

VU Research Portal

Southeast Asian Studies Reorientation [Review of: C.J. McVey Reynolds (1998) Southeast Asian Studies Reorientations]

Sutherland, H.A.

published in

Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde
2000

document version

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

[Link to publication in VU Research Portal](#)

citation for published version (APA)

Sutherland, H. A. (2000). Southeast Asian Studies Reorientation [Review of: C.J. McVey Reynolds (1998) Southeast Asian Studies Reorientations]. *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, 156, 861-862.

General rights

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal ?

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

E-mail address:

vuresearchportal.ub@vu.nl



Book Reviews

- Tim Behrend, Nancy K. Florida, Javanese literature in Surakarta manuscripts; Volume 2; Manuscripts of the Mangkunagaran palace. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program, 2000, 575 pp.
- Harold Brookfield, Judith M. Heimann, The most offending soul alive; Tom Harrisson and his remarkable life. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998, 468 pp.
- Harold Brookfield, Victor T. King, Rural development and social science research; Case studies from Borneo. Phillips, Maine: Borneo Research Council, 1999, xiii + 359 pp. [Borneo Research Council Proceedings Series 6.]
- J.G. de Casparis, Roy E. Jordaan, The Sailendras in Central Javanese history; A survey of research from 1950 to 1999. Yogyakarta: Penerbitan Universitas Sanata Dharma, 1999, iv + 108 pp.
- H.J.M. Claessen, Françoise Douaire-Marsaudon, Les premiers fruits; Parenté, identité sexuelle et pouvoirs en Polynésie occidentale (Tonga, Wallis et Futuna). Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1998, x + 338 pp.
- Matthew Isaac Cohen, Andrew Beatty, Varieties of Javanese religion; An anthropological account. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, xv + 272 pp. [Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology 111.]
- Matthew Isaac Cohen, Sylvia Tiwon, Breaking the spell; Colonialism and literary renaissance in Indonesia. Leiden: Department of Languages and Cultures of Southeast Asia and Oceania, University of Leiden, 1999, vi + 235 pp. [Semaian 18.]
- Freek Colombijn, Victor T. King, Anthropology and development in South-East Asia; Theory and practice. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1999, xx + 308 pp.
- Bernhard Dahm, Cive J. Christie, A modern history of South-East Asia; Decolonization, nationalism and separatism. London: Tauris, 1996, x + 286 pp.
- J. van Goor, Leonard Blussé, Pilgrims to the past; Private conversations with historians of European expansion. Leiden: Research School CNWS, 1996, 339 pp., Frans-Paul van der Putten, Hans Vogel (eds.)
- David Henley, Robert W. Hefner, Market cultures; Society and morality in the new Asian capitalisms. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1998, viii + 328 pp.
- David Henley, James F. Warren, The Sulu zone; The world capitalist economy and the historical imagination. Amsterdam: VU University Press for the Centre for Asian Studies, Amsterdam (CASA), 1998, 71 pp. [Comparative Asian Studies 20.]
- Huub de Jonge, Laurence Husson, La migration maduraise vers l'Est de Java; Manger le vent ou gratter la terre? Paris: L'Harmattan/Association Archipel, 1995, 414 pp. [Cahier d'Archipel 26.]

- Nico Kaptein, Mark R. Woodward, *Toward a new paradigm; Recent developments in Indonesian Islamic thought*. Tempe: Arizona State University, Program for Southeast Asian Studies, 1996, x + 380 pp.
 - Catharina van Klinken, Gunter Senft, *Referring to space; Studies in Austronesian and Papuan languages*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997, xi + 324 pp.
 - W. Mahdi, J.G. de Casparis, *Sanskrit loan-words in Indonesian; An annotated check-list of words from Sanskrit in Indonesian and Traditional Malay*. Jakarta: Badan Penyelenggara Seri NUSA, Universitas Katolik Indonesia Atma Jaya, 1997, viii + 59 pp. [NUSA Linguistic Studies of Indonesian and Other Languages in Indonesia 41.]
 - Henk Maier, David Smyth, *The canon in Southeast Asian literatures; Literatures of Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam*. Richmond: Curzon, 2000, x + 273 pp.
 - Toon van Meijl, Robert J. Foster, *Social reproduction and history in Melanesia; Mortuary ritual, gift exchange, and custom in the Tanga islands*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, xxii + 288 pp.
 - J.A. de Moor, Douglas Kammen, *A tour of duty; Changing patterns of military politics in Indonesia in the 1990s*. Ithaca, New York: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1999, 98 pp., Siddharth Chandra (eds.)
 - Joke van Reenen, Audrey Kahin, *Rebellion to integration; West Sumatra and the Indonesian polity, 1926-1998*. Amsterdam University Press, 1999, 368 pp.
 - Heather Sutherland, Craig J. Reynolds, *Southeast Asian Studies: Reorientations*. Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1998, 70 pp. [The Frank H. Golay Memorial Lectures 2 and 3.], Ruth McVey (eds.)
 - Nicholas Tarling, Patrick Tuck, *The French wolf and the Siamese lamb; The French threat to Siamese independence, 1858-1907*. Bangkok: White Lotus, 1995, xviii + 434 pp. [Studies in Southeast Asian History 1.]
 - B.J. Terwiel, Andreas Sturm, *Die Handels- und Agrarpolitik Thailands von 1767 bis 1932*. Passau: Universität Passau, Lehrstuhl für Südostasienkunde, 1997, vii + 181 pp. [Passauer Beiträge zur Südostasienkunde 2.]
 - René S. Wassing, Koos van Brakel, *A passion for Indonesian art; The Georg Tillmann collection at the Tropenmuseum Amsterdam*. Amsterdam. Royal Tropical Institute/Tropenmuseum, 1996, 128 pp., David van Duuren, Itie van Hout (eds.)
 - Edwin Wieringa, J. de Bruin, *Een Leidse vriendschap; De briefwisseling tussen Herman Bavinck en Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, 1875-1921*. Baarn: Ten Have, 1999, 192 pp. [Passage 11.], G. Harinck (eds.)
- In: *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 156 (2000), no: 4, Leiden, 807-868

Book Reviews

Nancy K. Florida, *Javanese literature in Surakarta manuscripts; Volume 2; Manuscripts of the Mangkunagaran palace*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program, 2000, 575 pp. ISBN (series) 0.87727.601.3, (volume) 0.87727.604.8. Price: USD 35.

TIM BEHREND

The long-awaited second volume of Nancy Florida's catalogue of Javanese manuscripts in the principal collections of Surakarta is now available. Like the first volume, published in 1993, and the third volume, still in preparation, this catalogue is based on materials originally assembled in conjunction with Florida's seminal microfilming project carried out in Solo between 1980 and 1982. A fourth volume is also planned which will contain facsimiles and a comprehensive glossary and index for the entire set. Florida's work in Surakarta has been and will remain important not just for the catalogues and microfilms that it has produced, but also because her project was the inspiration for a number of subsequent cataloguing and microfilming undertakings in Yogyakarta, Jakarta, the Sunda lands, and South Sulawesi.

In the present volume Florida has carefully documented and annotated the manuscript holdings of the Reksa Pustaka library of the Mangkunagaran palace. This library, founded in 1867 by the poet prince Mangkunagara IV, was the first collection of Javanese manuscripts institutionalized in an indigenous court setting. It appeared at a time when Dutch scholars were actively collecting, copying, and studying manuscripts in Surakarta, as well as publishing a selection of texts found in them. One assumes that the foundation of the Reksa Pustaka rests upon ideals growing out of the intellectual ferment and cultural exchange of the period, and out of the direct and cordial associations that Mangkunagara shared with some of the major European actors in the colonial-scientific enterprise: Winter, Wilkens, Palmer van den Broek, and especially Cohen Stuart, who had recently left Surakarta for Batavia to curate the newly organized and rapidly growing manuscript collection of the Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen in the colonial capital of the East Indies.

Florida's purpose, however, is not to explore the history of the collection,

and she does not pursue an investigation of the forces and ideas behind the accumulation and cataloguing of manuscripts in nineteenth-century Java, or the amassing of accounts of local knowledge in various forms that accompanied it. Instead, her intent is to highlight and make available the varied textual riches preserved under the stewardship of the *Reksa Pustaka*. This she achieves with the same high level of accomplishment displayed in the well-received first volume of her series.

In concise, informative, cross-referenced entries, she describes nearly three thousand separate texts as contained in more than nine hundred manuscript volumes and bundles. There are no subdivisions within the catalogue based on theme or genre, but the manuscripts have been renumbered and arranged in a way that roughly clusters them according to general content. The texts cover the whole range of the Javanese written legacy, from history to divination, wayang plays to lyric poetry, kris lore to legal tradition, music, dance, court life, official correspondence and court archives. It is significant to note that the number of titles in this collection with overtly Islamic content is quite meagre.

As with the previous volume, first lines of cantos are never provided, although this is an extremely important type of information for scholars hoping to make use of manuscripts in the wildly protean textual tradition of Java. Perhaps this is due to a practical editorial decision, taken at the outset of the project, to follow the model provided by Pigeaud in the second volume of his iconic catalogue raisonné for the Dutch collections, rather than the approach pioneered by Brandes for his descriptions of the manuscripts of the Van der Tuuk legacy and continued in the Soegiarto notes kept at the Oriental Manuscripts Collection of the Leiden University Library (both of which sources precede, complement, and substantiate the terse entries given by Pigeaud). This means that the readers most likely to use the catalogue, text-oriented students of Javanese history, society, and letters, will often be able to employ it only as a general guide as they make plans to visit the libraries personally or order copies of microfilms, and not as a direct research tool for identifying particular recensions and working out textual relations.

This observation is not meant to detract from Florida's contribution, which is significant in many ways – not least because her materials go well beyond the previously available catalogue of Surakarta manuscripts prepared under the sponsorship of Girardet in 1983. As an interested scholar, however, it is my heart-felt complaint about this Cornell series, and other similar catalogues produced in Indonesia and elsewhere over the past half century (and including some of my own), that too little effort has been invested in providing this simplest yet most valuable of philological tools. Marrison's recent, very limited catalogue of Javanese and other texts from

Lombok is an outstanding exception, though his knowledge of that literature pales beside Florida's mastery of the Surakarta tradition.

The nearly 450 pages of descriptive entries in the catalogue proper are followed by an appendix meant to provide quick access to the manuscripts and their contents. This comprises three separate indices: (1) subjects, (2) authors and scribes, and (3) titles. Unlike the authors of other recent catalogues of manuscripts from Indonesia, Florida has not added either a master list of manuscripts under the Reksa Pustaka shelf numbers, or a reel list for the microfilms. This omission, which repeats a fault of the first volume, will continue to inconvenience users trying to follow up on references which use the call numbers of the original repositories rather than Florida's project numbers. It is essential that this oversight be corrected in future volumes.

Most valuable of the three lists provided is the second, containing several hundred authors and scribes. Many previously unknown, or little-known, individuals involved in the composition of texts and production of Reksa Pustaka manuscripts (sometimes attributable on the basis of the author's keen eye for scribal hands and personal styles) are arrayed here, with notes and references on aliases and name changes over the years, so that this index makes a substantial contribution to opening up the world of scribes and poets in Surakarta and the Mangkunagaran. The subject index, on the other hand, is not very helpful for most tasks beyond cross-referencing within the catalogue. It uses a system based on the hierarchical, hyphenated Library of Congress subject protocols (examples: History. Java – Pustaka Raja – 1100s; Language. Sundanese-Javanese – Lexicography – Synonym list). I find this reference style rigid, staccato, and ultimately frustrating. In the eleven years during which I have had access to the card-catalogue version of this subject index in draft form, I have rarely been able to make profitable use of it in my own research or in the cataloguing work I have done in other collections. When reviewing the present catalogue I tested my old prejudice against this system by going in search of references of special interest to my current work, looking for information on watermarks, illuminated manuscripts, illustrations and other topics. I was unable to find any entries on these topics, though individual manuscript descriptions make regular and specific mention of such things. To find this type of information one would have to go through the catalogue entry by entry looking for relevant notes and observations. In this age of computer concordances, drag and click database software, and increasingly powerful word processing for the lay user, a more comprehensive and inclusive style of keyword indexing would surely have been possible. When the proposed fourth volume of the series is prepared, with its unified indices, I would strongly recommend doing away with the subject hierarchies in favour of straightforward keywords. It is also my feel-

ing that a single index in which titles, names, general and subject entries are all intermixed is easier to use, more efficient, and more productive for users than separate indexes.

Florida is a meticulous scholar with a truly exceptional knowledge of Javanese language and letters. She also possesses a special perspective on court life, in part alluded to in this volume by the courtly cognomen and aristocratic titles which she has published here for the first time: K.M.Ay.T. Budayaningtyas. Further, she is justly renowned for her tenacious refusal to release work prematurely. This concern for accuracy has led her to continue with unusual assiduity to correct and perfect her materials over the past 18 years. She has made a number of return trips to the Reksa Pustaka and has pored over microfilm copies frame by frame to ensure the greatest possible accuracy. But comparing the published edition with the draft version that has been available at certain libraries and in restricted circulation for the past 15 years, the improved detail and greater perfection of the published text do not seem to offer significantly more to the knowledgeable user (that is to say, almost all those who will have occasion to use the catalogue) than the first pages that came from her typewriter, day by day, as she struggled to prepare manuscripts for processing and microfilming by her technical crew in the field in 1980-82. I would encourage the author to consider pushing the next two volumes of the catalogue in a slightly more 'rough and ready' form, while at the same time increasing the investment in indexing and access.

Readers using this catalogue should note the somewhat Solo-centric bias of the author, who often refers to 'Javanese tradition' when in fact she is speaking of the Surakarta court tradition. In this respect she is in good company, the list of experts who have done the same beginning with Winter and continuing through Poerbatjaraka and many contemporary Indonesian scholars; proper recognition, nevertheless, is due to the very different traditions of Yogyakarta, Cirebon, Banten, Kebumen, Pasuruhan, and many other areas of the complex Javanese cultural and literary universes. For the sake of completeness I would also note that although the manuscript collection of the Reksa Pustaka has been thoroughly covered by this catalogue, there still appear to be a number of documents in a Mangkunagaran archive that were not catalogued or filmed by Florida, and are not mentioned in this volume. Some of these, on the other hand, are available elsewhere: many thousands of pages of archival materials relating to genealogy, proceedings of the Pradata Mangkunagaran court, and certain employee records for abdidalem of the principedom have been microfilmed by perseverant agents of the Mormon church, and are available to users worldwide through the LDS genealogy library distribution system (see my technical report, Javanese manuscripts on

microfilm: Preliminary catalogue of the holdings of the Genealogical Society of Utah, Salt Lake City, Family History Library, 1988, pp. 1-5).

In conclusion, the author is to be commended for this solid contribution to the ongoing project of documenting the Javanese manuscript tradition and bringing its riches within reach. Cataloguing is a tedious, underappreciated, and often thankless labour for contemporary academics, and often must be pursued in slack moments in between more prestigious projects. Nancy Florida has pressed on despite these impediments. In Javanese literature in Surakarta manuscripts she has produced another reference volume essential for every scholar of Indonesian literatures and for all libraries with an interest in Indonesia. One hopes that an Indonesian language edition of this catalogue is in the planning, since the majority of such scholars and libraries are in Indonesia itself, and insufficiently capable in English to make best use of this important new resource.

Judith M. Heimann, *The most offending soul alive; Tom Harrisson and his remarkable life*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998, 468 pp. ISBN 0.8248.2199.8. Price: USD 26.95 (paperback).

Victor T. King (ed.), *Rural development and social science research; Case studies from Borneo*. Phillips, Maine: Borneo Research Council, 1999, xiii + 359 pp. [Borneo Research Council Proceedings Series 6.] ISBN 0.9629568.9.9. Price: USD 35 (paperback).

