniformities and variations which occur in the nature of ethnic consciousness and the causes of ethnic tensions. Each country has been examined through a different conceptual model of the state: ethnocracy in the case of Burma, corporatism in Singapore, neo-patrimonialism in Indonesia, and internal colonialism in Thailand, while a class perspective is used in the case of Malaysia.

Both governments and communities have made major shifts in their approaches towards each other in order to effectuate their grip on the state. Brown clearly shows that even if it is impossible to draw general conclusions regarding the differences in ethnic politics in Southeast Asia, ethnic consciousness has to a large extent been determined by a common factor: the character of the state. Ethnicity is used by both authorities and communities in their striving for power. The state, consequently, is an important cause of the development of ethnic consciousness and the existence of ethnic politics.

The book expresses a sound view on the relations between ethnicity and the state, the importance of which extends beyond the region of Southeast Asia. It offers a well-documented survey of the causes and consequences of ethnic or communal politics (or both) in each examined country, supported by comprehensive case descriptions. It can therefore be recommended both to people who are interested in ethnic politics in general, and to readers with a special focus on Southeast Asia or one of its countries. The theoretical part of the book, however, is not always clear in its descriptions and meaning, and raises some fundamental questions. By situating the debate on ethnicity between primordialism and situationalism, firstly, the author ignores the alternative categorization, often used by other scholars, into primordialism and instrumentalism (see, for instance: Milton J. Esman, *Ethnic politics* (Cornell University Press, 1994), p. 10). As instrumentalists identify ethnicity as a dynamic element of social and political relationships, and one which is constructed for opportunistic reasons, the primordialism/instrumentalism classification represents a much more polarized approach. Secondly, although interpreting ethnicity as an ideology, Brown fails to come up with a proper definition of the term itself. It is therefore difficult for the reader to determine the characteristics that identify an ethnic group. In the chapter on Indonesia, for instance, the Aceh case serves to illustrate the tensions between certain religious communities and the state. Here the term ethnicity is not mentioned at all, and since a definition is missing, it remains unclear whether religious groups can be considered ethnic in nature. Despite these weaknesses, however, the book offers an interesting perspective on the role of the state in raising and re-aligning group consciousness, and although published in 1994, has definitely not lost its value.

Takashi Shiraiishi (ed.), *Approaching Suharto's Indonesia from the margins*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program, 1994, 153 pp. ISBN 0.87727.403.7. Price: USD 14.

ETHAN MARK

In study after study, Indonesia has been viewed from the centre or from the 'top', whether defined geographically (Jakarta, Java), politically (the central government), economically (big capital, the macro-economy), or socially (the Jakarta élite). For those not conversant in Japanese, meanwhile, a great body of Japanese scholarship on Indonesia has remained invisible. A collection of essays in English translation that proposes to approach Suharto's Indonesia 'from the margins', while also introducing us to work from a little-known scholarly *milieu*, is thus doubly welcome. At times this volume fulfills its promise, combining a critical incisiveness with a refreshing humanity, shedding light on areas usually confined to the shadows. Its success is limited, however, by several shortcomings.

The most glaring of these is the editor's failure to include an introduction or conclusion that might explain his selection, acquaint the reader with the authors, or situate them within the Japanese scholarly environment. Left to navigate the essays himself, the reader discovers that they focus upon issues of the economy and the political economy of Suharto's Indonesia, each from a different perspective, and all of them now somewhat dated (1979-1990). While none offer groundbreaking theoretical insights, the first two essays in particular have some 'classic' qualities that transcend their datedness. Yosuke Fuke's illuminating if somewhat rambling discussion of the informal economy of trade in used clothes seems the most successful of all in revealing an unusual picture of Indonesia from several 'margins' at once: those of economy, economic class, and geography. Building partly upon the previous work of Masao Koizumi, Yoshinori Murai's study of 'authoritarian bureaucratic politics' combines personal accounts of the interaction between central government officials and those on the geographical and social margins with telling statistics to offer a stinging indictment of the arrogance and empty promises of the New Order regime. Hiroyoshi Kano's macro-level essay on landlessness, and Shiraishi's own piece on the political economy of landholding at the micro-level, are solid if at times overly technical accounts of critical yet understudied facets of Indonesian life.

Given the volume's title and its faithful attention to Indonesia's 'margins' through the first four essays, the inclusion of Yuri Sato's long-winded closing study of élite 'business groups' is a puzzle. Sato depicts Indonesia's development towards a 'mature' economy characterized by increased competition, an increasingly dominant and independent role for indigenous private capital, and a growing 'middle class'. This is Indonesia viewed top and centre, in all the rosy, optimistic tones that permeated liberal economists' analyses of Indonesia in the late 1980s and 90s, with the corresponding blind spot for the experience of the majority of Indonesians made to feel all the more marginalized, economically and geographically, amidst all this 'healthy growth' (translation: great profits for a lucky few). In his only mention of this all-

important issue, Sato maintains that problems of inequity are best left to the politicians to address. It is an ironically myopic advice for the millions living on Indonesia's margins, who know all too well whose interests the politicians represent.

J.A. Manusama, *Eigenlijk moest ik niet veel hebben van de politiek; Herinneringen aan mijn leven in de Oost 1910-1953*. Utrecht: Moluks Historisch Museum, 's-Gravenhage: Bintang, 1999, 301 pp. ISBN 90.75626.09.6 Prijs NLG 42.50.

HARRY A. POEZE

Ir. J.A. Manusama (1910-1995) was van 1966 tot 1993 president in ballingschap van de Republiek Maluku Selatan (RMS). Na zijn aftreden zette hij zich aan het schrijven van zijn memoires die door zijn dood in 1995 onvoltooid bleven. Het voltooide deel, over zijn levensjaren 1910-1953, is nu verschenen, bezorgd door Henk Smeets en Wim Manuhutu. Manusama's tekst is daarbij aangevuld met fragmenten uit uitgebreide interviews die de bezorgers Manusama in 1988 en 1989 afnamen. Ook zijn brieven die Manusama aan zijn ouders schreef uit de jaren 1946 tot 1949 uitgebreid benut. Aan de tekst werden nog 40 bladzijden met 361 noten toegevoegd. Fraai fotomateriaal, facsimilés, literatuuropgave en register getuigen nog verder van de zorgvuldigheid van beide redacteurs.

Manusama groeide op in een Moluks, vernederlandst gezin op Java. Na afronding van zijn studie aan de Technische Hogeschool in Bandoeng werd hij leraar wiskunde. Die functie bleef hij ook tijdens de Japanse bezetting vervullen, nadat hij zich op korte termijn het Indonesisch eigenmaakte – een taal die hij nauwelijks beheerste. Hij had geen sympathie voor de in 1945 uitgeroepen Republiek Indonesia, maar een voortgezet koloniaal bestuur achtte hij achterhaald. 'Eigenlijk moest ik niet veel hebben van de politiek', schrijft Manusama ergens – en hij lijkt hier oprecht, en de boektitel is aldus wel trefend. Eind 1945 werd hij HBS-leraar in Makassar. Hier pas kwam het tot zijn eerste inzet voor de belangen van de Ambonezen en voor een partij die de federale opzet van een onafhankelijk Indonesië steunde. In juni 1947 werd Manusama directeur van de middelbare school op Ambon. Voor het eerst (!) zette hij voet op de bodem van zijn streek van afkomst. De bekwame en integere leraar maakte tegen zijn wil snel carrière in de Ambonse politiek, waarbij hij een middenpositie innam tussen de pro-Nederlandse en pro-Indonesische groeperingen. Toen de federale Indonesische staat, zoals in december 1949 tot stand gekomen, in 1950 werd opgerold, liep Manusama

vóorop bij het uitroepen van de RMS in april 1950. Hij werd minister van onderwijs en een paar maanden later minister van defensie. In die functie mocht hij weerstand bieden aan de Indonesische invasie op Ambon, die pas na hevige strijd succesvol was. Manusama week uit naar Ceram. De RMS-regering daar zond hem naar Nederlands-Nieuw-Guinea in juni 1952, waar hij geen welkom onthaal kreeg. Hij was vele maanden geïnterneerd, tot hij in september 1953 naar Nederland mocht vertrekken.

Manusama is ook in zijn memoires eerlijk en integer en verbloemt weinig. Zo noemt hij zijn lidmaatschap van de Indische afdeling van de Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging (NSB) en de conflicten in de RMS, vooral tussen politieke en militaire leiders. Anderzijds ontbreekt een omvattende visie, een dieper graven naar de wortels van de RMS en de verhoudingen op de eilandengroep tussen bijvoorbeeld de 'mannen uit de diaspora' en de 'autochtonen', en de Christenen en Islamieten. Zo blijft het een eenzijdig en beperkt verslag van een niet zo begaafde scribent. Daarmee is het een waardevolle, gedetailleerde bron, over de RMS, die tevens de persoonlijkheid van één van haar leiders meer reliëf verschaft.

Hans Antlöv, *Exemplary centre, administrative periphery; Rural leadership and the New Order in Java*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1995, xi + 222 pp. [Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, Monograph Series 68.] ISBN 0.7007.0293.8. Price: GBP 25.

NICO SCHULTE NORDHOLT

In some parts of the world, such as central and eastern Europe since the fall of the Berlin Wall (1989) and South Africa since the formal end of Apartheid (1992), earthshaking political changes have resulted in a sudden devaluation of the usefulness of sociological literature 'from before' for the purposes of understanding the present. Did such a watershed also occur in May 1998, when Suharto 'stepped aside' in Indonesia? When reviewing a book on political conditions in rural Java well before May 1998, I can hardly avoid the temptation to pose the question of how relevant it seems to an understanding of the roots and causes of the present crisis. Raising such a question, of course, might not be quite fair to the author and his book, which was already published in 1995. It is Antlöv himself, however, who ends his study with a section entitled 'Prospects for the future'.

In the first pages of his study, Antlöv states that he started his research with a different question in mind from that eventually presented as the focus of his book. Trained within the framework of the 1970s, when he started his

research in a West Java village, in the mid-80s he expected to find sharp social discrepancies as a result of the green revolution. The opposite, however, turned out to be the case; he found himself more or less in a model village (hence the 'Exemplary centre' in the title), and was surprised by the way in which Suharto's political-economic system, the New Order, seemed to have succeeded in penetrating village society. During the 17 months of his field research (spread over a period of 5 years), there was no talk of open resistance to that system. Fascinated by this, he focused his research entirely on the nature and method of rural leadership.

