

Book reviews

Syed Muhd Khairudin Aljunied, *Rethinking Raffles; A study of Stamford Raffles' discourse on religions amongst Malays*. Singapore: Marshall Cavendish, 2005, xii + 107 pp. ISBN 9812104356. Price: SGD 25.00 (paperback).

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This short book is a published version of the author's Masters thesis, in which he explores Sir Stamford Raffles' discursive ideas on the religions of the Malay peoples whom he encountered. By 'Malay' is meant here the earlier, broad understanding of that term, including the peoples of the archipelago as well as the Malay-speakers living on the peninsula. The book attempts to challenge a certain idealistic view of Raffles by focusing on what this author calls his discursive 'shades of alterity'. Aljunied argues that Raffles' ideas of the religions of the peoples of the archipelago were plagued by a prejudice which, although varying in strength, developed over time to justify his benign civilizing mission. For Raffles, proselytizing Islam was a threat. Islam was the religion that had replaced, and was still replacing, the Hindu-Buddhist religion, which he appreciated as being more civilized. He also believed that Islam had generated a civilizational obstinacy among Malays that hampered the original artistic and rational development which, according to him, was clearly visible in the Hindu-Buddhist cultural formations in the area. On the other hand Raffles also had a contradictory view of the Batak pagans (Tylor's term animism was yet to be introduced), who in his understanding were at the bottom of the cultural-civilizational development ladder, but could be civilized through Christian conversion. However, Islam was already making headway among the Bataks and one Batak group had already converted to this faith.

Raffles understood that many peoples of the archipelago were only superficially touched by Islam. He was most concerned and antagonistic toward the purist proselytes, the Padri and the 'Hajis' who had returned from the Middle East and were trying to push their Middle Eastern teachings of Islam on the population. It seemed that Raffles did not fully understand the relationship between the population and the learned teachers of Islam, who he wrongly called priests. Moreover it seems that even when he tried to understand them, he kept an intellectual distance from them.

It is interesting that Aljunied concludes his discussion of Raffles' views of

Islam in a rather contradictory tone. On the one hand he criticizes Raffles for his Orientalism. On the other, he praises him for recognizing the social and cultural diversity of the Muslim world in the archipelago. This ambivalence reflects a Masters student trying to understand his data in two ways: on the one hand through a critical discourse of Orientalist alterity, and on the other hand via a scholarly approach to the Muslim world that recognizes it as a diverse social and cultural reality. Ideally, Aljunied could instead have tried to synthesis the two approaches in order to provide a more challenging view of Raffles' discourses on Islam. As it stands, what Aljunied is telling us is what we already know about nineteenth-century liberal discourses on the colonial Other. Raffles was a man of his period. He saw the people of the Archipelago in terms of civilizational hierarchy, with Europeans at the top, the Hindu-Buddhist complex as a fascinating intermediate level below that of Europe, and the pagans at the bottom. Like other liberals of his day, he believed that all people could be raised to a higher civilizational level through Christianity and education. In the colonial-imperial context, proselytizing Islam was a threat to the colonial endeavour. Raffles' discourse is a typical early nineteenth-century liberal discourse on otherness, and it is not all that clear whether Aljunied's term 'shades of alterity' adds anything to the discussion in the way he presents it.

Aljunied stresses that Raffles did not view the 'pagans' as having a religion. But most people of his day were of the same opinion. Others searched assiduously for some gleanings of God among 'the savages' in order to prove that all humans, no matter how primitive, shared some belief in the Almighty. This led to a major early anthropological debate between those who denied 'savages' any religion, and those who affirmed that the basic principles of religious belief could already be found 'amongst them'. Tylor's definitive formulation of Animism as being the earliest form of religion concluded this debate and founded the modern anthropological study of religion, as well as the modern discipline of anthropology itself.

Finally, it should be stressed that Raffles' views are not very far removed from the attitudes of many modern-day Malays, who have inherited the civilizational discourse from their colonial predecessors, toward indigenous peoples. All in all, though, Aljunied's short book is a nice read and makes a contribution to Malay identity formation as well as to the history of ideas and the biography of Sir Stamford Raffles.

Walter Angst, *Wayang Indonesia; Die phantastische Welt des indonesischen Figurentheaters/The fantastic world of Indonesian puppet theatre*. Konstanz: Stadler Verlagsgesellschaft, 2007, 272 pp. ISBN 9783797705341. Price: EUR 57.95 (hardback).

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Despite a wealth of books and articles on puppet theatre (wayang) of Indonesia, especially of Java, no thorough classification had been made of the regional variation in wayang puppets. To address that situation, the present book is 'an attempt to create an up-to-date survey of Wayang puppets' (p. 27), which is by no means complete, as the author hastens to add. The material used is the author's own enormous collection of over 17,000 wayang puppets and more than 1,000 other objects related to wayang. His collection, easily the largest in the world, was put together over the years in a thorough and systematic way. It contains moreover a large number of chests of complete sets of puppets (or perhaps more precisely, more or less complete sets, a difficult thing to determine because one can never tell whether puppets have been removed or added to the original set), which makes the collection even more impressive. The book may be called the first systematic attempt at comparative wayang studies.

The author is not schooled in Indonesian studies or anthropology; rather he is a biologist, more specifically a primatologist, born and living in Switzerland. He has collected wayang puppets for the last 30 years, and has puppets ranging in age from new to more than 200 years old. Most of the items are well documented as to origin and manufacture. The book is bilingual, written in German with accompanying English translation.

The author's research for *Wayang Indonesia* consists primarily of his own observations. He refers to secondary literature only sparsely, and then mostly to refer to illustrations of puppets not in his own collection but needed to support his point. Apparently he has made no use of collections in European museums, such as the Royal Tropical Museum in Amsterdam or the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden; nor has he used collections in Indonesia.

The main strength of the book is the author's use of his own personal collection, which, of course, he knows best. This is at the same time its weakness. Probably because they are underrepresented in his collection, modern developments in the Indonesian wayang world have not been afforded much space and therefore have not yet been incorporated properly into the classification system. This is a pity, because the book is wonderfully clear in its approach; adding more modern developments to his masterful observations

might have made the book even more pleasurable to read than it already is. Using other collections might also have made it possible to resolve certain classification problems he mentions.

The book explores the various categories of wayang based first on material and type of manufacture, second on repertoire, and finally on regional style. A useful table of the classification of the various wayang forms is given on pages 120-1. On page 224 there is a chart of the hypothetical stylistic development of *wayang kulit purwa*.

The great strength of the book is of course its illustrations. Never before has a book presented photographs of so many wayang puppets in such an elegant, methodical, and informative way. The photographs are without exception of exquisite quality, and provide the reader with the necessary information. Figures 133 to 137 are especially worth mentioning. They systematically depict Batara Guru (Siwa), Bima (Werkudara), Suyudana, Aswatama, Srikandi, and Hanoman in puppets from North Bali, South Bali, East Java, Cirebon, Kedu, Banyumas, Yogyakarta, Surakarta, Demak, and Betawi. This makes it easy to compare the various styles and gives a very good impression of the differences between them. It is refreshing that the author does not start his systematization with puppets originating from the Central Javanese towns of Yogyakarta and Surakarta. Rather, he starts in North Bali and continues with South Bali, East Java, Cirebon, Tegal, Banyumas, and continues via Yogyakarta and Solo to Demak, finally ending in Jakarta. This puts Central Java in the same position as other regions where wayang is found, and helps to make the book an exception to the widespread bias in favour of this region.

The author bases his classification on the physical puppets, although he is aware that alternative criteria such as stories, styles of presentation and manipulation of puppets, music, and many other elements of a wayang performance might have led to different categorizations. However, since wayang puppets had never before been classified systematically or satisfactorily, as a start his approach is enormously useful.

Classifying old sets of puppets, while not easy, is feasible. To make meaningful classifications of modern puppets, however, is hard, because during the last half century the various styles have blurred. Many regional styles are in danger of disappearing because of the popularity of wayang being undermined by television and the forces of modernity, and because of the overriding influence of the Solo style. I find this last point very interesting, especially since the similarities among the puppets representing the six figures mentioned above suggest that the styles of most of the others are more similar to that of Yogyakarta than to that of Solo. I hope that in the future the author will provide answers to the questions this raises.

Many puppets are not represented in the book. This is no surprise, since

there are hundreds of figures and other puppets in the collection, not to mention all the props. What does surprise me is that female characters are so heavily underrepresented. This may be deliberate, since the female puppets do not carry the discriminating features the author needs to make his points; if this is the case, it would have been worth stating in the book. Sometimes the author mentions new developments which I would have liked to see illustrated: for instance, the large polystyrene puppets used by the young Balinese *dalang* I Ketut Suidiana, which are 72 to 130 cm tall and as such a remarkable innovation as to size and way of handling.

What I chiefly miss in the book is a close look at the way the puppets are painted. The *wayang* specialists I know in Yogyakarta first look at the puppet itself, then immediately at how it is painted; they can tell where a puppet comes from by the colouring pattern. On the other hand, a puppet may have been repainted at some point, which might make colouring a hazardous criterion for classification after all.

Much time has been invested in making the book attractive. The author has done a wonderful job in his attempt to classify the various styles of shadow puppets, especially Javanese ones. It is therefore a pity that there are some disturbing mistakes in the book, which could easily have been avoided. For instance, it was not Abdurrahman (wrongly spelled Abdurrachman) Wahid who was the first democratically elected president (p. 13) but rather the incumbent President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. The present Sultan of Yogyakarta is Hamengkubuwono X, and not Hamengkubuwono XII (p. 183).

The sequence of the illustrations is sometimes illogical, or at least unexpected, which makes finding one's way in the book a somewhat awkward task. The captions to a few of the illustrations contain confusing information or mistakes, or are incomplete, which leads to misunderstanding. The caption to Figure 106 talks about the *wanda*, the specific expressions of puppets, which allegedly are discussed in Chapter 2.2, but I was unable to find any such discussion there. Figure 149 shows a puppet of Baladewa, which was probably not made in 1993 but in 1913, based on a comparison of the date in Javanese script between his feet with those in Figures 30, 31, 115, and 159. That is, if the date 1913 for the latter figures is correct: the year in Javanese script is given as 1838 AJ, which corresponds to 1908 AD. The puppets illustrated in Figures 114, 155 and 159 would seem to originate from the same chest of puppets and thus were probably made in the same year, rather than around 1910 as stated. The caption to Figure 160 only mentions that the prop shown depicts a *kraton* (palace), whereas the Javanese script written on the puppet clearly states that it is *Kedhaton Dwarawati utawi Pancawati* (Dwarawati or Pancawati Palace), the seat of Prabu Kresna.

Other statements also raise questions in my mind. Throughout the book the

author describes the puppets as having gold-leaf applications, and nowhere does he identify golden decorations simply as gold paint. Puppets decorated with real gold leaf (*prada*), as mentioned on page 226, are comparatively rare. I cannot imagine that all of his 17,000 puppets are adorned with real gold leaf.

The *rapekan* style of the hip cloths (*dodot*) worn by puppets of *wayang gedog* is not a discriminating characteristic for this type of wayang (p. 85). Puppets in *wayang purwa* wear *dodot rapekan* too – for instance, Buta Cakil, Patih Udawa, Patih Sakuni, Patih Jakapuring, and Patih Sabrang. Incidentally, some *wayang purwa* puppets carry a *keris*: the *patih*, for example, and also the gods. The *wayang purwa* puppets of the Pakualaman all carry krisses too. Finally, the Sutasoma is not ‘probably’ Buddhist (p. 74), but ‘definitely’ Buddhist.

The present book is the first volume of a series the author proposes to write on Indonesian wayang. The second one is to deal with the *kayon*, the tree of life, and another is planned to discuss the *panakawan*, the servants-cum-clowns of the wayang theatre. I sincerely hope the series will continue, and in the same attractive way, so that many other fascinating aspects of the wayang world may be explored.

Adrienne Kappler and others, *James Cook and the exploration of the Pacific*. London: Thames and Hudson, 2009, 276 pp. ISBN 9780500515167. Price: EUR 40.00 (hardback).

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Published in conjunction with the opening of an exhibition on the same theme in Bonn, this voluminous book is apparently without an editor (unless the Curatorial Team that prepared the exhibition also acted as such). It includes contributions by scholars and curators from many institutions including the National Maritime Museum (Greenwich), the Smithsonian Institution, the Australian National University, and the universities of Auckland and Hawai‘i. It is divided into two parts, the first (pages 3-118) containing these essays and the second (pages 119-266) the exhibition catalogue, including colour illustrations of all of the six hundred objects on display. The least one can say about this book is that it is rich in text and overwhelming in visual material.

Some of the essays pose problems, however. It is here that the absence of an editor is clearly felt. For example there are two separate contributions devoted to the death of Cook, and the same topic is also discussed in several of the other essays. One might speak appropriately here of ‘overkill’! And

although the contributors concerned presents a considerable amount of data on Cook's death, the very influential books by Marshall Sahlins and Gananath Obeyesekere, which examine the same topic in great detail, do not appear anywhere among the references! Also questionable in editorial terms is the inclusion, alongside a (good) essay by Joppien on the artists on Cook's voyages, of a separate essay devoted to one of them, Webber, without the others, Parkinson and Hodges, being accorded the same honour.

Most of the contributions are of high quality. Adrienne Kappler, for example, presents an excellent, concise overview of Cook's voyages, and a separate detailed description of the objects collected during them. There are interesting essays here on eighteenth-century navigation and astronomy (why was it so important to observe the transit of Venus on Tahiti?), and on life on board the small ships in which Cook and his men sailed around the world.

Much attention is given to Cook's companions Joseph Banks and the Forsters (father and son), who contributed greatly to the scholarly successes of the voyages. Georg Forster in particular can be considered an Enlightenment scholar, and the emphasis on him here is consistent with what appears to be a recurrent endeavour in this volume to situate Cook and his works against the backdrop of the Enlightenment. The question remains, however, to what extent Cook was an Enlightenment figure in his own right. Kappler (p. 18) states that 'Cook himself was not steeped in this intellectual movement' (p. 18), but insists that the knowledge Cook brought home certainly influenced its development.

Although an impression of the peoples encountered by Cook can be obtained from the work of his artists, the exhibition focuses more on the material objects which he and his companions collected on their voyages. In the volume under discussion, however, several essays are devoted to the inhabitants of the Pacific. The most important of these is an essay by Kappler (pp. 88-92), who sketches in bold, short strokes the peoples and cultures of the islands (pages 88-92). Hauser-Schäublin examines Georg Forsters' views of the islanders, and Margaret Jolly investigates (although without mentioning the parallels on many other Polynesian islands) the anthropological background to the sexual behaviours observed by the voyagers among women on Tahiti and Hawai'i. Cook's visit to North America and Siberia is the subject of an interesting separate essay by Feest.

Surprisingly, several illustrations appear twice in the book: one by Hodges on pages 92 and 192, one by West on pages 61 and 168, and two by Webber, respectively on pages 115 and 150 and on pages 47 and 192. West on pages 61 and 168. Among the references one notices no fewer than seven entries of Georg Forsters' *Reise um die Welt*, which makes checking the many references to this book by the various authors virtually impossible. Conversely, well-known

recent authors on the Pacific such as Kirch and Oliver are not referenced at all.

Despite these criticisms, *James Cook and the exploration of the Pacific* is an important volume. Anybody who is interested in the Pacific, in voyages of discovery, or indeed in the Enlightenment, will find it a rewarding read, and its many illustrations splendid.

Aurel Croissant, Beate Martin and Sascha Kneip (eds), *The politics of death; Political violence in Southeast Asia*. Berlin: Lit, 2006, 382 pp. [Southeast Asian Modernities 4.] ISBN 3825888606. Price: EUR 29.90 (paperback).

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Whereas liberal democracies live in relative peace, the transition from authoritarian rule to democracy is often accompanied by an outburst of violence. Intermediate regimes swinging between autocracy and democracy, also called 'anocracies', can easily become theatres of political violence. The chapters in the edited volume *The politics of death* deal with the political violence in five states – Thailand, Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia and Cambodia – during an attempted transition to stable democracy.

The editors define political violence as 'a generic term denoting the efforts of individual or collective actors to force public concerns by threatening to use or actually using physical or mental violence against life and limb' (p. 14). This broad definition includes mob violence, a military putsch, systematic genocide, terrorist acts, politically motivated crime, and violent attacks by governments. The editors argue in their introduction that the study of political violence in Southeast Asia has focused too much on Islamist terrorism. This volume therefore aims to consider a broader variety of forms of political violence.

Nevertheless the first case study, on ethno-religious conflict in southern Thailand, focuses on Muslims. The author, Syed Serajul Islam, tries to explain the emergence of the conflict by pointing at the relative deprivation of the Muslims. This deprivation goes back to the conquest and subsequent incorporation of the Islamic state of Patani into Thailand in 1786. Economic and socio-cultural factors have aggravated the perception of differential treatment among the Muslims of Patani. During the Second World War, for instance, the use of sarongs and Malay names, both indicating adherence to the Islamic faith, were prohibited. In the 1970s, however, the government adopted conciliatory policies, such as support for the hajj, the allocation of central gover-

nment funds for running state mosques in the province, and the promotion of Qur'an reading. In the post-9/11 period the situation of Muslims has once again deteriorated.

Interesting as it is, this article on Thailand, like most others in this volume, deals with the emergence of social conflict rather than the use of violence to force an outcome to such conflict. It is one thing to show why two groups disagree, but quite another thing to show why they use violence to resolve their disagreements. The title of the book, *The politics of death*, is therefore something of a misnomer: this is not predominantly a book about violence, but a book about social conflict. One of the positive exceptions in this respect is the article by Patrick Patiño and Djinora Velasco on the violence before, during and immediately after elections in the Philippines. Sorpong Peou, writing on political violence in post-UNTAC Cambodia, is another contributor who tries to get beyond the analysis of ethnic, social and religious differences, arguing that it is the nature of the political system that matters. Regimes which believe themselves to be in a situation of extreme political vulnerability tend to use violence to protect themselves.

Interestingly, a decline of political violence does not necessarily indicate a successful, completed transition to democracy. In Cambodia, for instance, the incidence of political violence has declined in recent years because one of the contestants in the country's inchoate democracy, the Cambodian People's Party led by Hun Sen, consolidated its power in the late 1990s and is no longer acutely vulnerable to attempts to depose it. But although large-scale violence has become less common, more sharply targeted acts of violence and intimidation continue to be effective strategies at election time. The trauma of genocide and the stress of enduring political conflict have left deep scars in the Cambodian society. Rates of ordinary crime are high, and it appears difficult for the country to return to a state of social and political order.

A reviewer who is late in submitting his review is almost automatically compelled to reflect on the question whether the book under review is still relevant. Several of the contributors to this volume have followed political events closely, using a chronological perspective, and this means that their observations rather quickly become outdated. Nevertheless the book remains interesting because it introduces the work of several established scholars from Germany and Southeast Asia to English-language audiences. Although it is somewhat curious that an article on the anti-Chinese riots in Jakarta in May 1998 does not refer to the work of, say, James Siegel or Abidin Kusno, the interesting article here by Christoph Schuck does refer to a score of German scholars who were not yet known to me when I read it. Another characteristic and unusual feature of the volume is that most of its authors offer suggestions on how the conflicts which they describe might be ended.

Frank Dhont, Kevin W. Fogg and Mason C. Hoadley (eds), *Towards an inclusive democratic Indonesian society; Bridging the gap between state uniformity and multicultural identity patterns*. Yogyakarta: Atma Jaya Yogyakarta University Publisher, 2009, 411 pp. [Yale Indonesia Forum International Conference Book Series 1.] ISBN 9789791317931.

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In July 2009 the Yale Indonesia Forum held its second international conference at Sanata Dharma University in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. The Yale Indonesia Forum (YIF) is an interdisciplinary group that serves members of the Yale university community with a common interest in Indonesia and Indonesian affairs. The YIF seeks to raise awareness on Indonesia and has been active in the field since 2003. The group includes among its topics of interest the arts and humanities, social sciences, environmental studies, and current events and policy studies. A fairly recent initiative of the group has been the organization of international conferences and the publication of their proceedings in the International Conference Book Series.¹

The conference in 2009 looked at Sukarno's unifying concept of Pancasila and addressed its value and contemporary appeal as a national ideology, as well as the various problems associated with it. According to the YIF website, the papers presented on that occasion will become available as the second publication in the YIF International Conference Book series. It would appear that the choice of Pancasila as the focus of the second conference was a development of the themes addressed at the previous conference a year earlier. Held in July 2008 at Atma Jaya University, also in Yogyakarta, this first conference had concentrated on Indonesia's diversity and multicultural identity in relation to the country's inherited unitary state system. It is the papers presented at Atma Jaya that have now been made available to a wider public in *Towards an inclusive democratic Indonesian society*.

This publication is a timely one, since the issues addressed in it are of clear interest to scholars and policy makers – especially those dealing, or struggling, with issues of societal heterogeneity and homogeneity, and with how to manage diversity in an increasingly divided world. Historical developments, in particular colonial politics, created present-day Indonesia, the largest and most diverse nation-state in Southeast Asia. Whether Indonesia

¹ More information on the Yale Indonesia Forum (YIF), including past and future programmes and events, can be found on the group's website: <http://www.yale.edu/seas/YIF.htm>.

can also be called the most pluralistic country in the region is debatable, but it cannot be denied that Indonesia is a clear example of a society with a very distinct multi-cultural identity. But can the Indonesian state system continue to accommodate this unique plurality and complexity of identity in the future?