HAROLD BROOKFIELD

Borneo, and especially Sarawak, is the link between these two very different books. From 1947 until 1966, Tom Harrisson was the Curator of the Sarawak Museum in Kuching. In 1967, retired and in the United States, he was strongly instrumental in setting up the Borneo Research Council together with, among others, anthropologist George Appell who is still president of the Council. There is another link between the two publications that I take up below, but first a brief account of the content of the two books is necessary.

Tom Harrisson was a controversial figure all his life. A pioneer in British ornithology while still a schoolboy, he dropped out from Cambridge University without completing a degree, but joined a series of Oxford University expeditions. They included one to Sarawak in 1932 and another, from which he wrote perhaps his most enduring book, to Vanuatu (then the New Heb-

rides) in 1933-35. There followed a period of 'mass observation' in Britain, terminated by the war, which brought him back to Borneo in command of a force of irregulars in 1945. Then came his long period at the Sarawak Museum which, still, very largely due to his work, remains perhaps the most appealing museum in Southeast Asia. He made enemies in Kuching, as elsewhere, and was unable to return to Sarawak after 1967. He died in a road accident in Thailand in 1976.

Judith Heimann, a career diplomat who knew Harrisson as a neighbour in Kuching, set out to research and write this extremely candid biography, mainly after her own retirement. She is among that part of Harrisson's acquaintance, many of them distinguished people, who found his undisciplined energy and catholic interests fascinating and even inspiring. Others were repelled by his alcoholism, bullying seeming-arrogance, philandering and bad temper, and his carelessness in using the work of others. His detractors included most members of the professions of anthropology and pre-history into whose field he 'trespassed' without suitable academic training, but whom he most sought to impress. Harrisson belonged to the dying days of the colonial era, yet to some degree he was a post-modernist in his people-centred approach that had little time for the disciplined work of ethnographic research. He never became familiar with any local or regional language beyond a very simple Malay, a serious limitation to his anthropological work. His important archaeological contributions were flawed by hastiness in coming to conclusions, though it seems he was largely right. This biography is also a commentary on the intellectual context of his time, done with a remarkable balance between the claims of Harrisson and his friends on one side, and those of his many detractors on the other.

The second book reviewed here is of a very different nature. It is the product of a 1996 conference in Brunei, together with some additional papers, designed to create a viewpoint on the need for a fuller appreciation of the role of social science research in development as practised in Borneo. It includes informative summary reports on the two very different sides of a joint British research project on the impacts of environmental change in North-Central Sarawak and eastern Sabah. This is a bitty and unbalanced collection, to some degree brought together in a thoughtful opening essay by the editor. Unfortunately, the political ecology of the manner in which states, and the private enterprises they support, seize hold of and exploit the resources of the indigenous people whom they often largely disregard, is nowhere clearly brought out in this collection. The closest approach comes in the informative discussion by King and Parnwell of the results of the work of the British project near Bintulu. The manner in which Iban people have adapted to loss of resources, and serious rainforest degradation is well delin-

eated. But certain of the other contributions are not really worth their share of space in this long book.

There is one specific link between the two books. One of the better papers in the Borneo Research Council collection, by Crain and Pearson-Rounds, concerns the social ecology of the distinctive wet-rice system of the inland Lun Dayeh who live in Kalimantan, Sarawak and parts of both Sabah and Brunei. The Lun Dayeh homeland is a series of high and quite wide valleys among parallel ridges, first and still best described, with the geomorphological eyes of his time, by Schneeberger (1945). It was in the grasslands and rice-fields of these valleys that Tom Harrisson was dropped by parachute in March 1945 to set up what was originally intended to be an observation force. It became a guerrilla army of Lun Dayeh, Kenyah and others around a small mainly-Australian core, one that inflicted heavy casualties, with minimal losses, on the still-belligerent Japanese army. Ultimately, this unit brought about the surrender in October 1945 of one of the last remaining large Japanese groups to continue fighting after the August capitulation.

Harrisson fell in love with the Lun Dayeh people, and administered those on the Sarawak side of the border for a year after the end of the war. His own attractive, and personally not really immodest, account of his hidden inland war also contains one of his two main attempts to write ethnography about Borneo people (Harrisson 1959). This part of the book suffers from a rather undisciplined turgidity, whereas the narrative is among the most attractive pieces Harrisson ever wrote. Subsequently, the remarkable Lun Dayeh agriculture, so unlike anything around it in Borneo, has been described in its ecological setting by Padoch (1986, 1988) and by the writers in the Borneo Research Council collection reviewed here. At the time when the collective information begins this region of ancient settlement was still largely isolated from coastal influences. Christianity, introduced on the Indonesian side in the 1930s, was comprehensively embraced on the Malaysian side in the 1950s. More recently, there are growing threats to both environment and way of life as roads and loggers have pressed ever closer to the Lun Dayeh heartland in the 1990s.

Neither of these works is likely to become a central part of the growing academic literature on Borneo. But they are an illuminating pair, together shedding some light on more than half a century of Borneo observation and research. It will be obvious in which of the two this reviewer found the more interesting reading.

References

- Harrison, Tom
1959 *World within; A Borneo story*. London: Cresset Press. [Reprinted 1984, Singapore: Oxford University Press.]
- Padoch, C.
1986 'Agricultural site selection among permanent field farmers: an example from East Kalimantan, Indonesia', *Journal of Ethnobiology* 6:279-88.
- 1988 'Agriculture in interior Borneo: shifting cultivation and alternatives', *Expedition* 30-1:18-28.
- Schneeberger, W.F.
1945 'The Kerayan-Kelabit highland of central northeast Borneo', *Geographical Review* 35:544-62.

Roy E. Jordaan, *The Śailendras in Central Javanese history; A survey of research from 1950 to 1999*. Yogyakarta: Penerbitan Universitas Sanata Dharma, 1999, iv + 108 pp. ISBN 979.8927.28.1 (paperback).

J.G. de CASPARIS

In the fifty years since the publication of my *Prasasti Indonesia I; Oorkonden uit de Śailendra-tijd* (Bandung 1950), some new data have appeared which make it desirable to re-assess the origins and history of the Śailendras between about 775 and 850 AD. As often happens, these new data have hardly led to a better understanding of the multiple problems of this period. By eliminating some insufficiently founded theories, however, the remaining lacunae can at least be made to stand out more clearly, and Jordaan's new study has succeeded in achieving this while at the same time avoiding the pitfalls of another hazardous reconstruction.

The result appears somewhat negative: numerous views on different aspects of the problem are critically examined, and found wanting. Some examples follow, beginning with theories regarding the origin of the Śailendras. Coedès was the first to connect the emergence of this dynasty with the end of the 'Fu-nan' period in the history of Cambodia. Despite a few general but rather vague points of agreement, the time lag of about one and a half centuries is a serious objection to the supposed continuity. It should also be noted, on the other hand, that similar dynastic gaps appear between the

Early and Late Cālukyas in the northern Deccan, and in late Khmer history. A strong point in favour of Çoedès' theory, moreover, is the fact that the earliest mention of the Śailendras appears in the 775 'Ligor' (Nakhon Sri Thammarat) inscription, which is about half-way between South Cambodia and Central Java. It is regrettable that the Ligor inscription (because it is not in Central Java?) is not discussed in Jordaan's study. As to Boechari's view that the Śailendra kings were descendants of *ḍapunta* Selendra in the undated Old Malay inscription of Sojomerto, Jordaan quotes H.B. Sarkar, who argued that *ḍapunta* is the title of a priest rather than a king. A priest or his descendants, however, could still have become kings, and a more important point is the use of (*ḍapunta hyang (hiyam)*) for the king of Śrīwijaya in the Kedukan Bukit and Talang Tuwo inscriptions. In the absence of well-documented evidence regarding the origins of the Śailendra, either view (or even both views?) can still be accepted as possibilities. A third possibility, that they were of Indian origin, has rightly been ruled out by the author.

As to the mysterious Kumbhayoni, who erected at least three *liṅga* on the Ratubaka plateau, Jordaan rejects my earlier identification with Rakai Pitakatan (which has been made impossible by the evidence of Wanua Tengah III), but ignores my identification with the founder of the bilingual Pereng inscription of 863. Yet my view here is based on strong arguments. In addition to the identity of the name (Kumbhayoni = Kumbhaja or Kalaśodbhava), the 'wise' Kumbhayoni is referred to as a great-grandson of the king of Halu, while in a fragmentary Ratubaka inscription he is said to be a descendant of the kingdom of Musala, a Sanskritization of Halu (*musalākhyarāstra*). The title given to Pu Kumbhayoni in the Pereng inscription, *rakai Walaing*, also reminds us strongly of the Ratubaka plateau. But where was Halu or Musala situated? Questions of origin, important though they may seem to us, are rarely answerable; this is true for the Śailendras and for Kumbhayoni, but applies equally to Sañjaya (the old view of Kuñjarakuñja has long been eliminated). Kings, or even whole dynasties, seem to appear from nowhere, and each time they evidently had their *pujangga* present a new genealogy.

Jordaan is not an epigraphist, and has not provided any fresh data to expand our knowledge. The Pre-Nāgarī inscriptions of Plaosan, most of which are now available following recent discoveries, may well supply just such new information. This brings us to the final assessment of the present study: by eliminating a number of earlier theories, Jordaan may have brought out the most important remaining problems more clearly. Though quoting with some apparent approval Van Naerssen's view of a multiplicity of little kingdoms (ruled by *Rakai* or *Rakryān* before about the ninth century), for instance, he does not try to explain how the Śailendras succeeded in control-

ling the manpower involved in their ambitious building projects. It is unlikely that such problems can be solved without the discovery of new data.

Françoise Douaire-Marsaudon, *Les premiers fruits; Parenté, identité sexuelle et pouvoirs en Polynésie occidentale (Tonga, Wallis et Futuna)*. Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1998, x + 338 pp. ISBN 2.271.05518.0.

H.J.M. CLAESSEN

In slightly more than 300 pages, Françoise Douaire-Marsaudon (Université de Provence, Marseille) presents a thorough analysis of traditional Tongan culture. Though she concentrates on first fruit offerings, the brother-sister relationship, and the position of the sacred ruler, in effect her book covers the whole of eighteenth-century social and political structure and ideology. The theoretical principle on which she bases her analysis is structuralism, and this explains why the emphasis is often more on ideological and social than on political aspects. The author does not confine herself to the Tonga Islands: to indicate in what respects Tongan customs are unique, and to what degree they conform to a more widespread pattern, short descriptions of Wallis and Futuna are also added.

The starting-point in this study is the position of Tongan women, and the nature of the first fruit offerings which they receive. Women have a higher social status than men, but men have more political power. Against this background, the offering of first fruits by brothers to sisters becomes a matter of great interest. Women produce valuable goods (*koloa*) such as mats, tapa, and coconut oil. Men are the food-producers, and prepare the first fruit offerings (*polopolo*) for their eldest sisters and for their chiefs. The sisters give fine mats in return (pp. 57, 116), and the chiefs fertility (see below). As marriage is virilocal, women of different families live in a single village; they are considered to belong to the *kainga* (kinship group) of their husbands (p. 53). Douaire-Marsaudon pays much attention to the complex concept of *kainga*, stressing (in contradistinction to Sahlins, who considered the comparable 'ramage' primarily as unilineal) its non-unilineal aspects (p. 66). She distinguishes the aristocratic *kainga* from a more general type (pp. 69-88); the former expresses in the first place the idea of 'my people', while the latter conveys the idea of kinship (p. 78). Members of a *kainga* offer first fruits (*polopolo*) to its head, and expect in return a good harvest, although 'le geste des polopolo est davantage en relation avec la fertilité de la terre' (p. 77). Douaire-Marsaudon rejects

the idea that the offerings are simply a matter of reciprocity: the farmer, she notes, does not 'pay' for the land, but for the fertility of the land. At the same time, however, she confirms that this fertility is generated in some way by the chiefs, so that in the end her reasons for playing down the element of reciprocity are not entirely clear. Her position here is in accordance with that of Nicholas Thomas (1990:32), who holds that relations between chiefs and people in Polynesia are not reciprocal because the people can never do enough in return for the good works of their chiefs. Yet Marquesan chiefs, by Thomas' own admission (1990:178), lost their positions if they were unable to 'produce' fertility, while the rulers of Wallis and Futuna ran the same risk (Douaire-Marsaudon 1998:101, 113). Perpetual indebtedness to sacred rulers, clearly, was not the whole story.

A great deal of gift-giving occurs in western Polynesia. Men give food (*kai*), women *koloa*. Gifts are connected with status, occasion, and competition, the same principles that dominate the relationship between brothers and sisters. The eldest sister is highly respected, and enjoys a higher status than her brothers and sisters (p. 154). It is she who names her brothers' children, and who recognizes children in the name of her *kainga*. She is supposed to possess supernatural powers, and is the focus of many *tapu*. One manifestation of the status difference between sister and brother is the *fahu* relation: a woman's children have a right to the belongings of her brother. Mother's brother represents the 'inferiority' of mother's *kainga*; father's sister represents the 'superiority' of father's *kainga*. This created special problems where the Tui Tonga and his sister (and her children) were concerned.

The political relationship between the Tui Tonga as an 'exalted king, remote from secular politics', and the Hau, the temporal king or actual head of the government, was also a sensitive one (pp. 21, 211). The sacred status of the Tui Tonga remained important long after his loss of political primacy; this was especially apparent in the *inasi*, the ritual offering of first fruits by representatives of all the communities of the Tongan archipelago (p. 277). Douaire-Marsaudon states that in the eyes of his people, the Tui Tonga was a god (p. 247). She bases this statement on the 'second' myth about the birth of 'Aho'eitu, the first Tui Tonga. The 'first' myth is well known: the boy was born from a Tongan woman made pregnant by a god. The second is less familiar: after his birth, 'Aho'eitu returned to heaven where he was well received by his divine father, but killed and eaten by his jealous brothers. His father then made the murderers vomit, and brought the boy to life again; this celestial rebirth made the boy a 'god'.

When, however, is it appropriate to speak of divinity? The Tongans, most certainly, were aware that great differences existed between the Tui Tonga and all other gods. He was sometimes ill, he needed food and drink, and he died; he was an extraordinary human, a sacred person. Anything he touched

became *tapu*, and nobody was allowed to sit higher than he. He could enter into contact with his divine forebears, and because of this ability he could also influence fertility. 'That the Tui Tonga was regarded as a true god by his subjects seems doubtful'; noted Gifford (1929:75) in *Tongan society*; the Tui Tonga 'were human, from the Tongan standpoint, inasmuch as they prayed to the gods when ill and their relatives offered their little fingers for them' (Gifford 1929:289). We can be sure that Gifford was familiar with the 'second' myth, for he had included the story in a previous work. Other sources, likewise, seem to offer little support for the idea of the Tui Tonga as a god. While Douaire-Marsaudon's interpretations are impeccable from a structuralist point of view, in my view the final word on this matter has yet to be spoken.

There is much more in *Les premiers fruits* than I have had space to discuss here. Other interesting topics discussed in the book include (to name but a few) the marriage patterns of the rulers, the question of nominal or actual landownership on the part of the Tui Tonga, and the trade relations between Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa. *Les premiers fruits* is a well-written and well documented book, rich in factual content and containing numerous challenging and thought-provoking arguments. For years to come it will remain a must for every student of Tonga or Polynesia.

References

- Gifford, Edward Winslow
 1929 *Tongan society*. Honolulu: The Bernice P. Bishop Museum.
 Thomas, Nicholas
 1990 *Marquesan societies; Inequality and political transformation in eastern Polynesia*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Andrew Beatty, *Varieties of Javanese religion; An anthropological account*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, xv + 272 pp. [Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology 111.] ISBN 0.521.62444.4 (hardback), 0.521:62473.8 (paperback). Price: GBP 40 (hardback), 14.95 (paperback).