This fresh interest resulted into a thorough analysis, which Antlöv reports in a fluent style. He rightly points out that the number of studies specifically focusing on the role of the rural élite in Java is very limited. In order to understand the long-lasting political stability under Suharto, it is necessary to fathom the position and role of that élite. The interventions of the New Order, as concisely summarized by the author, were threefold: the 'opening up' of the village economy, the 'closing down' of the non-governmental parties, and the 'reaching out' of the central bureaucracy to every locality (p. 3). It is this meeting of state and community, and its meaning, which is the concern of Antlöv's study.

In a solid line of argument the reader is first made familiar with the history and social structure of the village under research, followed by some chapters that focus on the subject in more detail: the formal village administration and the nature and composition of the village élite within the rural economy of West Java. Two other chapters, 'Culture and community' (Chapter 6) and 'Authority and the creation of leaders' (Chapter 7) are used to describe some anthropological aspects of the phenomenon of leadership, including spiritual power, networks, and kinship relations. These are followed by what I consider the two best, or most informative, chapters of the book: precision analyses of a village head election in 1986, and the national elections of 1987. A study of these two important political events in one and the same village is, to my knowledge, rather unique in the literature on the New Order.

Antlöv demonstrates quite convincingly that the tension between the village administration and the rural population increased in proportion to the strength of the political grip of the New Order. When the state was strong, the village élite focused itself more and more on its relation with the central power holders at the expense of its relations with the local population, the neighbours in whose midst it still lives. Inevitably this leads to arrogance and corrupt behaviour. In his closing chapter (Chapter 10), the author points out that it is precisely village officials like these who may become obstacles to further state penetration (p. 202). Here Antlöv also discusses an inherent contradiction of the New Order system at village level which helps shed light on

the current crisis: the corrupt and arrogant behaviour of the local leaders is at odds with the value placed upon *jasa* (service-mindedness) as a norm for leadership in local society. The collision of ideal and actuality, which Antlöv regards as unavoidable (p. 203), will in due time lead to large-scale rejection of New Order leadership.

After such a candid conclusion, one would expect some further elaboration in the final paragraph, 'Prospects for the future'. Surprisingly enough, however, at this point the author restricts himself to a very short assessment of the future chances of two types of rural leadership, Islamic-spiritual and economic-administrative (a polarity suggested by several other writers). By focusing only on this subject, Antlöv gives the impression of forgetting the increased dependency of the existing rural élite on the 'Actual Centre' of the New Order, the presidency. For by analogy with his prediction that the corrupt and arrogant behaviour of village leaders would ultimately be rejected, he could also have predicted similar but more dramatic consequences for the equally bad behaviour of the leadership at national level. Neglecting this dimension (admittedly an obvious one with hindsight), Antlöv, in the mid 1990s, was not prepared to think in terms of a sudden change in power 'from above'. In this respect his analysis does not differ from the mainstream of studies on Indonesian politics at that time.

The lasting merit of Antlöv's study, therefore, does not lie in its prognostication, but in its explanatory analysis of the actual power relations at village level. Indirectly, his analysis warns us not to expect too much too soon of the so-called Reformasi, or democratization process, advocated by the urban élite (especially the students) since mid-1997. The value of *jasa* (service-mindedness), so strongly adhered to (as Antlöv shows) by village communities in Java, does not automatically endorse other critical values deemed necessary for democratization. *Exemplary centre, administrative periphery* is strongly recommended as a clear and candid analysis of a crucial section of Indonesian society: the rural élite, the meeting point of the central state and the local population, the vital hinge for many decades to come.

Danielle C. Geirnaert-Martin, *The woven land of Laboya; Socio-cosmic ideas and values in West Sumba, eastern Indonesia*. Leiden: Centre for Non Western Studies, Leiden University, 1992, xxxv + 449 pp. [CNWS Publications 11.] ISBN 90.73782.13.9. Price: NLG 50.

CORNELIA M.I. VAN DER SLUYS

In this important book, Geirnaert-Martin endeavours to make a holistic analysis of the socio-cosmic system of ideas prevalent in the culture of the Laboya people of West Sumba, who are pastoral agriculturalists.

Although the Laboya were forced to abandon their headhunting practices during the Dutch occupation, their traditional ritual life seems not to be profoundly disturbed by large-scale missionary work. The author conducted twelve months of fieldwork during 1983-1984, mainly in the northern part of Laboya, but also paid visits to other populations of Sumba such as Kodi, where her fieldwork was planned initially. She postponed a comparative analysis, however, to a later occasion. The present book is based on her thesis, presented at Leiden University in 1992.

In the Introduction, Geirnaert-Martin discusses the various theoretical anthropological methods that were influential on her work, such as the theory of hierarchy of ideas and values developed by Louis Dumont and his associates in Paris. Another major influence was provided by the so-called 'Leiden school of structural anthropology', initiated by Professor J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong during the 1930s. De Jong developed the concept of the 'Field of Anthropological Study' (FAS): the comparative study of elements of Indonesian societies such as matrilineal cross cousin marriage, double lineal descent, and socio-cosmic dualism. An assumption of the 'Leiden school' is that Indonesian societies express their systems of representations in terms of 'models' (examples include the house, the body, and the boat) which convey the idea of the 'society as a whole', and that social processes are represented by the relationships between the constitutive parts of the model.

The late Professor A.A. Gerbrands, who supervised Geirnaert-Martin's thesis, showed great interest in the symbolism of material culture, the 'language of things'. This apparently influenced the focus of her research, which is on the relationships between aspects of material culture (especially spinning and weaving which, throughout Indonesia, are symbolically related to the life cycle of human beings and the reproduction of the society as a whole), and the systems of classification in cosmology and social organization. These systems she wanted to investigate particularly through the study of rituals and myths.

Three 'models' are important in the Laboya culture. The first is that of the buffalo. In Laboya country, buffalo hooves trample and turn the earth to make the fields ready for cultivation. It is the buffalo that serves as the main image of the society as a whole, and also of the most important Laboya village, Hodana. The buffalo model is also expressed in the architecture of the houses.

The second model is that of the python. According to Geirnaert-Martin, the Laboya believe that during primordial times, their country was 'woven' by a mythical python. The python is said to carry the image of the creation of

the country on its back, and python motifs appear extensively on the clothes that are woven by the Laboya. Weaving is considered to be a creative act, endorsed with life-giving energy. Through weaving, the different populations of Sumba, which practice different weaving techniques, continuously renew the vitality of their island.

The third model, or image, is that of the 'wild pig woman', Laboya, who gave the area its name. A myth tells how Laboya was captured by the first settlers of the country, who wanted to obtain a skin for a drum. After keeping her in a cage for some time they set her free, but subsequently hunted and killed her by beheading. According to the author's interpretation, the wild pig woman represents the autochthonous population of Laboya, and is related to the origin of headhunting. Ritual hunting of wild pigs takes place during the annual ceremony of Padu, one of the two main rituals in Laboya. Padu, which takes place in October in Laboya proper and in November in Patyala, near the coast, marks the transition between the dry and the wet season. It is associated with dry farming, mainly of maize, cassava, and dry rice. Nyale, the other main ritual, takes place in the middle of the rainy season in February, and is associated with the cultivation of wet rice. It begins with the collection of edible seaworms, followed by ritual fighting (*Pahala*) on horseback.

The Introduction is followed by fourteen chapters divided into two Parts, brief overviews of which follow.

Part I: Cosmology, models, ideas and values

Chapter 1, 'The Laboya and their neighbours', describes the natural surroundings of the Laboya, their past wars, and their recent history. Attention is also paid to the significance of the water buffalo. Chapter 2, 'Daily and ritual life in the "Houses" of the Laboya', deals with the primary organization of Laboya society in *kabihu* (clans), each subdivided into different *uma* (houses). Special attention is paid to the obligation of the owner of the house to enhance his name, and thereby the name of the *uma*, by holding regular feasts during which the blood of sacrificed animals (mainly buffaloes and pigs) has to flow and in which the ancestors are thought to take part. Chapter 3, 'Snake, pig and buffalo', discusses various myths which reveal the symbolic significance of these three cultural 'models' for the Laboya. Of central importance here is the author's discussion of the concept of *hala*, which she translates as transgression, wrong direction, or, more specifically, incest. This is a state of hotness. The mythical python originally cleared the island of the contamination of *hala* before he wove the land anew. In later chapters, the author shows that clearing the land and its inhabitants of *hala* is particularly a focus of the Padu ritual.

Chapter 4, 'The principles of life', pays attention to the various components of a person, and to the relationships between the living and the dead.

According to the Laboya, human beings are spun and woven by Wulla, the Moon, the female half of the couple Wulla-Lado, the superior deity in the Laboya cosmology. In each person's body (*tau*) two components, *mawo* and *dewa*, are glued together. Contamination with *hala* causes them to separate, which may lead to death. *Mawo*, Geirnaert-Martin says, is usually translated as shadow, reflection, or silhouette, and is said to be contained in breath. When parting from the *dewa*, the *mawo* makes a body smell and gradually rot away, its fluids regenerating the rains which make the crops grow. Apparently *mawo* is the life force which maintains the shape and form of the body. *Dewa*, on the other hand, can be translated as 'spirit': the imperishable constituent which, after a person's natural death, joins its ancestors. Several years later it is called back to the *uma* to which it belonged, and can dwell in the *toko*, the loft in the trapezoidal tower of a house. It can gradually become a *marapu*, one of the important elder ancestors, who dwell on the seventh layer of the sky. *Hala*, especially incest, may cause an unnatural, violent death (such as beheading in a headhunting raid) to be inflicted by the deity Wulla-Lado. This is thought to delay the process of putrefaction, and thereby to endanger the coming of the rains. A special ritual, Pogo Nauta, must be conducted in such a case. A swift (revolving frame for winding yarn) in the shape of a human being (*kijora*) was made for those who were beheaded during headhunting raids.

In Chapter 5, 'Textiles and socio-cosmic ideas', the author analyses the symbolic significance of spinning, weaving, and textile motifs. Attention is also paid to gender roles; men, interestingly, take part in the final stages of the weaving process. Chapters 6 and 7, 'A buffalo village' and 'A buffalo house', are dedicated to the symbolism of the buffalo. The author describes how the main village, Hodana, is shaped after the model of the buffalo, divided into a lower half and an upper half, each with its own ceremonial tasks. In the centre, on the western flank, stand the skull tree (*katoda*) and the ceremonial house of the Padu ritual. Various myths are analysed, in particular those dealing with the origins of the *bei*, a wooden chest containing heirlooms and rice seeds, of Laboya, the wild pig woman, and of the first skull tree.