According to the editors, a necessary step in this regard is the development of multiculturalism. They admit that the concept of multiculturalism is a difficult and contentious one, as evidenced by the variety of definitions of it used in the articles in their volume. Nevertheless, in their eyes multiculturalism is a crucial concept indicating not only the presence of multiple cultures, but also acceptance, mutual respect, and cooperation between individuals coming from different cultural backgrounds. The questions posed here range from the descriptive (where does multiculturalism stand in Indonesia?) to the analytic (under what circumstances can it exist, and how can those circumstances be made to last?) and probing (how can it be created and enhanced?).

The answers provided in this volume are incomplete and far from conclusive, as a result of which one could argue that its publication is premature. The editors themselves seem to hint at this by characterizing it as a mixture of 'think pieces', case studies, and syntheses. And indeed, this collection is uneven not only in the topics which it addresses, but also in the quality of its contents and in their relevance to the general theme.

The book is structured into four sections of approximately equal length. The first deals with political and socio-economic aspects of Indonesian multiculturalism, the second is comprised of case studies, the third covers the historical evolution of multicultural Indonesia, and the fourth section deals with responses to multiculturalism. Together, the four sections contain seventeen articles.

The first section focuses on central government policy and on economics. Christoph Schuck draws attention to the conditions that favour multiculturalism in Indonesia, with reference to theoretical perspectives on the role of market and state with regard to social justice. Markus Paesler discusses the successes and failures of IMF intervention in Indonesia's economy, pointing to its positive overall effect on the country's development. Martino Sardi looks at multiculturalism from the perspective of international humanitarian law, arguing that multiculturalism provides the foundation for the promotion and protection of human rights. Thomas B. Pepinsky looks at Islamic finance in Indonesia, for which a distinct demand exists among certain groups of pious Muslims. In his opinion state authority, despite its centralizing impulses, should respond to this demand by providing Islamic financial services for consumers, and in so doing accommodate yet another rising voice in Indonesian society.

In the second section, macro-level considerations are replaced by micro-

level case studies in the field of business. The essays here address very diverse topics: care for street children in Semarang (Budi Setiyono), the struggle of the local population in Kutai Kertanagara to protect its interests vis-à-vis big oil business (Silverio R.L. Aji Sampurno), the potential of labour unions to promote mutual understanding among workers (Tobias Cepok), the impact of ethnic values in Indonesian business (Slamet S. Sarwono), and the ways in which farmers on Java have tried to protect traditional customs in the face of government policies promoting change (Stefanus Nindito).

The third section explores the historical roots of Indonesia's multicultural identity, and how that identity was moulded and accommodated in the past. Arief Akhyat looks at the early years of the nationalist organizations, particularly Sarekat Islam, and examines their impact on social relations. Frank Dhont focuses on the independence period and highlights how nationalistic attitudes emphasized a unified national past, thereby obscuring Indonesia's multicultural roots. André A. Hardjana studies the (positive) impact of mass media on multiculturalism in contemporary Indonesia. Heddy Shri Ahimsa-Putra argues that cultural pluralism is not synonymous with multiculturalism, and that the latter still needs to be introduced to many Indonesians.

The final section discusses personal experiences of, and responses to, multiculturalism. The chapters here deal with Indonesian migrants with different religious backgrounds in Philadelphia (Yoonhee Kang), the re-creation or re-imagining of Glodok as a Chinatown (Johanes Herlijanto), the experience of a Chinese family with conversion to Islam (Chiou Syuan-yuan), and the differing attitudes of Muslim women regarding polygamy (Inayah Rohmaniyah).

This is work-in-progress. In order to avoid disappointment, the reader should be warned that the volume does not paint a coherent picture. While this is to some extent inevitable, it is a pity that more was not done to present the diverse material included here in a more accessible way. The introduction is very brief, and lacks a historical overview of the issue of plurality in Indonesian society. The inclusion of an index, too, would certainly have contributed to the book's usefulness. However the value of this collection, as noted, lies first and foremost in the pressing relevance of its central themes, while the diversity of its constituent essays makes it a rich source of ideas for other scholars to explore. For most readers, it will be easy to find something of interest here.

Bronwen Douglas and Chris Ballard (eds), *Foreign bodies; Oceania and the science of race, 1750-1940*. Canberra: ANU Press, 2008, xx + 352 pp. ISBN 97819213998. Price: AUD 29.95 (paperback).

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In this volume seven historians, all (except Christine Weir of the University of the South Pacific at Suva, Fiji) based in Australia, present a thorough analysis of the development of ideas on race and racism in a 'Pacific' context (although in practice most of the data referred to are from Melanesia, New Guinea and aboriginal Australia). The authors leave no stone unturned in the quest to bolster their arguments. The general introduction by Bronwen Douglas, for example, contains 12 solid pages of references (147 titles in four languages), not to mention 41 notes, against 17 pages of main text. The following chapter, also by Douglas, contains another 17 pages of references (against 40 pages of text) and 151 notes. There is some justification for such overkill, for the concept of 'race' has a complex history. Douglas examines this history in extreme detail, quoting (among many others) German authors like Blumenbach, Kant, and Leibnitz, French writers like De Buffon, Cuvier, Hombron, and Virey, and numerous British scholars including Darwin, Giddon, Hunt, Knox, and Pritchard. Father and son Forster, who accompanied Cook on his second voyage, are placed among the German as well as the British authors.

Neither Douglas nor the other contributors show much understanding of the motives of the scholars discussed and criticized here, or of the questions and problems which they were writing to address. Many of them made honest attempts to understand and explain the existence of racial variations among human beings, variations which were often known only from short descriptions by hasty travelers. The knowledge available in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century was far too limited to permit the enormous task of explaining and understanding racial differences. The problem became even more complicated when a fierce controversy developed over the question of monogenesis or polygenesis. Was mankind created only once, or had there been several successive creations of man? In the latter case one could freely theorize about 'superior' and 'inferior' races. Connected with this was the issue of how to decide which of the inferior tribes was the most primitive. A solution was sought in careful measurements of cranium and face. To criticize this methodology on the basis of twenty-first century knowledge is, of course, not difficult.

In the second part of the volume, Douglas (Chapter 2) and Chris Ballard (Chapter 3) focus on Oceania. More than in the first part, the 'recurrent

tension between systems and facts' (p. 134) plays a key role here. The data brought home by travellers did not fit neatly into scholarly schemes. Ballard focuses on the place of the Papuans, about whom not much was then known. The principal British theorists approached New Guinea from the west, inevitably comparing the Papuans unfavourably with the 'Malayans' (p. 160) and attributing to them cannibalism, savagery, treachery, polygamy, and the poor 'usage' of women (p. 165).

Gradually, however, sounder ideas about race developed, heavily influenced by the works of Darwin (*The descent of Man*, 1871) and Wallace (*The Malay Archipelago*, 1869), but also by the increasing volume of information available from first-hand descriptions and research. Paul Turnbull (Chapter 4) describes the unsavoury practice of collecting the skulls and skeletons of Australian Aborigines, using which scientists tried to create a more solid underpinning for racist theses. One development which comes to the fore in this chapter is a growing difference of opinion between the (racist) Anthropological Society of London on the one hand, and a majority of ethnographic researchers on the other. Stephanie Anderson (Chapter 5) describes with great indignation how living Aborigines were exhibited in theatres and circuses – a practice which enabled a number of theorists to study 'foreign bodies' at first hand for the first time. While Anderson is outspoken in her negative judgment of the racists, she is also aware that her abhorrence is caused by our 'present sensibilities' (p. 236).

The second half of the nineteenth century marks the beginning of cultural anthropology as an academic discipline, with E.B. Tylor as its main proponent. His works (notably *Primitive culture*, 1871) contributed greatly to the development of a more dispassionate approach to the question of to what extent primitive peoples could be said to have a religion without knowing a (Christian) God. As a partial answer, Tylor introduced the concept of 'animism' as a functional equivalent of belief in a god (Helen Garner, Chapter 6, p. 261). Many missionaries made great efforts to find accurate local translations for Christian concepts to use in their sermons. To this end they had to immerse themselves in the religious concepts of the people they wished to convert, and in doing so they gathered a great store of knowledge and understanding of indigenous religions.

When after World War I the former German colonies in Melanesia and New Guinea became Trust Territories of Australia and New Zealand, there was uncertainty regarding how their populations should be governed. Past experience with Aborigines and Maori had frequently been negative. Christine Weir (Chapter 7) examines the debate and its practical consequences, concluding that neither of the trustee powers was very successful in handling the problems of their Papuan and Melanesian subjects. In Chapter 8, Vicki Luker discusses the 'problem' of the 'half-castes' in Australia, New

Zealand and Western Samoa. While some whites were prepared to believe that a half-caste could combine the good qualities of both parents, others tended to assume the reverse. The countries in question were not very successful in dealing with these issues – but of course this holds for most other countries in the world, too. In the final chapter, a kind of epilogue, Chris Ballard stresses that racism is still a great problem and – not surprisingly – emphasizes the need for more research.

Foreign bodies is a veritable gold mine of data, views, and literature on race and racism, and will be highly useful to those interested in these topics. But its bewildering richness of data makes it difficult reading. Moreover, one sorely misses a summary in which the major threads of the argument(s) are brought together. Finally, a point of minor but sustained irritation is the way in which scholars are consistently referred to here by their full names, however unwieldy. Over and over again it is not Tylor, but Edward Burnett Tylor; not Dumont d'Urville, but Jules Sébastien Caesar Dumont d'Urville; and so on. Why these mouthfuls were not simply reserved for the bibliography is a mystery.

Ricky Ganang, Jay Crain, and Vicki Pearson-Rounds, *Kemaloh Lundayeh-English dictionary and bibliographic list of materials relating to the Lundayeh-Lun Bawang-Kelabit and related groups of Sarawak, Sabah, Brunei and East Kalimantan*. Phillips, Maine: Borneo Research Council, 2008, xvii + 451 pp. [Borneo Research Council Reference Series 1.] ISBN 1929900090. Price: USD 40.50 (paperback).

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Ganang, Crain, and Pearson-Rounds (GCPR) have compiled an easy-to-use dictionary of several thousand lexemes along with an extensive bibliography which serves as an appendix to the dictionary. Because minority-language dictionaries are expected to include a list of references, GCPR did not need to incorporate the name of the appendix in their title. *Kemaloh Lundayeh-English dictionary and bibliography* would have worked well as a much shorter title.

The 30-page appendix (pp. 421-51) has three parts: (I) 'A bibliography of general works on the language'; (II) 'A bibliography of Lundayeh-Lun Bawang-Kelabit linguistics'; and (III) 'A list of Lundayeh-Lun Bawang texts'. These texts are primarily unpublished recordings and transcriptions collected by Ganang. Hopefully, as part of the process of documenting the Lundayeh-

Lun Bawang language, Ganang's collection of over 50 texts will become available at some future time.

The dictionary (<http://www.csus.edu/anth/Lundayeh%20Studies/2%20column%20web.pdf>) and appendix (<http://www.csus.edu/anth/Lundayeh%20Studies/APODUATupdate03-07.pdf>) are available online at: <http://www.csus.edu/anth/Lundayeh%20Studies/lundayeh%20studies%20index.html>.

GCPR's introduction includes a list of the pronouns (xii), and a pronunciation guide (xiii). They state: 'We make no attempt here to offer a definitive grammar' (p. xi), and they refer readers to the linguistic works listed in Part II of the appendix. Although the linguistic works in the appendix provide some information about the Lundayeh-Lun Bawang language and related languages, one could hardly cannibalize a rough description of the grammar from these works. Because a grammar sketch of the language is currently unavailable, a good sketch would be a nice addition to any future edition.

Language names are a terminological jungle in Borneo. GCPR could help their readers navigate this jungle by adding an explanation of the language names Lundayeh and Lun Bawang. As it stands, unless they look up *lun* 'person' (p. 216), naïve readers will not know that the Lundayeh of Sabah and East Kalimantan are called Lun Bawang in Sarawak. Some discussion of the location of Kemaloh, along with a map, would also enhance the dictionary. Interestingly, *Kemaluh* is included as a lexeme (p. 164), but the alternate spelling *Kemaloh*, which is used in the title, does not occur as a lexeme.

Dictionaries are usually based on a subset of information in a lexical database. Although GCPR's lexical database might contain information about the lexical category of some words (for example, *afui* 'fire' is a noun) or it might contain Malay or Indonesian glosses for some words (for example, *afui* 'fire' is *api* in Malay or Indonesian), GCPR chose not to include lexical categories or Malay/Indonesian glosses in this dictionary. GCPR acknowledge this in their introduction and state that future versions should include translations into Malay and Indonesian (p. xi).

While it is easy to criticize dictionary compilers for what they exclude from a dictionary, compiling a bilingual dictionary of this size (419 pages excluding introduction and appendix) is a huge task. GCPR's bilingual dictionary is a great contribution to the Lundayeh-Lun Bawang language, regardless of any criticisms that might be raised about the absence of certain features, such as Malay/Indonesian glosses, lexical categories and pronunciations for each word, a grammar sketch, an ethnographic sketch, and an English Lundayeh-Lun Bawang reversal index. Instead of focusing on what GCPR did not include in their dictionary, the remainder of this review focuses on what can be found in the dictionary and how users can effectively make use of the dictionary.

Dictionaries are configured with a specific audience in mind. This dicti-

onary would be especially helpful to Lundayeh-Lun Bawang speakers who are wanting to learn English, or English speakers wanting to learn Lundayeh-Lun Bawang. However, both audiences will be hampered by the absence of an English-Lundayeh (Lun Bawang) reversal index. This dictionary began as a word-list in 1968 (p. x) and, even now, could be considered an expanded Lundayeh-English word-list with some illustrative sentences. The following is a typical entry (p. 11) for a word without an illustrative sentence:

afui ... fire. **ngafui** .. make a fire. **inafui** ... a fire was started by someone.
mafui ... 1. burning. 2. can build a fire. **fingafui** .. the wood used to start a fire.

Because there is neither a grammar sketch nor an explanation of how to read dictionary entries, users are left to infer information from each entry. Some users will be able to infer the following: the lexical entry for *afui* 'fire' is a noun root. Four different verb forms can be derived from the noun *afui* 'fire': *ngafui* 'make a fire'; *inafui* 'a fire was started by someone'; *mafui* (1) 'burning', (2) 'can build a fire'; and *fingafui* 'the wood used to start a fire'. According to the entry for *afui* 'fire', each verb form has a single meaning with the exception of *mafui*, which has two senses: (1) 'burning', and (2) 'can build a fire'. Most dictionary users will not be able to infer that the two 'senses' of *mafui* belong to two different verb classes, and that *ngafui* 'make a fire', *inafui* 'a fire was started by someone', and *fingafui* 'the wood used to start a fire' belong to the same verb class. In other words, five verbs with four different forms belonging to three semantically defined verb classes are derived from *afui* 'fire'.

Roots like *afui* 'fire' in the dictionary are major entries, whereas derived stems such as *ngafui* 'make a fire' are minor entries. The following is the lexical entry for the minor entry *ngafui* 'make a fire' (p. 284).

ngafui ... make a fire. <afui>

GCPR (p. xi) refer to forms like *ngafui* 'make a fire' as inflected forms; however, the prefix *ng-* clearly has a derivational function changing a noun meaning 'fire' into a verb meaning 'make a fire'. The root <*afui*> is indicated in angular brackets at the end of the derived stem. The presence of angular brackets indicates the word form is a minor entry.

The dictionary consists of an alphabetized list of all the word forms which GCPR have collected, regardless of whether they are roots, derived stems, or inflected forms. All word forms which contain more than one morpheme (for example, *ngafui* 'make a fire') include a cross-reference to the root (for example, <*afui*>). One advantage of this system is that dictionary users do not need to know the root of a word in order to look the word up in the dic-

tionary. Users can simply look up a word form and cross-reference its root in order to find related forms of the same root.

One disadvantage of including all word forms in the dictionary is that it increases the size of the dictionary and results in multiple pages of words beginning with the same prefix. Affixes like *ng-* are not included in the dictionary, so users are left to ponder the meaning of this and other affixes. By studying the 25 pages of word forms which begin with *ng-* (2008:282–307), users can conclude that *ng-* is a grammatical morpheme which marks 'TRANSITIVE VERBS WHOSE SUBJECT IS AN ACTOR'. This is the type of information that users would expect to find in a grammatical sketch and lexical entries for grammatical affixes.

Although grammatical affixes have been excluded, GCPR's dictionary contains several thousand alphabetized words. The diagraphs *bp*, *gk*, and *ng* are listed as consonants in the pronunciation guide. While *ng* is clearly a velar nasal, it is not clear what phoneme the other two diagraphs are intended to represent. None of the diagraphs are alphabetized in its own section. The glottal stop (symbolized by an apostrophe) is alphabetized between *k* and *l*; however, it only occurs word-finally. In addition to words, some lexical entries are phrases, as illustrated by the following two lexemes (p. 11):

Afui, Batu ... a mythic hill of stone which, together with Batu Lawii, controlled the flow of water up and down the Limbang River.

aga' neh ... let it be, never mind (also **saga' neh**). *Aga' neh yeneh. Lafen kuh nafeh mo'yeh.* Leave it there. I will get it later.

This dictionary is a pleasure to browse through. A large number of toponyms like *Batu Afui* and personal names such as *Daring* (a male personal name) enrich the cultural value of the dictionary, which is intended to be part of a larger dictionary-cum-cultural-encyclopedia project described in Crain and Pearson-Rounds (2009). The numerous financial institutions listed in the preface (p. ix) should be hailed for their financial support of this project, and the Borneo Research Council should receive credit for publishing this volume.

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Jeffrey Hadler, *Muslims and matriarchs; Cultural resilience in Indonesia through Jihad and Colonialism*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2008, xiii + 211 pp. ISBN 9780801446979. Price: USD 39.95 (hardback).

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In *Muslims and matriarchs*, Hadler seeks to answer two questions that have challenged scholars of Minangkabau and of matrilineal societies more generally. The first is why the comparatively small Minangkabau ethnic group of West Sumatra has produced so many intellectual, religious and political leaders. Hadler's second and actually central question (p. 7) is why 'matriarchy' has persisted in Minangkabau despite the attacks on it both by reformist Islam, and by certain aspects of colonial policy. His answers to both questions lie in the confrontation between Minangkabau Wahabi and *adat* traditionalists in the bloody 'Padri' war in the early nineteenth century. This war is usually regarded as having ended in 1837, when the stronghold of Tuangku Imam Bonjol, one of the Padri leaders, was taken by the Dutch. But Hadler, basing himself on the memoirs written by the Tuangkau many years later in exile, goes to great pains to argue that 'the reformist Padri war did not end because of Dutch military triumph'. Rather, the Tuangku himself ended the conflict in 1833 by shaping, if not inventing, the Minangkabau consensus that '*adat* rests on the *sharia*, the *sharia* rests on *adat*'. 'Tuangku Imam Bonjol ceased his attack on the matriarchate from a position of strength', bringing an end to 'a reformist war that probably would have permanently undermined the local matriarchate' (pp. 34, 179).

It is true that the Dutch, as Hadler emphasizes, controlled the subsequent historiography of the Padri war (p. 24).¹ Yet one wonders whether the Tuangku's memoirs, which are arguably a retrospective apologia for his actions, really provide a truer representation of what happened. However one wants to interpret the sources, the Padri War did end, and the Minangkabau have ever since been preoccupied with balancing the relationship between traditions and modernities, and between Islam and their matrilineal *adat*. Hadler's book certainly sheds useful new light on this long endeavour. It presents, for instance, interesting material on how the tensions between matrilineal village *adat* and Islamic modernism played out in various types of school (Islamic and secular) during the colonial period, and on how this influenced the thinking of adult Minangkabau men and women.

¹ See, however, Parlindungan (2007); also Teitler (2004) on the last months of the siege of Bonjol.

In Chapters 2 and 3, Hadler deals with the shapes of houses and the shapes of the family. He shows how the *rumah gadang*, the well-known Minangkabau longhouse in which matrilineal lineage segments resided, became emblematic for Minangkabau identity. Their size, form, and ornamental wood carvings also became important markers in the status politics of Minangkabau lineage elders. Especially in Chapter 3, Hadler provides interesting material on the efforts of the Dutch to influence social life and correct 'inappropriate behaviour' by means of criminal legislation, travel pass regulations, and public health ordinances. Harsh critiques by Islamic reformers such as Haji Rasul, a rather dynamic reformist leader and Muslim scholar of the early twentieth century, also intruded into the longhouse (p. 73), as did the new European cultural model, introduced by the Dutch, of the happy, self-contained nuclear family in its own home. The longhouse thus became a place full of tension between *adat* traditions, European and Islamic modernisms, and colonial policies.

Chapter 4 focuses on the education of children, describing the impact both of Dutch schooling and of education in the prayer houses (*surau*) and emerging Islamic schools. In Chapter 5, Hadler analyses ideas about morality and the role of women in the early twentieth century. This chapter is dominated, once again, by Haji Rasul, who strongly criticized matriliney and the longhouse as sources of sexual immorality, and who promoted religious education in the *surau*. Rasul is portrayed partly through the autobiography of his son Hamka, whose life embodied the tensions between *adat* and Islam, the Minangkabau love for and detachment from both, the suffering which resulted, and the strategy of emigration from the Minangkabau homeland which was so often resorted to as a resolution (pp. 136-7). This chapter's other focus is on the village Koto Gadang, the most Westernised in West Sumatra and one which produced a large number of politicians and academics. In Chapters 6 and 7 Hadler discusses the politicization of Minangkabau families and culture in the first decades of the twentieth century, and the changes brought about by education of men and women. Some Minangkabau women took active roles in politics and journalism, criticizing both traditional hierarchy and Islamically-tainted gender inequality. This led to the emergence of both *adat*-oriented and modernist Islamic women's organizations. Hadler gives much attention to gender struggles, interpretations of sexuality, and women's journalism, situated in the context of the intellectual and political dynamism and tension between emerging political parties, *adat* and Islam, and traditionalists and modernists within both *adat* and Islam.