MATTHEW ISAAC COHEN

A densely inhabited, preferentially endogenous, predominantly Osing hamlet of Banyuwangi, in the far east of Java, provides the major ethnographic site for Andrew Beatty's engaging study of practical religious styles and their

local interaction in late New Order Indonesia. The hamlet is in some ways unusual. A full fifth of its adult population are members of a mystical sect which Beatty refers to by the pseudonym 'Sangkan Paran', and it is also residence of a well-known Barongan dance troupe. In other ways, it is archly Javanese. There is the usual border shrine to an ancestral figure, there are old prayer-houses and a (relatively) new mosque; humanist sceptics, old-style pious *santri*, and newly arrived Muslim modernists share a social space. What is interesting about this site, and what provides the intense focus of Beatty's ethnography, is the balance of *rukun*, or social harmony, among the constituent members of the community, with all their contrasting religious orientations. Neighbours and relatives attend each other's ritual feasts, which are consistent in form regardless of the host's religious outlook. Normative Islam occupies a privileged position, buttressed by official regulations, but even the most devout do not protest the heterodoxical discourse of mystics accompanying all-night, smoke-filled recitations of the life of Joseph. Beatty recognizes that this harmonic state is contingent, and might not survive the local and pan-Indonesian ideological shifts he documents in the making. But as a moment, a brief moment perhaps, it not only carries its own intrinsic fascination but also illuminates some of the most important aspects of Javanese social behaviour (religious and secular): a commitment to flexibility and compromise, and the concomitant eschewal of public dogmatism. A sharp analytical ability, an extraordinary degree of anthropological rapport, and the good graces of his Banyuwangi hosts (not necessarily in that order) allow the ethnographer to provide important insights into how and why *rukun* is generated and reproduced in the religious sphere.

Beatty has important findings and arguments to present. One of them, the subject of his earlier article on the *slametan* ritual feast that appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (revised as Chapter 2 of the book), concerns the polysemic character of Javanese symbols. The 'same' symbolic offerings presented and glossed in public events convey very different associations and referents for different interpretants. Blobs of porridge symbolize filial piety, the origin and destination of being in the self, or father's semen and mother's procreative blood. People recognize all interpretations as partially valid, non-exclusive alternatives. The 'symbolically dense and comprehensive but at the same time flexible and ambiguous' (p. 50) form of the *slametan* has facilitated its reproduction over many generations as a forum for inter-denominational 'agreeing to differ'. (At a more material level, the cyclic organization of prestation and debt associated with such feasts and life-cycle rites means that it is hard to opt out of the ritual system and still remain on reasonable terms with one's neighbours.) The multivocality of religious discourse and practice is elaborated at length in discussions of texts, relics, cere-

monies, rituals, customs, and speech genres; it functions as a major motif in the book.

A second insight is that contrasting religious styles are often conterminous in the same person. This is an important point of divergence from Clifford Geertz's *The religion of Java*, an inevitable yardstick. Geertz famously pictures Javanese as aggregated into three religious variants distributed in the agrarian countryside (the syncretic *abangan* peasants), the vicinity of the mosque (the pious *santri* traders and theological students), and the urban sphere of the office and modern market (the white-collar *priyayi* élite). In contrast, Beatty demonstrates that not only do all of Geertz's variants (and more) exist in the same small village, but that *the very same actor* can present offerings at an ancestral shrine, lead a congregation of Muslims in reciting the Fatihah, and speculate in social gatherings on the relation of microcosm to macrocosm.

Beatty develops his argument regarding conterminous religious affiliation by examining different spheres of religion as complementary and co-constructed practical styles. Chapters 3 and 4 examine related Javanese spirit cults, one dedicated to a were-tiger refugee from Islamic Mataram who became a minister in the Hindu-Buddhist kingdom of Macan Putih, the other to a waif-like saint likewise associated with this last pre-Islamic kingdom. Chapter 5 takes on 'practical Islam' from the viewpoint of pious, but generally under-educated, village adherents. Beatty is markedly unsympathetic to 'the struggle of Islam' and its associated zealots and evangelists, while recognizing that near-universal attendance of children in Islamic schools means that the degree of religious observance of the next generation will not be like that of his informants. In contrast, the following two chapters concern Javanism and its systematization in 'Sangkan Paran', a mystical sect founded by a nobleman from Surakarta who settled in Banyuwangi and died in 1956. Beatty delights in the sophisticated hermeneutics of village exegetes, and their penchant for proposing practical responses to existential questions, matched by the author's own apparent predilection for Bishop Berkeley. In these folk mystics, the ethnographer has truly found his own interlocutors.

Pragmatic reasons draw villagers into participating in different spheres. Familial or neighbourly relations, a child's illness, an overwhelming desire for inner well-being, a need for sanctuary from repressive agents of the state, or curiosity regarding the mysteries of Banyuwangi's fragmented past can impel one to be a regular mosque-goer, sponsor a *slametan* at a shrine, act in a Barongan troupe, stay up all night discussing esoteric religious philosophy, or attend an annual cleansing of the relics ceremony. Commitment to a given religious variety is rarely absolute; participation is always contingent upon the current circumstances of an individual.

A third point made (though not documented quite to this reader's satisfaction) is that despite the New Order project to reify regional culture, Java as a whole remains a complex civilization, composed of numerous, overlapping, and interacting cultural areas, simultaneously positioned in national and world systems. The book is not a regional study of Banyuwangi identity or ethnicity, but an ethnographic account of religion in Java. The book's penultimate chapter on Banyuwangi's converts to Parisada Hindu Dharma, and the trips we take with Beatty outside 'his' village – to an orthodox Islamic hamlet two miles away, to the mysterious wilderness of Alas Purwo, to the shrine of the waif-saint in the next village – are not simply diversionary excursions, but complementary religious threads, completing the tapestry woven from Beatty's village fieldwork experience.

Much more could be said about this important book. Beatty's judicious citation of sources, both ethnographic and Javanist, is exemplary, with only minor omissions (Robson on *slametan*, Koentjaraningrat on spirit nomenclature, Wessing on were-tigers, Headley's collection on prayer). One might object to certain unproblematized cultural translations (saint, cult, sect, shrine, evangelist, relic) and to the use of pseudonyms for villages and sects, but Beatty's ear for spoken Osing Javanese is fine indeed. A serious reservation concerns the ethnography's predictive validity. Like Anderson's ill-timed 1965 essay, *Mythology and the tolerance of the Javanese*, Beatty's study of village *rukun* was completed just prior to an outbreak of mass religious violence. A footnote to the concluding chapter, added 'as this book goes to press', states that Banyuwangi's 1998 violence was the result of 'organized terror, though not communal strife' (p. 259). Recent reports, however, suggest a more complex picture, involving the complicity of local agents and the exploitation of deep-seated local antagonisms in Banyuwangi's church burnings, riots, and executions. All said, though, Beatty's is one of the most nuanced ethnographies of religion in Indonesia available. His book well deserves careful study.

Sylvia Tiwon, *Breaking the spell; Colonialism and literary renaissance in Indonesia*. Leiden: Department of Languages and Cultures of Southeast Asia and Oceania, University of Leiden, 1999, vi + 235 pp. [Semaian 18.] ISBN 90.73084.19.9. Price: NLG 40.

MATTHEW ISAAC COHEN

What constitutes a literary tradition? More exactly, how does a sense of the Malay oral and manuscript traditions influence the work of Indonesian modernist novelists and poets? Sylvia Tiwon, wrestling with her precursors in the field of Malay-Indonesian literary criticism (Drewes, Hooykaas, Teeuw, Jassin, Aveling, Johns), attempts to answer such questions through a close textual analysis of canonical literature of the late colonial period. She conceives her work 'as an interruption in the discourse on the modern literature of Indonesia', a print-cultural discourse which Tiwon characterizes as a co-invention of Dutch cultural imperialists and the Pujangga Baru ('New Poets') of the 1930s. Artfully juxtaposing statements by Hooykaas and Teeuw respectively that 'Malay literature is dead' and 'Modern Indonesian literature was born around 1920', she maps the creative misreadings and revisions of 'the beautiful language and exquisite formulations' (p. 170) of oral tradition and manuscript literature by the period's strongest print authors:

The 'spell' of Tiwon's title is the Malay-Indonesian *pesona*, the sorcery of the literary past experienced by authors intent upon individual expression. It was Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana who imagined a deep chasm separating traditional cultures of the archipelago from the culture of modern nationalism he and his peers were creating in the pages of the *Poedjangga Baroe* literary journal. But it was also Takdir who said: 'only the ephebes who are truly strong, their souls trembling, can actually escape the spell of the old love poetry' (p. 30; my translation). Tiwon's study of poetic misprision, detailing oralisms and traditional elements in G. Francis' *Njai Dasima* (1896), Marah Roesli's *Sitti Noerbaja* (1922), and the poems of Amir Hamzah (1911-1946) and Chairil Anwar (1922-1949), suggests perhaps that none of the period's writers completely triumphed in their struggles against the *pesona* of the past. The tradition they sought to escape in fact lived on inside them, whether they knew it or not. It was Sanusi Pane who put it best, appropriately in the 'traditional' form of a poetic quatrain: *antara anak pedati / yang berpantun di dalam hati / dengan Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana / ada perhubungan sejarah*, 'between the cart driver reciting *pantun* in his heart and Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana there is an historical connection' (Sanusi Pane 1998:14).

Malay literature, traditionally, was meant to be reproduced orally and received aurally in social settings. Sweet, fluent, and melodious oration softened the hearts of an audience. Emotions were induced or grounded poetically by way of 'ideologically saturated' *pantun*. The social hierarchy was reinforced through exemplary, highly schematic narratives (*hikayat*, *syair*). Cares were soothed through controlled emotional release evoked by tales inevitably featuring internal audiences of servants and companions patterning ideal responses.

Crisis erupts as Tiwon's historical narrative (which bears a heavy debt to

the work of Amin Sweeney) continues with the introduction of print technology. A writer now wrote for an audience of people he did not directly know, reading his works silently and in isolation.

[H]ow was the author to make certain that his audience would be able to react to the things he was describing? If they did react, would they react correctly? Would they be able to perceive and judge the way he did? (p. 119).

Responses varied. Some, like Marah Roesli, leaned heavily upon oral tradition, using traditional formulae and response cues to ensure fluid communication with readers, even as they covered themes such as the clash of East and West. Others, like Amir Hamzah, attempted to wean their audiences away from 'the *persona* of aural music' (p. 164) by exposing tradition's contradictions and hypocrisies. Others still, like Chairil Anwar, an 'outrageously outspoken iconoclast' (p. 222), attempted to subvert tradition, adorning a beloved with 'cream puffs and coca-cola' in place of 'the opulent jewelry and rich clothes that decorate the [...] beauty of tradition' (p. 215).

Any study of poetic influence which purports to be more than a catalogue of direct and indirect quotations should be able to say something about the nature of the anxiety of influence, revisionism, and the ambivalences of canon-formation. These are terms drawn from Harold Bloom, the dean of 'poetic influence' scholarship and a figure curiously absent from Tiwon's study, although she does cite (among others) Barthès, Burke, Eagleton, Eliot, and Gates. Perhaps because of her lack of interest in the psychodynamics of revisionism, Tiwon's understanding of influence scarcely attends to the nuances of the always agonistic and sometimes catastrophic processes by which belated artists (including Indonesian orators and writers) can yet achieve greatness. With only a handful of pages left in the book, she still manages to say something as blithe as 'Chairil's debt to Amir Hamzah runs deep. [...] While the poetic voices are poles apart, they share the choice of actual experience over sound [...]' (p. 217). I am not convinced that such amicable terms as debt and sharing best characterize how the famously caustic Chairil experienced his relationship with an immediate precursor. Tiwon, in any case, does not present the historical literary data necessary to probe this relation in any depth. Her study is replete with numerous examples of revisionary misprisions, but does little to challenge or modify the orthodoxies of revisionism or the historical formation of the Indonesian literary canon as outlined by Teeuw and others. This is in fact an opportunity missed, for her materials, if approached in a different way, could well tell us much about the hows and whys of (for example) the occlusion of the lively 'low Malay' and 'wild' literature of the late colonial period, or the projection of morbidity on residual and archaic cultures by both scholars and Pujangga Baru authors. Tiwon

might even have deconstructed the mythic divide between 'the oral' and 'the written' – a topic which, as it is, she deals with only superficially.

Breaking the spell has its definite strengths, including a cogent essay of the Malay *pantun*, dextrous integration of poetic texts and translations with critical commentary, and a sense of surety about the distinctive importance of Malay and Indonesian letters in world literature. It also has far too many weaknesses, due in particular to its overly simplistic view of colonial cultural history. It is always a pleasure to read and re-read such classics as *Hikayat Andaken Penurat*, *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, the *pantun* collections of Hamilton and Wilkinson and Winstedt, *Njai Dasima*, *Sitti Noerbaja*, *Buah rindu*, *Njanji sunji*, *Kerikil tajam dan yang terampas dan yang putus*, and *Deru campur debu*. Sylvia Tiwon is an intelligent interlocutor to have sitting at one's side while perusing these texts, with many fascinating observations on Malay and Indonesian poetics. But her book could have been so much more.

Reference

Sanusi Pane

1998

'Persatuan Indonesia', in Achdiat K. Mihardja (ed.), *Polemik kebudayaan*, pp. 13-8. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka. [First published 1935.]

Victor T. King, *Anthropology and development in South-East Asia; Theory and practice*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1999, xx + 308 pp. ISBN 983.560041.4. Price: MYR 110.

FRECK COLOMBIJN

Victor King argues in this book that social or cultural anthropologists have an important contribution to make to development. They contribute their knowledge and insight to the preparation, implementation, and evaluation of development plans; they can also act as mediators between local people and governments, or at least play a role as critics on the sidelines. Anthropological jargon has been used as little as possible in order to make the text comprehensible for non-anthropologists who also have an interest in development. A list of abbreviations with entries like ADB, GATT, and HIV, as well as less well-known sets of initials such as LWU and SLDB, acquaints the uninitiated reader with development terms.

The first four chapters cover general issues: the relationship between theory and practice, the relationship between anthropology and colonialism, the

ethical side of involvement, and the national planning ideologies of Malaysia, Indonesia, and Singapore. King then presents case material grouped in six chapters dealing respectively with rural development, environmental issues, gender, tourism, indigenous medical and health knowledge, and urban change. Most of the case studies are drawn from work by British, Scandinavian, Dutch, and French anthropologists. The difficulty of tracing work done by Southeast Asian anthropologists is noted and regretted.

King sets out some remarkable views which will not be shared by everyone, but which most people will agree are worthy of attention. He stretches the definition of 'applied anthropology' to encompass every piece of anthropological knowledge that is potentially applicable. He repeatedly states that government officials are not automatically 'the bad guys' and often show genuine concern for the people or the environment. He warns against Western 'environmental fundamentalism' and a nostalgic bias favouring the interests of tribal people while neglecting the needs of (immigrant) peasants (p. 154). King also admits that in a competitive international economic environment, social welfare dimensions of factory work tend to take second place to the need for economic growth (p. 169).

The discussion of research ethics is superficial, and barely mentions the real dilemmas. How involved in 'social engineering' can and should a Western anthropologist become when he or she has a ticket home which guarantees a safe exit from whatever mess might be created as a result? Furthermore, since conflicting social interests are almost always involved in development decisions, any intervention tends to be at the expense of one or more parties. How, then, does the anthropologist decide on whose side he or she is?

The core of the book consists of the many case studies. The discussion of these is sometimes disappointing; regarding the resettlement of Iban longhouses in Sarawak, for instance, too many words are devoted to the project objectives, the organizational structure of the agencies involved, and technical shortcomings (sub-standard building materials, delayed funding of schools). We learn little, by contrast, about the socio-cultural reasons why the resettlement project was in part a failure: for example, the impact of cash compensation payments in an egalitarian society (p. 105). Other studies show more cogently what anthropology can contribute to development debates. One anthropologist, for instance, discovered that irrigation on Bali was controlled and coordinated by temple rituals; the hydrological role of these rituals was initially ignored and even actively undermined by planners, but finally acknowledged after an ecologist constructed a simulation model proving their efficacy. In another case, research showed how low-level bureaucrats responsible for forest conservation in the Philippines are caught between the competing demands of local stakeholders and higher-level administrators.