Part 2: Society and the yearly rituals

Chapter 8 is entitled 'Social morphology: kinship and marriage rules'. Attention is paid to the different categories of people in Laboya society, such as nobles, commoners and slaves. Kinship terminology and marriage rules are explained. In Chapter 9, 'Prestations and the life-cycle', Geirnaert-Martin describes in particular the exchanges which take place during life-cycle ceremonies between wife-givers, who present women, pigs, rice, cotton and textiles, and wife-takers, who present buffalo, horses, dogs, gold ornaments, and weapons. Chapter 10, 'The annual agricultural and ritual cycle', details

the seasonal cycle of agricultural activities, and the associated ritual cycle. The main rituals are Padu and Nyale, which form a pair, respectively associated with the upper and the lower half of Laboya. Padu is performed to propitiate Laboya, the pig woman, for the well-being of the whole land of Laboya. It entails a transition from a state of hotness and contamination (*hala*), associated with the sun (*Lado*) to the coolness brought by the rains (*ura*). Nyale is associated with the rain and moisture necessary for wet rice cultivation. The word itself refers to a kind of edible seaworm, actually the reproductive matter of *Lydice* or *Eunice*. During the first part of Nyale, the seaworms are collected; during the second part, a ritual mounted combat, the Pahala, takes place, during which blood has to flow.

The last four chapters are entirely devoted to a description of the Padu ritual. Chapter 11, 'Padu Laboya (I): closing the time of Goko Gaile', describes the first part of the Padu ritual in Laboya proper. Each half of Hodana village organizes the funeral of its old rice, symbolized by cock's feathers. On the sixth day the bamboo of the so-called Rain Bridge is replaced, preceded by a ritual at the tomb of Bota Nyale, the mythical discoverer of the seaworms. Chapter 12, 'Padu Laboya (II): the Yolero song', is dedicated to the translation of a ritual song, the Yolero, on the sixth day of Padu. The purpose of the Yolero is to ask the founding ancestors to make the animals easy prey for the ritual hunting and fishing which take place during the following days. These activities; especially the wild pig hunt, are described in Chapter 13, 'Padu Laboya (III): Lalu We in Hodana, hunting and fishing'. Chapter 14, 'Padu Laboya (IV): From Lalu We onwards to Patyala', describes the final parts of Padu. During this period affinal ties are strengthened. What is left of *hala* is cast away to Patyala, from where it is finally cast into the sea. After this, the land is ready for cultivation. In the past, the founding ancestors of Laboya proper and Patyala, who were brothers, disagreed about the organization of Padu, and this explains why they hold it at different times, Patyala one month later than Laboya.

Geirnaert-Martin ends with 'concluding remarks' in which she states that a still deeper understanding of the flow of beings and things is needed in order to achieve a full appreciation of the socio-cosmic order of ideas and values. In Laboya society, apparently, the continuation of life is the encompassing value, as is clear from the Nyale ritual. On some occasions, however (for example during the mounted fighting of the Pahala), blood has to flow. It is therefore clear that in certain contexts, the idea of the flow of life is associated with violence and the flow of blood. The author has devoted an article to this subject at a later stage ('In honour of the seaworms of West Sumba', in: Signe Howell (ed.), *For the sake of our future; Sacrificing in eastern Indonesia*, pp. 213-26. Leiden: CNWS, 1996).

The book contains several appendices, a glossary, a bibliography, a subject

index, an index of authors, maps, and 18 photographs. Some important subjects (headhunting, hotness and violent death, for example) have unfortunately been omitted from the index.

Geirnaert-Martin's book fills a gap in the anthropological knowledge of the cultures of Indonesia. It is impressive with regard to the wealth of detailed ethnographic information which it contains, as well as the elaboration of the analyses in the different chapters. It may be expected to serve future generations of anthropologists well as they attempt comparative analyses of the socio-cosmic systems of other Indonesian and Southeast Asian societies.

Tom Marks, *The British acquisition of Siamese Malaya (1896-1909)*. Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 1997, vii + 167 pp. ISBN 974.8496.98.8. Price: USD 27.50.

NICHOLAS TARLING

This is a small book, but a substantial disappointment. The topic is a good one. It covers the disposition of the northern states of what became Malaya – Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, and Trengganu – between the conclusion of the Anglo-Siamese secret convention of 1897 and the transfer of Siamese rights to Britain in 1909. At this stage in the historical research on the subject, an author writing a short work should surely have focused on placing a fairly well-known story in a larger context and reflected on its wider significance. Instead the author offers a rather bland narrative.

The nature of the sources upon which he draws imposes limits even on that. He has not, for example, had access to the main Foreign Office files in London, relying instead on the 'Confidential Print'. This is the material the Office printed for its own use in the days before the Gestetner, let alone the xerox, and, though substantial, and fuller, of course, than the Parliamentary Papers, it does not in general include the memoranda and minutes that often provide the best clues for understanding policy-making. The author has put us in his debt by combing through the *Bangkok Times Weekly Mail* and *The Straits Times*, but they seem to add little to his narrative.

The reliance on so limited a range of sources is more damaging inasmuch as the author appears to ignore many of the learned articles and books that relate to his subject. Among them are Chandran Jeshurun's *The contest for Siam 1889-1902* (1977) and Kobkua Suwannathat-Pian's *Thai-Malay relations* (1988). Other useful references would include, so far as Pattani is concerned, the books of Wan Kadir Che Man and Surin Pitsuwan, and for other states

Sharom Ahmat's account of Kedah and Shaharil Talib's of Trengganu.

Using such material the author might have attempted, not so much a narrative, as an interpretative essay on the subject, supplemented perhaps by reference to the Confidential Print and the newspapers, if other original material were not available to him. The book might have started out not with its rather inadequate historical introduction, but with a theme, say a discussion of Prince Prisdang's suggestion that Siam had sought to claim as much as it could in Indo-China and Malaya, with the idea that some day it might, like Medea, save the country, or part of it, by throwing dependencies at its pursuers.

Like rather too many books nowadays, this one needed a more rigorous copy-editor. We have a civil war in Penang instead of Pahang (p. 4) and Sir Charles Mitchell is promoted Governor-General on page 5. Some phrases are self-contradictory – 'open revolt's imminent appearance may not have been in the offing' (p. 18) – and some sentences are baffling – 'Somewhat defensively, the Siamese position of the past was amended to see no longer the mere granting of concessions as a special privilege or advantage to a foreign subject' (p. 28). 'Opinionated' is used as a verb in place of 'opined' (p. 40) and 'floundered' for 'foundered' (p. 53).

Chanatip Kesavadhana (ed.), *Chulalongkorn, roi de Siam: Itineraire d'un voyage à Java en 1886*. Paris: EHESS, 1993, vi + 204 pp. [Cahier d'Archipel 20.]

B.J. TERWIEL

King Chulalongkorn reigned from 1873 to his death in 1910 as absolute monarch of the country which was then called Siam. He is arguably the most beloved historical personage in present-day Thailand. Millions of effigies of this handsome king, in the form of photographs and amulets, can be found distributed among Thais of all ranks. The king's writings have also acquired a special aura of sanctity.

In this publication Chanatip Kesavadhana has translated some parts of his written heritage, namely extracts from King Chulalongkorn's diary entries during his second voyage to Java, which took place between 9 May and 12 August 1896. At that time the king was 43 years old. What is not told in the introduction, but seems to be quite relevant, is the fact that the voyage came at a time when the very serious confrontation with the French, which began with the crisis of 1893, was finally being settled, and it would have appeared to the king that Siam would survive in relatively intact form. From

this perspective the voyage to Java of 1896 may be seen as a sign that King Chulalongkorn was again becoming confident of leading the country.

Chanatip Kesavadhana writes in her introduction that she was not able to consult the original diary, which must be held by the office of the Royal Household. Indeed, this should not surprise us, for the original diary has not been viewed by any historian since Prince Damrong edited it in 1925. It is Prince Damrong's edition which has become the standard text, and although Damrong mentions in his foreword that he deleted certain passages which the king himself did not wish to be published, nobody has been privy to what passages were left out.

The introduction to the parts of the standard published Thai text translated here gives a short account of the circumstances of the journey, of who accompanied the king, and of the chief accomplishments of the voyage, among them the fact that Chulalongkorn was presented with some of the images of the Buddha from the Borobudur. (Through a typographical error on page 2, one of the works of the king is falsely given as *Niot pa*; this should have been *Ngo pa*.) After this introduction follows a presentation of the whole voyage, day by day, in summary form, occupying some 15 pages of the volume.

The next 140 pages contain Chanatip Kesavadhana's translations of certain entries from the published diary. All in all there are 33 entries of the 95 that can be found in the Thai original, so that roughly one in three entries has been selected. The translator does not reveal why she left out two-thirds of the text, nor do we get to know what criteria guided her selection. The selected entries are fairly evenly spread, so that we do obtain the spirit of the voyage from beginning to end. This reviewer, nevertheless, cannot help but feel a little disappointed, having been led by the title to believe that the whole itinerary would be included, to be confronted with a mere sampling of the original text.

The translation itself appears to represent the original publication well, and some 400 footnotes help to explain the context and make the text more accessible to the non-Thai reader. Three maps and a dozen contemporary illustrations provide a good underpinning of the text, but scholars will note the lack of any indexing apparatus. At the same time, the text itself provides a fascinating view of those aspects of late nineteenth-century Java which the Dutch colonial administrators selected to entertain the visiting Asian monarch.

Polly Wiessner and Aki Tumu [with translations and assistance by Nitze Pupu], *Historical vines; Enga networks of exchange, ritual, and warfare in Papua New Guinea*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998, xvii + 494 pp. ISBN 1.560.98792.8 (hardback), 1.560.98767.7 (paperback). Price: USD 45 (hardback); USD 19.95 (paperback).