Hadler provides interesting accounts of the three different pedagogies (traditional, Islamic, and Western), of the emerging cosmopolitan sphere in the towns where most writers and journalists lived, and of the intellectual tensions expressed in the writings of Islamic reformists and more *adat*-min-

ded Minangkabau. His plausible conclusion is that the multiplicity of schools in the region, together with the multiple demands of *adat*, modernist and traditionalist Islam, and the culture of the emerging supra-village bureaucratic and political elite, created in Minangkabau a generation of intellectuals, skeptics, and innovators (pages 88, 111 and 155). This makes for an interesting read, and Hadler uncovers new material. Besides drawing existing historical sources and literature, he makes particular use of *schoolschriften* (school writings) written by Minangkabau students and native assistant-teachers in the colonial village schools of West Sumatra, mainly from the 1870s to the 1890s. Throughout the book there is, however, a tendency to build up generalizations from selective material, and often on the basis of an individual person (such as Tuanku Imam Bonjol), family (for instance, the Haji Rasul/Hamka family), or village (for example, the in many respects unusual village of Koto Gadang). This is to some extent understandable since in addressing his first question, that of the intellectual and political prominence of the Minangkabau, Hadler is dealing with an emerging class and with a specific type of Minangkabau person. It becomes more problematic, however, in relation to his second question, that of the general resilience of the matriarchy in Minangkabau. Here it becomes, at least for this reader, a cause for disappointment.

The resilience of matriarchy

The central thesis of this book – Why does matriarchy persist? – has been dodged by scores of researchers who have been lured to Minangkabau. [...] These scholars have relied on customary guidebooks and have attempted to gauge the degradation or survival of matrilineal traditions in one particular village or another. Here, however, the answer comes not from case studies but in a comparative approach to the histories of matrilineal societies under colonial regimes [...] in particular the matrilineal traditions found in Negri Sembilan and Kerala (p. 8).

With statements like this, Hadler is distinctly bold in declaring his aspirations. There is quite some existing literature that attempts to understand why certain aspects of Minangkabau matriliney have been maintained during the last 200 years. I doubt that authors like Oki, Kato, Kahn, Kahin, Klopfer, Walley, or my wife and myself can be numbered among the ‘scores of the researchers’ whom Hadler accuses, without attaching names, of having ‘dodged’ this question. It would most certainly be interesting to read a new interpretation in the form of a critical dialogue with what others have written. But disappointingly, there is no such dialogue here. A second disappointment is that the comparative analysis, so boldly announced, is restricted to a single page at the end of the book. Last but not least, Hadler’s ‘explanation’ for the persistence of matriarchy comes down to the repeated assertion that since the Padri War, thanks to

Imam Bonjol, *adat*-minded Minangkabau traditionalists have been obliged to rethink, rationalize, and justify their matrilineal system.

In my view Hadler does not give a good indication of what changed in the social organization of Minangkabau, how it affected or did not affect matriliney, and why. I see this as flowing from a combination of weaknesses: an overestimation (yet in some respects also underestimation) of political and economic changes; inconsistency of argument; a simplistic notion of matriarchy; and a refusal to really engage with earlier analyses of continuity and change in West Sumatra. I shall mention some points that lead me to this negative assessment.

Matriarchy in Minangkabau

Hadler is of course aware that as a social scientific category, matriarchy is quite different from matriliney. He clarifies what he means by the matriarchate: 'a combination of matrilineal inheritance and matrilineal residence as well as relative gender egalitarianism' (p. 33). But the problem is less the word 'matriarchate' than the fact that Hadler does not dissect what Minangkabau matriarchy/matriliney means in terms of political leadership, group representation, residence patterns, and *pusako* or inherited lineage property. There is no account here of the different ways in which group members concretize their rights to use parts of the *pusako*. The whole sphere of allocation and inheritance of rights to such property is one that seems to escape Hadler's attention. As a consequence, he provides no analysis of changes in the ways in which women and men acquire legitimate access to *pusako* property via monetized property relations. There is no systematic consideration here of the system of pledging and redeeming rights, and of its gendered consequences for property control and authority over persons. On these topics we receive only snippets of information, the meaning of which is often left unclear.

Hadler mentions, for instance, that the Dutch *pusako eigendomsakte* (*pusako* title deed) introduced in 1853 obliged households (but what does this mean here?) and individuals to claim specific land holdings with reference to a map (p. 67). But he does not mention that in practice this was not done except on a minimal scale in Padang and the surrounding area, and that even there it did not work well. Moreover, this *akte* was not simply an individualized land title, as Hadler implies: it also explicitly registered the senior women of the land user's lineage (and later the lineage as represented by the senior mother's brother). A similar lack of clarity is seen in Hadler's discussion of residence patterns. I agree with him that not all Minangkabau lived in *rumah gadang*, and that smaller houses were also common. If remoter groups of kin were no longer able (due to limited space) or no longer willing to live in the

rumah gadang, they would live in smaller structures, although still on land belonging to the wife's lineage. Residence in Minangkabau *nagari*, however, was always on matrilineally inherited land, and post-marital residence for men was uxorilocal. Hadler writes:

Post-Padri reformists tended to disregard matrilineal tradition. They built single family houses that might be inherited patrilineally but that, like all self-acquired property, would become matrilineal property one or two generations down the line. (p. 56).

To my surprise I am quoted in support of this statement, although I certainly never wrote anything like it. All new houses, even those built using the husband's money, were in all probability built on the wife's property and became *pusako* in her sublineage. The inheritance of a man's self-acquired property by his children (male and female) was a practice that did not emerge until a century later. But even if what Hadler writes had made sense, what would it have meant in relation to the survival of matriliney?

Where are the matriarchs?

Even if we take Hadler's use of the word 'matriarchate' (from the Dutch *matriarchaat*) as a piece of (more or less fortunate) word-play, why put 'matriarchs' in the title of this book? The least one would expect here is some discussion of the changing and/or resilient position of those persons whom one could call matriarchs – that is, elder women who exercise power over people and property in their matrilineage. But in *Muslims and matriarchs* we read nothing about any struggles between matriarchs and male or junior lineage members for control over lineage resources. The women described in the book are young women, educated women, politically active women, women embracing the Dutch ideal of a modern family. But are they 'matriarchs'? Neither is there any substantial attention here to changes in power relations within the conjugal family, or to the perennial tensions and frequent conflicts between different categories and roles of men, acting as fathers and as mother's brothers, struggling for authority over children, nephews and nieces. This is no doubt partly because Hadler focuses so selectively on the life of a special category of Minangkabau families (couples and their children) which mostly live outside the village.

The state and 'the Dutch'

Hadler's analysis of the influence of the colonial state, which is an important element in his argument, involves some over-easy generalizations. 'The *nagari* council', he notes, 'was reduced to a ceremonial gathering because the Dutch appointed a single man, the *kepala nagari*, to represent his traditional polity' (p. 48). This was indeed the Dutch policy, and it is well documented. But what was the effect? The literature is full of descriptions of the resultant dualism, which characterizes *nagari* government up to the present. Can one really say that the colonial state imposed a 'patriarchal authority' on Minangkabau society (p. 6), or interpret a strengthening of the influence of male *panghulu kepala* and *tuangku laras* as leading to a 'patriarchal structure'? What then were the real, practical consequences for gender relations, and how and why was matriarchy indeed resilient?

Another frequently recurring assertion by Hadler is that *adat* law was 'codified' by 'the Dutch' (pp. 45, 58, 59, 77, 171).

It was in the early years of the twentieth century that the Dutch began to work with local elites and codify *adat* law as a residency-wide system for purposes of control. A legalistic, precedent-based idea of *adat* has been perpetuated by the Indonesian government. (p. 45)

These same legalists were, in the early twentieth century, responsible for defining and codifying Minangkabau *adatrecht* (*adat* law), an invention of the Dutch scholar Van Vollenhoven. Where *adat* once had been fluid, redefined yearly by the *nagari* *adat* council, it became precedent law, bound up in a huge series of easily consulted tomes. (pp. 77-8)

This stereotype (unfortunately not limited to Hadler) is badly in need of testing against the evidence. The *Adatrechtsbundels* are a very loose collection of the most diverse materials. As the committee responsible for publishing them made clear at the time, nothing like a codification was intended. And nothing like a codification resulted. Likewise, the summaries of diverse sources on *adat* produced by Van Vollenhoven are very far from amounting to a codification. Van Vollenhoven, moreover, stressed that there was nothing like 'precedent law' in *adat*, which on the contrary was characterized by adaptability and 'spontaneous growth'. And these books, printed in The Hague: were they really 'easily consulted', and by whom? Even to the extent that they were consulted, what influence did this really have on matrilineal structures in social and economic life, and how?

Change and continuity: the resilience of what?

It not easy to follow Hadler's logic. 'The nineteenth century', he declares, 'transformed the Minangkabau from a traditional agrarian society in which women controlled the institutions of the house and rice fields, and therefore had great power, to a colonial society in which a patriarchal state gave opportunities to men' (p. 14). The Dutch invaded the longhouse, they created a patriarchal and 'false' *adat* elite, they reduced the *nagari* council to a ceremonial gathering, they forced individuals and households to register their land – it sounds impressive, yet the actual impact of all these interventions is never really analysed. One wants to know about the consequences of all these developments for the political, economic and social organization of Minangkabau lineages and clans. Did titled lineage heads other than those recognized and supported by the Dutch simply cease to function? Did they loose control over their lineage property? These topics have been well discussed in the literature, but Hadler says nothing about them, although they are of direct relevance to his claims. We are left with the statement: 'The longhouse never did disappear, and the matriarchate never did collapse [...]' (p. 175). But what does this resilience mean, in terms of the importance of matrilineal aspects in gender relations within the conjugal household and the lineage? Or in terms of the significance of matrilineal principles in access to property rights, the coherence of matrilineal descent groups, and the influence of village leaders who owe their status to the representation of their lineage or clan in the village *adat* council? Or in terms of the role of the *adat* council in relation to state-instituted village authorities?

Nowhere are we told exactly what was resilient, and what changed. We hear nothing, for instance, about the trend which emerged toward smaller matrilineal units, or about the partial displacement of the traditional mechanisms by which rights were allocated within the lineage, or about the shift in authority which took place from a person's mother's brother to his or her parents. These were quite dramatic changes in social organization. In a book that claims to break new ground in explaining the resilience of matriliney in Minangkabau, one would have expected to see distinctions made between resilience at the ideological level, resilience in the legal sphere, and resilience in concrete social, economic and political relationships.

At the end of the book, Hadler provides a very brief discussion of the Suharto and post-Suharto periods (pp. 178-80) which suggests that the conclusions he has drawn for the period up to 1940 also hold true for the present. 'In South Asia and Malaysia', he declares, matriliney is 'at best atavistic'. In Minangkabau, by contrast, 'it remains strong enough to be called a true matriarchy'. But the intervening 60 years are not dealt with in the book, and Hadler never makes clear in what sense Minangkabau, in his eyes, is still 'a

true matriarchy'. Instead of answering such questions, Hadler falls back on his *ceterum censeo*:

Armed with proven rhetorical defenses of *adat*, the Minangkabau were able to counter colonial intrusion into their houses and families [...]. [T]he challenge posed by the Padri has sustained matrilineal custom and allowed it to flourish in the face of other external challenges. (pp. 179-80.)

Nobody doubts that over long periods, the Minangkabau have been concerned with the relationships between Islam, *adat*, the Indonesian state, and ideas of European, Islamic and Indonesian modernity. Equally undeniable is that aspects of matrilineality are still important, and that there is considerable continuity in the content of the dialogues surrounding matrilineality. But all of this requires explanation, and does not in itself explain anything.

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Uli Kozok, *Kitab undang-undang Tanjung Tanah: Naskah Melayu yang tertua*. [Alih aksara: Hassan Djafar, Ninie Susanti Y., dan Waruno Mahdi; Alih bahasa: Achadiati Ikram, I Kuntara Wiryamartana, Karl Anderbeck, Thomas Hunter, Uli Kozok, dan Waruno Mahdi.] Jakarta: Yayasan Naskah Nusantara/Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2006, xvii+155 pp. ISBN 9794616036. Price: IDR 48,000 (paperback).

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The text critically edited for the first time by Kozok et al. is a unique document of pre-Islamic Malay literary culture, using an Indic writing system, originating in highland Sumatra, and is rightly presented as 'the oldest Malay manuscript', dating as it does to the fourteenth or early fifteenth century CE. It thus deserves the fullest attention of all scholars interested in the history of the Malay language, of Malay literature, and of pre-Islamic Indonesia. The *daluang* (tree bark) manuscript, consisting of 32 leaves written in 'Post-Pallava' script and two unrelated final folios in *surat ulu*, was first discovered in 1941 in the Kerinci highlands of Sumatra by Petrus Voorhoeve, who was able to make photographs of it that he supplied to Poerbatjaraka. Poerbatjaraka used the photos for a transcription, which he gave to Voorhoeve when the latter had the opportunity to return to the field. A report on this and other manuscripts, along with Poerbatjaraka's transcription, dispatched to several parties by Voorhoeve, was thought to be lost due to circumstances connected with World War II, until it was rediscovered in 1975; the manuscript itself was rediscovered by Kozok in 2002.

The relationship of the Indonesian-language work under review to the 2004 English-language monograph dealing with the same *codex unicus*, signed by the same author, is nowhere explained. In a personal communication, Kozok informed me that the work under review supersedes the previous publication but that it was written under pressure of a deadline. He adds that ‘a much more substantial edition will hopefully be published soon’. The existence of multiple publications with the same purview is potentially a disturbing factor in the proper reception of important research, especially if their inter-relationship is not clarified. It is true that Kozok’s efforts to involve a number of scholars having a wide range of relevant expertise, and thereby to improve on earlier work, is commendable, but it seems to have been contravened by the noxious factor of pressure to publish by an arbitrary deadline. The result is a work that is not as good as the codex that it deals with deserves. The following critical remarks are presented in the hope that they arrive in time to be taken into account in the forthcoming definitive (?) edition.

Title. The chosen title *Kitab undang-undang Tanjung Tanah* is inappropriate. This choice itself suggests – and so do Kozok’s explicit statements (pp. 57, 65) – a connection with Malay works bearing similar titles, all transmitted in Jawi script and standing under clear Islamic influence. No such connection is demonstrated (nor, perhaps, demonstrable). More importantly, the codex itself contains a title. This fact is hinted at in a quotation from Voorhoeve on page xiv, but nowhere discussed. The title is preserved in rather corrupt form, as *Nitrisatrasamuksaya*, which should most likely be restored as *Nītisārasamuccaya* ‘Compendium of the Essence of Policy’ (see below). The text should be republished under this title and no other.

Codicology and palaeography. The codicological and palaeographic treatment of the Tanjung Tanah manuscript fails to meet a number of expectations. No page and line numbers are printed to facilitate comparing the facsimile with the transliteration; lines are not numbered in the transliteration itself. No information is provided on the size of the folios, nor on the average number of lines per folio side and *akṣaras* per line, nor on the orientation of the lines in relation to the binding, nor on the mutual orientation of writing on facing pages. The various symbols used to alert the reader to insertions are not explained systematically, nor are the various punctuation signs in use. The interesting treatment (pp. 68-78) of local *surat incung*, used only on the last two folios of the codex, and other highland scripts (*surat ulu*), is disproportionate in size to the mere half page (p. 67f.) reserved for the *Aksara Pasca-Pallava* in which the main body of the codex is written. There is no attempt to compare this script with the contemporary and evidently very similar script used in the Ādityavarman stone inscriptions, and not a word about nearly contemporary manuscripts from Java, such as the Berlin codex Schoemann i-21 containing the *Darma Pātāñjala* (compare Pigeaud in *Verzeichnis der orien-*

talistischen Handschriften in Deutschland 31, 1975, pp. 111-2 – a doctoral thesis on this text will *inshallah* be defended by Andrea Acri at Leiden University in 2010) or the Leiden codex LOr 2266 (see Van der Molen, *Javaanse tekstkritiek*, 1985), whose comparison would have helped in many ways.

Three different versions of one text. The work contains no less than three versions of the text. In a confusing, and confused, contravention of standard terminology, the diplomatic edition (A) is called *transliterasi kritis*, a normalized edition (B) is called *transliterasi diplomatis* (p. 85 and further), while a third one (C), constituting a derivative of B made to resemble even more closely the spelling conventions of Bahasa Indonesia, is called *alih aksara kritis* (p. 106), although it is by no means the same as A. Properly speaking, neither B nor C can be called *transliterasi* (or *alih aksara*). Three different activities are confused here: transliteration, (phonetic/phonological) transcription, and spelling. A *codex unicus* is customarily edited in a diplomatic transliterated edition, to which can be added a normalized/critical edition (which may involve trimming down strict transliteration to something resembling transcription). Especially next to an Indonesian translation, the third version has no *raison d'être*. There is no scholarly argument for rewriting pre-modern Indonesian texts transmitted in Indic scripts according to modern spelling conventions, while there are good scholarly and other reasons not to.

Conventions of transliteration. The transliteration provided in the diplomatic edition (that is, version A) is naturally the point of reference for all derivative versions and the ultimate basis for interpretation of the text, and I will therefore focus only on this part of the work in the remainder of this review. The system of transliteration used is very sophisticated and innovative. One of the innovations is the use of the colon (:) to transliterate the vertical bar marking vowel length (this is obviously the bar's function, as it is in the mentioned Berlin codex – contrast p. 86: 'fungsinya kurang jelas [its function is rather unclear]'). This seems a real improvement vis-à-vis the conventional use of the macron, which cannot easily be printed without its vowel, a factor that can complicate the precise representation of a codex. Another useful innovation is the use of /...\< for subscript, and \.../ for superscript scribal additions. Neither these nor other innovations are, however, introduced with sufficient argument or any argument at all, and in several cases – for example, the use of superscript and subscript position to represent the position of consonants in a ligature – I fail to see a strong reason for them (and there are a number of inconsistencies: [page.line] 5.6, 12.1, 13.2, 13.4, 21.5). In one case, *ay* for conventional *ai*, the innovation, rather than providing intended disambiguation – if Indonesian *yaitu* occurred in the codex, it would of course be transliterated *ya^oitu* (see p. 87) – leads to undesirable ambiguity. Let us take the case of *la:ntay pula^hnan¹* (24.6-7). Using my own slight adaptation of Louis-Charles Damais' conventions, the problem is whether the published sequence repre-

sents *lāntai pulamñan·* (with *akṣara ntai* followed by *pu*) or *lāntaypulamñan·* (with *akṣara nta* followed by *ypu*). The same type of problem occurs at 18.7, 19.5 and 22.3. All the other innovations, including the use of *ŋ* for the ‘velar nasal’ of the Indic alphabet (conventionally transliterated as *ṅ*), seem to me in needless contravention of existing international conventions. As such, they hinder the comparability of this codex to other documents pertaining to the Sanskrit cosmopolis and the multifarious vernacular literary traditions it has spawned from Afghanistan to Bali. It seems, by the way, that the function of [...] is nowhere explained.

Reliability of the transliteration. The frequency of simple errors of transliteration is surprisingly high. A classified (but incomplete) list of the corrigenda that seem least disputable follows.

- *a/ā* is a particularly frequent source of errors, particularly after a *y* in final position of a consonant sequence: 2.3 *ḥ'a:s,a*: > *ḥ'asta*: and *masa* > *ma:sa*; 3.3 *maka*: > *ma:ka*; 16.3 *kaladi* > *kala:di*; 16.7 *lapaṅ,a* > *la:paṅ,a*; 17.4+5 *lima* > *lima:*; 21.3 *mali^* > *ma:li^*; 27.3 *sapuluḥ* > *sa:puluḥ*; 30.2-3 *ma:ha:tṽ m^a*: > *ma:ha:tṽ m^a*; *p^a#nam^a*: > *p^a#nam^a*.
- *ŋ/ng* and *ñ/ny* (unconscious Indonesianisms): 5.3, 20.7, 26.1.
- imprecision/inconsistency in representation of punctuation at 2.7 and 3.8 (; for ,); 6.2, 9.4, 13.1, 17.7, 28.4 (failure to note ,); 21.5 and 24.3 (failure to note an extended punctuation sign, representable as ,, – the case at 24.3 entails removal of n. 60 on p. 98); 6.8 (// · // represented as //).
- other errors: 5.3 *ma*: > *mṽ* (compare p. 93 n. 33); 5.7 *kā'ris* > *kā'ras*; 6.4 *pa[ŋ]* > *pa^*; 8.2 *ma^°adakaṅ* > *ma^ŋadakaṅ*; 8.6 *jadi* > *jahi* (this correction entails further corrections on p. 109, including the removal of n. 90); 10.1 *ma:muuḥ* > *ma:muṅuḥ*; 12.1 *\laṅ/* > *\la^*; 17.6-7 *ditam_buk_ujuḥ* > *ditam_ba:k_ujuḥ* (compare n. 51: should we really read *ditumbuk?*); 20.4 */hañ* > */ha^*; 21.5-6 *tallay* > *talṽuy*; 26.6-7 *manṽ* > *manṽr*; 28.5 *\###/* > *\###:/*; 30.1 *bari* > *bara^* (we clearly have here a vernacular variant of the typically sanskritic scribal disclaimer ‘if there be any error, please correct it’).