King's book is a useful introduction to the topic of the role of anthropologists in Southeast Asian development. He does not claim comprehensiveness, but his 27-page, densely printed bibliography is a very useful, thorough starting point for further study. Conspicuous by its absence throughout the book is the problem of corruption.

Clive J. Christie, *A modern history of South-East Asia; Decolonization, nationalism and separatism*. London: Tauris, 1996, x + 286 pp. ISBN 1.86064.354.X. Price: GBP 14.95.

BERNHARD DAHM

Most previous accounts of the process of decolonization, nationalism and nation-building in Southeast Asia have focused on the 'winners': that is, on political movements which, whether against colonial powers or against local adversaries within the new nation-states, have been successful. In this book Clive Christie discusses the 'losers', those who didn't make it.

The dynamic interplay between a revived ethnic consciousness and the concept of popular sovereignty, Christie argues, led to the demand that ethnic identity be given a legitimate political expression. Since Southeast Asia was the home of many groups with the ultimate desire to create a nation of their own, the chances of success were limited to those which evoked the necessary response from the masses, and eventually also support from abroad, in order to expel the European powers. Colonialism had encouraged internal divisions and created specific ties of loyalty with some minorities; when they realized that their case was lost, however, the colonizers tended to reverse this policy and support the most powerful elements in the nationalist movement in order to smoothen the unavoidable final transition of power. In the process, former allies were left to their own fate.

These developments are convincingly analysed in the four chapters of the first part of the book, dealing respectively with Malaysia (The protest of the Straits Chinese in Penang against their inclusion in the Malayan Federation), Burma (the 'betrayal' of the Karen), Vietnam (the French and the Montagnards), and Indonesia (the making of the South Moluccan Republic). Each chapter provides a well-documented discussion of the historical background, origins, forms and consequences of minority-majority conflict during the main period of decolonization, roughly speaking from 1940 to 1960.

The second part of the book looks at the attempts at separatism which re-

sulted in several countries from the dissatisfaction of increasingly self-aware and assertive Muslim minorities with the position of Islam in the new nation-states. A special chapter on Islam, ethnicity and separatism emphasizes the double role of Islam as a belief system and as a focus of identity. The discussion of Aceh (Indonesia) describes the ironic discontent of Muslims in a predominantly Islamic state. Many Acehnese regard the vague principle of 'belief in one God' promoted by the central government in Jakarta as an offence against the essential link between *believing* and *belonging* in Islam. The role of Islam in strengthening separatism in non-Islamic countries is illustrated in a chapter on the position of the Arakan Muslims in colonial and postcolonial Burma, and in a discussion of separatism in Patani (southern Thailand).

The case of the Moros in the Philippines, by contrast, is referred to only in passing; a more detailed discussion of the fate of a Muslim minority in a Christian environment would have been a welcome complement to the two case studies of Islamic groups in predominantly Buddhist states. Some readers may also regret the lack of attention – particularly in the concluding chapter of the book, which assesses the chances of future stability in South-east Asia – to disputes over control of natural resources as a factor in centre-periphery tensions. In general, however, Christie's book is a necessary and valuable contribution to a better understanding of modern Southeast Asian history. His insistence on excavating the historical roots of present conflicts, and his success in filling some real empirical gaps in the existing literature, make it particularly rewarding reading.

Leonard Blussé; Frans-Paul van der Putten and Hans Vogel (eds), *Pilgrims to the past; Private conversations with historians of European expansion*. Leiden: Research School CNWS, 1996, 339 pp. ISBN 90.73782.74.0. Price: NLG 40.

J. van GOOR

Most historians like to talk about their profession and the way they developed their special interests. Because of this human aspect, interviews with leading historians have always been among the most charming parts of *Itinerario*, the journal produced by the Leiden Centre for the History of European Expansion. On the twentieth anniversary of *Itinerario*, its editors have republished 27 of these conversations in the form of an attractive anthology. Not all interviews, alas, have led to a publication; for one reason or another the visits to Fernand Braudel and Charles Boxer, for instance,

never resulted in written reports. Reading the talks that were actually published, one can only regret this. *Pilgrims to the past* not only offers a couple of pleasant hours' reading, but also provides interesting materials for a historiography class. All interviews make it clear that the writing of history, like history itself, is often the result of a series of coincidences; this personal, serendipitous aspect is particularly strong in the cases of Philip Curtin and Bailey Diffy. The earliest interview included dates from 1977 (Ronald Robinson), the most recent from 1995 (Henk Wesseling, at the moment of his retirement from the Leiden Centre).

Summarizing these 27 interviews is a hopeless task. Among the authors are British, American, Dutch, French, Portuguese, Indian, Japanese, South African, Belgian, Swedish, and Danish historians, all of them with their personal histories and specific fields of interest. Some are ex-colonial administrators, but there are also people from former colonies, 'world historians', and authors whose main interest is in the biography of certain individuals; others are former missionaries and priests who developed the study of a particular diocese or pioneered the recording of oral history. Besides historians, there are also contributors from other disciplines: Harry Hoetink, for instance, is a Dutch expert on Caribbean race relations who began his career as a sociologist. The geographical scope of the collection is equally wide: Asia, Africa, and the Americas all figure in this book. None of those interviewed is reticent in expressing his or her views on what has happened in the world over the last five hundred years.

Many interesting personal contrasts in theory and methodology come out in these interviews. While some, notably Slicher van Bath, like to play with numbers, others maintain that quantitative calculations lead historians to overestimate the reliability of their conclusions. Another opposition can be detected when it comes to assessing the value of primary sources relative to insights from the social sciences: the views of W.Ph. Coolhaas and Sartono Kartodirdjo provide a neat contrast in this respect. Also interesting is the way in which some people (Michael Adas, for instance) were able to develop their field not only intellectually, but also within the complexities of the present-day university structure. The interviewers were well prepared, asking the right questions on the lives and works of those they interviewed, and the resulting stories make consistently enjoyable reading.

Robert W. Hefner (ed.), *Market cultures; Society and morality in the new Asian capitalisms*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1998, viii + 328 pp. ISBN 0.8133.3360.1 (paperback).

DAVID HENLEY

Virtually anything which can usefully be said in analytical, predictive, or prescriptive terms about the dilemma of the ethnic Chinese minorities in contemporary Southeast Asia depends directly on our interpretation of the reasons for their commercial success. If, for instance, the economic inequality between Chinese and *pribumi* groups has its origins mainly in monopoly privileges granted to the former by colonial and post-colonial rulers, then political changes can probably go a long way toward eliminating it; if, however, it results from a contrast between Chinese capitalism and indigenous 'moral economies', then its disappearance will depend on the continuing erosion of 'traditional' culture; and if it reflects the high levels of trust and solidarity prevailing within the ranks of a disliked immigrant minority, then it can probably best be ameliorated by the assimilation of that minority into the host society. The contributors to another recent anthology dealing partly with the predicament of the Southeast Asian Chinese, Reid and Chirot's *Essential outsiders* (1997), chose simply to avoid the sensitive question of *why* this group has become such a formidable economic force, so it was a great relief to see that *Market cultures*, without glossing over the complexity of the issues involved, tackles the question of ethnic differentials in entrepreneurial performance head-on.

Not surprisingly in view of its title and anthropological focus, the most common emphasis in this collection is on what may be called the 'cultural' factors affecting entrepreneurial performance. The central issues of the book, according to editor Robert Hefner in his clear, interesting, and (apart from the entertaining references to 'bottoms-up' business organization on pages 20 and 21) businesslike introduction, are 'the degree to which there exist moral and organizational precedents for *or against* [original emphasis] modern capitalist enterprise in East and Southeast Asia', and 'the relation of such precedents to broader divisions in society, including those based on religion, ethnicity, gender, and class' (p. 3). While some chapters, notably David L. Szanton's 'Contingent moralities; Social and economic investment in a Philippine fishing town' and Hefner's own 'Markets and justice for Muslim Indonesians', focus on the classical Weberian question of how traditional and religious values restrict, promote, or channel commercial behaviour, the predominant (and in my opinion more interesting) emphasis in this volume is on the sec-

ond of Hefner's 'precedents' for capitalism: its forms of social organization and cooperation.

Gary G. Hamilton ('Culture and organization in Taiwan's market economy'), for example, argues that Taiwan's economic success is based on small and medium-sized firms which harness the corporate qualities of the Chinese household (*jia*). These family firms derive additional economic strength from external networks of *guanxi* or 'reciprocal relationships' which provide for large-scale credit and investment flows, and also for a remarkable amount of joint ownership, across family boundaries. Jamie Mackie ('Business success among Southeast Asian Chinese; The role of culture, values, and social structures') also gives attention to the internal 'trust and social solidarity' which ethnic Chinese groups have apparently been able to deploy in the creation of both stable trading partnerships and large corporate enterprises. While his characterization of native Southeast Asian societies as 'rigidly hierarchical' and 'authoritarian' (pp. 132, 139) is perhaps misleading, the broad contrast which Mackie outlines here between the 'vertical patronage ties' of indigenous society and the 'horizontal linkages based on *guanxi* [reciprocity] and *xinyong* [reliability, trust]' is clearly important. Tania Li ('Constituting capitalist culture; The Singapore Malay problem and entrepreneurship reconsidered'), while drawing attention to ideological elements in the quasi-official stereotype of Singapore Malays as entrepreneurially inept, confirms that economic individualism within Malay families is a serious impediment to successful competition with Chinese family businesses, and that inter-familial ties conducive to business cooperation are also absent among the Malays. In a similar vein, Shaun Kingsley Malarney ('State stigma, family prestige, and the development of commerce in the Red River Delta of Vietnam') emphasizes the limited extent of inter-familial economic cooperation, associated with what one French official described as 'atavistic mistrust' (p. 273), in precolonial and colonial Vietnam.

A partial exception to this line of reasoning is Jennifer Alexander's chapter on women traders in Javanese marketplaces. In her 1987 book *Trade, traders and trading in rural Java*, Alexander was emphatic and complete in her rejection of cultural explanations for the entrepreneurial 'failure' of the Javanese. In part her attitude here was an intellectual and political reaction against the functionalist methods and sometimes condescending views of early post-colonial writers like Clifford Geertz, in part a result of her own observation that the society of the Javanese marketplace was not as primitively 'atomistic' as Geertz had believed: stable dyadic *langganan tetap* or 'regular customer' relationships involving the extension of long-term credit, for instance, proved to be quite common among traders, and larger partnerships reminiscent of firms not entirely unknown either. Since then Alexander has evidently

softened her stance to some extent, since in her contribution to this volume she concedes that the lack of economic corporatism at the household level is 'one constraint on the growth of Javanese enterprises', which 'appear several magnitudes weaker' in organizational terms than their Chinese counterparts (p. 216). Some attention is also given here to the problems of fraud, distrust, and surveillance costs as obstacles to business expansion. At the same time, however, Alexander continues to insist that these are 'essentially problems of economic structure, not character or ethics' (p. 218), and, more fundamentally, that weak business organization reflects a history of economic 'subordination', not vice versa:

The main reason Javanese, by and large, remained mired in petty commerce until very recently was not a lack of desire or ability but the practical difficulties in effectively appropriating the finance and labor of others. In other words, the markets within which they operated were not structured to facilitate capitalist accumulation; their subordinate position in the colonial and immediate postcolonial economy made it difficult for them to construct 'modern' forms of economic organization. (p. 215.)

Any corresponding interpretation of the commercial success of the Chinese minority in terms of its relatively less 'subordinate position in the colonial economy', however, would have to account for the fact that except perhaps for a short period at the beginning of the seventeenth century when the VOC was still politically weak, there is precious little evidence that the monopolies and other commercial privileges obtained by Chinese traders from the Dutch were granted to members of this particular group for any reasons other than its already superior commercial skills, organization, and resources. The scarcity of effective corporate organizations in Javanese society, moreover, is neither recent, nor limited to the economic sphere, and the same feature remains strongly evident (along with ethnic Chinese economic dominance) in culturally cognate but never-colonized Thailand. A comparison between descriptions of the astonishing 'kongsi republics' created by Chinese settlers in Kalimantan during the eighteenth century (Wang Tai Peng, *The origins of Chinese kongsi*, 1994; Yuan Bingling, *Chinese democracies; A study of the kongsis of West Borneo*, 1999) and reconstructions of native Indonesian states (including those of entrepreneurial migrants like the Bugis) at the same period seems to confirm that what we are dealing with here are not just responses to divergent political and economic environments, but profound and persistent differences between indigenous and ethnic Chinese groups in terms of their propensity and ability to organize.

The most important basis of social trust is the confidence that other people will act in accordance with known rules, and the ethnographic material in

this book seems to confirm the association between effective cooperation and rule-bound behaviour. Li, for instance, observes that whereas transfers of money and labour (even between parents and children) within the Singapore Malay family take the form of 'gifts', among Chinese families the stress 'is not on gifts but on duties' (p. 156). Li herself sees the significance of this distinction as lying mainly in the fact that Chinese children, unlike their Malay counterparts, are expected to work without pay in family businesses. But there is also another way of looking at it: in the Chinese case (and from here on I extrapolate), economic interactions among family members tend to be based on relatively clear and explicit ethical rules ('duties'); in the Malay/Indonesian case, on a theoretical ideal of almost unlimited generosity, the degree of compliance with which (by the nature of 'gifts') is nevertheless variable and can seldom be taken for granted. One result of the latter situation tends to be a high level of concealment and distrust among kin – reflected, for instance, in the locked drawers and cupboards of Indonesian suburban houses, necessary precautions against the 'borrowing' activities of relatives whose economic claims, however arbitrary, would be difficult to reject on moral grounds after the event. The distrust arising from what I am inclined to call the 'emotional economy' of kinship (as contrasted with the more literally 'moral' economy of the rule-bound interactions between ethnic Chinese kin) is in turn one factor underpinning the characteristic emphasis on individual economic autonomy, rather than family cooperation, in *pribumi* commercial activities.

Similar kinds of logic apply to economic relationships beyond the family. Li (pp. 160-2), Szanton (pp. 256-60), and also Michael G. Peletz (pp. 183-5) in his chapter on interethnic differences in economic behaviour in Malaysia and Sumatra, all portray commerce among unrelated Malays/Filipinos as a political minefield in which envy, spite, and *amor proprio*, as well as acts and expectations of generosity and compassion, interfere with the predictability of exchange and undermine interpersonal trust. While debtors seldom go so far as to deny the existence of their debts, actually calling these in can be near-impossible: Szanton (p. 260) notes that a Filipino shopkeeper could not request repayment 'without fear of insulting his debtor with the implied suggestion that he might not be willing or able to meet his obligation'. Despite Szanton's own constant emphasis on divergent 'moralities' of exchange, in my view it is important to note that only some of the cultural factors which he identifies as driving up the risks and costs of business transactions among aspiring Filipino entrepreneurs actually involve a moral component. No ethical principle, for example, can be detected in the fact that 'for fear of exposing to others that they themselves had been successfully taken advantage of', Filipinos in trade, unlike their Chinese counterparts, do not share with each

other 'credit rating' information about customers who fail to pay their debts.

The more impersonal, non-credit, bargaining relationships of the Javanese marketplace as described by Alexander (pp. 209-11) are more predictable only in so far as market sellers can be relied upon to search for any sign of ignorance on the part of individual buyers, and to exploit such ignorance to the full. By contrast, Peletz (p. 184) notes that the Malay farmers in his study village preferred to sell their produce to a Chinese (rather than Malay) trader 'because he could be trusted more in the weighing of the sheets that villagers delivered to him and, more generally, because everyone claimed to know exactly how he would behave in his dealings with his customers', while Hamilton (p. 63) emphasizes that just like the 'system trust' in organizational performance with which it has sometimes rather inappropriately been contrasted, the personal trust involved in *guanxi* relationships 'is based on normative [...] rules'. Corporate organizations (including business firms) nevertheless tend to offer potentially more tempting opportunities for defection and/or 'free-riding' than do dyadic trust relationships, and consequently depend even more heavily on the maintenance of rule-bound behaviour; the thorny 'collective action dilemmas' involved in generating such conformism go a long way toward explaining why outside the Chinese minority, with its long history of kongsi, guilds, and secret societies, effective corporate organizations have been so rare in Southeast Asian history.