JAAP TIMMER

This impressive book deals with the histories of about 150,000 Enga people who live in the valleys and mountainsides of the western highlands of Papua New Guinea. The Enga are one of the largest linguistic groups in New Guinea, and were first contacted by gold-prospecting Europeans in 1934. The authors, an American ethnoarchaeologist (Wiessner) and an Enga artist who is director of the Enga Museum and Cultural Center (Tumu), deal with recent history in the period before contact. The pre-colonial history which they have been able to chart has a depth of some seven generations. Drawing on numerous interviews conducted over a period of ten years with elders of over a hundred 'tribes', the authors have cogently reconstructed the ecological, social, political, and ideological processes that shaped changing networks of ceremonial exchanges, warfare, and cults. *Historical vines* is a valuable contribution, in terms of both ethnography and methodology, to the anthropology of the Highlands, in particular where Wiessner and Tumu show the improvisatory character of Enga cosmologies and people's openness to innovation, import, and export.

The extraordinary richness of Highland oral traditions describing long historical processes has been fruitfully employed before. Working among the Enga's western neighbours, for example, Chris Ballard (1995) has combined Huli oral histories with archaeologically established markers in time in order to arrive at structures of regional trade and ritual that relate to landscapes of local belief. Where Ballard arrives at a conclusive understanding of the symbolic landscape of Huli sacred geography, Wiessner and Tumu use local narratives to explore the social processes involved in the formation of broad-reaching networks. They engage in an argument about war and conflict with Mervyn Meggitt, whose work among the Enga has played a major role in the classical literature on the Highlands. In the 1970s, Meggitt argued that war and conflict among Enga were driven by disputes over land. Wiessner and Tumu argue that it was social boundary maintenance, rather than physical boundary maintenance, that drove Enga into conflict. The resulting disruption of people's relations to social and natural resources necessitated conflict resolution, providing the stimulus for the rise of large systems of exchange.

Consequently, at the heart of the book is an ethnohistory of the *tee* cere-

monial exchange cycle, an institution involving interrelated clan distributions of pigs and valuables. The book clearly shows the centrality of the *tee* cycle in Enga history because in crafting its course, collaborating big-men drew in participants, wealth, ideas, and ritual from eastern, western, and central Enga as well as from surrounding areas. Demonstrating the value of the author's regional and historicizing approach, we are offered a detailed description of many fascinating aspects of the way in which Enga created themselves in a culturally diverse field. In this field, mythology, trade routes, and marriage practices situated Enga among other Enga groups and regional others, thereby challenging generalizations about geographically isolated highland groups centred on themselves.

Although the authors had much material on the post-contact period at their disposal, they decided not to include a study of the changes in ritual life caused by the conversion of the Enga to different brands of Christianity. An exploration of the way in which the Enga represent their past, and the way in which Enga cosmologies of power are related to aspects of modernity, would undoubtedly have uncovered crucial principles of Enga symbolism which could shed new light on the processes on the 'prehistoric' side of the persistent divide between the precolonial and postcolonial. Paying attention to the symbolism and politics of contemporary Enga life might also have allowed the authors to take up in a more constructive way another aim of their book: the importance of the documentation of historical traditions for Enga themselves. The incorporation of present-day orientations and constructions of identity, and the illustration of the parallels with the past situation of great religious diversity characterized by traditions of importing and exporting cults, would have provided Enga readers with an identifiable picture of the provisional and improvisatory nature of their culture, characteristics which it shares with those of many other Melanesians.

For scholars interested in the role of culture and creativity in shaping people's struggles and histories, the neglect of the colonial and post-colonial period renders this analysis of Enga historical traditions less instructive than it might otherwise have been. In all other respects, however, *Historical vines* reflects the fact that Wiessner and Tumu have taken up an ambitious project with much dedication and perseverance. It is full of good ideas and has great relevance for historians, archaeologists, and anthropologists alike.

Reference

Ballard, Chris

1995

The death of a great land; Ritual, history and subsistence revolution in the Southern Highlands of Papua New Guinea. [PhD Thesis, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University.]

Margaret Leidelmeijer, *Van suikermolen tot grootbedrijf; Technische vernieuwing in de Java-suikerindustrie in de negentiende eeuw*. Amsterdam: Nederlandsch Economisch-Historisch Archief, 1997, 367 pp. [NEHA Series 3.] ISBN 90.5742.007.4. Price: NLG 52,50.

ROBERT VAN NIEL

As the title of the book indicates, this dissertation for the Technical University at Eindhoven deals with technological developments in sugar production in Java during the nineteenth century. Technological developments, in this instance, refer to the application of scientific methods and research in all aspects of the Java sugar industry, from the growing of the cane to the milling and manufacturing of sugar, improvement of the quality of the product, the organization of the manufacturing process, and finally the control of costs. In short, a wide range of developments that by their very nature aroused wide-ranging opinions and disputes among the interested and competing parties. The human involvement in the scientific application of various techniques and processes forms a major part of the story, almost overshadowing the mechanical aspects of new machinery, chemical applications, and quality measurements. What is told in this book is the pull and push of human pride, opinion, and self-interest in sometimes furthering, sometimes obstructing, the development of the Java sugar industry from its early stages to a modern industrial process.

Historically the story of Java sugar production starts in the 1790s, although of course *areng* sugar (*gula Jawa*) had been known for centuries, and Chinese techniques with cane sugar were also known earlier. In the 1790s, however, the price of sugar on the world market rose because of production problems in the West Indies – then Europe's main source of supply – and raw sugar from Java began to be imported into Europe in quantity. The surplus of sugar produced in Java prior to that time had been shipped to Persia, India, and China.

The author divides her century-long analysis of Java cane sugar production into periods, starting with the period 1795-1830. These were the years when the Chinese production process dominated. This involved pressing the cane with small animal-driven wooden mills, cooking the sugar water in large pans over an open hearth, and claying the sugar in earthenware pots. The Batavian Ommelanden and the districts of Jepara/Pati/Kudus in Central Java were the main areas of production. The VOC subsidized the production in the area around Batavia, but by the 1790s, as the demand for the product increased, it also began to look to the northeast coast to meet the demand.

Starting in this early period and continuing up to about 1870, Margaret Leidelmeijer begins a revisionist argument with late nineteenth-century lib-

eral historians such as Van Gorkum and Van Soest, and also with more recent authors like Knight and Boomgaard, who advanced the notion that there was little or no technical advance in Java during these years, and that during the period of government control there had been only stagnation, leaving the industry far in arrears of the techniques employed in other sugar-producing regions such as Cuba. These authorities created the impression that improvement in the Java sugar industry came only after the sugar crisis of 1883-1884. The author sets out to show, successfully in my opinion, that this contention is false and belies what was actually happening in Java.

Shortly after 1800, techniques from the West Indies made their way into the sugar production process in Java. Foremost among these was the barrage furnace that used a single heat source in a draft furnace, supplying heat to a series of pans so that the cooking process was more gradual, thereby preventing overheating and destruction of sugar content. These furnaces also saved fuel in the Batavian mills by burning bagasse (*ampas*), though this was already being done in open-hearth furnaces on the northeast coast. Also in this early period, water power came into use to drive mills, and iron-clad vertical cylinders for pressing the cane. During the first decade of the Cultivation System (1830-1840), the government played a major role in spreading this West Indies technology to the expanding numbers of sugar contractors. It was the government, in these years, which introduced the first vacuum kettles for extracting the sugar at lower temperatures. This most important technological development had already taken place in the beet sugar industry in Europe, but was quickly moved to Java with government encouragement. The government instituted model factories as examples to the sugar contractors in Java. These models could best be set up in areas which were newly acquired by the government after the Java War, such as Madiun, where the government sugar industry had not previously existed. After 1840, the government in Java and the Ministry of Colonies in Holland not only pushed for the application of these new techniques, but also hired scientific advisors in Europe to test the quality of the sugar being produced. The vacuum kettle now spread widely, water-driven mills increased in number, and steam engines also began to be used.

Not all of this was easily done, for as the costs of these new devices mounted, profitability often declined. Market competition with the beet sugar industry developed especially after 1870, when government involvement was phased out of the sugar industry in Java, thereby removing subsidies and grants which had been used to stimulate innovations. Ultimately the competition forced cost reduction, leading to the sugar crisis in 1883-1884, when the smaller producers went bankrupt and saw their enterprises taken over by more strongly capitalized groups and banks. The result was the introduction of new technologies into those sugar factories which had not

already introduced them. Sugar research stations were set up, a syndicate of sugar producers was formed, and an island-wide sharing of techniques and procedures launched the Java sugar industry into a stronger, more competitive position from which it could rise to new heights. This transition went rather quickly and smoothly. Since large-scale production systems were already known in the Java mills, these could easily accommodate new technology. Clearly the sugar crisis served to strengthen the Java sugar industry, but this was possible because over the preceding century, many new technologies and organizational arrangements had already been accepted and put into operation, laying the groundwork for the strengthening process.

Margaret Leidelmeijer is to be congratulated on producing a dissertation that sheds new light on developments which have not previously been considered to be important. In doing this she has made a real contribution to the historiography of the Java sugar industry. One might wish that the book had focused more on direct explication rather than numerous repetitions of intentions and goals, but doctoral dissertations often fall into this stylistic trap. For all the emphasis on personalities, this reviewer would have appreciated explanations in layman's terms of the workings of technological devices such as barrages, vacuum kettles, and centrifuges, and their effects in improving sugar production.

Shanti Nair, *Islam in Malaysian foreign policy*. London: Routledge, 1997, xiv + 301 pp. ISBN 0.415.10341.X. Price: GBP 60 (hardback).

FRED R. VON DER MEHDEN

During the past several decades, no other country of Southeast or East Asia has placed religion as such a central element of its foreign policy as Malaysia. Shanti Nair has provided us with a balanced and detailed analysis of how domestic politics and foreign policy have interacted to reinforce the role of Islam in defining Malaysia's stance in international relations. Focusing particularly upon the past two decades of Prime Minister Mohammed Mahathir's administration, the author seeks to analyse the domestic roots of foreign policy and looks to the political, economic and social environment which have moulded it.