There are also a few cases where the proper interpretation of what certain signs represent is at stake. It is clear that certain distinct signs have lost their mutually distinctive value in the course of time, but if a difference of form persists, a historicizing transliteration is preferable.

- *o/au*: the sign that is interpreted as *o* (in 18.4 *pišo*; 21.2 *ma:no*; 21.7 *daṅo*; 22.1-3 *taḥ_alo#y*, *paṅa:loy*, *ra:ṅo*) must probably be considered to represent *au*, since the rule throughout most of the history of Indic writing is that prescript *e* combined with postscript *ā* makes *o*, and that ‘something extra’ makes *au* – we have here ‘something extra’ in prescript *ai*, as opposed to *e*.

- *pasangan s/ṣ*: there are two different *pasangans* in use in the codex (contrast the two ligatures in 27.2 and 27.3), the far more common one most likely representing ṣ from a palaeographic point of view. Almost all cases of *pasangan s* must be changed to ṣ.
- a number of admittedly deceptive cases of °a in second position of a ligature (as *pasangan*), where it presumably represents /ha/, have not been recognized as such: 12.3 *ha:yam¹_nanak* > *ha:yam_nanak*; 28.3 *n¹_nanak* > *n_nanak*; 28.6-7 *bakajakan¹_nanak* > *bakajakan_nanak*.
- one case of subscript *bh* has not been recognized as such: 21.7 (see n. 57: ‘Tulisan *b*-pasangan agak kurang jelas [The writing of the *pasangan b* is very unclear]’, but this interpretation is probably simply wrong; comparison with the Berlin codex shows that this *pasangan* represents *bh*; the sign below the preceding *ma*: remains problematic).

On several occasions there are signs (or parts of signs) visible interlinearly or marginally, but no trace of them is found in the diplomatic edition: for example 14.4-5; 15.5; 15 (bottom); 23 (bottom).

Miscellaneous phenomena. Among miscellaneous phenomena that might have been discussed is the occurrence of (sanskritic?) sandhi phenomena such as *parāhūrām* for *parāhu °urām* (23.4, p. 97 n. 59); the phenomenon of consonant doubling, also commonly seen in Old Javanese inscriptions and manuscripts, that seems to be connected with morpheme-final position but remains to be described in detail (3.5 *balamñan*, 4.6 *pāhāvumman*, 6.2 *dyaṃkatkaṃn uraṃ*, 6.7 *dunumñan*, 21.3-4 °*antiliṃñan*, 27.5 *batahillan*); the occurrence of four cases (30.1, 30.3, 31.2, 32.3) of the auspicious *siddham* sign, an old inheritance of Indic scribal tradition (see Griffiths and Southworth in *Journal Asiatique* 295, 2007, p. 352 n. 10 for several references). The precise shape seen at the end of the Tanjung Tanah codex is also seen in Indonesia, for example at the opening of the famous eighth-century Kalasan inscription (Museum Nasional D 147), while at least one of the Ādityavarman inscriptions assembled at Pagarruyung shows an elaborate variant to terminate the text.

Colophon. The colophon is another aspect of the codex that clearly stands in a scribal tradition inherited from India. This is not the place for a full interpretation of its text, but what seems clear is that the sequence 30.5-31.2 *pranamyā śrīsa divam· ṭrlūkyadipāti stutim·, nāṇasatṭrudṛtaṃ vakitnitrisatrasamuḥsayam*, which contains the title, may be restored to acceptable grammatical and metrical form, and then translated, as follows:

*praṇamyā śrīmahādevaṃ trailokyādhipatistutam
nānāsāstroddhṛtaṃ vakti nītisārasamuccayam*

Having bowed to Śrī Mahādeva, who is praised as the Lord of the Triple World, [the author] expounds the Compendium of the Essence of Policy, extracted from various authoritative sources.

The interesting Sanskrit/Old Malay gloss, which terminates this principal part of the codex, is not a reliable guide for interpreting the colophon.

Alfonds van der Kraan, *Murder and mayhem in seventeenth-century Cambodia; Anthony van Diemen vs. King Ramadhipati I*. Chang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2009, ISBN 9789749511626. Price: USD 22.00 (paperback).

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In *Murder and mayhem in seventeenth-century Cambodia* Alfonds van der Kraan describes the conflict that took place during the 1630s and 1640s between the kingdom of Cambodia and the United Provinces of the Netherlands, as represented by Dutch East India Company (VOC). The main players in this story are the highest authority of the VOC in Asia, Governor-General Antonio Van Diemen (1636-1642), and the Cambodian king Ramadhipati I.

Recently, a number of authors have begun to uncover relatively unknown episodes of Dutch (VOC) colonial presence in Southeast Asia. Dijk on Burma, Hoang on Vietnam, Ruangsilp on Ayutthaya (Siam).¹ Van der Kraan's book discloses yet another new chapter in the history of Dutch involvement in Southeast Asia.

During the first decades of the seventeenth century, the Dutch trading empire was in the ascendancy. The East India Company had established itself as an important player in the Asian trade at the expense of its rivals, the Portuguese. Trading posts and strongholds were established and manned in places as far-flung as Persia, Yemen, the Indian coast, China, Japan, and the Indonesian islands. After Van Diemen took up office in 1636, an opportunity arose to expand the network even further. The Japanese Tokugawa shogun Iemitsu adopted the *sakoku* or 'closed country' policy, expelling Portuguese and Spanish traders and missionaries in order to put an end to the growing influence of Catholic Christians in Japan. His own subjects were forbidden to travel outside the country, and Japanese living abroad were summoned back to their homeland. Only the Dutch and Chinese were allowed to continue their trading operations in Japan.

¹ Wil O. Dijk, *Seventeenth-century Burma and the Dutch East India Company, 1634-1680* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2006); Hoang Anh Tuan, *Silk for silver; Dutch-Vietnamese relations, 1637-1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Bhawan Ruangsilp, *Dutch East India Company merchants at the court of Ayutthaya; Dutch perceptions of the Thai kingdom, c.1604-1765* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

The Dutch trading station in Hirado formed an essential link in the Company's intra-Asian trade network. Japan was rich in copper and silver, which the VOC bought and shipped to India. There these metals were minted into coins and used to buy Indian cloth, which served as a currency in trade all over Asia. In order to make full use of the opportunity that arose as a result of the shogun's decision, supplying the Japanese market became a top priority for the VOC. Chinese silks yielded a good profit in Japan, as did forest products from Siam and Cambodia: deerskin, benzoin, gum-lac, elephant tusks, sappan wood. To secure sufficient quantities of these products, Van Diemen embarked on an expansion of the company's activities in East Asia. One result was the establishment of a trading station near the Cambodian capital Oudong, on the Mekong River. For this station to be successful, the Dutch had to establish cordial relations with the Cambodian king. The Cambodian crown collected payments from foreign communities in exchange for the right to conduct trade. The Dutch chief merchant and commander of the trade post, Pieter van Regemortes, managed to obtain a monopoly on trade between Cambodia and Japan, which he operated successfully from 1636 to 1640.

Things went sour for the Company when the political situation in the kingdom changed dramatically following the death of King Ang Dan Raja in 1642. Two branches of the royal family now began to vie for the crown, causing great political instability. Prince Satha and his supporters staged a palace revolution, Satha seizing the crown under the name Ramadhipati I. The fact that the new king had come to power with the help of the Portuguese, Malay and Japanese communities meant that the Dutch were in a precarious position. Without royal support, it was impossible for the Dutch to maintain their policy of excluding the Portuguese from the Japan trade. Relations between the two nations were already at a low ebb due to the Dutch capture of Malacca from the Portuguese in 1641. Refugees from Malacca had swelled the number of Portuguese in Cambodia, exacerbating tensions with the Dutch community. The capture by a Dutch ship of some Chinese junks bound for Japan carrying Portuguese cargo caused a serious dispute with King Ramadhipati, who demanded that the Portuguese be compensated for their loss. Regemortes left for Batavia to consult Van Diemen on the matter. The governor-general decided to send him back as the leader of a diplomatic mission to negotiate a settlement with the Cambodians. But when Regemortes returned to Cambodia in October 1643, the haughty tone of the letter from Van Diemen to the king which he had brought with him so enraged Ramadhipati that he had the Dutch lodge sacked and its inhabitants either murdered or taken captive. Two of the three Dutch ships present in Cambodia were also seized and their cargo confiscated.

News of the massacre reached Batavia on January 25, 1644. It meant not

only a painful loss in lives and material, but also a great blow to Dutch prestige in the East Indies. Van Diemen immediately planned a large revenge expedition. Five heavily armed ships carrying 160 soldiers and 266 sailors were sent out to bring down the Cambodian king. The expedition was to impose a blockade of trade on the Mekong, which Van Diemen calculated would lead to famine and undercut support for King Ramadhipati. The leader of the expedition, Captain Henrick Harhouse, was to proceed upriver and demand the release of all surviving Dutch prisoners and the reimbursement of all possessions taken from the Company. If these demands were not met, Harhouse was to declare war on Cambodia on behalf of the United Provinces of the Netherlands.

When the expedition arrived in the Mekong delta they encountered well-prepared Cambodian resistance. Ambushed at various places along the river, the Dutch suffered many casualties. The badly damaged flotilla abandoned its attempt to bring down the Cambodian king and thereby managed to escape total destruction.

The story of this failed attempt to take revenge reads like an adventure story. The events of 1644 demonstrated the limits of VOC power. The Company had established dominance over the Asian seas and could successfully bully maritime kingdoms into granting it favourable trading conditions. Against the inland kingdoms of mainland Southeast Asia, however, its superior seafaring technology was not a decisive advantage. Van Diemen died before he could order a second expedition to Cambodia and his successor, Cornelis van der Lijn, decided to abandon any further attempt at revenge, judging that the number of troops and ships needed to ensure success was simply too great to muster up. Even if the Oudong area could be captured, the king still had a vast hinterland to retreat to, and from which to organize further resistance. The VOC had reached the limits of its capability to impose its will on Asian rulers.

Murder and mayhem discloses a little-known episode in Dutch colonial history, and also sheds light on an important but poorly documented epoch in Cambodian history. Van der Kraan's narrative is compelling, succinct, and told with great speed. His work deserves to be read well beyond academic circles. This is a great story full of battles, gunpowder and heroic deeds – excellent material for a spectacular Hollywood movie.

Jean Michaud, *'Incidental' ethnographers; French Catholic missions on the Tonkin-Yunnan frontier, 1880-1930*. Leiden: Brill, 2007, xv + 279 pp. [Studies in Christian Mission 33.] ISBN 9789004139961. Price: EUR 104.00 (hardback).

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This is an excellent and expert engagement with the study of colonial missionary ethnography. It centres on the earlier texts produced for annual reports, popular religious publications, or contributions to *Anthropos* by D'Abrigeon, Girod, Granger, Bourlet, Schotter, and Liétard, before turning to the later and more serious scholarly publications by Liétard, Vial, and Savina, placing these texts within the biographies of the men who wrote them. All these missionaries were members of the MEP, or Société des Missions Etrangères de Paris, which had sole responsibility for the area known as 'West Tonkin' for most of the French colonial period. Chapter 4 considers the *habitus* of these missionaries, mostly from humble rural backgrounds, which in the case of Savina's Breton background Michaud suggests allowed him a particular insight into the lives of villagers (p. 189), while Chapter 5 provides a useful summary of the expansion of missionary activities in the region from the 1600s to the French colonial period and the beginnings of 'active proselytizing' with the creation of the vicarate of Upper Tonkin in 1885 (p. 94). It also considers some contributions by explorers, diplomats and military observers to the later more detailed missionary ethnography, and some precursors to the missionaries examined here. Chapter 2 introduces the highland societies discussed, first through their French ethnonyms, then through current Vietnamese categories. Chapter 3 forms an instructive companion piece to the main consideration of French missionary writers in Indochina and Yunnan in Chapters 7 and 8, through a discussion of the much earlier ethnographical works by Catholic missionaries in French North America, such as Brébeuf's seventeenth-century work on the Huron (p. 55). The aim of this is to provide a 'benchmark' (p. 43) for the later writers in northern Indochina, and despite the clearly strategic nature of many of these Orientalist inquiries into local customs and habitats, Michaud pertinently remarks that to suggest that anthropology was instrumental in imperialism is perhaps 'giving too much credit to anthropology' (p. 61).

Michaud is concerned to evaluate the exact status of this 'pre-ethnography', which he prefers to call 'incidental' ethnography to avoid assumptions of its inferiority, in terms of the later professionalization of academic anthropology (p. 67). In the opening remarks he cites other recent works on missionary

and colonial anthropology, from Clifford to Pels and Salemink, which situate the present study. While often critical of the biases, the lack of correct sourcing, of 'self-awareness and reflexivity', even in one case (with justification) the 'half-baked hypotheses' (p. 195), of the writers considered in this book, Michaud is concerned as others have been to point out the intrinsic richness and value of these early first-hand observations of ways and life and societies, economic and political systems, which have often since then radically changed or disappeared.

The time-span in which these textual productions took place was short-lived and clearly demarcated. Almost no missionary descriptions of the peoples of Upper Tonkin were produced before 1895, and by the 1930s owing to various factors the push to evangelize in this region had practically gone (p. 123).

The main body of the book is in Chapters 7-8, and the quotation from Pierre D'Abrigeon on page 135 is an excellent opening to show the quality of many of these 'incidental' observations, dealing with the Yao, their half-Chinese, half-Annamite clothing, their independence and hospitality, their wizards and the low position of their women – all in one brief paragraph! It is a shame that the original documents from which such accounts were culled in annual reports, the *comtes-rendues*, have apparently not survived, as also many of their diaries and letters (pp. 134-5).

It is the trio of Liétard on the Lolopo in Yunnan, Vial on the Sani, and Savina on the Hmong, who provide the best examples of Michaud's rationale for this book; extraordinary works by extraordinary people, with a wealth of ethnographic and linguistic information still valuable today despite their 'unscientific' approach and unsystematic methodologies. Vial founded a model village for the Sani in Yunnan in 1896 where he lived (p. 161), and published learned tomes on their language, customs and history; Michaud refers here to Swain's work on Vial while placing it within the wider context of this book. But Savina seems to have been the most remarkable of these men, fluent in Vietnamese, Tai/Nung, Yao, Hmong and several Chinese dialects, producing a vast output of dictionaries and reports and monographs on Hainan and on the Hmong. Michaud deals with the text of the latter in some detail, but also with Savina's life before he retired to live in a Hmong village near Sa Pa, and his various unexplained absences and disappearances from the official records. Michaud is somewhat coy about this; he seems to suggest that Savina may have been commissioned to undertake secret intelligence tasks for some of this time (pp. 168, 172, 175), but then we are told that it was probably due to his periodic 'contravening of his religious vows' (p. 181) that he was so frequently moved about from post to post. Michaud does not say much more than this (apart from remarking on page 182 that Savina may

have been 'much more of a participant-observer' than others), and Savina remains a figure of some mystery. But Michaud is undoubtedly right to argue against Moréchand's contemptuous dismissal of Savina (p. 203) and to see in Savina's work an ethnographic richness of great value today.

The French colonial imagination of its significant others in the Vietnamese highlands has long demanded a serious and sober consideration and Michaud has performed a valuable service in drawing this body of materials to the attentions of the English-speaking world (p. 3), and pointing to the importance of its overriding concerns with language and with history. It is carefully written and punctiliously footnoted – and a very pleasurable read. The 'engaging', 'functional' and 'studious' styles he distinguishes among these writings in his conclusion may serve as guidelines towards a future demarcation of genres. This is a sympathetic yet critical consideration.

M.C. Ricklefs, *Polarising Javanese society; Islamic and other visions (c. 1830-1930)*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2007, xviii + 297 pp. ISBN 9789067182768. Price: EUR 22.50 (paperback).

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Clifford Geertz and his colleagues in the Harvard-MIT research project in 1950s Paré (East Java) interpreted the categories of *abangan*, *priyayi* and *santri* as near-primordial features of Javanese society. These categories, most famously outlined in Geertz's landmark *The religion of Java* (1960), have been much debated in anthropological circles. *Polarising Javanese society*, the second in M.C. Ricklefs' projected trilogy on the history of religion in modern Java, reveals these and other identities as historically contingent affiliations that emerged in a century of rapid change following the Diponegoro War's conclusion.

The first book in Ricklefs' trilogy (Ricklefs 2006), summarized in Chapter 1 of the work under review, describes a 'mystical synthesis' which was the dominant religious orientation of Java through the nineteenth century, characterized by Islamic identity, practice of the five pillars of the faith and belief in local spirits. While pre-modern Java was splintered by bloody conflicts among rival power centres, in spiritual matters there was remarkable unity. Farmers, traders and nobility prayed together on Fridays in a town's mosque. Shadow puppet theatre based on Indic epics was universally appreciated. Few doubted the potency of magical heirlooms like *keris* and amulets; magi-

cal tigers, village founders and ancestral spirits were held in awe. Litterateurs likened knowledge of Javanese and Arabic to the left and right eyes – knowledge of both scripts and their associated bodies of knowledge were necessary ‘to comprehend life fully’ (p. 208).

Ricklefs details how population growth, urbanization, printed literature, new transportation and communication technologies, modern education, closer connections to the rest of the Islamic world, archaeological and philological discoveries of pre-Islamic Java, millenarianism and other factors resulted in the disintegration of Java’s spiritual unity into contending *aliran* (currents) of belief. There was initially some flexibility within and across these categories. Ricklefs quotes an 1879 poem by a certain Nur Yakimbalaka who was originally a syncretist and then spent eight years as a devoutly puritanical Muslim (*putihan, santri* or *kaum*), only to return to his syncretic practices as a denouncer of pious hypocrisies. However, with the politicization of these categories in the twentieth century, differences became less bridgeable.

Much research on the late colonial period has focused on the world of the Javanese elites. Ricklefs draws on a variety of sources – including the Javanese-language newspaper *Bramartani*, missionary writings such as the articles and letters of Carel Poensen, and memoirs by Javanese – to give a more lively and comprehensive picture of religious change than available previously. The book’s most important contribution is its careful description and analysis of the emergence of the oppositional categories of *putihan* and *abangan*. There have long been camps of devout Muslims in Arab quarters of *pesisir* towns and cities. Surveys of education in 1819 and 1831 cited by Ricklefs in Chapter 3 reveal clusters of small *pesantren* and *langgar*, where students learned to read the Qur’an, in the coastal areas of Cirebon, Semarang, Gresik and Surabaya. Increased numbers of returned hajjis and the consequent influence of reformist Islam bolstered *shari’a*-oriented orthodoxy starting in the 1850s. Preachers condemned beliefs in local spirits. Homegrown mysticism was replaced by orthodox imported Sufism.

The term *abangan* (from the Javanese word meaning ‘red’ or ‘brown’) emerged around 1855 as an oppositional category to the devout *putihan* (from the Javanese word for ‘white’). The term *abangan* was originally a derisory one used by the *kaum*. The *abangan* were accused of neglecting the pillars of belief and practicing *shirik* (polytheism). In Chapter 4, Ricklefs dismisses a number of false etymologies for *abangan* (including an association with the Muslim saint Seh Lemah Abang), offering instead Gericke and Roorda’s explanation that the term references colourful clothing and betel-stained lips. A more likely origin is sociological. In contrast to the *putihan*, who were mostly traders, the *abangan* were mostly farmers, workers of the red/brown soil. The derisory *abangan* became a label of self-identification as a group emerged that took pride in autochthonous origin and agrarian practices and beliefs.

Abangan agrarianists were not the only group to form in opposition to the rise of Islamic orthodoxy. Ricklefs details in Chapter 5 the rise of Javanese Christian communities in nineteenth-century Java. The largest were rural congregations of devotees of charismatic preachers of Javanese or part-Javanese descent, who idiosyncratically synthesized features of Javanese culture and Christianity. They were viewed suspiciously by colonial authorities and missionaries. It was only in the 1890s, when the Catholic Church began to proselytize seriously in Java, that a more durable form of Christianity emerged on the island.

Members of the *priyayi* elite opposed Islamism by restoring the Hindu-Buddhist (*Buda*) past and inventing and cultivating the refined values of *budi* (a polyvalent term sometimes translated as 'wisdom'). They associated with the transnational Theosophical movement and embraced modern education, science and culture. Chapter 6 describes the *priyayi*'s 'hybrid intellectual culture' (p. 155) as a European-oriented modernism in contention with the modernism of purifying Islam. Chapter 7 analyses three anti-Islamic literary texts of the 1870s, *Babad Kedhiri*, *Suluk Gatholoco* and *Serat Dermagandhul*, as articulations of Java's culture wars. These often-scatological texts offer alternative interpretations of Javanese history, presenting Java's Islamizers as uncouth upstarts, and prophesying a return of the *Buda* religion. Ricklefs underlines their polemicism, but like Dan Brown's anti-Catholic *The Da Vinci Code*, they are populist in tone, and escapist in function. Like Brown's novel the texts also contain esoteric elements, and reference prior cultural knowledge, particularly from Javanese mythology. For example, in *Babad Kedhiri* Sebdapalon Nayagenggong (an alias of Semar) tells Brawijaya (the last king of Majapait) that he is a devotee of the *Buda* religion, defined as the religion of *budi* or 'the being of Yang Latawaluja, who envelops my human body, who has the power to move the world' (p. 187). Ricklefs is stumped about the identity of Latawaluja, presuming this to be 'a term for God'. Members of the nineteenth-century Javanist interpretive community would have recognized this as a contraction of the names of the rebellious children of Adam, Sayid Lata and Siti Wal Ngujya, who taught mystical science (*ngelmi*) to Sayid Anwar, founder of the line of *sanghyang* or Hindu-Buddhist pantheon according to Ronggawarsita's universal history *Serat Paramayoga*. Ricklefs rightly identifies the *Paramayoga* and its companion, the multi-volume *Serat Pustakaraja Purwa*, first published in 1884, but written perhaps three decades earlier, as emblematic of the move to subject slapdash oral tales to the 'modern and analytical methodology' of European historiography (p. 149).