The classic preconditions for the establishment of rule-based trust are twofold: the existence of institutions which, whether by accident or by design, impose sufficiently heavy and uniform penalties on rule-deviant behaviour, and the existence of a relatively impersonal ethical system which places a high value on general principles of correct behaviour rather than on either individualistic opportunism or conformity with the particular needs and desires of specific other individuals. These institutions and values, of course, reinforce each other: where rules are never enforced, only a zealot will abide by them, and without conscientious enforcers, enforcing institutions will tend to collapse. Where both preconditions are weak or absent, 'contractual' relationships like that of *langganan tetap* can typically be built up only via a long and risky process of exploratory person-to-person exchange in which borrowers gradually establish a context-specific reputation for reliability (Alexander, p. 209).

Powerful analytical tools with which to investigate the origins of economic rules and institutions have been developed in recent decades by the theorists of sociological institutionalism and the 'New Institutional Economics', but it is striking that unlike Danny Unger in his interesting 1998 book *Building social capital in Thailand*, the contributors to *Market cultures* make little or no use of them. Key works in these fields, such as Oliver Williamson's *The eco-*

conomic institutions of capitalism (1985), James Coleman's *Foundations of social theory* (1990), and Mark Casson's *The economics of business culture* (1991), appear nowhere in the reference lists, and although Mackie (p. 137) mentions Janet Landa's contribution to the 1983 Lim and Gosling anthology *The Chinese in Southeast Asia*, her more recent theoretical work *Trust, ethnicity, and identity; Beyond the New Institutional Economics of ethnic trading networks, contract law, and gift-exchange* (1994) is also ignored here despite the fact that it continues to focus to a considerable extent on the Southeast Asian Chinese.

More surprising still is the lack of sustained attention to the classic works of the post-war pioneers of economic anthropology in Indonesia, to whose viewpoints much of this book effectively represents a qualified return: Geertz, Castles, Siegel, and above all Alice Dewey, whose account of obstacles to the organizational evolution of *pribumi* businesses in my view retains much of its relevance despite the fact that it is now almost 40 years old. Although Mackie (p. 138) quotes briefly from Dewey's *Peasant marketing in Java* (1962), some of her key insights in that book, including her brilliant observations on how ethnic boundaries serve to police in-group trust among the members of trading minorities by increasing the social costs of defecting from commercial agreements and conventions, are neglected throughout *Market cultures*.

This has been a selective and personal review, focusing on particular criticisms and doing little justice to the merits of clarity, conciseness, and breadth of knowledge which all of the contributions to *Market cultures* display. The chapters by Li and Mackie are particularly impressive for their range and thoughtfulness. On the whole, nevertheless, it must still be said that the contributors neither build in a systematic way on the relevant older literature on culture and economy in Southeast Asia, nor engage with recent theoretical attempts to put the study of relationships between business, culture, and ethnicity on a more rigorous footing. One consequence is that throughout the volume, the twin themes of 'organization' and 'morality' announced by Hefner in his introduction remain awkwardly separate, the evident links between them more or less unexamined.

James F. Warren, *The Sulu zone; The world capitalist economy and the historical imagination*. Amsterdam: VU University Press for the Centre for Asian Studies, Amsterdam (CASA), 1998, 71 pp. [Comparative Asian Studies 20.] ISBN 90.5383.568.7.

DAVID HENLEY

The published version of a paper presented at an international symposium in Kyoto in 1996, this short book summarizes and reworks some of the material which originally appeared in Warren's well-known 1981 standard work on the history of the Sulu sultanate, *The Sulu zone 1768-1898*. In the introductory chapter a brief overview of the geography of the 'zone' is followed by general theoretical discussions, pregnant with references to the works of great scholars (Barth, Bloch, Braudel, Dumont, Frank, Freedman, Geertz, Gellner, Leach, Polanyi), of centre-periphery relationships, the issue of time-frames in historiography, and the link between trade and political power. The four subsequent chapters deal in turn with the history of the Sulu trading economy, with the increase in prosperity and transformation in lifestyles accompanying the commercial boom which took place in the Sulu zone between about 1760 and 1850, with the relationship between trade and slave raiding, and with questions of historical sources and methodology.

In this reworking of his ideas on the Sulu sultanate, Warren once again demonstrates his enviable ability to synthesize diverse source materials in a coherent way and to integrate local and empirical details with global processes and theoretical arguments. For the student reader, the new booklet also has the merit of providing a handier and more accessible introduction to Warren's work on Sulu than the much longer 1981 volume itself. There is little sign here, on the other hand, that the author has subjected his original conclusions to serious criticism or reconsideration. One central argument of *The Sulu zone 1768-1898* which in my view deserves such re-evaluation is that the slave-raiding activities of the Sulu sultanate after 1768 resulted in the first place from a growing demand for slave labour.

In the course of the eighteenth century, the quest for trade goods which could be exchanged for China tea led British traders to the sea and forest products of island Southeast Asia, which they purchased mainly using European and Indian manufactures. It was in order to collect and process sea cucumbers (*tripang*) and edible birds' nests for the growing British/China trade, according to Warren, that the sultanate of Sulu (dominated by the Taosug of Jolo) sought to augment its labour reserves by means of slave raids (carried out by multiethnic vassal groups collectively known in Indonesia as the 'Magindanao') against the populations of neighbouring regions. In Chapter 4 of *The Sulu zone; The world capitalist economy and the historical imagination*, this argument is reiterated with even greater insistence:

The demands of Europeans and Chinese for exotic commodities like sea cucumber and birds' nest increased slaving activity among certain groups in the zone [...]. To obtain more guns and ammunition, metal tools, textiles and opium [...] these maritime marauders had to obtain more and more slaves to collect and process particular commodities to sell to the China tea traders. Thus there was a

rising demand for tea in Europe and a concomitant increase in regional-wide slave raiding in Southeast Asia. [...] The efforts of ambitious *datus* to participate in this burgeoning world-capitalist economy, with its extraordinary profits and markers of differential status and prestige, forced the demand for additional labour up [...]. The need for a reliable source of labour power was met by [...] the slave raiders of the Sulu zone. [...] It is worth emphasizing again the powerful economic forces that were pushing the Taosug aristocracy in the direction of acquiring more and more slaves [...]. [T]he more dependent Sulu's economy was on the labour power of slaves, the larger loomed the question of its supply of slaves [...]. Since it was the labour of slaves that made possible global-regional trade, slavery rose markedly [...] and became the dominant mode of production. (pp. 39-40.)

Slavery in the Sulu archipelago after 1768, in other words, was 'part of the new international division of labour' within an expanding 'world capitalist system', and the grim business of Magindanao slave raiding nothing more or less than 'the price of development of global trade' (p. 15). In this way Warren attempts the remarkable feat of recasting not only the thousands of people enslaved or killed by the raiders, but also in a sense even the Magindanao themselves, as victims of global capitalism.

Is such a radical inversion of colonial stereotypes really convincing? Nobody, I think, would deny that the consolidation and expansion of the Sulu sultanate in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, or even the concurrent intensification of its slave-raiding activities, were closely associated with the economic changes which Warren reconstructs. Whether it was an increased demand for labour which provided the main link between trading and raiding, however, is a different question, and in jumping to a definite answer here, Warren oversteps the limits of his own evidence. The personal testimonies of former captives summarized in an appendix of his 1981 book, for instance, do not include any in which a person captured and enslaved by Magindanao raiders was definitely put to work collecting or processing either *tripang* or birds' nests (Warren 1981:309-12). Where the type of 'employment in captivity' is specified here, in almost all cases it was either 'agricultural' or 'domestic' work, and other sources appear to confirm that the production of the export commodities themselves was mostly the business of skilled specialists rather than enslaved captives. Warren, moreover, concedes, without commenting on the apparent contradiction with his claim that the slaves were there for the sake of their labour, that their actual workloads were often rather light; throughout nineteenth-century Southeast Asia, most European observers recorded similar impressions of a 'mild' indigenous slavery despite their often passionate opposition to the institution as such. These observations highlight the fact that traditional slavery was only, in part an economic phenomenon, and for many purposes can better be viewed as what

it usually appeared to be at first sight: one manifestation of a very pronounced societal emphasis on status and hierarchy. The principal 'function' of the slaves, to put it crudely, was not so much to sweat as to grovel, or at least to be conspicuously deferential, preferably in the presence of their masters' peers, to their masters..

Slave raiding, it is also important to note, was not a special prerogative of the Sulu sultanate between 1768 and 1898, but a normal aspect of political behaviour in precolonial societies from Luzon to Sulawesi and beyond; Sulu itself, as Reid (1983:170) pointed out not long after the original publication of *The Sulu zone*, was already 'notorious as a slaving centre' as early as the sixteenth century. Chronological and geographical variations in the frequency and effectiveness of raiding reflected not so much differences in the strength of people's desire to capture slaves, as variations in their practical ability to do so. The principal factor restricting that ability among the politically decentralized, acutely status-conscious, and fiercely competitive societies of the Philippines and eastern Indonesia was the problem of cooperation and organization. A precondition for the mounting of a major, multiple-vessel seaborne slave-raiding expedition like those organized on a routine basis during the heyday of the Sulu sultanate was that a large number of warriors had to submit (at least temporarily) to the leadership of a single chief or group of chiefs, something which under most circumstances they were deeply disinclined to do. The single most effective means of overcoming this disinclination, as indeed of engineering any other kind of political centralization (Junker 1999:15-28; Scott 1994:129), was the distribution by prospective leaders of scarce resources, especially valuable trade goods, among their prospective followers.

Far from 'powerful economic forces [...] pushing the Taosug aristocracy in the direction of acquiring more and more slaves', then, it seems more likely to me that commerce (or rather, the wealth acquired via commerce) simply enabled the Taosug élite and its allies to realize, with unique and unprecedented efficacy, their abiding (and widely shared) ambition to subjugate and humble other human beings. The argument that the Taosug needed slaves only because they had unfortunately succumbed to the temptation of 'extraordinary profits and markers of differential status and prestige' held out by international trade, in fact, can probably better be reversed: slaves were themselves the ultimate 'markers of prestige', and their violent acquisition was consequently one of the prime uses to which any 'extraordinary profits' deriving from international trade were immediately put.

The 'demand-side' and 'supply-side' interpretations of Sulu slave raiding, of course, are not mutually exclusive, and Warren goes some way toward

acknowledging the importance of the supply side himself in his discussion of how the purchase of European firearms improved the effectiveness of raiding expeditions (pp. 42-4). Even if I am right, moreover, in suspecting that it was more the organizational ability to enslave than the need or desire to do so which increased as a result of Sulu's role in the *tripang* and forest product trades, this still does not affect the broad outlines of Warren's classic argument regarding the articulation of economic, political, and demographic processes in the history of the Sulu zone. My concern in highlighting the weakness of one specific component of that argument, however, is to help question the generous assumptions regarding human nature and the corrupting influence of 'capitalism' which, in the long afterglow of various idealistic intellectual trends prevalent before about 1980, still underlie a considerable amount of historical scholarship on Southeast Asia.

References

- Junker, Laura Lee
1999 *Raiding, trading, and feasting; The political economy of Philippine chiefdoms*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Reid, Anthony
1983 "'Closed" and "open" slave systems in pre-colonial Southeast Asia', in: Anthony Reid (ed.), *Slavery, bondage; and dependency in Southeast Asia*, pp. 156-81. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press.
- Scott, William Henry
1994 *Barangay; Sixteenth-century Philippine culture and society*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- Warren, James Francis
1981 *The Sulu zone 1768-1898; The dynamics of external trade, slavery, and ethnicity in the transformation of a Southeast Asian maritime state*. Singapore: Singapore University Press.

Laurence Husson, *La migration maduraise vers l'Est de Java; 'Manger le vent ou gratter la terre'?* Paris: L'Harmattan/ Association Archipel, 1995, 414 pp. [Cahier d'Archipel 26.] ISBN 2.7384.3329.4. Price: FRF 240 (paperback).

HUUB de JONGE

The Madurese are the third largest ethnic group in Indonesia, after the Javanese and Sundanese. Of the seven to nine million Madurese (the exact

number is unknown), approximately three million actually live on the island of Madura. Most of the remainder live in East Java, which therefore has more Madurese inhabitants than Madura itself. In the course of their history, the Madurese have repeatedly been forced to leave their impoverished island for shorter or longer periods to seek a living.

Laurence Husson's dissertation is devoted entirely to the migration of Madurese to East Java, and covers almost all aspects of this phenomenon. The study consists, besides an introduction and the conclusion, of four parts. The first contains detailed background information on the climatic, pedological, demographic, agrarian, economic, and infrastructural features of the island of Madura. The most important migration destinations are also mentioned. Up to the Second World War, most migrants took the shortest route to the southern side of Madura Strait. Migrants from West Madura, consequently, settled mainly in the western part of East Java, and those from East Madura mostly in the so-called Oosthoek ('Eastern Hook').

In the second section of the book, Madurese migration is dealt with as a 'phénomène de longue durée'. The author identifies six waves of migration to East Java from the thirteenth century onwards, starting with that which resulted in the presence of Madurese serfs in the kingdom of Majapahit. Other waves included the movement to the commercial plantations laid out on the mainland between 1830 and 1930, the flight from hunger during the Japanese occupation, and the post-war migration to cities as Surabaya and Malang where the informal sector offered new opportunities for employment. The 'Madurization' of the Oosthoek is also discussed in passing.

In these first two parts Husson relies on previously published material, particularly the results of Dutch research, and adds little to what is already known. In itself this would not be a serious shortcoming were it not for the fact that now and then, Husson does not properly acknowledge that the ideas which she is reproducing are not her own. The original sources are mentioned, but not, in such cases, in sufficiently prominent places; this criticism also applies to the paragraph on stereotypes which figures prominently in the introduction. Particularly illustrative of her derivative approach is the fact that she ignores periods and topics that have received little or no attention in the previous literature even where these are extremely relevant for her own field of study. The rise of the plantation economy and the role played in it by Madurese labour, for instance, receives much too little attention, as do the thousands of migrants who settled as smallholders in East Java during the same period. The period between 1945 and 1965, moreover, is totally neglected; yet here, surely, were abundant opportunities to do more original research and fill gaps in the existing literature. Another shortcoming is that certain thematic topics have not been studied in sufficient detail; Husson's description of social stratification on Madura, for example, is too simplistic,

and her account of the process of 'Madurization' in East Java too purely linguistic in focus.

In the second and third parts of the book, Husson presents the results of her own research in East Java over a total of 14 months during 1988-89 and 1991-92. Her data consist mainly of life histories and a 51-question survey conducted in selected urban and rural areas. The sample includes 400 persons, 282 of them men and 118 women, 80 percent first- and 20 percent second-generation migrants. The majority of the migrants hold unskilled jobs such as itinerant trader (in food, toys or used goods), *becak* driver, docker, coolie, plantation worker, or fisherman. The life histories make clear the kind of difficult and distressed circumstances in which these migrants often live. Only a few seem to have attained a comfortable economic position. The data from the survey pertain to such topics as the reasons for and consequences of leaving Madura, the financing and duration of migration, the frequency and nature of contacts with the place of origin, the role of relatives in encouraging and supporting the migrants, patterns of residence, and relations with other ethnic groups. The conclusions which Husson draws on these subjects are interesting, but mostly rather shallow. Often she gets side-tracked, for instance into providing a nominative list of well-known *pesantren* and an extensive account of Madurese kinship: both worthy enough topics, but not immediately relevant to her story or arguments. I found it striking that none of the persons included in her survey belonged to a less recent group of migrants than the last two generations: the descendants of earlier settlers, who make up the majority of the Madurese in East Java, could have provided information to place the life histories of the younger generations in a broader perspective. It also struck me that peasants, who presumably make up the biggest occupational group, are almost totally absent in the survey. In short, one wonders how representative Husson's survey is.