The author initially show how Islam's role in the political process has been directed by structural constraints, including the constitutional and parliamentary system, the role of communal politics, and Malay dominance through the party system. Significant political and economic changes in the 1970s and 80s led to the major social changes in the 1990s. In the international

sphere Islam played an increasing, but not central role. Thus, in the first decades after independence, Malaysia displayed continuous support of the Palestinians and became more engaged in international Islamic affairs. It was under Mahathir that this pattern took on a new dynamic. Nair shows how the political and economic environment of intra-Malay competition within a pluralist society gave more impetus to employing Islam as a means of unifying the government's party base. One of the most interesting chapters deals with Mahathir's efforts to emphasize modernization and moderation within an Islamic context. While actively engaged in sponsoring acceptable Muslim organizations and causes, the prime minister has also sought to limit the anti-Western development biases frequently voiced by his Muslim opposition. The following chapter provides a fascinating analysis of how the administration has attempted to control 'extremism' and 'wrong' Islam. This effort has arisen partly out of the perceived need to control threats to domestic authority and legitimacy, but also as a means of limiting negative international perceptions of Islam.

The rest of the volume assesses how this Islamic-oriented foreign policy has evolved in terms of specific issues. There is an analysis of how Kuala Lumpur has dealt with problems facing Muslim minorities in neighbouring states, particularly the Malay Muslims in Thailand and Singapore and the Muslim minority in the southern Philippines. Another area of concern to the Malaysian government has been the plight of co-religionists in Afghanistan and Palestine. The author notes that the Mahathir administration has emphasized a position on these cases that gives strong support to general principles of justice and self-determination, and is not based upon religion alone. Finally, the author addresses post-cold war conflicts such as the Gulf War and Bosnia issues, and how religion as an element of foreign policy can be employed within a new set of power relationships.

This is a well-written and thoughtful study that provides a well-reasoned analysis of the interconnection of domestic and foreign policy. Written in 1996, it would be interesting to see Shanti Nair's observations of more recent events.

Volker Heeschen, *An ethnographic grammar of the Eipo language, spoken in the central mountains of Irian Jaya (West New Guinea), Indonesia*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1998, 411 pp. ISBN 3.496.02659.6.

LOURENS DE VRIES

This grammar of the Eipo language is Volume 23 in the series *Mensch, Kultur und Umwelt im Zentralen Bergland von West-Neuguinea*. The series publishes the results of the interdisciplinary project of the German Science Foundation (DFG) which carried out research in the seventies and early eighties in the eastern parts of the central Irian Jaya mountains, especially in the southern Eipomek valley. The Eipo are pygmy Papuans living between the Yali in the west and the Ngalum in the east.

The Eipo language shares many characteristics with other languages of the central New Guinea linguistic area, such as clause chaining and switch reference, medial verbs, a body part counting system, quotative constructions for reporting speech, emotions and intentions (he wants to eat = 'I want to eat' he says), uncontrolled constructions for physical or psychological states and processes (I am ill = illness grasps me), and in the phonology, two series of plosives and a five-vowel system.

Despite these features shared with other central New Guinea languages, the grammatical description offered by Heeschen deviates in many ways from other descriptions of similar languages. The unconventionality resides both in Heeschen's view of the Eipo language, and in his field-linguistic approach.

I found it easy to agree with most of what Heeschen writes on the business of describing unwritten and unknown languages. Heeschen emphasizes the philological aspect of field linguistics: collecting, editing, and understanding (transcribed) texts as the only valid access to the grammar of the language. Furthermore, these texts are not to be analysed linguistically in terms of aprioristic formal-universal units like the generative 'S(entence)', but in terms of basic units found in the corpus itself, defined as 'whatever can be segmented by means of pauses without being in need of further clarification' (p. 63). The rigidity with which Heeschen carries out his anti-aprioristic, corpus-based methodology is striking, and sets this description apart from any other that I know.

It was not so easy, however, to agree with Heeschen's conclusions on the Eipo language. He breaks with the corpus linguistic tradition in one crucial respect: whereas in classical corpus linguistics the linguist would never claim to describe any more than the patterns of the corpus, Heeschen goes further and generalizes what he finds in his corpus into a picture of the Eipo language.

Heeschen sees the Eipo vocabulary as limited, both in the number of words, and in its low level of abstraction. As far as grammar is concerned, Eipo speakers tend to connect the basic units in pragmatic processes of additional specification and clarification in grammatically unintegrated sequences. In as far as grammatical integration occurs, it results in units of very simple internal structure: for instance, a noun with one modifier, or a simply

structured noun phrase governed by a verb. Small wonder, with such a view of the Eipo vocabulary and grammar, that when working on his corpus, Heeschen 'sometimes [...] had the impression that the language of the Eipo consisted entirely of utterances like those of a child' (p. 71).

Heeschen's perception of the limited lexicon is embedded in his views of the ethnography of speaking among the Eipo and in other small communities in New Guinea: 'Small communities like that of the Eipo', he states, 'do not generalize the code of language' (p. 33). What Heeschen means here is that rites and symbolic actions pass on abstract notions which are not lexicalized. A term for 'honour', for instance, is lacking, but there are (conventional) activities of honouring in interaction strategies (p. 33).

Although it is clear that Papuan lexica do not have as great a number of entries as languages like English (which has absorbed the words of all the many communities that it serves), I doubt very much whether the lexica of Papuan languages have been done justice in the dictionaries that we have. The 'gaps' may be the irrelevant products of looking for equivalents of words in the mother tongue of the researcher. Very few linguists, moreover, know Papuan languages sufficiently well to be able to make claims on the scope of the lexicon. It takes a very extensive, varied and well-understood corpus, and a linguist with at least 20 years of systematic interaction with native speakers, to make any such claims believably.

Heeschen's views on the absence of syntax, or rather, the presence of a simple 'emergent syntax' geared to the pragmatic exigencies of speech production, is embedded in ideas about a pragmatic mode which would dominate child talk, languages used in contact situations, and oral languages such as Eipo, contrasting with a syntactic mode dominating written language. In the pragmatic mode, there is only slight syntactic linkage and integration; instead of saying 'the man drinks beer', something like 'beer drink, man drink' would come out, avoiding the integration of the noun phrases in one syntactic unit.

The way in which Heeschen connects syntactic integration with written language, and lack of integration with oral language, goes back to research in the early 1980s, before Biber and others had shown that properties like absence or presence of syntactic integration cannot be linked to written and oral language. Biber's work replaced thinking in terms of oral and written polarities by a genre notion in which the medium (oral or written) is only one of the genre-determining factors. None of the properties (such as syntactic integration) of a genre can be successfully predicted on the basis of its medium alone.

As for the 'absence of syntax' in certain Papuan languages, in my view this is partly an artefact of the types of access that we have to those languages, and partly the result of Papuan morphology fulfilling integrative functions

carried out by syntax in Indo-European languages. For example, switch reference and temporality morphology create formal interclausal integration in many clause-chaining languages of New Guinea. Syntactic research of English or German relies heavily on explicitation of intuitive syntactic knowledge by researchers who are native speakers. Such access is not available to the student of Papuan languages whose mother tongue is not the one under study. Instead, he or she uses limited collections of transcribed texts.

Although it is clear by now that I do not agree with some of Heeschen's views, it should also be made clear that his grammar is an important and intriguing contribution to our knowledge of Papuan languages. Heeschen and Schiefenhövel published a German-English-Eipo dictionary in 1983 (in the same series, Vol. 6), and Heeschen published a collection of Eipo texts in 1990 (Vol. 20). The publication of this extensive grammar, with its abundance of data, makes Eipo one of the few Papuan languages with a complete trilogy of dictionary, texts and grammar.

A. Teeuw, *De ontwikkeling van een woordenschat; Het Indonesisch 1945-1995*. Amsterdam: Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1998, 51 pp. [Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen (new series) 61-5.] ISBN 90.6984.201.7. Price: NLG 30.

WARUNO MAHDI

One could hardly have wished for a more competent author for a publication on this subject than A. Teeuw, 'man of Indonesian letters', with longstanding experience dating back to the compilation of an Indonesian-Dutch dictionary with W.J.W. Poerwadarminta in 1948-1950, followed as of 1956 by a professorship in Malay and Indonesian in Leiden, continuously monitoring the development of the language, and producing a long series of publications on Malay and Indonesian literature and lexicography (Grijns 1986). For this reason, one is perhaps only somewhat disappointed by the compactness of this edition of barely fifty pages.

The introduction begins with a perusal of consulted lexicographic sources (p. 7), in which one would perhaps also have liked to see mention of the steadily increasing number of specialized terminological dictionaries (on engineering, biology, chemistry, forestry, agriculture, and other fields). Space limitations forbid even a partial citation here, so I restrict this to just one, the linguistics dictionary of Kridalaksana (1982).

The remainder of the introduction provides a sketch of the development

of the language situation leading up to the transition from Malay dialects to Indonesian (pp. 7-11). The conciseness of the exposition makes some simplification inevitable: the dichotomization into 'High Malay' and 'Low' or Bazaar Malay traditions – admittedly rather controversial – remains unmentioned, but the author distinguishes between a written and a spoken language level or *niveau* (p. 8). This is complemented in subsequent sections by the distinction between a 'formal' and an 'informal' register.

The literary Malay at culture centres such as Aceh, Banjarmasin, Palembang, Makassar, or Ambon, and the Malay of official administrative correspondence (Service Malay) are placed on one language 'level' termed written Malay (p. 8). But, whereas the literary and scholarly Malay of Aceh, Banjarmasin, Palembang indeed belonged in the 'High' tradition, the Malay of Ambon and Service Malay were predominantly of the 'Low' tradition. The importance of the latter was already realized in the seventeenth century by Sebastiaen Danckaerts and François Valentijn, to be profusely discussed again in the nineteenth century, for instance in connection with Bible translation into Malay.

For the period from the late nineteenth until the mid-twentieth century, one must in fact distinguish two main written Malay language traditions in printed publications. One was the school-taught 'High' Malay of most school-books and government publications, a language artificially continuing that which was assumed to be the literary Malay employed at the court of Riau-Lingga. The other was the language of most private Dutch- and Chinese-edited Malay newspapers and books of the nineteenth century, and of the Chinese- and the greater part of the indigenous Indonesian-edited press of the twentieth century up to 1942, which was of the 'Low' or Bazaar Malay tradition. The distinction seems better described as a contrast between 'official' and 'unofficial' language traditions than as one between 'formal' and 'informal' styles. A formal-informal contrast perhaps better characterizes distinctions within the unofficial tradition, in which for example the language of the Malay reader of Duijnhouwer and Van der Molen (n.d.) can be classified as unofficial, yet formal (that is, literary in style, not colloquial).