Chapter 8 shows how the emergent currents of belief of nineteenth-century Java crystallized in the formation of the early twentieth century's prominent organizations: Budi Utomo, Muhammadiyah, Taman Siswa, Sarekat Islam, the Java Institute, PKI, Nahdlatul Ulama. Ricklefs emphasizes that after gene-

rations of segregation, members of these organizations espoused profoundly different world views and literally could not communicate with each other in print. *Putihan* were conversant only in Arabic script, while *priyayi* preferred the Latin script of European modernity and the Javanese characters of *Buda* times. Nonetheless, there was sufficient awareness across *aliran* that when *Suluk Gatholoco* and *Serat Dermagandhul* were reprinted in part or whole in 1918, 1923 and 1925, there were massive protests from *putihan*. Disputes were, however, quickly dampened by the Dutch authorities. While Ricklefs' historical study ends with the great depression of 1930, the book's conclusion projects forward to postcolonial '*aliran* political violence' (p. 262) concluding in the events of 1965-66, when the lack of a strong state to intervene led to massacre.

Polarising Javanese society is an important and comprehensive study, displaying great learning and judicious use of historical evidence. While there is some repetition, it is written in a generally accessible style, and should be of great interest to all students of modern Indonesian history.

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Stuart Robson, *Arjunawiwāha; The marriage of Arjuna of Mpu Kanwa*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2008, xiii + 208 pp. [Bibliotheca Indonesica 34.] ISBN 9789067183215. Price: EUR 24.90 (paperback).

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As stated in the preface, Robson's work on the *Arjunawiwāha* began back in 1998. In that year the author presented a paper, later published as 'On translating the *Arjunawiwāha*' (Robson 2001), containing illuminating considerations, penned in an elegant and stimulating manner, about the need and opportunity of 'doing again' that Kakawin by translating it into English (and translating Old Javanese literature in general). The present work constitutes the

result of the author's decade of work, being a new edition and the first complete translation into English (with commentary) of the poem *Arjunawiwāha* (early eleventh century AD), one of the oldest and most outstanding pieces of Old Javanese literature.

The book opens with a substantial introduction (36 pages) providing readers with historical and literary background information, intended to guide them into the marvellous, yet distant, world of Old Javanese poetry. Although much of the content relating to the history of Old Javanese literature is, as usual, based on the well-received ideas of Zoetmulder (1974), the author has made an effort to move forward and add some original elements of analysis that clearly improve our knowledge of the text. For instance, he compares the narrative of the Old Javanese poem with its possible Sanskrit 'prototypes', namely the *Vanaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* and the Mahākāvya *Kirātārjunīya* (though it seems that Robson only used Peterson's [2003] study of the latter text, without consulting any of the existing translations), and concludes that Mpu Kaṅwa knew both Sanskrit sources but created an original work. Furthermore, while tackling the historical background in which the work was composed, the author refers approvingly to the controversial (yet often ignored) original views of Roy Jordaan on the history of early Central Java and Sumatra, characterized by a rivalry between the Śailendra and Sañjaya dynasties during much of the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries. Jordaan's hypotheses (advanced in several articles, cited in the book's bibliography) offer a plausible solution to many otherwise unexplained facts in ancient Javanese history – such as the question of why Airlangga, the king who is believed to have been the patron of the poet, divided his kingdom into two smaller realms, headed by two of his sons. Robson adds further evidence to strengthen the hypothesis that the *Arjunawiwāha* constitutes an extended allegory on the king's marriage to a Javanese princess (Subhadrā in the poem). The existence of another wife of Śailendra origin might explain the division of Airlangga's realm between the two sons of different royal lines.

The translation of the Old Javanese text is one of the strong points of the book. The attention the author has devoted throughout his career to the challenges of translating Old Javanese literature so as to make it more accessible to a broad international audience is positively reflected in the book. I found Robson's translation to be excellent, although not free from occasional imperfections (see below), distinguished by the same elegance and poetic calibre that characterize the author's previously published translations of Old Javanese Kakawins.

Another valuable part of the book is the commentary to the text, which takes the form of critical notes clarifying difficult points in the interpretation of the syntax or trying to interpret rare or unattested Old Javanese words. Given our still imperfect knowledge of that language, the notes will be of

great help to future editors and students of Old Javanese texts. It is unfortunate that such notes, following the conventions of KITLV Press, are placed at the end in an appendix; the use of footnotes with the translation would make them much easier to consult.

All in all, the book is a welcome addition to Old Javanese studies by a leading expert, who has succeeded in making the text accessible to non-specialist readers. Note that a more appropriate title for this book would have been *The Balinese Arjunawiwāha*; for the author, as he himself admits on the first page of the introduction, presents ‘a text based on a limited number of manuscripts from the Balinese tradition’, all – except the most recent one – kept in the Leiden University Library. The very existence of Javanese manuscripts of the poem we learn about only on p. 16, and in an indirect manner, through a comment made by the author on Poerbatjaraka’s claim regarding the presence of interpolations in both Balinese and Javanese manuscripts of the text. The self-imposed limitation to the Balinese tradition must be viewed in conjunction with the fact that the author does not actually claim to offer a critical edition, but ‘simply to make the text available once more, building on Poerbatjaraka’s work in 1926’, and that ‘there is also ample scope for further exploration of the manuscripts’. The author’s admitted (p. 33) inability to consult the earliest edition of the *Arjunawiwāha*, based on a single Balinese manuscript, by Friederich (1850), is rather surprising, considering that this book is available in multiple copies at Leiden University Library. Although, as Robson notes, Poerbatjaraka’s edition already includes Friederich’s readings (indicated as manuscript B in the critical apparatus), he also observes that ‘Poerbatjaraka’s text has the misfortune of containing a large number of printing and other errors. His critical apparatus is unclear’ (p. 34). One would expect KITLV Press to set the standard for editions and translations of Old Javanese texts, but the format and scope of the present book do not quite reflect the state of the art in philology as I perceive it. However, given the limitations that the author has imposed on himself, I will not enter into a methodological discussion here.

I would like to address a few inaccuracies that appear in the introduction and the translation. The first, a rather fundamental one, is found in the author’s treatment of the implications of the influence of Sanskrit aesthetic theory on Old Javanese poetry (pp. 12-3):

The aesthetic theories of Indian poetry as set out in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* may have had some influence on the technique of Javanese poets, in view of the prominence of *rasa* (the theory of the arising of the six sentiments) in literary thinking at the time, even though there is no comparable textbook in Old Javanese to support this.

Now, it is a well-known fact that Sanskrit aesthetic theory admitted not six but

eight or nine *rasa*; the author here apparently confuses them with the *ṣaḍrasa*, namely the 'six flavours/tastes' perceived by human beings (Zoetmulder 1982:1588). Furthermore, the statement that there is no Old Javanese textbook dealing with Sanskrit-derived aesthetics is not correct. As Rubinstein (2000) has shown in her book *Beyond the realm of the senses* (listed in Robson's bibliography), one such text exists – an important and early one, perhaps dating as far back as the ninth century AD. It is called *Candrakiraṇa* or *Caṇḍakiraṇa* (portions of which are also known in Bali under different titles) and is, among other things, devoted to the art of composing poetry. It mentions nine *rasa* (Rubinstein 2000:178-9).

The statement (p. 30) that the name of the nymph Arjuna married, Suprabhā, 'is apparently not found in Sanskrit sources' is not correct. That Robson does not refer to Sanskrit sources for the same epic episode as that taken up by Mpu Kaṇwa in the *Arjunawiwāha* but to Sanskrit sources tout court is suggested by his remark that the name 'was created by Mpu Kaṇwa for the purposes of this story' and hence not known to him from other texts. But Suprabhā is such a well-attested name for women of both human and semi-divine origin in Sanskrit literature (see, for example, *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki, books 1 and 2; *Mahābhārata*, books 9 and 13; *Bṛhatkathā*; various Purāṇas) that I find Robson's hypothesis unlikely.

One aspect of the introduction that leaves me somewhat unsatisfied is the author's treatment of fundamental aspects of the poem, namely those of religion, philosophy and 'mysticism'. The secondary Indological source material used for tracing the religious and philosophical motifs in the Old Javanese text is limited. It is in fact confined to the now outdated *Philosophies of India* by Zimmer (1956), which is referred to for explaining important phenomena such as yoga. Robson perpetuates such clichés as the explanation of *tapas* as 'non-Aryan'. More importantly, he often refers to an unspecified 'Indian religion' or 'Hinduism' without mentioning the strongly Śaiva character of ancient Javanese religious life, or the fact that the *Arjunawiwāha* is a thoroughly Śaiva poem. It is, hence, to Śaiva scriptures that one would have to look in order to understand what is going on. But as it stands, the only Sanskrit religious texts referred to are the non-sectarian Upaniṣads. Śaivism is still an understudied aspect of ancient Javanese civilization, so some inadequacy in Robson's treatment of religious aspects of the text is no more than a reflection of the state of the art, but acknowledgement of the findings of previous scholars, such as Wiryamartana (1990) and Nihom (1997), on aspects of Śaivism in the poem would have been in order.

One example where Robson's translation suffers from insufficient acquaintance with the religious background of the poem is in canto 19.3, where Suprabhā praises Arjuna for being a proficient yogin, possessing the Eight Qualities (*aṣṭaguṇa*) along with supernatural powers (*siddhi*), immortality

(*amarāṇa*) and invulnerability (*accedya*). Robson does not explain what these Eight Qualities are. One would suppose that they are the same as the *aṣṭaguṇa* in canto 29.3d, translated by Robson as the Eight Qualities of Kingship (as in *Bhomāntaka* 38.12; see note 184, and compare Zoetmulder 1982:143). But since these Eight Qualities of Kingship *are about to be bestowed* on Arjuna on the occasion of his coronation as King, we can safely rule out this possibility: Arjuna was previously said to possess them already. We may find a clue in 35.7, where it is said that a lord of yogins, even one who has gained the Eight Qualities, may still give himself over to happiness. It is likely that the term *aṣṭaguṇa*, at least in 19.3 and 35.7, should be taken as a technical term referring to the eight supernatural qualities of realized yogins (*aṇimā* ‘atomization’, and so on), well-attested in Old Javanese as well as Sanskrit sources (also called *aṣṭaiśwarya*; see Zoetmulder 1982:143-4, 146).

I shall conclude with a problematic point in the translation. While I am aware that, given our still imperfect knowledge of Old Javanese, the matter is still very much open to debate, my impression is that Robson has gone a bit too far in assuming enjambment in his translation of the Old Javanese verses (see his critical remarks on this point, and on the inappropriateness of translating word-for-word, p. 35). Canto 13.5 is translated by the author as follows:

tāraṅganādityaśāśāṅgkamaṇḍala
alit katonanya sakeng swamānuṣa
agöng iwā mangkana de ni doh nika
katon sakeng madhyapadānghulap-hulap

The orbs of the stars, the sun and moon
Appear to be smaller than man himself;
Even so, they are large, and because of their distance
Seen from the earth, they twinkle

Robson presupposes an enjambment between the third and fourth lines, perhaps in order to solve the problem posed by the translation of *iwa maṅkana* as ‘thus, even so, nevertheless’ (following Zoetmulder 1982:708). I find it more natural, however, to interpret the two lines as separated, and to translate *iwa* (‘like; so, just, indeed’) and *maṅkana* (‘thus, like that’) literally. In this way we can also explain the *ā* of *iwā* not as an artificial lengthening for the sake of the metre, but as the result of sandhi between the *a* of *iwa* and the verbal prefix *a* attached to *maṅkana*. The resulting form *amaṅkana* would thus correspond to *mamaṅkana*, attested in *Sārasamuccaya* 434.2 with the meaning of ‘to be thus’ (see Zoetmulder 1982:1111). My translation runs as follows:

The orbs of the stars, the sun and moon
Appear to be smaller than man himself;

Being large indeed, they appear to be like that [i.e. small] because of their distance.

Seen from the earth, they twinkle

It seems to me that the stanza conveys the idea that the stars, even though they are large, appear small because of their distance from the earth — and not that the stars twinkle because of their distance, as Robson's (admittedly more elegant) translation implies. Compare the relevant portion of the Sanskrit version of this verse in the *Vanaparvan* (quoted by Robson, p. 9), translated by Van Buitenen as 'Those lights to be seen as the stars look tiny like oil flames because of the distance, but they are very large'.

To conclude, this new edition of the *Arjunawiwāha* has many positive points and the author deserves praise for his efforts to make this beautiful work accessible to a wider, non-specialist international readership. I nevertheless believe that the *Arjunawiwāha* cannot yet be considered 'done'. A critical edition based on all the known available manuscripts and a new interpretation of the text is yet to be produced.

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László Székely and István Radnai, *Dit altijd alleen zijn; Verhalen over het leven van planters en koelies in Deli (1914-1930)*. Vertaald [uit het Hongaars] en ingeleid door Gábor Pusztai en Gerard Termorshuizen. Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij, 2007, 128 pp. ISBN 9789067182775. Prijs: EUR 14,90 (paperback).

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Reeds na de aanplant van de eerste plantages was Sumatra zeer gewild bij gelukzoekers, niet alleen Nederlandse, ook Europese. Aldus betrokken op 16 april 1914 de Hongaarse neven László Székely en István Radnai naar Medan, wat hen vele malen beter leek dan een slecht betaalde kantoorbaan in hun vaderland. Maar het zat hen niet mee. Wanhopig zochten ze naar werk en voelden zich in de steek gelaten, ook door landgenoten die hen vooruit waren gegaan. Na zes weken keerde István Radnai gedesillustioneerd naar Budapest terug.

László Székely (1892-1946) had geluk toen hij als assistent op een Engelse tabakspantage werd aangesteld. Het contact met zijn familie hield hij warm. En zo kon hij acht jaar later zijn broer Ferenc verwelkomen. Zijn werk op de rubberplantage Ajer Poetih (Kisaran) combineerde hij als cartoonist van het in 1924 opgerichte weekblad *Sumatra*. Dat jaar ontmoette hij ook Madelon Lulofs (1899-1958), de echtgenote van zijn collega Hendrik Doffegnies. Ze trouwden in 1926 maar hun huwelijk werd op de onderneming echter niet geaccepteerd. Uiteindelijk verlieten ze Deli en vestigden zich met dochter Kotjil in Budapest, waar ze van de pen leefden (1930).

Dat lukte Madelon beter dan László. Het duurde tot 1935 toen ook hij doorbrak. Dat jaar verscheen *Van oerwoud tot plantage*. Székely's autobiografische en sterk gedocumenteerde roman is een weergave van de harde mannenwereld met ijzeren discipline waar Javaanse en Chinese koelies en njais onmenselijk werden behandeld. Het voorwoord doet de lezer geloven dat het boek in drie dagen tijds als in een roes was geschreven. De roman werd door de Indische pers wisselend ontvangen: de NSB-krant *Volk en Vaderland* noemde het laster terwijl *De Indische Post* en *Het Vaderland* het geschetste beeld realistisch en een verrijking voor de Nederlandse koloniale literatuur vonden.

Vanwege de oorlogsdreiging verhuisden László en Madelon in 1938 naar Nederland om eventueel naar Indië door te reizen. Vanaf dat jaar tot 1939 publiceerde Székely in een Hongaarse krant zijn op Deli afspelende feuilleton die in 1942 in boekvorm verscheen. Postuum verscheen het door Madelon in het Nederlands vertaald als *Rimboe* (1949).

Na de Duitse inval keerde Székely terug naar Hongarije in de hoop er veiliger te zijn. Hij werkte als journalist maar dook na de Duitse bezetting van Hongarije (1944) onder. Zijn ziekte verhinderde een hereniging met zijn gezin. Op 14 april 1946 werd hij zonder bijzijn van Madelon en Kotjil begraven.

Tussen 1931 en 1942 publiceerde László Székely zo'n twintig artikelen en verhalen over het leven op Deli in Hongaarse kranten en tijdschriften. Gábor Pusztai en Gerard Termorshuizen kozen er negen uit voor hun boek *Dit altijd alleen zijn; Verhalen over het leven van planters en koelies in Deli (1914-1930)*. De titel is tevens de verzuchting van László's literaire alter ego in *Van oerwoud tot plantage*: 'Er is niets verschrikkelijker dan dit altijd alleen zijn en deze eeuwigdurende eentonigheid, dit totaal ontbreken van elke afwisseling'. Ook qua thematiek liggen de verhalen en *Van oerwoud tot plantage* in elkaars verlengde.

De verhalen zijn de observaties van een niet-Nederlander over de Nederlandse aanpak 'iets groots' te verrichten. Székely registreerde kritisch de lotgevallen van Europeanen en koelies. Hij bouwde beide werelden op uit identieke verhaalmotieven: het zich ontworteld weten als gevolg van het bestaan in een onbekende en vijandige leefwereld, de deels daaraan inherente eenzaamheid én de botsing tussen Oost en West, zoals de bezorgers in hun inleiding vermelden. De verhalen in de bundel zijn in twee delen te verdelen. De eerste vier verhalen gaan over Europese planters en zijn gebaseerd op Székely's eigen herinneringen en die van collega-planters. De vijf daarop volgende verhalen beschrijven de wereld van de 'ander', maar Székely kon niet voorkomen dat de koelie een wezen van de andere planeet bleef.

Kiplings vaak geciteerde woorden 'East is East and West is West, and never de twain shall meet' in de koloniale literatuur vormen niet alleen de slotzin van het laatste verhaal van de bundel 'Koelie' maar zijn eveneens het motief in 'Intermezzo', 'Romance' en 'Pa Roeki'. László's verhaal 'Koelie' vertelt in een notendop Madelons gelijknamige roman maar heeft ook gediend als inspiratiebron voor haar laatste roman *Doekoen* (2001). Het is daarmee de *missing link* in het oeuvre van het schrijversechtpaar Székely-Lulofs; een oeuvre over de voortdurende botsing tussen Oost en West die tot dramatische verwickelingen leidde.

Dit altijd alleen zijn opent met het Sumatraans dagboek van István Radnai dat evenals de verhalen van Székely door Gábor Pusztai uit het Hongaars is vertaald. Het boek is geïllustreerd met bekende en onbekende foto's. Voor de liefhebber zijn er dankzij Gerard Termorshuizen László's tekeningen uit *De zweep* (1923) en *Sumatra* (1924).

Patricia Tjiok-Liem (Giok Kiauw Nio Liem), *De rechtspositie der Chinezen in Nederlands-Indië 1848-1942; Wetgevingsbeleid tussen beginsel en belang*. Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2009, 689 pp. ISBN 9789087280666. Price: EUR 55.00 (paperback).

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Although a number of scholars have addressed particular aspects of the legal situation of the Chinese minority in the Netherlands Indies, this is the first full collection of the laws and regulations differentiating Chinese from Europeans on the one hand and native Indonesians on the other in the final century of the colonial period. The work concentrates on the legal situation in Java and Madura, for managing the Chinese of the Outer Islands resulted in quite different problems. It focuses not only on laws affecting the status of this group, but also the bureaucratic tangles and ministerial infighting, arguments and counter-arguments that led as often to stagnation as to new regulations or policies. As a result, this is a very long book.

Tjiok-Liem proceeds from thematic complexes. Although Chinese were more or less subject to European courts under the VOC, in practice they had their own institutions. By 1824, however, Chinese (and other 'Foreign Orientals') were put on the same legal basis as the native population, consolidating a system of legal dualism between Western and Asian laws. By 1855, a process of differentiation from the natives had begun, driven by government policies and European commercial interests, as Chinese and other Foreign Orientals became subject to European civil and commercial law. Because of the important position of the Chinese in trade and business and their relations with European partners and creditors, the government soon recognized that it was not possible to subject the Chinese (having the status of natives) to European commercial law without intervening in the family law of Chinese as well. If a debtor died, who inherited his debts? Would a wife or children answer to these?

Extending European family law to the Chinese, a process that culminated in 1917 with the introduction of the Civil Registry, shook one of the foundations of colonial legal policy: respect for the customs of the non-Western population. At one point the government proposed, but dropped, the idea of applying Western inheritance laws (which required division of property among the children) as a 'back door' way to limit Chinese landholding. This and other nineteenth-century measures reflected the government's suspicion toward the Chinese and its desire to 'protect' the natives from their influence.

With the Chinese considered 'equalized' (*gelijkgesteld*) with native

Indonesians, the laws nevertheless opened an opportunity for individuals to acquire European status. Only in the twentieth century, however, was this route opened to more than a few. At the same time the Chinese themselves began to agitate for complete equalization with Europeans, something they never achieved.

Three grievances preoccupied the Chinese at the turn of the twentieth century: the requirements for Chinese to obtain an official pass in order to travel (this had been abolished for natives decades earlier), to live in special quarters (*wijken*) in towns and cities, and to appear before administrative courts or *politierol* in criminal cases, where procedural rights were practically non-existent. The first two were abolished in the early twentieth century. In fact, only criminal procedures really separated Chinese from European status, even though in 1920 the population was still officially divided into three (not two) groups. Subsequently these procedures in criminal law were gradually reformed, giving all population groups approximately equal access to courts chaired by persons with legal training, and to other judicial guarantees.