At the end of the fourth part of her book, the author deals with the social integration of the Madurese in Java and compares their situation with those of other well-known migratory ethnic groups both in Indonesia (Minangkabau, Buginese, Macassarese) and in Europe (Corsicans and Basques). The similarities and contrasts with the other Indonesian migrant groups are interesting and should have been elaborated further; the comparisons with the southern Europeans are rather far-fetched. As far as the issue of the integration of the Madurese into the wider society is concerned, it might have been worthwhile to study differences between established migrants and newcomers. As Husson herself notes, however, the topic of integration is difficult to study in an environment which is predominantly Madurese. The conclusion of the book, dealing with the consequences of emigration for Madura itself, is somewhat at odds with the rest of the chapters, which relate over-

whelmingly to the situation of the emigrants in Java.

In her introduction, Husson argues that almost all existing anthropological, historical, and economic studies on Madura, because they are based on fieldwork in only one or two villages, give only a partial and fragmented picture of the island. 'Synthèse et comparatisme', she declares, 'font encore trop souvent défaut' (p. 28); in her own study she intends to avoid this shortcoming by taking a wider approach. I am afraid, however, that she has confused units of research with units of analysis, and forgotten that the monographies which she criticizes pay ample attention to the interrelationships between different levels of society. Husson's study does indeed feature a broad approach, but this has entailed shortcomings of its own: her observations are often superficial and lack real authority. She probably would have learned more about Madurese migration if she had restricted her research to two villages, one on Madura and one in Java. Despite this her study remains interesting, and provides the general reader with an introduction to the various aspects of migration among the Madurese.

Mark R. Woodward (ed.), *Toward a new paradigm; Recent developments in Indonesian Islamic thought*. Tempe: Arizona State University, Program for Southeast Asian Studies, 1996, x + 380 pp. ISBN 1.881044.10.6. Price: USD 19.95 (paperback).

NICO KAPTEIN

This fine book consists of eleven contributions by eleven specialists in Indonesian Islam: Taufik Abdullah, Nurcholish Madjid, Moeslim Abdurrahman, Mark R. Woodward, Karel Steenbrink, Howard M. Federspiel, Lucy A. Walley, Ronald A.L. Bull, Robert W. Hefner, R. William Liddle, and Katherine C. Kohlstad. Most of these are leading scholars in the field, so that *Toward a new paradigm* is guaranteed to be worth reading. All chapters in the volume were originally papers presented at three conferences organized by the Program for Southeast Asian Studies at Arizona State University at unspecified dates in the early 1990s.

In his lengthy introduction, editor Mark Woodward formulates the purpose of this book as follows: 'to demonstrate that what might be called Islamic Liberalism is, despite considerable opposition, a vital and growing force in Indonesia' (p. 3). In this way the book aims to challenge the hypothesis of S. Huntington, who in 1993 predicted a clash of civilizations, in particular along

the 'bloody borders' of the Islamic bloc, thus replacing the Red Menace of the Cold War by a Green (Islamic) Menace.

The title of the volume was inspired by the contribution of Taufik Abdullah ('The formation of a new paradigm'), who gives an optimistic assessment of the changes in contemporary Islamic theological discourse in Indonesia. Contributions which likewise point toward a new, liberal, paradigm include that by Nurcholish Madjid, and the interesting 'conversations with Abdurrahman Wahid' by Woodward.

Other contributors, however, identify or imply anti-liberal currents: Howard Federspiel on the subject of traditionalist Shafi'ite legal expert Siradjuddin Abbas (1905-1980); Robert Hefner on the establishment of Indonesia's first Islamic bank, the Bank Muamalat Indonesia (BMI); Katherine Kolstad on the Tanjung Priok incident of 1984; and Moeslim Abdurrahman ('Ritual divided: hajj tours in capitalist era Indonesia') on class segregation among Indonesian pilgrims to Mecca. R. William Liddle, in particular, undermines the stereotype of Indonesian Islam as open, tolerant, pluralistic and peaceful by describing the tirades against 'near-apostate' Nurcholish Madjid, and the irrational attacks on the West and the Jews, which have featured in the monthly magazine of the Dewan Dakwah, *Media Dakwa*.

All in all, this book consists a number of highly interesting contributions illustrating the wide spectrum of opinion which exists within Islamic discourse in Indonesia, from extreme tolerance to the occasional racist utterances of *Media Dakwah*. In my opinion the chapters highlighting the less 'politically correct' manifestations of Indonesian Islam (Abdurrahman, Liddle) are the most original. Its rather one-sided title notwithstanding, I can recommend this book to anyone interested in Islam in modern Indonesia.

Gunter Senft (ed.), *Referring to space; Studies in Austronesian and Papuan languages*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997, xi + 324 pp. ISBN 0.19.823647.6. Price: GBP 50.

CATHARINA van KLINKEN

The authors of this interesting and wide-ranging collection of papers demonstrate how speakers of Austronesian and Papuan languages refer to space, including both direction and position. Both the options available to speakers of these languages, and the bases on which people choose between them, are examined; in the process, it becomes clear that the means of referring to space are affected not only by the vocabulary and grammar, but also by geography, history, genre, and even religion.

One recurring theme in these papers is that directional terms are often tied to local geography. Many communities, especially those living on or near the sea, retain the system used in Proto-Malayo-Polynesian: 'sea' and 'land' provide two basic directional terms, while a second frame of reference is provided by the directions of the monsoon winds. Inland communities are likely to instead use terms like 'uphill'/'downhill' or 'upriver'/'downriver', while some languages have terms for absolute cardinal directions such as 'north' and 'west'. Other spatial terms examined include those indicating relative position ('up'/'down', 'left'/'right') and relative distance (for example, 'this'/'that'); the use of dense networks of specific landmarks is also discussed. In some communities, different systems of specifying direction are used depending on whether one is describing something located nearby (in one's own village or valley, for instance) or further afield. Languages also vary greatly in terms of how frequently directions are referred to at all: an extreme case is Embaloh, the speakers of which include a river-based direction term whenever they mention a position or movement. Likewise, some communities ascribe strong cosmological significance (for instance, associations with purity or pollution, life or death) to directions, while such ascription is weak or absent in others.

In his introduction, Senft discusses some theories of space which are based on Western philosophy and Indo-European languages. Although sometimes regarded (at least implicitly) as universal, many of these do not hold up when viewed from the perspective of other language families. The remaining contributions fall into three sections. The first three articles present overviews of space in Proto-Malayo-Polynesian, and in Western Austro-nesian and New Caledonian languages. The seven papers in the second section contain detailed descriptions of how people refer to space in individual languages. All take an interdisciplinary approach, incorporating insights from linguistics and anthropology in particular. The papers in the final section are written from the standpoint of structural linguistics, analysing spatial categories in Nimboran verbs and locative classifiers in Tongan.

With its wide range of observations and insights, its generally readable style, and its multiple perspectives on the issue of 'referring to space', this volume should prove of interest to readers from diverse backgrounds.

J.G. de Casparis, *Sanskrit loan-words in Indonesian; An annotated check-list of words from Sanskrit in Indonesian and Traditional Malay*. Jakarta: Badan Penyelenggara Seri NUSA, Universitas Katolik Indonesia Atma Jaya, 1997, viii + 59 pp. [NUSA Linguistic Studies of Indonesian and Other Languages in Indonesia 41.]

W. MAHDI

Indonesianists, as well as culture historians, lexicographers and etymologists, have long waited for a reliable quick reference book on Sanskrit loans in Indonesian Malay to update J. Gonda's somewhat unwieldy *Sanskrit in Indonesia* (1973). J.G. de Casparis, an unrivalled authority on Indonesian epigraphy with a profound knowledge of Sanskrit, is without doubt the ideal author for such a work.

Produced in the framework of the Indonesian Etymological Project, this is a preliminary but nevertheless thoroughly researched and comprehensive checklist. If there are still a few points here for a critical reviewer to pounce upon, it is only because of the very broad scope of the work. For those readers who are relatively unfamiliar with Sanskrit or Malay traditional literature, its value is enhanced by the fact that every entry includes references to the corresponding pages in Monier-Williams's *Sanskrit-English dictionary* (1909) and Gonda's *Sanskrit in Indonesia*, plus elaborate annotations containing further references.

W.J.S. Poerwadarminta's *Kamus umum bahasa Indonesia* (1954) served as a basic corpus. Compared to the standard *Kamus besar bahasa Indonesia* (1988), this may seem an anachronistic choice; it mercifully spares the reader, however, from the recent flood of neologisms coined from standard root morphemes of Sanskrit origin. In order to avoid tedious repetitions, these are better treated with the root morphemes rather than the derived compounds as entry heads.

The introduction gives a concise delineation of the problems which still exist in Malayo-Sanskrit etymology. Over two millennia of cultural contact, influences from Pali, Prakrit, and Hindi, various phonological processes in the development of Malay itself, and mutual borrowing between Malay and other Indonesian languages have all complicated the Malay-Sanskrit relationship. Although sound laws established in Indo-Aryan and Austronesian historical linguistics do provide some guidance, the cumulative effects of various combinations of sound changes have in many cases produced confusing results. The coverage of phonological features in *Sanskrit loan-words* is

restricted (more details can be found in Gonda's *Sanskrit in Indonesia*), and for some readers this may have the disadvantage of creating an exaggerated impression of obscurity.

The well-known reflexion of Sanskrit *y* as *j* in Prakrit suggests the mediation of the latter when the Malay reflex also has *j* (Gonda 1973:383). Examples include one etymology left out by De Casparis: Malay *jawa-* in *jawaras* 'sorghum' and *jawawut* 'foxtail millet', apparently from Sanskrit *yava* 'barley, grain' via Prakrit *java* 'id.', also reflected in the geographical and ethnic name *Jawa* 'Java[nese]'.¹ This seems originally to have been borrowed with the meaning 'sorghum', subsequently also coming into broader use for 'grain', particularly foxtail millet. It is true that this etymology was questioned by Robert Blust in 1977 ('Austronesian culture history: some linguistic inferences and their relations to the archaeological record', *NUSA* 4:25-37) based on a partial survey of the distributions of foxtail millet, sorghum and their designations in the archipelago. Blust, however, was apparently unaware of Prakrit cognates with *j* and semantic diversification in derivations including other grains (R.L. Turner, 1966, *A comparative dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages*, entries 10431, *yava*, and 10437, *yavākāra*). Even if doubts about the derivation of *jawa* should remain, *Sanskrit loan-words* explicitly aims to encompass terms with *possible* as well as definite Sanskrit origins (p. 4), and *jawa* clearly belongs among the former.

Reflexion of *y* as *j* also occurs in loans from Dutch, possibly as a result of influence from Creole Portuguese (Gonda 1973:383), and therefore does not testify unequivocally to Prakrit mediation. Furthermore, Malay as well as Pali or Prakrit *j* can reflect Sanskrit *y* in a cluster with a preceding consonant. An important issue here is the reflexion of Sanskrit consonant clusters in general (when the first consonant is not a nasal) as geminated consonants in Pali, or their reduction in Prakrit. This excludes one of the latter as donor when the Malay form retains the cluster (often with insertion of an anaptyctic vowel) in spite of reflexion of *y* as *j* (examples: *jaksa* 'prosecutor', from Sanskrit *adhyaksa* 'superintendent', p. 19 – Pali *ajjhakkha* 'id.'; *jantera~jentera* '[spinning] wheel', from Sanskrit *yantra* 'instrument', p. 20 – Pali *yanta*, Prakrit *jamta*).

A further complication is that reduction of internal consonant clusters is also the general rule (though with some exceptions) in Malay itself (Robert Blust, 1982, 'An overlooked feature of Malay historical phonology', *Bulletin SOAS* 45:284-99); hence, for example, the reflexion of Sanskrit *cukra* 'vinegar' and *jāgr* 'awake' (De Casparis cites *jagarti*) as *cuka* and *jaga* respectively (pp.

¹ See the relevant bibliographic references (pp. 431, 469) in: W. Mahdi, 1994, 'Some Austronesian maverik protoforms with culture-historical implications', *Oceanic Linguistics* 33:167-229, 431-90.

15, 19). The latter loan could also be ascribed to Pali *jagga* 'wakefulness', but the parallel borrowing into Old Javanese as *jāgra* (alongside *jaga*, borrowed via Malay) tends to corroborate a Sanskrit origin. On the other hand, cases like that of *cakra* 'discus' (Sanskrit *cakra* 'id.', p. 14 – Pali *cakka* 'wheel') suggest the mediation or influence of Javanese, or perhaps initial acquisition into some particular scholarly or literary style.

With regard to the frequent and hitherto unexplained loss of an initial vowel, two possible mechanisms are proposed by De Casparis: back-formation from compounds with vowel fusion (*daya* 'power', pp. 4-5), or borrowing of a Prakrit precursor (*puasa* 'fast [not eat]', p. 46, n. 78). However, loss of a vowel in initial position or after an initial glottal or laryngeal, when not followed by a prenasalized stop, is regular in Malay for basic words originally possessing more than two syllables (compare Blust 1982:284): for instance, *barat* 'West', from Proto-Austronesian *SabaRat 'monsoon of the boreal summer' (*S is reflected as *h* or zero), but *ampelas~empelas* 'sandpaper-leaf tree', *empedu* 'bile, gall' with prenasalized stop, from *qa[m]pelas, *qapeju. That the same sound law remained (partially?) operative until a late date is demonstrated by *geré-ja* 'church', from Portuguese *igreja* 'id.'. The loss of initial *u* in *puasa* 'fast' (from Sanskrit *upavāsa*), then, does not require explaining in terms of Prakrit mediation. Initial *u*, moreover, is retained in loans into languages not sharing the initial-vowel deletion rule of Malay (except of course in items borrowed via Malay): Old Javanese *upawāsa*, Balinese *upawasa* 'id.'.

The reflection of Sanskrit *-av-* as Malay *-u-* in the antepenultimate syllable of *puasa* is also regular (compare *keluarga* 'family', from Sanskrit *kula* 'hearth, family, house' + *varga* 'group', p. 21; *kuasa* 'power', from *ka-* + Sanskrit *vaśa*, pp. 22, 43, n. 47), because Sanskrit intervocalic *v* would have been reflected as *w*, while any vowel not in the ultimate or penultimate syllable of a basic word shifts to schwa which then fuses with a following glide to the respective 'nearest' high vowel (*ew* becomes *u*, *ey* becomes *i*). This only affects bi- and monosyllabic components that have ceased to be felt as independent morphs: compare the unlisted term *kulawangsa* 'clan, dynasty' (from Sanskrit *kula*, p. 20 under *keluarga*, and *vaṃśa* 'family, lineage', p. 37, both via Javanese), a neologism with a component structure which is still overt. Reflexion of such particularities of Malay historical phonology in cognates in other languages of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Taiwan demonstrate the mediating role of Malay in the distribution of Sanskrit vocabulary over this region.²

Dravidian languages played an important mediating role in the earliest

² Sander Adelaar, 1994, 'Malay and Javanese loanwords in Malagasy, Tagalog and Siraya (Formosa)', *BKI* 150:50-65; W. Mahdi 1994:483-4, n. 199.

exchanges between Indo-Aryan and Austronesian languages (Gonda 1973:161). This is perhaps the origin of the correspondence of Malay final *-ng* to Sanskrit *-nga* in the following interesting cognate pair: Malay [*bunga*]-*lawang* 'mace' (originally 'clove') and '[kind of] cinnamon' / Sanskrit *lavaṅga*[*puṣpa*] 'clove' (compare pp. 22, 43, n. 49: Malay *bunga* 'flower' / Sanskrit *puṣpa* 'id.'). While the loss of *-ga* in Malay is unexpected, its accretion upon borrowing into a Dravidian language (then to be borrowed further into Sanskrit) would not be unusual; this is attested to in the historical Tamil rendering of the name of Sating-Pra as *Yirudiṅgam*, given in a Chinese source as *Riluóting*. H.N. van der Tuuk (*Kawi-Balinesesch-Nederlandsch woordenboek*, 1901, III:720 under *wungalawang*) was the first to comment on the 'clove' link with respect to Old Javanese cognate *wunga-lawang* 'clove', also identifying Toba Batak *labang* 'nail' as a further cognate; this has been confirmed by W. Mahdi (1994:188-90, 193-5), who shows that the double meaning 'clove'/'cinnamon' is reflected in languages of Central Maluku, Sumatra, and South India (Dravidian), whereas Sanskrit apparently acquired the word only in its primary meaning 'clove'. The compound only 'made sense' in a language of Sumatra, where it literally meant 'nail[-formed] flower', an apt description of the clove.