It is difficult to picture the problems faced by language policy-makers after 1945 without considering the prewar rift between (on the one side) the official purist language policy of the Balai Poestaka editorial board and the school teachers' association, which supported strict maintenance of School Malay, and (on the other) the 'unofficial' or spontaneous development after 1900 of an educated-speaker Bazaar Malay, leading from 1918 onward to a 'Modern Malay' (Toer 1982:9-10; J. Hardeman in Van der Wal 1963:417; Duijnhouwer and Van der Molen n.d.:5, Fokker 1948:12-3). Teeuw's observation that Malay was not (yet) designed to take up the role of principal linguistic medium of a modern society (p. 9) may be valid as far as the official School

Malay was concerned, but not for contemporary unofficial 'Modern Malay'. In the case of the latter, the aim had long been 'that everything that is of relevance for the Indonesian should also be capable of expression in an Indonesian language' (Drewes 1932:326).

One important consequence of the abovementioned rift to have immediate bearing on Teeuw's subject was that profuse borrowing from Dutch (also from French and English via Dutch) in the colonial period proceeded through the unofficial language (much technical vocabulary even in informal style). Many such borrowings acquired a marked colloquial connotation, so that official language policy-makers subsequently felt obliged to supplement them with new official equivalents. The paradoxical result was a Southeast Asian language featuring countless pairs of synonyms in which a standard or bookish, sometimes even cumbersome word or phrase of oriental (Malay, Javanese, Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit) origin corresponds to a colloquial equivalent of European provenance which is nevertheless often more accessible to the common speaker. Examples include *terkenal/bekén* ('well-known'), *firaun/farao* ('pharaoh'), *gawang/gol* ('goal', in sports), *cuti/perlop* ('leave, furlough'), *jalan keréta api/spor* ('railway', the former with a Portuguese loanword, *keréta*).

Three technical comments on the introduction are called for.

1. The author, first of all, adopts the 'standard' convention that Indonesian and the Malay which preceded it have six vowels, transcribed *a, i, u, é, o,* and *e* (p. 10). Already in footnote 8 on the same page, however, a seventh vowel *è* is distinguished. Van Ophuijsen (1910:15-8), it will be recalled, listed many more for Malay: eleven, which one may transcribe *a, à, e, é, è, i, ï, o, ó, u,* and *ù* (where *é* and *ó* are mid-high, *è* and *o* low, *à* is a backed variant of *a*, *ù* a lower variant of *u*, and *ï* resembles the vowel in English *tin, nip, pit*). Two of these, *à* and *ù*, have not received much attention, being obvious non-phonemic variants of *a* and *u* respectively. Mahdi (1981:414-5) has argued that *ï* was the closed-syllable allophone of *é*, so that an inventory of eight vowels remains: *a, e, é, è, i, o, ó,* and *u* – a conclusion already anticipated by Samsuri (1960: 338, 332), who however considered *ï* an allophone of *i*. Distinguishing between *e, é,* and *è* in the spelling was once explicitly advocated by Prijohutomo (1950: 242), and actually practiced in some Balai Poestaka publications edited by Agus Salim before 1920 (for example: Schrieke 1918). Glosses in this review will generally keep to the 'standard' transcription adopted in the reviewed work, which writes *é* for both *é* and *è*, and does not distinguish *ï* (the allophone of *é*) from *i*, or *ó* from *o*. Exceptions will be made when phonetic transcription is explicitly implied.

2. Teeuw is particularly interested in the acquisition of new phonemes in Malay as a result of borrowing. In the case of *f* he notes numerous doublets with *f/p* alternation, and also an increased tendency in the standard lan-

guage to prefer the 'foreign' phoneme *f* (pp. 10-1). On the basis of wordlists compiled by a Chinese in Malacca, by Antonio Pigafetta in the Moluccas, and by Frederick de Houtman chiefly in Aceh, it can be shown that even at that time, around the sixteenth century, written *f* was actually pronounced *f* in Malay spoken in these different places; particularly in words of Arabic (*kofia* 'k.o. hat', modern *kopiah*) and Chinese origin (*taufan* 'violent stormwind', modern *topan*). This is further confirmed by Malay loans into languages that originally distinguished *f* and *p*; compare for example *kofia* 'k.o. hat' in Galela, a North Halmaheran language. The tendency to have *p* for *f* seems to have been a dialectal feature (among others in the Bazaar Malay of Java). Remarkably, it was apparently also favoured in the formal style of the prewar period (*Aprika* even occurred for 'Africa'). As the author notes (p. 11), this has been abandoned and the present standard language tends to keep closer to the donor language, particularly in retaining an *f*.

3. The words in the spelling minimal pair *fóli* 'foil' / *voli* 'volleyball', as the author correctly supposes (p. 11), are indeed not opposed in the pronunciation of the initial consonant, which is *f* in both words. However, they are opposed in the articulation of the vowel spelled *o* (phonetical *fóli* / *fóli*). An analogical pair is *kopi* '[xerox]copy' / *kopi* 'coffee' (phonetical *kópi* / *kopi*). Note also *fonis* 'phonic' / *vonis* 'sentence [in a court of justice]', which is, however additionally contrasted in the reading of spelled *i* (phonetical *fónis* / *fonis*, where *ĩ* is an allophone of *é*, see above). But a pair of homonyms, featuring the *f* / *v* spelling contrast touched upon by the author, does indeed exist: it is *firus* 'turquoise' / *virus* 'virus' (Alisjahbana 1975:14 once suggested another pair: *Fakfak* 'name of a town in Irian Jaya' / *vak-vak*, the plural of *vak* 'study subject', which is 'marred' by an additional hyphen). A *v* of a donor language had originally been reflected in Malay as *w* (*warna* 'colour' from Sanskrit, *pawai* 'parade' from Tamil, *déwan* 'council' from Persian, *wizurai* 'viceroy' from Portuguese) or sometimes, in word-initial position, as *b* (*bangsa* 'nation' from Sanskrit, *batil* 'scoop; bowl' from Tamil). The reflection as *f* (spelled with a *v*) is the result of influence from Dutch, which features a surd articulation of *v* that is heard and reproduced as *f* by the average native speaker of Indonesian. In some few geographical names acquired from a language other than Dutch, *v* is reflected as *w* even in formal style (*Jenéwa* 'Geneva', from English). It is noteworthy that some foreign geographical names, initially spelled with *w* for the *v* of the original, are now spelled with *v* (for example *Wladivostok*, now spelled *Vladivostok*); following an analogical change in Dutch spelling (see respectively the Indonesian encyclopaedias of 1954-55 by Mulia and Hidding, and of 1980-84 by Shadily *et al.*; also the 1947-54 and 1979-84 editions of the Dutch Winkler Prins encyclopaedia).

Section II, dedicated to creation of new words, mainly deals with borrowing, calques, and acronyms (derivation is treated separately, see below). The

author touches on Javanese, Dutch, English, Arabic, Chinese, and Japanese as donor languages (p. 13-6), providing recent bibliographic references for further treatment of these as well as other donor languages (for older references: Teeuw 1961: 38-40; to the new ones I can only add Jones 1984). Of these other languages, Sanskrit, Tamil, Persian, and Portuguese are listed (p. 12). For occasional borrowings there are further languages of origin, such as French (see below), Italian (*makaroni, piano, sonata, solo*), Spanish (*gerilya, junta, sombrero*), Russian (*sputnik, wodka*), Latin (*anus, vila*), German (*anilin*), Finnish (*sauna*). But the loans were as a rule acquired indirectly, mostly through Dutch, partly also through English.

With regard to Javanese loans, the author distinguishes between borrowing into the 'formal' and 'informal' language registers (p. 13). It is perhaps worth mentioning that an intensive relationship existed between Malays and Javanese since the first millennium AD, leading to a continuous stream of mutual borrowing between their languages. Sometimes, cognates reflecting the same protoform got exchanged, leading to pairs of reflexes in both languages, such as Malay *datuk* 'head of family', *ratu* 'king, queen', Javanese *ratu, dhatu[k]* 'king, queen' (the respective original reflex in each language is cited first; for the former, Old Malay had *datu* 'king').

Of the other indigenous languages and dialects contributing to Indonesian, the author mentions Betawi (Jakartan Malay) as a mediator of loans from Javanese in the 'informal register' (p. 13, 24-5). But the Bazaar Malay of Java probably played an equally important role in this (note for example the use of *-nya* in possessive constructions and as definite article). Betawi, meanwhile, also played an important mediating role for Chinese Malay elements, particularly in colloquial Indonesian (*elu* 'you', *gua* 'I, me', *lihai* 'slick, terrific', the latter meanwhile no longer colloquial).

The author also mentions the influence of Minangkabau and Sundanese (p. 24). Also worth noting is perhaps the contribution of Ambonese Malay. Ambon was an important centre from which schooling in Latin-script Malay spread to the rest of the Archipelago in the seventeenth century, and Ambonese Malay left a marked imprint on Service Malay and other dialects, and ultimately on Indonesian (the 'reversed' possessive construction with *punya*, pre- instead of postpositioned demonstrative *itu*, the term of address *Bung*).

With regard to Dutch, one should note that this was also an important mediator for loans from many other languages (French, Italian, English, and so on). Franco-Dutch borrowings predictably reflect particularities of French pronunciation that are retained in Dutch, also for example in derivations featuring Dutch suffixes (*sinyal* 'signal [noun]', *sinyalir* 'signal [verb]', *sinyalemen* 'signalization'). Unlike Dutch, however, Indonesian does not retain the French spelling, so that some such borrowings can be difficult to recognise: *anggar* 'fence [fight with swords]' (*en garde*), *kudéta* 'coup d'état'. Loans

acquired not through the speech of intellectuals, but through that of uneducated personnel, may additionally exhibit significant phonological distortions here (*arloji* '[pocket] watch', Franco-Dutch *horloge*), as the author indicates for Dutch borrowings in general (p. 14).

In loans from English, it is interesting to note that Indonesian, which usually replaces English *g* before *e* or *i* by *j* (even in some early loans: *jenderal* 'general', *Jerman* 'German'), at the same time surprisingly retains the *g* of the spelling (in spite of pronunciation as *j*) in loans in which that *g* is retained in Dutch (*gin*, *gentleman*). Some very recent direct loans from English now also retain the *g* in the spelling (*merger*, *gender*). In the last few decades, Malaysian has become an important mediator for borrowings from English, which occasionally led to doublets such as *énérji* (from Dutch) beside non-standard *énérji* (from English via Malaysian). Malaysian influence is probably also responsible for isolated instances of retention of the English suffix *-ity* as *-iti* (instead of its more usual replacement by *-itas*, see below), as for example in *sékuriti*, *sélébriti*.