In 1910 local-born Chinese officially became 'Dutch subjects' (*Nederlandse onderdanen*), a status designed to remove them from the jurisdiction of China's diplomatic representatives in the colony. Tjiok-Liem, using material from the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as well as the Ministry of Colonies, interestingly shows how pressure was applied by China and by the so-called Chinese movement in an attempt to move the colonial government to reform the status of the minority. Other forces, however, inhibited change. These included resistance not only from within the bureaucracy, but also, beginning in the 1920s, from the Indonesian nationalist movement, which opposed special concessions to the Chinese minority.

Although this reader wishes the author had produced a more concise study, eliminating repetitions, Tjiok-Liem has competently catalogued both the privileges and the disadvantages following from the legal status of the Chinese minority in the Indies. Given its length in small and even smaller print, most readers will want to use this book primarily as a reference work.

Zhou Dagan, *A record of Cambodia: the land and its people*.
Translated by Peter Harris, foreword by David Chandler. Chiang
Mai: Silkworm Books, 2007, xv + 150 pp. ISBN 9789749511244.
Price: USD 19.85 (paperback).

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The Khmer civilization and empire reached its peak from the ninth to the thirteenth century, with the central power located at the Angkor complex in what is now Cambodia's Siem Reap province. In 1296, a young Chinese man named Zhou Daguan (Chou Ta-Kuan) was sent on a diplomatic mission to the Khmer empire. Zhou Daguan came to Cambodia during the reign of Indravarman III (1295-1308), who ruled the empire just a few years before it collapsed and Angkor was abandoned, not to be remembered again by the outside world until its 'rediscovery' in 1860 by the French naturalist Henri Mouhot. Today, Angkor and its civilization have been brought to life by countless studies and by the restoration of its monuments. But Zhou Daguan's memoir, written around 1312, remains the only eye-witness account of the Khmer capital in its heyday. Although its originality is doubtful since there are many versions of Zhou Daguan's text in the Chinese language, Peter Harris is surely right to state that *A record of Cambodia* stands alone as a remarkable description of day-to-day conditions in Angkor (page 30).

Zhou Daguan's book has been translated many times. Its first translation into French, by Abel Mémusat, appeared as early as 1819, even before Angkor was rediscovered. But this publication, as David Chandler notes in his introduction to the present translation, did not have much impact. In 1902 Paul Pelliot retranslated the text from Chinese to French. A second edition of Pelliot's translation, published in 1951, was widely read and served as the basis for two English editions of recent years, both under the title *The customs of Cambodia*, respectively by J. Gilman d'Arcy Paul (1992) and Michael Smithies (2001). In 2006, Michael Smithies revised and corrected his 2001 edition. A Cambodian scholar, Ly Theam Teng, translated the text from Chinese into modern Khmer in 1971.

In terms of the organization of Zhou Daguan's text there are no significant differences between Peter Harris's translation and the Pelliot/Gilman d'Arcy Paul/Smithies versions, or between these and the Khmer translation by Ly Theam Teng. Compared to its predecessors, however, this new Harris edition provides more informative notes, drawing to advantage on recent Cambodian and Chinese scholarship on thirteenth-century Khmer life. In visual terms, on the other hand, the Paul and Smithies versions, in which each section of the text is accompanied by an illustration, are more attractive (although not all the illustrations accurately reflect the adjacent text).

As the main basis for his translation, Peter Harris has used a recent annotated edition by Xia Nai, completed in 1980 and published in Beijing in 2000. This means that there are differences between the Chinese-language text used by Harris, and those used by previous translators. When one looks carefully at corresponding sections of these books, there are differences not only in terms of style and choice of words, but here and there also in meaning. In their renditions of Zhou's general preface, for instance, Harris, Smithies

and Ly translate his estimate of the extent of the Khmer country (7000 *li*) as 2174 miles, but Gilman d'Arcy Paul puts the figure at 'over 1750 miles'. Other striking differences concern the names of prevalent diseases: what Harris, Gilman d'Arcy Paul and Smithies refer to as leprosy, for example, Ly calls 'ringworm'. In his notes and introduction Harris deals with the factors that influenced Zhou Dagan's writing, rather than clarifying the discrepancies between the various modern translations. Accounting for these differences is beyond the scope of the present review but represents an important task for future scholars in Khmer studies, given the status of Zhou Dagan's text as the only surviving eye-witness account of classical Angkor.

REVIEW ESSAY

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Longitudinal studies in Javanese performing arts

Benjamin Brinner, *Music in Central Java; Experiencing music, expressing culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, xix + 172 pp, audio CD. ISBN 9780195147377. Price: USD 24.95 (paperback).

Barbara Hatley, *Javanese performances on an Indonesian stage; Contesting culture, embracing change*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2008, xix + 336 pp. ISBN 9780824832957. Price: USD 30.00 (paperback).

Felicia Hughes-Freeland, *Embodied communities; Dance traditions and change in Java*. New York: Berghahn, 2008, xv + 286 pp. ISBN 9781845455217. Price: USD 90.00 (hardback).

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Clifford Geertz, meditating on the breakdown of his relation with an informant from the East Javanese town of Paré, puts forward the notion that fieldwork hinges on a singular fiction: collusion between informant and anthropologist that both are members, 'however temporarily, insecurely, and incompletely, of a single moral community'. Geertz (1968:154) argues that the regarding of 'our two cultural worlds', namely the provincial culture of East Java and cosmopolitan American academia, 'as one,' required for both anthropologist and informant – an amateur playwright, as chance would have it – 'a kind of mutual suspension of disbelief'. Half a century after Geertz's Paré fieldwork, distinctions between 'being here' and 'being there' are not so easily drawn as moral communities are no longer defined strictly geographically. Collegial relations established 'in the field' are neither less genuine nor less enduring than those established in the workplace or public arena 'at home'. Indeed, it is increasingly rare for fieldwork to be limited to a discreet period of six months

to two years. New communication technologies, social networks, educational opportunities, and employment markets mean that ethnographers collaborate and socialise with former informants and teachers long after a 'project' has been formally completed. Involvement with a foreign culture is, or can be, a lifetime avocation.

Nowhere is the research paradigm of lifelong engagement more apparent than in the field of Indonesian performing arts. The enduring involvement of foreign scholars with Indonesian performing arts has long been the norm. Consider colonial scholars such as Jacob Kats, a Dutch schoolmaster who lived in central Java for decades and wrote and edited books about Javanese performance and literature, often in collaboration with Mangkunegara VII, in his spare time. Or Mantle Hood, the American ethnomusicologist who studied Javanese music in Amsterdam and Java in the 1950s and imported gamelan sets and recruited gamelan teachers from Java to American universities. Hood famously argued that Western ethnomusicologists should be bi-musical, as competent in playing the music of the culture they study as the art music of the West. His passionate promotion of the practice of gamelan earned Hood membership in Indonesia's national hero (Dharma Kusuma) society in 1992. An international pantheon of scholar-practitioner-advocates, including Bernard IJzerdraat, Claire Holt, Colin McPhee, Margaret Kartomi, Jennifer Lindsay, Neil Sorrell, Wim van Zanten, Bernard Arps, Ernst Heins, Clara Brakel, Rüdiger Schumacher, Jack Body, Roger Long, Kathy Foley, Jody Diamond, Judith Becker, R. Anderson Sutton, Philip Yampolsky, Fredrik E. deBoer, John Emigh, Sam Quigley, Rucina Ballinger, Ryoh Matsumoto and Shoji Yamashiro, have indefatigably advanced the reputation and knowledge of Indonesian music, dance and drama over decades of work in academia and the public sphere. For these cultural workers, gamelan, wayang, and the dance traditions of Java, Bali and other islands have not been distant and exotic objects of study, but quotidian realities to be practiced regularly. Their permanent, secure and complete commitments to Indonesian moral communities have inspired generations of students and furthered cross-cultural communication.

Three new books by American, Australian, and British students of central Javanese music, dance, and drama are indicative of the strengths (and some of the weaknesses) of writing from the position of having conducted observation, practical study, immersive ethnography and artistic collaboration over more than 25 years. These books are in different senses longitudinal studies – a term taken from the field of psychology and sociology by the author of one of them (Hughes-Freeland) to describe her work. The studies are predicated on regular visits to the same field sites in Java, and research with artists and institutions conducted over many years in both Indonesia and abroad. The authors track change (a word found in two of the titles) while at the same

time celebrating the enduring and endearing features of Javanese culture that have compelled repeated sojourns.

American ethnomusicologist Benjamin Brinner's introductory textbook, *Music in Central Java*, part of a series intended to introduce world music to undergraduate students, is based on many years of practical gamelan studies and experience of producing and performing in gamelan and wayang in Indonesia, the United States and Israel. Brinner documents Solo-style gamelan, a musical tradition that crystalized in post-independence Solo (also known as Surakarta). Solo-style gamelan has a privileged, even hegemonic, status in Java and elsewhere in Indonesia. This has been due to a combination of factors, including the historical attention to gamelan by the city's two royal courts; the prominence of the state radio station RRI Surakarta; the location of Lokananta, the national recording company, in this city; and the national influence of Solo's two conservatoires, Sekolah Menengah Karawitan Indonesia and Institut Seni Indonesia. Foreign students of gamelan and allied arts are concordantly steered to study in Solo, while Javanese gamelan instructors working outside Java tend to teach this prestige style regardless of their own origin. Brinner's book touches lightly on such historical issues. The author's real concern is aesthetic, specifically the structures, processes and principles that inform gamelan ensemble playing. The book is thus perfectly suited for 'newbie' gamelan players enrolled in university gamelan classes or participating in community groups. Three general themes are emphasized: the flexibility of musicians to tailor music to context; the appropriateness of arrangements; and interconnectedness between musical parts, repertoires and allied media (particularly music in relation to wayang and poetry). Musical examples on the accompanying audio CD, many of them commissioned from the author's 'dear friend' (p. xvi) Midiyanto and his performing group Hardo Budoyo, liberally illustrate analytic points and offer material for listening activities, notation exercises and comparative analyses.

The book begins with 'thick' descriptions of typical gamelan performances witnessed in Solo, with asides on topics such as Javanese history, colonialism, calendrical cycles and social deference. This is the book's weakest section, due partially to a reliance on historiographic myths familiar from travel guides, *inter alia* the author's dubious assertion that 'Mataram [...] never equalled Majapahit in size and influence because of the arrival of European trade companies' (p. 9). Chapter 2, on colotomic structures (one of the very few pieces of technical jargon used in the book), drumming, tempo and rhythm is, in contrast, a pleasure to read and study from its first sentences: 'Gong. Say it slow and low' (p. 25). By the chapter's end, diligent readers will have worked out differences between *salahan* and *suwuk* drumming patterns, detected shifts in *irama* and developed other essential skills for playing and listening to gamelan. Subsequent chapters deal brilliantly with tuning, melody, elabo-

rating instrumental parts and song, methodically demonstrating musical constraints and liberties in idiomatic music making. These are followed by two superb chapters on wayang kulit and its music, with a focus on a California performance by Midiyanto's father, the puppeteer Ki Sutikno. Completing activity 7.8 (p. 137), which calls on readers to select appropriate Javanese music for a Shakespeare play or fairy tale, would test the competence of even the most seasoned of Javanese musicians. But contemplating the assignment will provide food for thought. A concluding chapter reflects on gamelan in the modern world, with affectionate portraits of some of the most important Javanese musicians to have worked in the United States since the 1960s: Pak Cokro, Hardja Susilo, Midiyanto, Sumarsam.

Brinner is a masterful explicator of musical structure and this short book will be of great benefit for beginning gamelan players, and their teachers. But the book is less useful as an introduction to the culture of gamelan. For the author proffers a nostalgic vision of a tranquil Java that is out of synch with more contemporary developments. Solo, to Brinner, is 'a relatively quiet city' where foreigners 'come for lengthy stays in order to study Javanese performing arts of mysticism and meditation' (p. 2). Change in wayang is limited to experiments by performers who have 'compressed shows to as little as 45 minutes, involved more than one *dhalang* [puppeteer], created new puppets, invented new stories and composed new music' (p. 141). There is no accounting for the radical wayang deconstructions of Slamet Gundhono, or the huge debates that rage about the modernization of tradition. *Campursari*, a Javanese musical genre that combines gamelan with Western instruments, is described briefly as a passing trend, but aleatoric gamelan music created at Institut Seni Indonesia goes unmentioned. Surprisingly, given the author's background in Middle Eastern music, neither is there mention of the inclusion of *terbang* frame drums in gamelan (an increasingly common trend) or other Islamic influences. Brinner's conservatism perhaps harks back to the author's first (and perhaps deepest) immersion in Solo in the early 1980s as a PhD researcher. It accords with the 'appearance of order' ideology propagated by the New Order regime at this time as Javanism, and critiqued at length by John Pemberton.

In contrast, British anthropologist and filmmaker Felicia Hughes-Freeland depicts the classical dance of the rival court centre of Yogyakarta as essentially martial and oppositional in character. In her data-rich and theoretically-sophisticated historical ethnography, she characterizes court dance as an artistic form of impression management imbricated in the political upheavals of the last century. Hughes-Freeland started studying dance as a voluntary English teacher in East Java in the 1970s, and returned to Java to conduct her PhD research on court dance in Yogyakarta in 1982-1984, taking dance lessons with Sasmintamardawa and other teachers, observing performances,

interviewing practitioners and reading old texts. She returned regularly to Yogyakarta over the next two decades, charting the decline and emergence of institutions, the development of cultural tourism, the passing of venerable court-trained dance masters and the emergence of new maestros, such as cross-dressing choreographer-performer Didik Nini Thowok.

While colonial scholars such as Theodore B. van Levlyveld depicted Javanese court dance as continuous with pre-Islamic tradition, Hughes-Freeland argues that dance was 'reconstructed' with the eighteenth century founding of the Yogyakarta sultanate, and again after Indonesian independence (p. 14). It is thus fruitless to look for ancient precursors of the court forms, including *bedhaya*, *srimpi*, *wayang wong*, *golek*, *Klana* and the various fighting dances such as *lawung*. All are products of the modern age. Dances are not precisely copied from generation to generation. Rather, when a work is revived with a new generation of dancers it is said to 'produce a child' (*mutrani*), similar in spirit and form, but different in execution (p. 14). Dance thus celebrates individual agency over conformity. It is also a form of moral education, by which performers become aware of themselves in relation to the people and space around them.

Hughes-Freeland details, via archival research and interviews with aged dance masters (some now deceased), the flowering of dance in the royal court of Hamengkubuwana VIII (ruled 1921-1939). During this period, some 300 musicians and singers were retained by the court, the so-called *golongan kanca wiyoga*. Many were blue-blooded, but there were also openings for talented commoners to move up the hierarchy and dance alongside princes and princesses. The elaborate dance dramas of this period, also described by Soedarsono (1984), involved many innovations in staging, and were attended by both Javanese and European elites. Yogyakarta's court dances showed a proud, martial character (an emblematic image being beautiful *srimpi* dancers bearing pistols), and was intended to demonstrate that the Yogyakarta court did not consider itself servile to the Dutch. During the same period, Javanese noble artist-intellectuals concerned about the future of the court arts, opened up the formerly exclusive tradition to the wider world via formal courses of instruction, particularly Kridha Beksa Wirama (founded 1918) and Taman Siswa (founded 1922). This was also a sort of reconstruction, involving publications, photography, new systems of notation, cross-gender casting, condensation and simplification. With independence, the financial means of the Yogyakarta court to produce dance diminished as competing dance courses, including a high school of performing arts (founded 1961) and college of dance (founded 1963), flourished. Nonetheless dance was not treated as a profession; a feudalistic 'honour not cash' (p. 17) attitude was preserved.

Yogyakarta began to be marketed as a destination for international cultural tourism in the 1970s. Yogy dance was promoted through advertizing and

foreign tours. The product of a 1971 European tour by the court dancers was the articulation of *Joged Mataram*, an aesthetic theory of the inner meaning and experience of dance, by GBPH Suryobrongto. Suryobrongto initially presented this theory in the form of a weekly seminar to the troupe before its departure to Europe, presumably so that troupe members could present a consistent message when dealing with the European public and members of the press. Suryobrongto advanced the notion that dancers should become puppets through attuning their emotions to the inner qualities of *wayang* characters and avoiding arrogant self-display and self-consciousness. He argued that all court dance, regardless of the character portrayed, is *alus* (refined) as it is cultured and performed in full awareness of the self in relation to the divine. Thus dance is a form of mystical practice (*kebathinan*) and a mode of controlling outward behaviour and inner emotions. Hughes-Freeland rightfully devotes a full chapter to *Joged Mataram*, based on her readings of Suryobrongto's Indonesian and English language texts, and the anthropologist's regular discussions with Gusti Suryo in the 1980s. It is clear from her exegesis that Suryobrongto's writing, a universal aesthetic applicable to all forms of theatre and dance, merits further study and dissemination.

Tourism proved to be a mixed blessing for traditional dance, as elsewhere in the world. It brought new opportunities for entrepreneurs to create commercial dinner-dance packages and offered low-paying jobs to many performers. But it commoditized the art, and lowered performance standards. The post-1997 decline of European and American tourism (not documented by Hughes-Freeland) reveals that the dominancy of cultural tourism also created an environment of dependency and a chronic lack of initiative among traditionally-trained Yogyakarta performers.

Hughes-Freeland does not write to demystify the meanings of exotic dance for foreign scholars and art lovers, the standard task of Western writing on non-Western art. She does not objectify tradition. Rather, she offers insights into the range of motivations that drive performers, and advocates investment in the continuing struggle to define a local form of embodied communality. As such, she makes a direct and important contribution to ongoing cultural dialogues about the relation between locality and performance in Indonesia.

Barbara Hatley's lively account of Indonesian and Javanese-language theatre from the 1970s to 2007 also focuses on Yogyakarta, and is based on decades of direct observation of performances and rehearsals and interviews with practitioners. Hatley's initial encounter with Javanese-language popular theatre was through a two-year stint in Malang circa 1970 spent 'hanging around backstage as a fascinated groupie at *ludruk* and *ketoprak* performances' (p. xiii). This was followed by a period of research in 1977-1978 on *ketoprak* in Yogyakarta - considered a centre for this popular theatre since the genre's

emergence in the 1920s. Regular visits to Yogyakarta (typically scheduled around Australian university holidays) and a flow of visiting artists to Australia allowed Hatley to remain a devoted follower of Yogyakarta's theatre scene over decades.

The first part of Hatley's book focuses on *ketoprak*, the most popular theatre form in Yogyakarta from the mid-1920s until the early 1980s. *Ketoprak* is a genre of costume drama accompanied by gamelan music, ultimately derived from nineteenth-century hybrid theatres including the Parsi theatre and *komedi stambul*. Originally patronized and performed by members of the noble elite, by the 1930s *ketoprak* was mostly in the hands of the *wong cilik* or 'little people.' Courtly drama set in Java's legendary past remained the genre's staple, however. The melodramatic romances appealed heavily to lower and middle class women, as a vehicle for escapism and an expression of core cultural values. Hatley details the extemporized form's dramatic conventions, which resemble in many ways those of wayang. She explains how the genre was inflected to express egalitarian and anti-feudal values in the 1950s under the influence of LEKRA (Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat), the cultural arm of the Indonesian Community Party, and how the military in turn used *ketoprak* for nationalist propaganda in the 1970s. A close reading of multiple versions of two plays ('The Death of Arya Penangsang' and 'The Man of Mangir') allows her to explore how anti-authoritarian figures were celebrated as models for opposition or rehabilitated by agents of the state. She writes with great intimacy and sympathy about the whole range of *ketoprak* practitioners, from troupe owners to an amateur teenage actress making her stage debut.

Yogyakarta during the same period was a centre for art drama as well. Much European-style drama was produced in both Indonesian Malay and Javanese through the 1960s, mostly in academic and intellectual circles. Plays were largely translated or adapted from or inspired by European realist playwrights such as Ibsen and Chekhov. Starting in the late 1960s, as Hatley describes, playwrights, directors and theatre collectives in Yogyakarta and elsewhere in Indonesia began to look to local cultural forms for artistic inspiration, creating a 'new tradition' (*tradisi baru*) that canalized the social energies of folk and classical traditions to the modern stage. Many theatre people opposed the New Order dictatorship, but were able to express this only in sporadically and typically in coded forms, using strategies of allusion (*pasemon*) also characteristic of wayang and other Javanese literary traditions. A key figure in this was Yogyakarta-born auteur director-playwright WS Rendra, who based himself in Yogyakarta until his arrest in 1978. Rendra's removal from Yogyakarta did not mean an end to theatrical activity. Just the reverse. The 1980s saw a flowering of theatre collectives. Dinasti (established 1977) mined the Javanese past in its *ketoprak*-style early plays and produced controversial political satires in the early 1980s, as did Dinasti's successor,

Teater Gandrik. This period also saw the introduction of socially empowering 'forum theatre' from Brazil via the Philippines. Large-scale Islamic theatrical spectacles, some created by the charismatic poet and playwright Emha Ainun Nadjib, were all the rage in Yogyakarta in the early 1990s.

Ketoprak, which was in decline in the 1980s, was revitalized in 1990 with the creation of a subversive (*plesedan*) variant featuring the talented comedians Marwoto, Yatie Pesek, and Didik Nini Thowok – all of whom became huge television stars later in the decade. Hatley describes the alliances that Yogyakarta theatre-makers forged with advocates of democracy in the 1990s and the daring public performances which contributed to the toppling of the New Order. While theatre lost some of its political *raison d'être* in the post-Reformasi era, new issues, including globalization and the eradication of tradition, have since come to the fore, as have new practitioners and theatre collectives. Perhaps most noteworthy among them has been the Dutch-funded Teater Garasi, which bills itself as a 'laboratory of theatre creations'. Garasi's works of visual theatre have complex dramaturgies and are informed by substantial research and training to address social issues and living history. Company members travel international performance circuits, but return regularly to Yogyakarta. The group is both profoundly local and distinctly cosmopolitan. Hatley's book concludes with a coda on the 2006 earthquake which devastated Yogyakarta. Characteristically, theatre provided solace to the victims, and represented the solidarity of Yogyakarta's people to the nation.