A similar accretion of final *-ga* is involved in the enigmatic relationship between Malay *bujang* 'youth, bachelor' and *bujangga-pujangga* 'scholar, bard, literatus' (pp. 2, 14, 29, 41, n. 22). In my opinion the latter could have emerged in early settlements of Tamil-speakers in a Malay environment in West Indonesia or Malaysia (for which settlements there is ample historiographic testimony), while a tendency to occasionally de-voice voiced stops in Tamil perhaps explains the *b* to *p* shift in the doublet pair.

Here follow some further comments on specific etymologies given in *Sanskrit loan-words*.

Ba[ha]gian 'part', derived according to De Casparis (p. 11) from Sanskrit *bhāgya* 'part, good fortune', was in fact probably formed by suffixation of *-an* to *ba[ha]gi* 'divide, for' (given in the work under review as *bagi* 'part, for', rightly identified as derived from Sanskrit *bhṣgī[kr]* '[to] divide').

The derivation of *celaka* 'mishap' from Sanskrit *chalaka* 'delusive' (p. 15) is uncertain because the vowel in the first syllable is problematic. This word has the doublet *cilaka*, apparently an earlier form dating from before the regular shift of the antepenultimate vowel to schwa: compare Javanese *cilaka* 'id.', and cognates in several other languages (Gonda 1973:101, 104, 119), all with *i* in the first syllable.

Dukacita 'sorrow': either a direct borrowing of Sanskrit *duḥkha-citta*; or modern combination of independently borrowed Sanskrit components (p. 17). While the compound is not new, it is interesting to note that speakers

obviously perceived the underlying structure; this follows from the opposition of *duka* 'sorrow' and *suka* 'happy' (pp. 17, 35) in an expression like *bertukar-lah dukacita-nya itu dengan sukacita* 'sorrow was changed into joy' (from Abdullah Munsyi's *Hikayat Abdullah*, quoted in R.J. Wilkinson, 1903, *A Malay-English dictionary*, p. 303). *Dukacita*, then, could indeed be the result of a recombination. If so, however, it must have appeared before the seventeenth century: the compound is already used in the Abdullah manuscript of the *Sejarah Melayu*, which dates from 1612 (T.D. Situmorang and A. Teeuw (eds) 1952, *Sedjarah Melaju*, 12:11, 13:16, 16:9, 29:11):

Jasa 'service', from Sanskrit *vyāsa* 'diffusion', *vyāśas* 'glory', or *abhyāsa* 'exertion' (p. 20). Alternatively, this word could perhaps be derived from Pali *ajjhāsaya*, originally 'place, seat, domicile, receptacle', but figuratively also 'inclination, aspiration, wish, mental disposition', for which the short form *ajjhāsa* is attested.

Keling 'Indian', from Sanskrit *Kālinga* 'inhabitant of Kalinga, South Orissa' (p. 21): the Malay and Sanskrit here are possibly independent loans from a common precursor, the indigenous name, originally rhyming with *-ing*, of a protohistorical, neither Indo-Aryan nor Dravidian, people of southern Orissa. The additional *-ga* in the Sanskrit may indicate acquisition through mediation of a Dravidian language. Various traditions, including passages in the *Mahābhārata*, seem to suggest that the Kalingas were Nagas (whatever that might have meant in concrete terms at the time).

Mani 'sperm', from Sanskrit *maṇi* 'jewel' (pp. 24, 44, n. 56). It seems more likely that this reflects Tamil *māṇi* 'student, bachelor, penis'; compare also *māṇi-y-ari* 'to circumcise, to castrate a man' (University of Madras, *Tamil lexicon* 1925-36, pp. 3152-3). The full Malay expression for seminal fluid is *air mani*, that is: 'mani liquid, liquid of the mani'.

Margasatwa 'fauna', a neologism, from Sanskrit *mṛga* 'deer, game' + *sattva* 'creature' (p. 25). This term is not a recent one, already occurring in (for instance) Ar-Raniri's *Bustan as-Salatin* (p. 13 of the seventeenth-century Leiden manuscript). The first component, *merga-marga* 'wild animal' (compare Old Javanese *mṛga* 'game, esp. deer'; Jawi script: MRG), not separately listed by De Casparis, does not appear in any dictionary published in Indonesia/Netherlands Indies that I had the opportunity to check, but is given by Wilkinson (1903:645) together with a quotation from *Hikayat Putera Jaya Pati*. The regular reflex of Sanskrit *-ṛ-* in Malay is *-er-*, so that the variant with *-ar-* is unexpected, having perhaps developed under the influence of *marga* 'road, path' (from Sanskrit *mārga* 'id.', p. 25; Jawi script: MARG). In Indonesia, the first component of the compound seems to have been re-identified with the latter, resulting in a re-interpretation of the whole as 'animal[s] of the path/ground', contextually contrasted with *unggas* 'bird[s], fowl' ('animal[s] of the air/sky'). This opposition (but never one with *burung* 'bird') is

attested to in quite early sources such as the *Bustan as-Salatin*.

Nusantara 'Indonesia'; according to De Casparis, the second component of this compound is from Sanskrit *antara I* 'interior', but another possibility is that it comes from Sanskrit *antara II* 'difference, other'. The Old Javanese immediate precursor *nūṣāntara* was apparently a semi-calque of Sanskrit *Dvīpāntara* 'the other islands, the Malayan Archipelago' (Sanskrit *dvīpa* 'island', Old Javanese *nūṣa* 'id.'), and referred during the Majapahit period to the islands outside Java.

Olahraga 'sport': second component from Sanskrit *rāga* 'delight' (p. 27). The Sanskrit here actually means 'colour [red]' and 'passion'. In Indonesian, *raga* (not separately listed in *Sanskrit loan-words*) is a Javanism meaning 'body' (compare Wilkinson 1903:316 under *raga II*), the use of which is otherwise almost entirely limited to the fixed expression *jiwa [dan] raga* 'body and soul' (*jiwa* 'spirit, soul', from Sanskrit, p. 20). The semantic shift from 'passion' to 'body' apparently took place in Old Javanese, which had *rāga* in both meanings as well as in the fixed expression for 'body and soul' (P.J. Zoetmulder and S.O. Robson, 1982, *Old Javanese-English dictionary*, p. 1474).

Pancasila 'the five principles formulated in the preamble of the Indonesian Constitution of 1945', from Sanskrit *pañcaśīla* 'five rules of behaviour [in Buddhism]', misprinted *pañcasīla* (p. 28): this is actually a new combination of *panca-* 'penta-' (Sanskrit *pañca* 'five', p. 27) and *śīla* 'moral principle' (Sanskrit *śīla* 'virtue', p. 34). The same probably also holds for *ēkasīla* 'single [unitary] principle' (p. 18, with Sanskrit *eka* 'one', p. 17) and *trisīla* 'three principles' (with Sanskrit *tri* 'three', p. 36).

Prawacana 'preface', from Sanskrit *pravacana* 'announcement' (p. 29): more likely a new combination of *pra-* 'pre-' (Sanskrit *pra-* 'id.', p. 29) and *wacana* 'discussion' (Sanskrit *vacana* 'announcement', p. 37). It does not appear in older dictionaries, and the *Kamus umum Bahasa Indonesia* still treats it as uncertain; its meaning, furthermore, does not match that of the parallel Sanskrit form.

Sida 'an honorific', from Sanskrit *siddha* 'perfect' (pp. 34, 47, n. 102). The Malay term has actually come to mean 'you [to person of nobility]'. Besides 'perfect', the corresponding Sanskrit word also meant 'semi-divine person' (compare Old Javanese *siddha* 'id.'), and was obviously the precursor of Old Malay *siddha* 'person who has attained a certain [divine?] quality through a pilgrimage'. However, the Old Malay honorific *sida* to which De Casparis apparently refers probably reflects the Austronesian protoform *siDa| 'they': compare Toba Batak *na-sida*, Iban *sida* 'id.', Kerinci, Hulu Banjarese *sida* 'you [polite]', Old Javanese *sira* 'you [polite], he/she [honorific], they', Tagalog *silá* 'they'.³ An important argument against a Sanskrit origin is the consistent

³ Otto Dempwolff, 1938, *Vergleichende Lautlehre des austronesischen Wortschatzes*, III, p. 152 (under *t'ida*); K.A. Adelaar, 1985, *Proto-Malayic* (dissertation), p. 83.

spelling of the honorific as *sida* in Old Malay epigraphy, in which Sanskritisms typically retained original Sanskrit spellings. De Casparis himself (*Prasasti Indonesia II*, 1956, pp. 5-6, 25, n. 42) originally assumed distinct indigenous and Sanskrit origins for Old Malay *sida* and *siddha* respectively; in the third line of the Gandasuli inscription as deciphered by the same author, one finds Old Malay *sida dua* 'these two [persons]' (literally 'they/the two of them').

Stupa 'stupa', from Sanskrit *stūpa* 'id.' (p. 34), is a new borrowing, probably via Dutch or English; it does not appear in older dictionaries.

Swadesi 'autarky', from Sanskrit *svadeśi[n]* '[one's] own country' (p. 35), is the Indonesian reflex of a watchword of the Indian movement for independence, coined by Mahatma Gandhi, hence presumably acquired from Hindi via English.

Beside those omissions already noted above (*Jawa* 'Java[nese]', *jawaras* 'sorghum', *jawawut* 'foxtail millet', *kulawangsa* 'clan, dynasty', *merga~marga* 'wild animal', *raga* 'body'), the following should perhaps also be mentioned:

Ibu suri 'first lady': a recent (since the early 1960s) 'misuse' of an expression traditionally meaning 'queen mother' (the meaning still given in the *Kamus umum bahasa Indonesia* under *ibu* 'mother'). *Suri* was derived according to Wilkinson (1903:419) from *permaisuri* 'queen', and hence (apparently through misreading the Jawi spelling PRMYSWRY, whereby Y can be read as *i*, *e*, *ai*, or *ya*, and W as *u*, *o*, *au*, or *wa*) from Sanskrit *parameśvārī* (p. 28). This was perhaps the result of a folk-etymological identification of the first component of *permaisuri* with Malay *permai* 'beautiful'.

Jawi '[traditional] Malay', apparently acquired via Arabic or Persian, nevertheless has the same ultimate Indic origin as *Jawa* (see above); compare Old Khmer *Jvā* (modern *Cvie*), [Old] Cham *Javā* 'Malay', Pali *Javāka* 'Malayan'.

Manik 'bead', from Sanskrit *maṇi* 'jewel' (Wilkinson 1903:638 under *manek~manik*). The final *-k* of the spelling represents a glottal stop and perhaps emerged in a dialect or related language with automatic post-glottalization of final vowels: compare Old Malay *datu* 'king', traditional and modern Malay *datuk* 'head of extended family', from **Datu*!; also *Dayak* 'a Dayak', from *daya*, originally 'hinterland'. In some dialects, however, the *-k* is reflected as a velar stop and could be passed on in that form to other languages (example: Sundanese *manik* 'jewel'). The same Sanskrit etymon was also borrowed as *manikam* 'jewel' (Sundanese *manikem* 'id.') via Tamil *māṇikkam* 'ruby, carbuncle' (p. 24).

Prakarsa 'initiative' and *prakata* 'foreword': two relatively well-established neologisms from Sanskrit *pra-* 'pre-' (p. 29). The second components are respectively *karsa* 'intention, will', probably from Sanskrit *harṣa* 'joy' (pp. 21, 43, n. 44; Gonda 1973:492) via Old Javanese *ka-harṣa* 'hope, expectation', and

kata 'word', from Sanskrit *kathā* 'story' (p. 21).

Rusak 'broken, spoiled' is somewhat problematic. Theoretically it could be from Sanskrit *rūkṣa* 'coarse, dirty' – compare Old Javanese *rūkṣa* 'id., in mourning, damaged' (Gonda 1973:115, 544) – with a reduced consonant cluster and a secondary final glottal stop spelled *k* (as in *manik* 'bead' above). It was perhaps further borrowed before reduction of the consonant cluster as Sundanese *ruksak* 'broken', and after that reduction as Old Javanese *rusak* 'damaged, spoiled' (compare Javanese *ḍatu~ḍatuk* 'king' via Malay, beside the directly-inherited *ratu* 'id.' from **Datu*{) and Tagalog *uslak* 'bad person' (metathesis). Together with Fijian *rusa* 'spoiled, destroyed', however, these terms led Dempwolff (1938:104 under *lut'ak*) to reconstruct **rusak*. The deviant Sundanese reflex, suggesting **ruksak* instead (Bernd Nothofer, 1975, *The reconstruction of Proto-Malayo-Javanic*, p. 120), perhaps developed under the influence of the Sanskrit loan in Old Javanese. The last word on this topic, however, is probably not yet spoken.

Trisula 'trident', from Sanskrit *triśūla* 'id.', is not a new combination of *tri* 'three' (p. 36) and *sula* 'spike' (p. 35), but was apparently borrowed as a single term under the influence of Javanese (compare Old Javanese *triśūla* 'id.').

In view of the inclusion of Hinduisms like *Indera* (name of a god, p. 19), *berahmana*, [*ke*]satria, *sudra* (originally names of castes, pp. 13, 22, 32, 34), the checklist should perhaps also have included *Brahma*, *Wisnu*, *Syiwa* (names of gods), *waisya* (name of the third caste), and *triwangsa* 'the three upper castes'. The inclusion of some historic geographical proper names, such as *Bangka*, *Bangkahulu*, *Indragiri*, *Langkasuka*, *Singapura*, *Sriwijaya* and *Yawadwipa*, might have been a good idea too. Rightly not included in De Casparis' list, however, are: *Hindia* 'the Indies', ultimately from Persian *hindū* 'a river, the Indus'; *Indonésia* 'Indonesia', for similar reasons; and *Melayu* 'Malay', from *Malāyu* 'name of a Malay polity'. The rendering of Mala-yu as *Malaiyur* in the Tanjore inscription (*Māliyuér* in the Yuan dynasty annals, *Maliur* according to Marco Polo), suggesting derivation from Tamil *malai* 'hill, mountain' + Sanskrit *pura* 'city', was in my opinion based on folk etymology (earlier Chinese notations did not have the final *-ér*).

Among the mediated loans, the following lexical 'globetrotters' should perhaps be included:

Anilin 'aniline', from German *Anilin* 'id.' via Dutch, ultimately from Sanskrit *nīla* 'indigo' via Persian *nilā*, Arabic *an-nīl*, and Spanish/French *anil* 'id.'.

Bensin 'petrol, gas', from Dutch *benzine*, from German *Benzin*, derived with suffix *-in* from *Benzoë* 'benzoin', from Old Italian *bengiu*, from Arabic *lubān-jāwī* 'id.' (literally 'Malayan frankincense'), the second component of which is

ultimately from Sanskrit *yava* 'barley' (see *Jawi* above). The etymology of the word for benzoin was first explored by François Valentyn in the eighteenth century.

Kamper 'camphor', from Sanskrit *karpūra* via Greek *kamphorá* and Dutch *kamfer* 'id.'. The Sanskrit word itself, however, is apparently an artificial back-formation from Prakrit *kappūra* 'id.', which reflects the first component in Malay *kapur barus* 'camphor of Baros'.