The author directs special attention to the interesting phenomenon of direct borrowings from English, in which the suffix *-ation* (misprinted *-action*) is replaced by the Indonesian suffix *-asi* borrowed from Dutch *-atie* (p. 15). We have here a particular case of the more general replacement of English *-tion* and *-sion* by Indonesian *-si* reflecting Dutch *-tie* and *-sie*, as in *solusi* 'solution [of a problem]'. Compare also *akuisisi*, *obstruksi*, *asumsi*, *inténsi*, *distingsi*, *adopsi*, *aborsi* (for *-tion*), and *imprési*, *remisi*, *ékplosi*, *difusi*, *konvérsi* (for *-sion*), in all of which the suffix is not preceded by an *a* either. This *-si* suffix also appears for English *-sy* and *-cy*, of course, as in *biopsi*, *kontrovérsi*, and *suprémasi*, *akuntansi*. To this complex also belong instances of replacement of English *-nce* by Indonesian *-nsi* reflecting Dutch *-ntie*, as for example in *aliansi*, *résistansi*, *réferénsi*. English *-nse* is however reflected as *-ns* in Indonesian *réspons* (note the same final consonant cluster in *kans* 'chance' borrowed from Dutch, but with paragogic *-a* in *dansa* 'dance', *romansa* 'heroic, romanticist novel' also from Dutch).

In the pair *polisi* 'police [officer, department]'/*polis* 'policy [insurance]', which seems to exhibit a paradoxical sound correspondence to the respective English equivalents, the Indonesian words actually reflect Dutch *politie/polis* respectively. The first of the Indonesian pair, and the not yet quite standardized Anglo-Malaysian loan *polisi* 'policy [political]', are not homophonous, being (phonetically) *pólisi* and *polési* respectively (similar to the pair *fonis/vonis*, see above).

For loans from Japanese (p. 16), one could perhaps distinguish between acquisition of 'international' Japanese vocabulary via Dutch (*geisya*, *harakiri*, *judo*, *karaté*, *kimono*), or more recently via English (*ninja*, *samurai*), and direct borrowings either from the war period (*banzai* 'charge [battle cry]', *jibaku* 'act

with all that one has regardless of losses', *romusya* 'member of wartime forced-labour brigade'), or acquired in peacetime ([*bunga*] *sakura* 'Japanese cherry blossom', *saké*, and not yet standardized *sushi* and *sashimi*).

The treatment of calques is dedicated to literal translations of phraseologies, such as *tarik akar* 'draw the root [in mathematics]', corresponding literally to Dutch *worteltrekken* (p. 16-7). Two further spheres are calques of technical terms, particularly names of scientific disciplines (*ilmu ukur* 'geometry', from Dutch *meetkunde*), and novel use of some prepositions, conjunctions, or of the relative pronoun by analogy with that in Dutch or English (*dari* 'from' and *dari* *pada* 'of' to indicate possession or constituent material; *dimana* 'where' as relative instead of interrogative pronoun of place; and *yang mana* '[that] which'). Dutch and English influence is also apparent in such usage as *berbéda dari* for 'be different from' (instead of *berbéda dengan*, lit. 'have-difference with').

The coining of technical terms was understandably a tremendous challenge in the first years of implementation of Indonesian as official language, and this involved not only borrowing and calquing, but also semantic specialization or standardization of words of the general vocabulary (for instance, the use of [*ke*] *tik* 'ticking sound' for 'typing on a typewriter', also in *mesin* [*ke*] *tik* 'typewriter'). This process, already underway before the war, albeit in the unofficial tradition (two early contributions perhaps deserve particular mention: Adi Negoro 1927-29, 1928), was intensified in the early post-war years, now in the official tradition. Noteworthy in this respect are the series of wordlists published in the journal *Pembina Bahasa Indonesia*, edited by S. Takdir Alisjahbana, of 1948-1949 (1:18-32, 55-64, 88-96, 118-22, 125-8, 154-60, 182-92, 214-24, 246-56, 280-8, 309-20, 348-52, 373-80) and 1949-1950 (2:26-32, 61-4, 92-6, 128, 156-60, 190-2, 219-24, 271). Considering that the author was collaborating with Alisjahbana at that time, and himself published articles in the same journal, he may indirectly (or even directly) have contributed to these anonymous lists.

The largest section of the book deals with the morphological system, particularly with word derivation, a further means of creating new words, particularly technical terms. A perusal of available means of derivation (p. 19-25) is followed by very informative observations on the formal and functional expansion of the system of affixation. This begins with an elaborate discussion of the development in the use of original Malay affixes, and their accommodation to the needs of the modern language (p. 27-30). The assimilation of some morphological patterns from Javanese and Betawi into the colloquial language is also demonstrated (p. 30).

The assimilation and standardization of use of affixes of foreign origin have been particularly important in the development of new vocabulary, and the author discusses them in due detail, touching upon suffixes originating

from Sanskrit (pp. 30-2), Arabic (32-3), and European languages (33-9), and prefixes of Sanskrit (40-4) and Dutch (44-5) provenance.

The author elaborately demonstrates how Sanskrit influence led to assimilation of *-a/-i* and *-wan/-wati* suffix pairs in the formation of terms for male/female professionals or performers (*mahasiswa/mahasiswi* 'male/female student', *wartawan/wartawati* 'male/female journalist').

No less important was perhaps the accommodation of Malay to nominal phrases and compounds with 'reversed' component sequences. In Malay syntax, the attribute follows the target, which is the reverse of the sequence in Sanskrit (as well as in Dutch and English). Compare: *balapan kuda* 'horse race', *kuda balapan* 'race horse' (*balapan* 'race', *kuda* 'horse'). Before contact with European languages, Malay already seems to have featured loaned compounds with overt attribute-precedes-target structure (*sediakala* '[in] previous time, former'), and nominal phrases with preceding attribute, patterned after such Sanskrit loans (*dahulu kala* '[in] previous, early times', in which *dahulu* 'earlier, formerly' is original Malay, *kala* 'time' a Sanskrit loan). The incorporation of Sanskrit component sequence – a small revolution in Malay syntax – prepared the ground for subsequent massive borrowing of analogically structured compounds from European languages.

With regard to the Arabic contribution, more detail would have been welcome, particularly in the light of the increased Muslim consciousness in Indonesian society over the last decades, and its reflection in the development of the language. The author discusses the suffix *-i* and its allomorph *-wi*, as well as the variant suffix *-iah* (p. 32). The allomorph *-wi* replaces *-i* when the preceding morph ends in *a*, whereas *-iah* reflects the feminine correspondent to Arabic masculine *-i/-wi* (Badudu 1983:73-6). Neither of the two suffixes carries gender connotation in Indonesian, however. I am only aware of one instance of retention of gender connotation involving an affix borrowed from Arabic, and that is for the feminine suffix *-at* in *muslimat* 'Muslim woman' (compare *muslim* 'Muslim [noun, adjective]' and *muslimin* 'the Muslims').

Two circumstances are of principle significance here:

1. Malay did not originally have means for deriving adjectives from nouns. The assimilation of the Arabic suffix *-i/-wi* as such a device – a small revolution in Malay morphology – apparently dates from the pre-colonial period, particularly in view of some adjectival derivations of geographical names (as in *besi karsani* 'Khorasan steel', *nasi kebuli* 'pilaff [lit. Kabul rice]'). I am not aware of any examples of creative use of this means of derivation in the pre-colonial period, although (*al-*)*Fansuri* 'of Barus' (involving the adjectival counterpart to *Fansur*, the Arabic name for the polity of Barus, apparently reflecting the name of the locality Pancur) comes pretty close to such an example.

Actual availability of the means of derivation in the language is demonstrated by its implementation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by Dutch writers of Malay, who derived, among others, the adjective *Wolandawi* 'Dutch' from *Wolanda* (modern *Belanda*; from Portuguese *Hollanda* 'Dutch [feminine]' through wrong reading of the initial Jawi-script *wau* that spelled the *o*; Portuguese initial *h* is mute). This word even figured on the reverse of the Batavian silver Rupee coin of 1747 (De Haan 1923:G33b) – particularly noteworthy in view of strong resistance of official language policy against implementation of adjectival affixes before, and immediately after, 1945.

2. The principle of vowel intercalation in the morphology of Arabic (and other Semitic languages) remains mostly unassimilated in Indonesian. This should probably be seen as the main hindrance to an unlimited implementation of Arabic elements in Indonesian morphology. The feature is perceived as 'irregularity' in some adjectival derivations (*asal* 'origin' / *asli* 'authentic, genuine', beside *asali* 'original, initial'; *huruf* 'letter [script character]' / *harfiah* 'literal'). It may actually impede recognition of an inflectional or derivational set from a common base in borrowings reflecting singular/plural pairs (*unsur* 'element' / *anasir* 'elements', *roh* 'soul' / *arwah* 'spirits', *wali* 'religious guardian, holy person, saint' / *aulia* 'holy persons') or sets of derivations (*katib* 'scribe' / *kitab* 'book' / *maktub* 'written'; *filsof* 'philosopher' / *filsofat* 'philosophy' / *falsafah* 'philosophy, philosophical').

The exposition of productive means of derivation of European – mainly Dutch – origin (pp. 33-9) covers the suffixes *-asi* '-ation', *-(n)isasi* '-ization', *-atif* '-ative', *-ator* '-ator', *-(i)tas* '-ity', *-is* '-ist, -ic[al]', *-isme* '-ism', *-istis/-istik* '-istic', *-al/-il* '-al'. The author provides important insights into the history of the replacement of *-itét* '-ity' (from Dutch *iteit*) by *-itas* (directly from Latin) in the 1950s (p. 37). Attention is also directed to the acquired consonant alternation *s/t* in sets of the type *distribusi/distributif/distributor* (pp. 35-6), and to the alternation *f/v* in the spelling in sets such as *aktif/aktivitas* (p. 37).

With regard to the competition between the suffix pair *-il* (or *-él* in the currently recommended spelling) reflecting Dutch *-eel*, and *-al* acquired from English (pp. 38-9), the preference that is being given to the latter is based on the desire to avoid the *i/a* vowel alternation previously extant in such sets as *formil* 'formal' / *formalitas* 'formality' through replacement of the former by *formal* (Badudu 1983:77-9). Parallel forms with *-il* and *-al* respectively are only retained when they differ in meaning, typically when the form with *-al* was borrowed from Dutch as well, rather than from English, for example *idiil* 'idealistic, imaginary, spiritual' (from Dutch *ideëel*) and *idéal* 'ideal' (from Dutch *ideaal*).