Hatley's position as an Australian academic brings a unique perspective to her work. She writes about the theatre of a close neighbour, dealing with performers who visit Australia, theatre groups who offer hospitality to her and her colleagues on their regular visits to Yogyakarta, playwrights who author plays she produces with her Australian students. She writes authoritatively as an engaged witness to cultural change. She is concerned, for example, that 'women's issues' have tended to be marginalized in strictly 'political' readings of Yogyakarta theatre, and justifiably devotes a penultimate chapter to exploring how women assert agency and challenge gender hierarchies in traditional and modern theatre. While Australian political will to forge cultural links with Indonesia has fluctuated wildly since the 1970s, Hatley is an exemplar of the importance of person-to-person linkage for intercultural understanding.

By way of comparison, I would like to discuss briefly a fourth, more conventional, recently-published field study of East Javanese masquerade by Dutch scholar Victoria M. Clara van Groenendael, *Jaranan; The horse dance and trance in East Java* (2008). Hobby horse dancing is practiced under different names throughout most of Java, as well as by Javanese migrants in Malaysia, Singapore, Suriname and The Netherlands. Various dramatic characters, some of them in masks, are presented in dramatic episodes. These are mixed

with pure dances, songs and trance in which the dancers who ride the hobby horses are possessed by horse spirits and perform extra-human feats such as eating glass. Clara van Groenendael describes in great detail the relation between *jaranan* and other genres in her research area of Kediri, and *jaranan's* social contexts, performance structure and play, ritual elements, legends behind the drama, verbal texts and cultural politics. Her focus on a single Kediri New Order troupe, Samboyo Putro, owned by a policeman, allows her to demonstrate the political and economic imperatives in the transformation of *jaranan* from a ritual to an aesthetic form intended to inculcate general 'respect for the cultural legacy inherited from the ancestors' (p. 207) rather than to any particular magical effect. The author's thoroughness makes this an essential text for all students of Javanese folk performance. But although she conducted several long-term stints of fieldwork in Kediri in the 1980s and 1990s, she writes as an outsider to *jaranan's* 'moral community'. She cannot play the music or go into trance, and does not even know where to source the masks that Samboyo Putro uses. There is a huge social gap between her and the community of practice she studies. Although her work is of immense benefit to scholars, it is hard to see how it will inform *jaranan* as it is practiced today: Samboyo Putro disbanded more than a decade ago, and few *jaranan* performers will be able to make direct use of the book's findings due to their low levels of education.

Clara van Groenendael's work brings the accomplishments of Brinner, Hatley, and Hughes-Freeland into relief. Brinner's book can operate as more than a talking point between Javanese gamelan experts and beginning players. It will not replace the experience of ensemble playing, but it will provide much of the terminology and background musical knowledge essential to playing together in an idiomatic way – a social glue for future intercultural relations. Hatley's book similarly offers readers – foreigners and Indonesians alike – the means to read productions of Yogyakarta theatre today intertextually, in relation to the layers of performance history that undergird contemporary theatrical practice. In this same line, Hughes-Freeland articulates the historical conflicts and embodied tensions that lie just beneath the placid surface of court dance drama. Through their attention to performance's political efficacy in relation to local and national-level struggles for power, Hatley and Hughes-Freeland empower practitioners to create theatre and dance as oppositional alternatives to the society of the spectacle. Their books are already being avidly discussed in Yogyakarta, and, as I write, translations of both into Indonesian are underway. Postcolonial differentiations between foreign scholars and indigenous practitioners have not been eradicated. The books by Brinner, Hughes-Freeland, and Hatley could not have been written without the privileged access that the foreign scholars enjoy to work with Indonesia's most accomplished dancers, theatre makers and musicians. But

this access might have as much to do with status as with national origin. In sum, these longitudinal studies by committed advocates of Javanese performance demonstrate that it is not necessary to suspend disbelief to imagine the single moral community of Javanese performing arts.

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REVIEW ESSAY

TRAN QUANG ANH

Development and reform in Vietnam

Stéphanie Balme and Mark Stephanie (eds), *Vietnam's new order; International perspectives on the state and reform in Vietnam*. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, 262 pp. ISBN 9781403975522 Price: GBP 50.00 (hardback).

Sujian Guo, *The political economy of Asian transition from communism*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006, 213 pp. ISBN 9780754647355. Price: GBP 55.00 (hardback).

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A number of studies have now been published on Vietnam's economic transformation during the implementation of its Doi Moi or Reform process. We know that the successes achieved over the last two decades have been little short of a miracle. The country has been able not only to overcome some of the most pressing economic problems which confronted it in the 1980s, but also to surpass by far the goals which the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) set out to achieve in 1986. Vietnam is doing extremely well economically, consistently attaining a GDP growth rate of eight percent in the last few years. It has also been able to translate this growth achievement into an unprecedented improvement in living standards for a large segment of its eighty million inhabitants.

Pietro Masina's study *Vietnam's development strategies* highlights two

aspects of the Vietnamese reform process that are often neglected in the current debate: the influence of experience in other East Asian developing states, and the question of socialism within a future Vietnamese market economy. It is the author's hope that the book will open up a debate which will challenge the prevailing orthodoxy on how development should be pursued in Vietnam, and test possible future alternatives for the country.

Masina raises some vital questions regarding the completeness of Vietnam's success in carrying out the reforms. Although the country weathered the Asian financial crisis of the late 1990s, Masina's analysis casts doubt on its ability to continue forging ahead in the future with the kind of strides it was able to make during the initial stages of Doi Moi. He argues that Vietnam's practice of consensus decision-making, which worked during the days of the centrally planned economy, is no longer effective at the present stage of development. If the CPV is to be successful in the future, it will have to allow more and wider debate in order to offer national policy-makers access to a full spectrum of policy alternatives that will enable them to make well-informed decisions.

Like other commentators, Masina portrays the problems affecting Vietnam during the difficult years 1975-1986 as arising from a 'systemic crisis' indicating a fundamental weakness in the management of the national economy. The planning system proved unable to adequately control the allocation of resources. What Masina does not acknowledge is that this systemic crisis arguably began as early as 1954, when the Democratic Republic of Vietnam took over the northern part of the country. Perhaps the war that ensued, and the many contingencies related to it, prevented the problems from surfacing immediately, so that it was not until 1975, when the war with South Vietnam and the Americans ended and external sources of aid and funding shrank, that the crisis finally caught up with the CPV. When it came, however, it was deep and intractable in the face of many efforts to resolve it, and became even more acute when Vietnamese troops invaded and occupied Cambodia from 1978 to 1989.

Masina emphasizes that his study is not only about Vietnam. It also aims to place the Vietnamese experience in regional context, describing how other East Asian countries, notably Taiwan and South Korea, have provided models for Vietnamese policy-makers. Attention is paid to the impact of the Asian financial crisis of 1997, which briefly threatened to undo the successes achieved by encouraging small-scale private commercial activities, allowing greater autonomy to state-owned enterprises, and eliminating the state monopoly on foreign trade. Vietnam's leaders were able to steer the country away from the full force of the crisis, and structural advantages such as a large, poor but comparatively well-educated workforce helped ensure that foreign investment continued. Nevertheless major challenges will need to be met if Vietnam's impressive record of poverty reduction, based on providing the

poor with the means to improve their own circumstances, is to be continued in a context of accelerating integration into the world economy. The kind of economic planning which the Vietnamese bureaucracy is used to still differs widely from those of its neighbours, and the creation of a 'developmental state' comparable to those elsewhere in East Asia will require a new kind of political consensus of which there is currently little sign.

Masina's book, which draws extensively on primary materials from the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme in Hanoi, as well as on existing literature, is the most comprehensive available study on Vietnam's development strategies since the introduction of Doi Moi. The book is timely both as a retrospect on the market-oriented reforms introduced by the CPV at a crucial moment when its legitimacy was undermined by the poor state of the country's economy during the early 1980s, and as a survey of the development challenges which it still faces. Masina convincingly argues that Vietnamese leaders should open up the development debate and allow challenges to prevailing orthodoxies. The perspectives and prescriptions offered in this work are valuable both to policy-makers in Vietnam, and to others interested in the country's present and future development.

Vietnam's new order; International perspectives on the state and reform in Vietnam, edited by Stéphanie Balme and Mark Stephanie, brings together contributions on Vietnam's development since the mid-1980s by authors from Australia, China, Denmark, Finland, France, Russia, Singapore, Sweden, the USA, and Vietnam itself. The diversity of perspectives and ideas presented here is one of the volume's strengths. Topics range from political and judicial reform to regional economic integration. Not all of the articles present Vietnam in a positive light, or indeed take a neutral stance. Some are very concerned to judge Vietnam by Western democratic standards: Matthieu Solomon frankly declares that 'it is almost impossible, until very recently, to find an example of an elected people's assembly wielding real political power' in Vietnam, where 'formal political institutions have traditionally been symbols or props' (p. 199). But there are also keen insights here into the difficult balancing act which Vietnamese leaders have had to perform between the need for change and the need for stability, and between domestic legitimacy and international acceptance. Development, as Leslie Holmes observes, is about managing expectations as well as meeting them.

[Hanoi leaders] had to decide whether to make their model [of reform] more radical or attempt to reverse it [...]. If their policies are too radical, they might raise expectations that they cannot meet – and as theorists from Tocqueville on have argued, revolution is most likely to occur when leaders raise expectations but then fail to deliver [...] [P]utting the brakes on or attempting to reverse change, especially economic reform, can result in declining system and economic performance, which in turn can undermine [...] legitimacy. (p. 15.)

Worthy of note in this light are two articles on regional integration, one by renowned writer on Vietnam Carlyle A. Thayer, and another by the foremost Vietnamese scholar in foreign policy research, Nguyen Vu Tung. Thayer explores the sensitive issue of Vietnamese sovereignty and the challenges posed to it as the country pursues integration into ASEAN. He begins by tackling the subject from an outsider's point of view, citing Western sources. But as his argument progresses he also shows a surprisingly deep knowledge both of modern Vietnamese social science literature, and of the psyche of Vietnamese policy-makers:

[I]t should also be born in mind that ideological considerations continued to shape Vietnamese foreign policy perceptions [...]. Vietnam did not join ASEAN to balance against China. [...] [It is] clear that the Prime Minister and other office holders at central level and their advisers in state-run institutes support SOE [State-Owned Enterprise] reform and equitization as essential to Vietnam's larger process of economic renovation [...]. [It is] the resistance by insiders including directors and workers of large SOEs that partly accounts for the slow pace of transformation at present. (pp. 35, 45).

Nguyen Vu Tung's article details Vietnam's ASEAN accession process, examines the internal deliberations of the Vietnamese government during this process, and assesses the broader implications of ASEAN membership for Vietnam today. His research incorporates first-hand experience of diplomatic processes, as well as the experiences of Vietnamese politicians and foreign policy decision-makers. In 1994 there was already a strong consensus among ASEAN countries on Vietnam's membership, if not on the timing of its accession. But as yet the Vietnamese government, as a Ministry of Foreign Affairs official told the author in 2003, was 'not totally ready' – partly because the institutions involved, including the ASEAN Unit in the Cabinet Office, still had limited understanding of the issues involved and depended on the Ministry for their knowledge of ASEAN. Tung's chapter makes the reader privy to the inner workings of the highest organs of the Vietnamese state, including the Politbureau. He also offers a unique view of the type of foreign policy research and planning practiced in Vietnam. This closely mirrors directives and guidelines laid out in journals such as the *Communist Review* (*Tap chi cong san*) and the *Official Gazette* (*Cong Bao*), as well as decisions by the Prime Minister, the Politbureau and the National Assembly.

One minor shortcoming of the volume is its highly academic nature. Although informative, interesting enough to the Vietnam specialist, and likely to be referenced by future researchers, to the casual reader much of the text will prove dull and monotonous. *Vietnam's new order* is a recommended read for the student of foreign policy who has a special interest in Vietnam and wishes to keep up to date with current knowledge regarding the social and institutional reforms that have swept through the country since the mid-1980s.

Sujian Guo's *The political economy of Asian transition from Communism* is an excellent book which provides a detailed and helpful analysis of economic transition processes in China, North Korea, Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. It comprises six chapters in which Guo tries to answer the following questions. What are the pre-transition models of state socialism in Asia? What are the causal variables that have contributed to reform efforts across the five countries? Why and how is this reform process different from what happened in Eastern Europe? How are reform policies proposed, adopted, and implemented? How are the reform processes in Asian countries similar to, or different from, one another? What are the goals of economic reform, and what is its nature? To what extent does the party-state play a role in economic reform? What are the trends, directions, and limits of reform in these Asian countries? Has economic reform transformed state socialism into market capitalism, state capitalism, or market socialism? With the collapse of communism and state socialism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, is it only the capitalist economic model that remains? Or is there another way forward that is neither capitalism nor state socialism? Can market socialism, a market-based form of socialism within the context of one-party communist rule, become a competitive and efficient system like market capitalism?

In Chapter 1, Guo gives us some reasons why, unlike their counterparts in Eastern Europe, the Asian countries under study chose a gradualist approach. His explanations mostly point to differences in 'exogenous economic and political conditions', and in pre-reform economic structures. The next chapter provides historical background and constructs pre-transition models of the five Asian states, throwing light on the factors that influenced the choice of reform policies. Chapter 3 discusses both common and country-specific causes of the reform process in Asia. All five countries were communist states with close ties to the Soviet Union, and had followed the Soviet model of agricultural collectivization, heavy industrial development, state ownership, central planning, and state control of foreign trade. To this extent they faced the same pre-reform problems, and it was these common problems, referred to here as 'systemic/economic crisis', 'ideology crisis', 'political factors', and 'changing of the guard in leadership', along with 'learning experience' and international influences, which forced them toward reform. Above all, political leaders in all cases simply realized that the old economic system was not working adequately. However, each country also had its own specific difficulties – 'country variations' – that contributed to the process.

Chapter 4 considers why the Asian transition process differed from what happened in Eastern Europe, how reform policies were proposed, adopted, and implemented in Asia, and how the sequencing of reform and thus the pattern of transition was determined. Asian leaders chose for gradualism, Guo argues, because of a number of concrete advantages which it offered over

a more radical approach. Gradual change was easier to start, and safer for leaders facing political constraints. For ideological reasons, too, Asian leaders preferred to begin with microeconomic reform of agricultural organization and industrial enterprise management. Chapter 5 stresses that the Asian transitional economies are not true market economies, but rather 'dual' or 'hybrid' economic systems. They also feature new problems of their own, and these are discussed in the final chapter. Although the reform process has brought about positive changes, the Asian economic transition is not flawless.

This is an ambitious book which carefully surveys a large volume of evidence and presents a clear, detailed, well-organized and convincing study of the processes of reform in Asian communist countries. It will be especially helpful for those who are interested in acquiring an international perspective on reform and transitional economies in the post-communist world.

Vietnam: a guide to economic and political developments, by Ian Jeffries, is an informative book consisting of two parts: 'Political developments', and 'The economy'. Although Jeffries focuses in particular on the period since the collapse of the Soviet empire in 1989, earlier events are also discussed: the course and impact of the Vietnam War, and the challenges faced after reunification in 1975 as the state socialist system sought to absorb the formerly capitalist economy of the South. Jeffries examines the politics of the Communist Party, the evolving pattern of Vietnam's external relations (including the re-establishment of relations with the United States), and the effects of more recent episodes such as the Asian financial crisis and the SARS and bird flu outbreaks. The section on the economy includes coverage of financial and exchange rate policies, the state and non-state sectors, the 'equitization' programme (sale of shares in SOEs to employees and investors) and other aspects of privatization, foreign trade, foreign debt, aid, and investment, and the relationship between agricultural development and economic performance. The book provides a comprehensive overview of the political and economic situation in Vietnam today, and is an important resource for all scholars interested in the country's recent development.

Strong points of this book include its clear organization and presentation, and the way it brings together a great deal of useful information in accessible form. However, it also has some weaknesses. A large proportion of the information presented comes from English-language sources, including newspapers (*International Herald Tribune*, *Times*, *Financial Times*, *Guardian*, *Independent*, *Daily Telegraph*) and other periodicals such as the *Vietnam Courier*, *The Economist*, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, *The World Today*, *Asian Survey*, *Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press*, *Transition*, and *Finance and Development*. These are all mainstream, pro-capitalist sources, and do not on the whole include the views and explanations of people directly involved in the politi-

cal and economic processes which Jeffries describes. A second weak point is that *Vietnam: a guide to economic and political developments* lacks clear conclusions, and in fact makes little attempt to weigh up and assess the information which it provides.

Despite these weaknesses, Jeffries' book remains an informative one which, like the others reviewed here, will be helpful to all those interested in economic and political developments in contemporary Vietnam.

KORTE SIGNALERINGEN

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Ulbe Bosma, Indiëgangers; Verhalen van Nederlanders die naar Indië trokken. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2010, 333 pp. ISBN 978.90.351.3501.7. Prijs € 24,95.

Clara Brinkgreve, Met Indië verbonden; Een verhaal van vier generaties 1849-1949. Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2009, 256 pp. ISBN 978.90.5730.597.9. Prijs € 24,95.

Jack Botermans en Heleen Tichler, Het vergeten Indië; Stille getuigen van het dagelijks leven in het Indië van toen. Arnhem: Terra, 2009, 144 pp. ISBN 978.90.5897.487.7. Prijs € 24,95.

Robin te Slaa en Edwin Klijn, De NSB; Ontstaan en opkomst van de Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging, 1931-1935. Amsterdam: Boom, 2009, 938+16 pp. ISBN 978.90.850.6813.6. Prijs € 39,50.

Mark Loderichs, Margaret Leidelmeijer, Johan van Langen en Jan Kompanie, Verhalen in documenten; Over het afscheid van Indië, 1940-1950. Amersfoort: Moesson, 2009, 119 pp. ISBN 978.90.70301.65.1. Prijs € 24,95.

Frederik Erens en Adrienne Zuiderweg, Linggadjati, brug naar de toekomst; Soetan Sjahir als een van de grondleggers van het vrije Indonesië. Amsterdam: KIT Publishers, 2009, 104 pp. ISBN 978.94.6022.048.7. Prijs € 17,50.

Peter Schumacher, met medewerking van Gerard de Boer, De zaak Aernout; Hardnekkige mythes rond een Indische moord ontrafeld. Soesterberg: Aspekt, 2009, 134 pp. ISBN 978.90.5911.897.3. Prijs € 18,95.

Cas Oorthuys, Een staat in wording; Fotoreportage van Cas Oorthuys over het Indonesië van 1947. Amsterdam/Antwerpen: Contact, 2009, [147] pp. ISBN 978.90.254.3228.7. Prijs € 25.

René Kok, Erik Somers en Louis Zweers, Koloniale oorlog 1945-1949; Van Indië tot Indonesië. Amsterdam: Carrera, 2009, 224 pp. ISBN 978.90.488.0320.0. Prijs € 24,90.

H.F. Veenendaal en J.P.W. Kelder, ZKH; Hoog spel aan het hof van Zijne Koninklijke Hoogheid; De geheime dagboeken van mr.dr. L.G. van Maasdijk. Amsterdam: Gopher, 2009, 120 pp. ISBN 978.90.517.9679.7. Prijs € 19,50.

Ons Indië; 400 jaar Nederlandse sporen in Insulinde, de strijd om de onafhankelijkheid & 60 jaar Indonesië. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2009, 98 pp. [Elsevier Speciale Editie.] ISSN 1875-080X. Prijs € 8,95.

Ulbe Bosma, productief onderzoeker bij het Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, heeft in de laatste jaren een aantal belangrijke publicaties op zijn naam gesteld die nieuwe inzichten verschaffen in de koloniale geschiedenis en haar nasleep. De laatste publicatie, *Indiëgangsters*, biedt een samenvattend overzicht op de Nederlandse migratie naar Indië van 1812 tot 1940, met enige uitloop tot 1962, toen West-Nieuw-Guinea aan Indonesië werd overgedragen. Meer dan driehonderdduizend Nederlanders betrokken in die jaren naar de Oost. Over de emigratie is veel geschreven en ook gespeculeerd en hebben zich een aantal beelden vastgezet. Bosma levert voor het eerst een samenvattend overzicht dat flink morrelt aan de bestaande opvattingen. Een belangrijk uitgangspunt bij zijn onderzoek vormt de Historische Steekproef Nederlandse Bevolking (HSN), waarbij van ongeveer tachtigduizend personen, geselecteerd uit Nederlandse geboorteregisters tussen 1812 en 1922, de levensloopgegevens zijn opgespoord. Dit levert verrassende inzichten op. Tot omstreeks 1900 was geen sprake van een vrije migratie. De Nederlandse en koloniale overheid beperkten de toegang tot KNIL-militairen en marinepersoneel, waarbij getalmatig de instroom van overheidspersoneel en zakenlieden in het niet viel. Deze laatsten waren voor het overgrote deel afkomstig uit de Nederlandse elite. De militairen die via de koloniale werving werden verzameld in Harderwijk - het 'riool van Europa' was de bijnaam - vormden niet het uitschot van de natie, maar waren vooral afkomstig uit de stedelijke middenklasse. Als zij hun contracttermijn overleefden - en dat aantal groeide spectaculair in de loop van de negentiende eeuw - koos een deel van hen voor vestiging in de kolonie. Bij een aantal van 160.000 uitgezonden militairen omvatte dat niettemin het grootste deel van de migratiestroom. Bosma trekt de interessante parallel tussen Europese militairen en Aziatische (Indiase en Chinese) contractarbeiders. Wereldwijd werden zes miljoen militairen en vier miljoen contractarbeiders verscheept - en hun levensomstandigheden verschilden in de meeste opzichten niet van elkaar. Na afloop van het contract kwam het verschil - voor de blanke militair was er perspectief, vaak in een technische functie.