The final section on productive borrowed prefixes touches upon the Sanskrit loans for numbers (from *éka*- 'uni-, mono-' to *dasa*- 'deca-') and other prefixes from Sanskrit, partly borrowed through Old Javanese: *maha*- 'mega-

arch-, very', *swa-* 'auto-, self-', *adi-* 'super-', *purna-* 'pleni-', *pasca-* 'post-', *tuna-* 'dis-, -less', *serba-* 'all-, multi-', *awa-* 'de-', *mala-* 'mal-', *pramu-* '-eur' (pp. 40-4), and the ultimately Graeco-Latin Dutch loans *dé-*, *sub-*, *multi-*, *anti-*, *a-*, *ekstra-*, *ultra-*, and *non-* (p. 44).

The borrowed Sanskrit numeral prefixes probably present the clearest demonstration of the lack of consistency and expertise in the initial phases of language policy after 1945. While prefixes for the numerals 1 to 5, 7, and 10 have acquired wide productive use, that for 8 (*asta-*) is not productive, whereas prefixes for 6, 9, and 100 (expected **sas-*, **nawa-*, and **sata-* respectively) are not provided for at all. An even more serious 'mishap' is perhaps the use of *dwidasa-* (set together from *dwi-* '2' and *dasa-* '10') instead of expected **wingsati-* for '20'; as in *dwidasawarsa* 'twenty years, two decades'. Actually, *dwidasa-* (more precisely **dwadasa-*) corresponds to the Sanskrit for '12', so that its implementation for '20' practically blocks future use of Sanskrit elements in forming calques of terms like English *duodecimal/dodecadic* or *dodecaphony*. For one such term, Indonesian implements original Malay numerals: *usus dua belas jari* 'duodenum', but this is a calque of Dutch *twaaalfvingerige darm*.

With regard to the prefigated morphemes of ultimate Graeco-Latin origin, one may add to the given list *pro-*, *kontra-*, *mikro-*, *makro-*, *télé-*, and many more. But the most remarkable feature of their use in Indonesian is perhaps their occasional manifestation as full-fledged words. For several decades, for instance, it has already been possible to say: *Dia bersikap anti terhadap hal itu* 'He is antagonistically disposed to that', *Itu ada pro dan kontranya* 'That has its pro-s and contra-s', *ilmu hayat mikro* 'microbiology'. However, many of the prefigated morphemes do not form own words (*de-*, *sub-*, *a-*, *non-*).

Another salient point is perhaps the increasing standardization, leading for example to the replacement of the early loans *télpon* and *télgram* by *télépon* and *télégram* respectively, by analogy to such more recent loans as *téléskop*, *télévisi*, *télékomunikasi*. Further standardization of the former to *téléfon* (by analogy to *hidrofon*, *megafon*, *mikrofon*) is not yet widespread. Another manifestation of standardization is connected with reducing redundancy in instances of duplicity in the Sanskrit and Graeco-Latin loaned corpora of affixes, resulting from the circumstance that Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin are mutually related as Indo-European languages (note also the handling of duplicate *-il* and *-al* borrowed through Dutch and English respectively, discussed above). Thus the prefix *a-*, originally borrowed from Sanskrit, is practically identical in shape and meaning to that of Graeco-Dutch origin. The prefix *pra-*, ultimately of Sanskrit origin, has led to redundancy of the cognate prefix *pré-* from Dutch or English, originating from Latin *prae-* (compare: *prakondisi* 'precondition', *pramodern* 'pre-modern', *prasekolah* 'preschool') in spite of the existence of borrowings containing a for most speakers 'recog-

nizable' *pré-*, for example *prédéstinasi*, *préhistori* (beside *prasejarah* 'prehistory', formed from *sejarah* 'history'). Similarly, *pasca-* (from Sanskrit) practically excludes *post-* in all newly formed expressions. The prefixes *mal-* and *mala-*, of Latin and Sanskrit origin respectively, have likewise been identified as cognates, and *malpraktik* is apparently undergoing replacement by *malapraktik* (compare also *malnutrisi* / *malagizi*, the latter with *gizi* 'nutrition').

In the conclusions (pp. 47-8), the author points out that particularly as a result of developments in its system of word-building facilities, Indonesian has distanced itself quite substantially from its original Malay character, as well as from neighbouring Austronesian languages: One would perhaps have liked a more elaborate expansion on this to my mind important subject. For although there are quite substantial contrasts between Indonesian in its present state on the one hand, and 'canonical' literary forms of Malay on the other, one could probably trace a relatively gradual development if one inspected its progress in 'unofficial' language traditions. Although one will also find incorporation of affixes from European languages into Tagalog and Malagasy (also for forming adjectives from nouns, particularly geographical names), Indonesian Malay is indeed by far the more versatile in this respect. An important role here can probably be ascribed to the significance which Malay (particularly in its non-standard local forms) has had through the ages as language of inter-ethnic communication in the Archipelago. Acquisition of nominal constructions with 'reversed' component sequence from Sanskrit and Ambonese Malay provides a good illustration of long-term gradual accumulation that ultimately leads to 'alienation' from an initial typological identity.

The resulting typologically 'hybrid' state of the language can perhaps be seen as reflecting two historical phenomena: the advanced degree of intermingling of 'occidental' and 'oriental' elements in the national culture towards the end of the colonial period, and the changes in character which a transition from a pre-industrial to an industrial economic culture impresses upon the language. It would be interesting to compare the Indonesian situation with that in the Vietnamese language, which has undergone an even more consistent systematization of formal morphemes for terminological word-building, to a considerable degree through utilization of Chinese loans. Vietnamese access to Chinese is not only analogical to that of Malay to Sanskrit in culture-historical perspective, but also involves the same reversion of word order in nominal phrases and compounds. Vietnamese borrowing from European languages, by contrast, is negligible in volume compared with Indonesian, and restricted to the lexical plane; Vietnamese colonial history does not include a phase in which a major part of the indigenous intellectual élite spoke a European language as a first language. Vietnamese, con-

sequently, does not seem to exhibit the kind of typological hybridization we find in Indonesian.

The edition closes with a comprehensive list of bibliographic references (pp. 49-51) which updates coverage of the topic in an earlier bibliographic publication (Teeuw 1961). The author has without doubt produced a very informative exposé and a valuable reference work. The numerous additions provided above should not be seen as belittling either the erudition of the author or the value of the publication; rather, they serve chiefly to question the wisdom of the stringent limitations in size that were apparently set. In my opinion, the topic would easily have justified a volume several times longer.

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Robert L. Winzeler (ed.), *Indigenous architecture in Borneo; Traditional patterns and new developments*, 1998, xi + 234 pp. Phillips, Maine: Borneo Research Council. [BRC Proceedings Series 5.] ISBN 0.9629588.4.8.

ROXANA WATERSON

The longhouse, that most characteristic element of Borneo cultures, is both an architectural achievement and a social institution. As such, the pressures of social change have also had their impact upon longhouse architecture. This volume makes an innovative contribution to Borneo studies, and to architectural studies, by focusing on this relationship. Colonial processes, the interventions of the post-colonial state, pressures toward modernization, and the

emergence of tourism as an important element of some local economies, are all illuminatingly examined here in terms of their effects on architectural development or decline. Geographical coverage is broad; Kalimantan is particularly well represented, and there are some useful comparative analyses of developments there and in Sarawak. All of the papers are plentifully illustrated with valuable photographs and drawings.

Timothy Jessup discusses the relative mobility of swiddening groups in the Apau Kayan region, and its implications for architectural variation and the frequency of rebuilding. Kenyah and Kayan longhouses were customarily of massive construction; Kenyah say they prefer large communities precisely because they provide the workforce for such undertakings. Rates of rebuilding have declined since the end of the nineteenth century, raising questions about how knowledge and skills are transmitted between generations. Jessup proposes that a stronger focus on life history research is the key to a better understanding of transmission processes.

Of special interest is a paper by a Kayan community leader from East Kalimantan, Balan Laway, which details the many binding elements of longhouse life, and the cultural crisis induced by government policies aimed at replacing 'out-of-date' longhouses with 'modern' single-family dwellings. Noting the continuities between these condescending attitudes and the prejudices of former Dutch colonial rulers, he concludes that 'the existence of the longhouse has been destroyed by criticism' (p. 50). New community halls, used only occasionally, cannot replace the old feeling of unity engendered by daily life in the longhouse. Vicki Pearson-Rounds and Jay Crain document the transformation of Lundayeh-Lun Bawang architecture, partly under the influence of missionaries who disapproved of the opportunities for promiscuity which they saw in longhouse living. New arrangements represent a sort of 'exploded' version of the longhouse, with individual family houses now rearranged around an open plaza, with church, which has replaced the longhouse verandah as the space for communal activities. Antonio Guerreiro and Robert Winzeler discuss the revitalization of the men's house in new forms among the Modang (East Kalimantan) and Bidayuh (Sarawak). Winzeler contrasts the modernization of longhouses in Sarawak, now often built of new materials, with the effects in Kalimantan of a government ban on longhouse building. His figures for the resulting decline of longhouses during a few years of the 1970s provide sad confirmation of the rapidity with which indigenous architectural traditions can be destroyed. The socially disintegrative effects of this policy are further analysed by Richard Alan Drake. Ironically, the economic co-operation which characterises longhouse life was deemed to be 'backward' because it encourages economic levelling and was thus perceived as an impediment to individual accumulation and economic 'development'.

In Sarawak, tourism now provides a new rationale for longhouse preservation. William Kruse's paper on the Iban sensitively discusses the ironies of this situation. Profits from tourism permit the purchase of modern conveniences such as TVs, satellite dishes, and motorized rice mills; tour agents, however, insist these be concealed from the eyes of foreign visitors seeking a 'primitive' experience. A final paper by Bernard Sellato illustrates the persistence of indigenous motifs in Kalimantan's modern provincial architecture, where they serve to display a provincial 'ethnic' identity, while somewhat unevenly representing the actual multiplicity of ethnic groups within a province. The collection adds up to a rich and multi-dimensional analysis of architectural change, whose ambiguities and ironies are never obscured.