De kleine bovenlaag, met een flinke buitenlandse inbreng, was in de negentiende eeuw voor een groot deel van raciaal-gemengde achtergrond,

maar hield afstand tot de inheemse maatschappij, daarbij geholpen door anti-inheemse overheidsregels. De relatie met Nederland werd altijd vooropgesteld en met grote kosten en moeite werden bijvoorbeeld de kinderen voor voortgezet onderwijs naar Nederland gestuurd. Het schrikbeeld was ‘verinlandsing’. De Nederlandse overheid overwoog in de vroege negentiende eeuw volksplantingen in Indië op te zetten, maar zag hiervan af om redenen die alles van doen hadden met het westerse prestige dat moest worden hooggehouden tegenover de grote massa van bruine inheemsen. Zo werd Indië een exploitatiekolonie en geen vestigingskolonie – en Bosma trekt de vergelijking met de Verenigde Staten waar een vergelijkbaar aantal Nederlandse migranten naar toe trok.

Pas na 1900 kwam er een grotere migratiestroom van middenklasse-Nederlanders op gang. De komst van meer Nederlandse vrouwen is vaak aangeduid en wordt algemeen gezien als een breekpunt. Bosma ziet dat niet zo – voor hem is er geen breuk: de oriëntatie op Nederland bleef. De invulling daarvan werd gemakkelijker met het verbeteren van de verbindingen tussen Nederland en Indië. De migrant was en bleef Europees, en de geregelde verlofperiodes versterkten deze tendens. Van de Europese bevolking was een flink deel – Bosma schat hen op dertigduizend – constant op reis of in Nederland. Het algemene ideaal was uiteindelijk terug te keren naar het moederland. Het verblijf in Indië was maar tijdelijk; zij waren vroege *expats*. De kloof tussen de Nederlandse en Indonesische wereld werd dieper.

Het zal duidelijk zijn dat dit een belangwekkend boek is, ook door het vergelijkend-koloniale perspectief, en het benutten van de HSN en andere weinig gebruikte bronnen. Bosma heeft dit leesbaar opgeschreven, maar is soms te beknopt en opsommend. Hiernaast staan ter compensatie de levensverhalen van een aantal Indiëgangers die model staan voor Bosma’s conclusies. Tot slot een negatieve noot. De uitgever, niet voor het eerst, maltraiteert het notenapparaat zodat het ontoegankelijk wordt voor de lezer. Met minieme ingrepen was deze domheid te verhoeden geweest.

Clara Brinkgreve (1951) doet in *Met Indië verbonden* verslag van haar speurtocht naar de levens van twee vrouwen en twee mannen uit vier haar voorafgaande generaties, die hun band met Indië gemeen hadden. In de familie-overlevering deden allerlei verhalen over hen de ronde, maar veel daarvan leek op geruchten gebaseerd en vele vraagtekens bleven staan, hoe verder in de tijd terug hoe groter. Betovergrootmoeder Maria van Wely (1849-1934) – half-Javaans, half-Nederlands – kwam in 1879 als alleenstaande moeder met haar kind naar Nederland, waar zij als onderwijzeres in Zierikzee in haar onderhoud voorzag. Overgrootvader Jacob Hendrik van Wely (1870-1942) was een succesvol bestuursambtenaar, die na zijn pensionering nog eens hoofd werd van het bureau op Java dat de werving van contractkoelies voor

Oost-Sumatra en Suriname organiseerde. Hij vergaarde met deze ook toen al omstreden praktijken een vermogen. Grootmoeder Katy (1897-1992) was nauw betrokken bij het pioniersonderzoek naar Indonesische muziek van haar echtgenoot Jaap Kunst. Haar zoon, en oom van Clara Brinkgreve, Jaap Kunst junior (1924-1991) was, ten slotte, als soldaat actief in de strijd tegen het Indonesische onafhankelijkheidsstreven (1945-1948), met ervaringen die hem daarna verbitterd uit Nederland deden vertrekken. Allen zijn getekend door hun banden met Indonesië, dat honderd jaar lang hun lot grotendeels bepaalde. De auteur heeft door uitgebreid onderzoek in archieven en publicaties heel veel opgehelderd en doet daarvan, en ook van dat onderzoek zelf, boeiend verslag. Het is familiegeschiedenis maar ook soms iets meer dan dat – de carrière van Jacob Hendrik in algemeen verband en vooral het leven van het gezin Kunst in dienst van de muziek. Bij gebrek aan gegevens speculeert de auteur wel eens te gretig over ‘zo zou het hebben kunnen verlopen’, maar het zij haar vergeven.

Een fraai nostalgisch plaatjesboek is *Het vergeten Indië*, dat in verzorgde layout oude foto's, souvenirs en gebruiksvoorwerpen het dagelijks leven oproept in de laatste halve eeuw van Indië, in hoofdstukken als over eten, drinken en roken, muziek, wajang, de overtocht, interieurs en kunstnijverheid en tot slot de militaire aanwezigheid van 1945 tot 1949, met een aantal verrassende en onbekende objecten. Tot slot (vijftien bladzijden) is een aantal herinneringen opgenomen aan een idyllische Indische jeugd, wreed afgebroken door een Japanse internering.

Vermeldenswaard is de omvangrijke, bijna duizend bladzijden dikke, monografie van Robin te Slaa en Edwin Klijn, *De NSB; Ontstaan en opkomst van de Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging, 1931-1935*. Het boek sluit al af in 1935, toen de NSB, tot dan toe ‘de zelfbewuste vertegenwoordiger van een nieuwe revolutionaire ideologie, die onmiskenbaar in opkomst was’, een omslag maakte. Het bevat een hoofdstuk van twintig bladzijden (met 173 noten) over de Indische NSB, dat aan de spaarzame en weinig omvangrijke publicaties over de Indische NSB – van S.L. van der Wal, Jacob Zwaan en Tessel Pollmann – zinnig toevoegt. De auteurs gaan vooral uit van de eigen NSB-publicaties, waaruit trots op de kolonie spreekt, die moest worden behouden als afzetgebied en leverancier van grondstoffen, terwijl Nieuw-Guinea als mogelijke vestigingskolonie werd gezien. De eerste fascistische organisaties in Indië worden aangestipt, met een rol voor W.V. Rhemrev (niet Rhemev, zoals zijn naam wordt gespeld in het boek). Pas eind 1933 deed de NSB zijn intree in Indië, met groot succes. Er werd toenadering gezocht tot de rechtse Vaderlandsche Club en het Indo-Europeesch Verbond – de NSB had toen nog geen problemen met de Indo-Europese inbreng. Opzien baarde bezoek van NSB-leider

Anton Mussert aan Indië in 1935 – de eerste Nederlandse politieke partijleider die in functie de reis ondernam. De eigenzinnige Gouverneur-Generaal De Jonge ontving Mussert twee maal – het veroorzaakte flinke opschudding in het moederland. De tournee was een succes, maar kreeg geen duurzaam gevolg. Racisme tegen Indo-Europeanen en de van de Nederlandse partij volstrekt afhankelijke positie belemmerden de groei van de partij. In eigen NSB-termen was het ‘Zahlen und Maul halten’. Het ‘Zahlen’ sloeg op de giften die in flinke hoogte naar Nederland stroomden.

Het Nationaal Archief heeft, met steun van ‘Het Gebaar’, een inventarisatie gemaakt van bronnen over Tweede Wereldoorlog en dekolonisatie in Indië (1940-1949) in de Verenigde Staten, Groot-Brittannië, Australië, Zweden, Zwitserland en België. Een flink deel van het verzamelde materiaal, en een deel van de eigen collectie, zijn gedigitaliseerd – in totaal 175.000 bladzijden – en zijn beschikbaar via de website www.afscheidvanindie.nl. Het boekje *Verhalen en documenten; Over het afscheid van Indië, 1940-1950* markeert de voltooiing van het project en de lancering van de website. Daarom ook is daarin tot slot afgedrukt een handleiding voor de websitebezoekers. Daarvoor is voor zes oorlogsjaren geselecteerd uit de internationale vondsten zoals de radioverslagen van CBS-correspondent William Dunn in Batavia (1942), de Zweedse consulaatsarchieven, de Zwitserse Rode-Kruisinspanningen en de rol van MacArthur in de plannen voor de herovering van Indië. En daarnaast vertellen elf mannen en vrouwen met Indische banden, geboren tussen 1923 en 1996, over de inhoud van hun afscheid van Indië. Dit voorproefje is heel mooi uitgegeven, met zeer veel illustraties.

In 2009 werd het honderdste geboortejaar van Soetan Sjahrir (1909-1966) herdacht. Seminars, tentoonstellingen en publicaties toonden de rol van deze ietwat vergeten sleutelfiguur tijdens de eerste twee jaren van de Indonesische Revolutie (1945-1947). Een biografische fotoboek – in het Indonesisch en het Engels – en de door Kees Snoek bezorgde complete brieven van Sjahrir (meer dan duizend bladzijden) aan zijn echtgenote Maria Duchâteau, waarvan een kleine selectie in 1945 verscheen als *Indonesische overpeinzingen* zullen zeer binnenkort uitkomen. Beide titels verschijnen bij de KITLV Uitgeverij. Frederik Erens en Adrienne Zuiderweg leveren met *Linggadjati, brug naar de toekomst* hun bijdrage aan de herdenking. Dit boekje is deel van een project dat de Stichting Indisch Erfgoed, tezamen met de Stichting Vrienden van Linggarjati, uitvoert en waar ook een tentoonstelling en een dvd deel van uitmaken. Hun boek is vooral een beknopte biografie van Sjahrir, geplaatst in het kader van de ontwikkeling van de nationalistische beweging en de Indonesische Revolutie. Bij dat laatste krijgt dan het succesvolle Nederlands-Indonesische overleg in Linggadjadi in 1946 over een akkoord nadruk. Nadien daalde de ster van

Sjahrir – voor een westers-rationalistisch denker, die geen talent had of wilde hebben als volkstribuun was in Indonesië geen plaats. De auteurs hebben een boekje samengesteld voor een breed publiek, ruimschoots geïllustreerd, en onderbroken met korte biografieën van hoofdfiguren uit de dekolonisatie.

KNIL-vaandrig Robert Aernout werd in februari 1948 in Lembang, bij Bandoeng, vermoord. Aernout werkte bij de dienst die het militair vervoer regelde en kwam daar op het spoor van wijdverbreide corruptie, waarover hij ook op nogal amateuristische wijze dossiers opbouwde. Het onderzoek naar zijn dood liep aanvankelijk stuk, toen een overhaaste arrestatie door onderzoeker Westerling op niets bleek gebaseerd. Al spoedig deden geruchten de ronde dat Aernout slachtoffer was van een liquidatie. De arrestatie van een verdachte, een Indonesische ‘bendeleider’, in juni 1948 werd niet opgemerkt, genegeerd of als passend in de complottheorie aangemerkt. Peter Schumacher maakt duidelijk dat Aernouts dood voor het overgrote deel een gevolg was van toeval, en mede was te wijten aan roekeloos gedrag dat hem in het schootsveld van de ‘bende’ deed belanden.

Een drijvende kracht in het openen van de Indische ‘beerput’ was Frans van der Putten, een pathologische querulant, die tot in de jaren zestig regering, parlement en pers bezighield met zijn fantasmagorieën. Van der Putten zette zich met Aernouts nabestaanden ook in voor de vermeende niet erkende pensioenrechten. Met enige regelmaat keerde de zaak-Aernout terug in de publiciteit. Schumacher deed dat in zijn krant *NRC-Handelsblad* in 1985 en 1986, en schreef erover in zijn *Een bende op Java* (2005). Bij toeval deed Henk Hovinga dat tegelijkertijd in *Met de dood voor ogen* (2005, hoofdstuk 15). Schumacher komt nu in *De zaak Aernout*, geduldig en uitgebreid, terug op zijn visie van 2005 en zegt te veel te zijn meegegaan in de beweringen van Van der Putten en de familie, zoals Hovinga dat ook deed, naar Schumachers oordeel, maar dan nog in sterker mate. Hij betreurt het dat hij niet altijd zorgvuldig en wantrouwig genoeg is geweest. Zo kon een betrekkelijk eenvoudige geschiedenis onderdeel worden van talloze mythes en uitgroeien tot ‘een ongeloofwaardig ratjetoe van speculatieve veronderstellingen, vervalst gebleken documenten en ongecontroleerde beweringen’.

In 2009, tenslotte, besloot de minister van binnenlandse zaken, de affaire met een brief aan de familie waarin zij de naam van Aernout zuivert van blaam. En met *De zaak Aernout* zet Schumacher na zestig jaar de slotpunt in een mooi voorbeeld van onderzoeksjournalistiek en een illustratie van de noodzaak van een continu wantrouwen bij het opschrijven van geschiedenissen.

De bekende linkse fotograaf Cas Oorthuys (1908-1975) reisde van januari tot maart 1947 in Indonesië, waar hij in opdracht van uitgeverij Contact materiaal verzamelde voor een fotoboek. Het was een periode vol hoop in de dekoloni-

satiestrijd – in november 1946 was het Akkoord van Linggadjadi geparafeerd. De vreedzame oplossing kwam er niet. De ondertekening van het Akkoord in maart 1947 was al een anticlimax en met de inzet van de eerste militaire actie in juli 1947 kwam er voorlopig een einde aan alle illusies. Oorthuys' boek *Een staat in wording* was toen juist verschenen. Zijn optimistische toon was achterhaald en het boek belandde al spoedig in de ramsj. Oorthuys fotografeerde op Java en Borneo gewone mensen, militairen en politici, zowel in Nederlands als in Republikeins gebied. Hij toont zijn sympathie voor Soekarno's Republiek Indonesia, en neemt een flink aantal foto's op van de vergadering over Linggadjadi van het Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat in Malang. Hier, en helaas ook elders, geldt dat de bijschriften en inleidingen van Albert de la Court beknopt en nietszeggend zijn, in ethisch-paternalistische toon. De nu verschenen herdruk van *Een staat in wording* volgt nauwkeurig de opmaak van de eerste druk, met de afdrukkwaliteit van de foto's aanzienlijk beter dan in het origineel.

Jan Blokker schreef een voorwoord van elf bladzijden dat sfeer en achtergronden verheldert, maar parafering en ondertekening van Linggadjadi verwacht, en Nederlandse soldaten een loempoe (dat is modder, of wordt lempor bedoeld?) laat leren eten. En de uitgever vermeldt op het titelblad als auteur Cas Oosterhuys...

In het verlengde van Oorthuys' verzameling ligt het fotoboek *Koloniale oorlog 1945-1949; Van Indië naar Indonesië*, dat René Kok, Erik Somers en Louis Zweers samenstelden. De fotohistoricus Zweers heeft al een handvol publicaties op zijn naam staan waarin hij de resultaten van zijn speurtochten naar onbekend fotomateriaal vastlegt en met zijn kritische observaties de lezer nieuw zicht daarop verschaft. Met twee collega's van het NIOD heeft hij nu een omvangrijk boek samengesteld over de fotojournalistiek tijdens de jaren 1945-1949. De fotografie stond in dienst van de strijd. De fotografen waren alle verbonden aan of afhankelijk van de Nederlandse strijdkrachten. Hun foto's werden in Djakarta en in Den Haag kritisch bekeken en getoetst. De beelden moesten het thuisfront geruststellen – de indruk van rust en orde en de goede verhouding tussen soldaat en bevolking werden benadrukt. Zo ook gold dat aan Indonesische zijde, met zijn semi-officiële fotopersbureau IPPHOS, voor opbouw en eensgezindheid. Geen van beide partijen had behoefte aan foto's van gevechten, gevangenen, gewonden en doden. Die foto's werden dan ook vernietigd of weggeborgen. De samenstellers hebben een groot aantal toentertijd 'verboden' foto's opgespoord. Deze zijn afgedrukt naast wel toegelaten foto's. Tezamen geven de honderden foto's, met de beknopte toelichtingen en inleidingen, een goed beeld van de propagandaoorlog. En de foto's laten ook zien dat er een 'smerige' oorlog werd uitgevochten. De afdrukkwaliteit van de foto's is hoog.

Op de officiële beleidslijn bestaat een uitzondering die de samenstellers blijkbaar niet kennen. In augustus 1947 gaf de Regeerings Voorlichtings Dienst in Batavia een tweedelig boekwerk uit, in Nederlandse en Engelse versie, Het politieke gebeuren rondom de Repoebliek Indonesia, waarvan het tweede deel gevuld is met foto's waarop wel de nodige gruwelen zijn te zien.

De presentatie op 30 november 2009 van *ZKH; Hoog spel aan het hof van Zijne Koninklijke Hoogheid* van Jort Kelder en Harry Veenendaal ging vergezeld van een succesvol publicitair offensief, dat tot herdruk en mooie verkoopcijfers leidde. De kern van hun boek vormt de betrokkenheid van prins-gemaal Bernhard bij wapenhandel en de staatsgreep van Westerling (23 januari 1950), die bij succes hem de positie van 'vice-roy' had moeten opleveren. Bernhards pion hierbij was de medische hoogleraar J.W. Duyff. Over deze acties schreef het hoofd van de Inlichtingendienst van de Marechaussee van maart tot juli 1950 acht rapporten, die door de secretaris van de hofhouding L.G. van Maasdijk zeer serieus werden genomen, blijkens zijn dagboeken. ZKH is vooral ook een reactie op *Juliana & Bernhard; Het verhaal van een huwelijk; De jaren 1936-1956* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2009 (herziene en aangevulde druk)) van Cees Fasseur. De lezer wordt getraakteerd op feiten die door de officiële hofbiografen tot dusver onder een dik paleistapijt geveegd zijn, zoals de auteurs het opschrijven in hun licht-sensationele toon. Fasseur heeft de marechausseerapporten ook gezien en behandelt ze in een paragraaf 'De zaak Duyff' (pp. 219-26). Hij heeft veel scepsis en relativeert de inlichtingenrapporten. Op het eerste gezicht maken deze ook een nogal ongeloofwaardige indruk. Duyff wordt bijvoorbeeld achtereenvolgens genoemd als wapenverkoper aan Soekarno, aan de Daroel Islam, andere verzetsbewegingen in Indonesië en aan communisten buiten Indonesië. De rapportage is in dit opzicht vergelijkbaar met het Nederlandse inlichtingenwerk in Indonesië tijdens de dekolonisatiestrijd – van een vaak bedroevend niveau. Van enige betrokkenheid van Duyff en Bernhard bij de actie van Westerling in januari 1950 is in de literatuur hierover (met name *Westerling's oorlog; Indonesië 1945-1950* (Amsterdam: Balans, 1999)) in het geheel niets te vinden. En als Bernhard al betrokken was, wat deed hij dan van 5 januari tot 19 maart in Argentinië? Als aanstaande vice-roy had hij paraat moeten staan in Nederland. Ook sultan Hamid II Algadri, eerder actief in de federalistische beweging en buitengewoon adjudant van de koninginnen Wilhelmina en Juliana, zou onderdeel van het complot zijn. De Moor (p. 428) noemt het slechts 'een fatale flirt', die hem vele jaren gevangenisstraf opleverde. Hij werd berecht in 1953. Daarover verscheen *Proces peristiwa Sultan Hamid II* (Djakarta: Fasco, tweede druk, 1955). In het heersende anti-Nederlandse klimaat zou betrokkenheid van Bernhard of Duyff met graagte zijn genoteerd en tegen Hamid gebruikt. Hun namen zijn niet te vinden in het procesverslag, wel staat er een conceptbrief in aan koningin

Juliana van 5 maart 1950 (verzonden 14 maart), waarin Hamid haar vraagt om als uitweg 'uit het moeras waarin mijn land dreigt te verzinken' 'uw persoonlijke hulp en bijstand' in te roepen om met hulp van Amerika en Engeland een 'verder afglijden naar anarchisme en communisme te voorkomen'. Met dit al lijkt Fasseurs weergave van deze affaire het dichtst bij de waarheid te komen en zou hij slechts een aantal adjectieven kunnen aanpassen. Maar volgens Gerard Aalders, NIOD-onderzoeker, die een boek voorbereidt over de rol van Bernhard in Indonesië, zullen nieuwe feiten Veenendaal en Kelder in het gelijk stellen. Ik ben zeer benieuwd.

Het weekblad *Elsevier* geeft een aantal keren per jaar een 'Speciale editie' uit. In december 2009 werd onder de titel *Ons Indië* daarmee zestig jaar soevereiniteitsoverdracht herdacht. Het is een met veel zorg samengestelde aflevering geworden dat beknopt, maar niet oppervlakkig de Indonesische geschiedenis, vooral die met Nederlandse raakvlakken, aanraakt. Het zijn historische overzichten, reportages en interviews, met fraaie full-colour illustraties, kaarten, namen- en jaartallenlijstjes, en, gespreid, entrefilets van minder dan een bladzijde. Veertien auteurs hebben hun bijdrage geleverd. De periode 1945-1950 en zijn nasleep krijgen nadruk – de Nieuw-Guineakwestie, de veteranen, de uittocht van Indische Nederlanders en het herstel van de relatie, ook in economisch opzicht – en dat alles maakt de band van Nederland met Indonesië nog altijd bijzonder. Voor een snelle, brede oriëntatie is deze 'Speciale editie' zeer bruikbaar.