Of the English doublet pair *tincal*~*tincar* 'borax', the former is involved in the English name of the borate mineral *tincalconite* 'Na₂B₄O₇.5H₂O' (with Greek *konía* 'dust, sand, lye'). The doublets seem to be from Spanish *tincal*, Portuguese *atincar*, both from the Arabic *at-tinkšl* 'borax'. This in turn is either from Sanskrit *taṅkana*~*taṅkaṇa*~*taṅgaṇa*~*taṅgara* via Persian *tāngār*, or from Malay *tingkal* 'id.'. If Sanskrit is the ultimate donor, then the expected Indonesian rendering of the mineral, *tinkalkonit*, also belongs among the lexical 'globetrotters'. The first edition of the *Oxford English dictionary*, on the other hand, Solomonically derived *tincal* from the Malay and *tincar* from the Sanskrit.

Besides a few layout errors, finally, I also detected the following minor typographic and other faults: *ādi* 'power' / *vaśa* 'beginning' (p. 9) should be *ādi* 'beginning' / *vaśa* 'power'; *athaṅa* (p. 11) should be *athavā*; 'lombok' (p. 14) should be 'chilli pepper'; [Sanskrit] *dosa* (p. 17) should be *doṣa*; *kaulanegara* (p. 21) should be *kaṅwulanegara*; *koṭi* 'id.' (p. 21) should be *koṭi* 'ten million'; *kuṭa* (three times on p. 22) and *kuta* (twice on p. 37) should both be *koṭa* (but *makuṭa* on p. 24 is correct); [*mulia*] 'glorious' (p. 26) should be 'noble, excellency'; [*nyata*] 'true' (p. 27) should be 'real, clear [evident]'; *pañcaśīla* (p. 28) should be *pañcaśīla*; [**swadaya*] 'independence' (p. 35) should be 'self-reliant'; [*swatantra*] 'independent' (p. 35) should be 'self-ruling'; *tribulan* (p. 36) is non-normative for *triwulan*; *warganagara* (p. 37) should be *warganegara*.

These small shortcomings notwithstanding, *Sanskrit loan-words in Indonesian* satisfies a long and direly felt need among Indonesianists, lexicographers, culture historians, and many other scholars.

Acknowledgement: unless a source publication is specifically indicated, details on usage and location of lexical items in traditional literature were elicited using the on-line search facility of the ANU Malay Concordance Project, Canberra, which was not yet available at time when the work under review here was compiled.

David Smyth (ed.), *The canon in Southeast Asian literatures; Literatures of Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam*. Richmond: Curzon, 2000, x + 273 pp. ISBN 0.7007.1090.6 (hardback).

HENK MAIER

Some five years ago, a workshop entitled 'The Canon of Southeast Asian Literatures' took place in the Centre of South-East Asian Studies at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Apparently some 20 scholars from far and near presented a paper, and sixteen of these were transformed into essays appearing in this volume edited by David Smyth. The title of the workshop was promising: 'canon', 'Southeast Asia' and 'literature' are words much under discussion in the ever-expanding discourse of Southeast Asian studies. None of them, unfortunately, comes out clearly in the book. *The canon in Southeast Asian literatures* is a mixed bag: some essays are stimulating and exciting because they offer new information or present well-known facts from new perspectives, others are boring, depressing, and obligatory surveys of fragments of literary systems. Some are brilliant, some good, some bad. Perhaps the book should have been given a different title so as to avoid excessive expectations; a more honest subtitle would have informed prospective readers that this book contains the proceedings of yet another workshop, with the all the lack of coherence which so often characterizes such publications.

What is a 'canon'? In his preface, the editor briefly attempts to provide us with an answer to this fundamental question:

While the term 'canon' is most widely understood to refer to an institutionally recognized list of exemplary works, such as the body of works constituting the national literature of a country, it is also used to denote a system of rules for creating such works. Both usages of the term are reflected among the papers of this volume.

A canon, in other words, can be just about anything, which is exactly what the contents of the collection demonstrate. In literary studies the concept of the canon, because it has to do with power, genealogy, hegemony, and knowledge, has become a widely discussed issue. This debate, however, has escaped most of the contributors. All in all the papers provide sad justification for the often-heard complaint that students of Southeast Asian literatures seldom make an effort to engage in theoretical discussions, preferring a semi-Orientalist discourse reflecting the self-indulgent and ill-founded assumption that everything in Southeast Asia (and especially in their 'own' countries) is different from everything elsewhere. As a result, we are pre-

sented here with a range of more or less interesting case-studies, each covering only part of the 'canon' in a single modern state. Those of us who expected to be told how notions of canon operate and interact in Southeast Asia as a whole are instead drowned in a swamp of facts and titles.

The concept of 'Southeast Asia' (and is this different from 'South-East Asia?'), in fact, remains completely unexplored. Why was the workshop focused only on Southeast Asian literatures? What do Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam, or their writers, have in common? Do the 'literatures' of the various 'countries' not have more in common with those of their respective colonial masters? Why try to cover the region as a whole? Is the criterion of geographical proximity sufficient to justify this, and is the concept of 'Southeast Asia' a valid one at all? Only in one of the essays is an effort made to connect two national literatures, and even there a clear argument for doing so is lacking. Given the book's title, it should have addressed the issue of the specificity of 'Southeast Asia'; by doing so it could have offered support to the arguments of Wolters and Reid, who have recently reassured us about the relevance of Southeast Asia as a distinct field of study.

And then the most tantalizing word of the three: what is 'literature' and what are 'literatures'? Is there not a problem of translation and terminology, to say the least? Can, say, the Malay word *sastra* be equated with the Thai words *wanna-kadi* or *wanna-kam*, and do they mean the same as the English 'literature'? Is *sastra* the same as the Indonesian word *kesusastraan*? Does it make sense, without any further explanation or justification, to treat a seventeenth-century Islamic treatise in Malay, a Javanese translation of a Dutch textbook on shadow-puppet theatre, a Malay autobiography, a Thai novel, a Buddhist hagiography in Pali, and a Vietnamese short story as mutually comparable manifestations of 'literature'? The assumption that the concept of 'literature' is unproblematic may be commonsensical, but it is not very thoughtful.

The canon in Southeast Asian literatures offers a range of more or less valuable, more or less informative studies on fragments of local writing, together with an interesting bibliography (but no index). It does not fulfil the promises of its title. The workshop's participants may have had the experience of discussing canon and literature, the readers of their papers will miss the meaning.

Robert J. Foster, *Social reproduction and history in Melanesia; Mortuary ritual, gift exchange, and custom in the Tanga islands*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, xxii + 288 pp. ISBN 0.521.48030.2 (hardback), 0.521.48332.8 (paperback). Price: GBP 60 (hardback), 20.95 (paperback).

TOON van MEIJL

Melanesia is one of the most fascinating areas in social anthropology. It is characterized by a cultural and linguistic diversity that is unparalleled elsewhere in the world, and it was not explored by Europeans until the final phase of colonial history. Anthropological research in Melanesia has made great strides since the 1960s, but there is still much scope for more, and an impressive number of interesting monographs on the region continues to be published. In many cases these are of interest not only for regional specialists, but also for the purpose of comparative research. This book too, a revised version of a PhD dissertation defended at the University of Chicago in 1988, provides an ethnographically rich and theoretically sophisticated account of social reproduction and change in the Tanga Islands, New Ireland Province, Papua New Guinea.

In Tanga the process of social reproduction is achieved in and through mortuary rites, which the author unpacks as total social phenomena of Tanga social organization. The sequence of mortuary rites can be divided into two phases. The first is focused on the disposal of the corpse and includes all other routines of mourning, while the second involves the construction of a new men's house. This may last up to ten years, and is characterized by large-scale feasts and exchanges that collectively 'finish' one or more deceased members of a lineage. Foster provides a very detailed account of all the different feasts connected with the construction of a men's house, and shows that feast-giving is a form of collective action through which individual agents define relations of similarity among themselves while simultaneously differentiating themselves from others. The condition of similarity is essential for the main purpose of the mortuary rites, which Foster describes with two glosses as 'replacing' (*pilis*) the dead with the living, and displacing or 'finishing' (*farop*) the dead. The outcome of these activities is what may be labelled Tanga social organization.

Foster's ethnographic analysis is inspired by two different theoretical perspectives, which he intertwines into one by emphasizing both the differences between Melanesian and Western forms of sociality and the shared history of colonialism and commerce in Melanesian and Western societies. This paradoxical combination of theoretical orientations is undoubtedly the main

strength of the book. On the one hand, the ethnographic analysis of Tangan mortuary feasting and exchange practices is situated in a historical perspective on commodification in the region. This enables Foster to trace the emergence of *kastam* (custom) as a cultural category and how it came to refer specifically to mortuary ceremonies at the level of matrilineages, as contrasted with the new and foreign practices of *bisnis* ('business') in the household, the new social institutions for commodity production and consumption. In spite of this socio-economic transformation and the attendant changes in conceptualization, observable forms of mortuary feasting and ceremonial exchange seem to have remained relatively unchanged since the 1930s if not earlier. Foster refers to the approach that has guided his analysis of continuity and change in Tangan mortuary practices as the 'New Melanesian History'.

The second strand in Foster's theoretical analysis is inspired by what he defines as the 'New Melanesian Ethnography', a genre shaped mainly by the work of Marilyn Strathern. The aim of this approach is to replace the static, morphological notion of society as a bounded collection of individuals with the alternative notion of sociality, understood as the process of constituting social relationships, not between individuals, but between composite persons. In this view a Melanesian person is understood as a composite form of relations with a plurality of other persons. Melanesian persons, in other words, do not simply have relations, but are relations. The notion of composite person also implies a notion of agency as activation which differs radically from that associated with the concept of autonomous and free individuals. These innovative interpretations of personhood and agency also open up the way for a thorough rethinking of Melanesian exchange practices. Exchange, in the new approach, is no longer seen as a means of accumulating debt and credit, but instead as an action whereby persons externalize their internal composition. By the same token, exchange value is not conceived as a measure of the objects that are exchanged, but as the specific relationship between persons as manifested through the exchange of objects. Along similar lines it can be argued that relationships between composite persons are characterized by both differences and similarities, and that exchange practices may highlight distinction and interdependency at once.

In the final chapter, Foster contrasts Tangan social reproduction with the manner in which social organization is constituted in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea. In Tanga, sociality is produced through the circulation of valued objects; Foster describes this as 'replication', since the potential of exchange in expanding sociality is not optimally exploited; instead, the emphasis in this practice of 'keeping-while-giving' is on securing the return of valuables into circulation. In the Highlands, by contrast, exchange practices are characterized by a logic of dispersal, and the associated process of

social reproduction, since it emphasizes the proliferation and expansion of social relationships, is referred to by Foster as 'multiplication'. This brief but compelling comparison between exchange practices, processes of social reproduction, and forms of social organization in Tanga and the Highlands of Papua New Guinea makes an excellent book complete. *Social reproduction and history in Melanesia* deserves to be read widely.

Douglas Kammen and Siddharth Chandra, *A tour of duty; Changing patterns of military politics in Indonesia in the 1990's*. Ithaca, New York: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1999, 98 pp. ISBN 0.87763.049.6.

J.A. de MOOR

This modest, but well-researched and interesting study analyses the changes in military command and politics in Indonesia from 1990 up to and including the fall of president Suharto in May 1998 (the profound changes which have subsequently affected the military are not covered). In the 1990s, it was clear to any observer of the Indonesian army that accelerated personnel changes and reshuffles were taking place in military commands. Top officers were transferred to new functions and ranks much more quickly than before, and the composition of the top brass seemed to have become entirely volatile. Explanations for this were most often sought in political and ideological factors, ranging from the personal influence of Suharto to the turmoil caused by regional and municipal elections and other political tensions. The authors of *A tour of duty*, however, argue otherwise, emphasizing the internal dynamics of the officer corps itself.

The first part of the study attempts to put the perceived trend toward more rapid command transfers on a statistical basis. Kammen and Chandra calculate that the average tenure of Kodam, Korem and Kodim commanders (altogether about 330 officers) fell from three to four years in the early 1990s to between 12 and 18 months after 1995. For an explanation, the authors go back to the early days of the National Military Academy in Magelang, which was established by the recently deceased general A.H. Nasution in 1957 and produced its first graduates in 1960. Classes were initially huge, resulting by the 1970s in a congestion of promotions in the middle and higher ranks of the officer corps. After 1975, however, class size was substantially reduced, and from the early 1980s onward the number of graduates was correspondingly smaller.

Other important factors include changes in promotion policy and practice. Although a fixed assignment procedure existed for promotions, Kammen and Chandra demonstrate that one factor was particularly important: an outgoing officer had the right to recommend his successor, and this recommendation was usually accepted by the higher command. What an outgoing officer usually did was to recommend a former classmate of the Academy. Class solidarity among the officers has always been very strong; the most successful class was that of 1965 (Class 6), whose members virtually monopolized the higher command functions in the 1980s and early 1990s. This exacerbated the log-jam, as a result of which the army command ultimately resorted to a drastic reorganization of the promotions and career track system. The most rational solution, and the one chosen, was to reduce the tenureship of command and fix the number of assignments per class.

In another chapter, the authors reflect upon the possible military, political, and social implications of this new practice. Tensions within the officer corps, firstly, increased, not only between commanding officers (who now departed after one year) and their permanent staff, but also between the officers themselves, since competition for the few interesting and lucrative top functions became more intense. The work of the officers, secondly, was also affected, especially when it came to the management of local community relations. As a result of their shortened tenure, high officers now had less time to spend creating and maintaining links with either civil servants or popular representatives such as religious leaders. Their grip on civilian society, consequently, became less firm.

Since an increasing number of officers could not reach top ranks, thirdly, many found themselves in need of a good civilian job for the future – for instance, a position as *bupati* or *walikota*, common sequels to a military career. To avoid spoiling their chances in this respect, they cultivated good behaviour, tried to keep a clean record, took an accommodating attitude to civil society, and were less inclined than their predecessors to harsh and violent reactions in cases of civil unrest. To some extent, the same logic also increasingly applied with respect to one's military career itself; officers were more closely watched in the 1990s, and the threat of a charge against them in case of misbehaviour loomed large.

Kammen and Chandra, in short, speculate that the upsurge of social unrest in the 1990s, and the relative tolerance towards this on the part of the military, had to do with the emergence for career reasons of more prudent attitudes among officers, and with the fact that military leaders were now able to spend less time than before cultivating relations with their civil and religious counterparts. To prove this conclusively, of course, would require a more detailed study of particular conflicts, but *A tour of duty* certainly suc-

ceeds in convincing the reader that these are factors which must be kept in mind when assessing the political developments of the last decade.

In some cases, officers themselves contributed directly to the political agitation of the 1990s. Kammen and Chandra note the rising number of retired and pensioned officers confronted by a lack of good jobs for them in civilian society. Of the large Academy classes of the 1960s and early 1970s, almost every officer is now retired and looking for a job. Opportunities in business firms tend to be less numerous than before, society as a whole is less inclined to accept retired officers in civilian functions, and the practice of allocating seats (2,800 of them in all) for officers in regional and national parliaments is in the process of being abolished. In the late 1990s, many discontented retired officers of high and middle rank supported political reform and were clearly anti-Suharto.

The methods and results of Kammen and Chandra's book deserve appreciation. These authors have shown that an analysis of the internal dynamics of officer education and promotion can produce significant new insights into the history of the Indonesian Army and its political and social position. Despite the closed character of the Indonesian military, sufficient publicly accessible data exist to make such an approach feasible and profitable.

Audrey Kahin, *Rebellion to integration; West Sumatra and the Indonesian polity, 1926-1998*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1999, 368 pp. ISBN 90.5356.395.4. Price: NLG 59.50.

JOKE van REENEN

This book provides a highly interesting contribution to our knowledge and understanding of the political history of West Sumatra from the late colonial period up to the present. It focuses on the course and degree of the Minangkabau people's integration into the contemporary Indonesian state.

A major theme throughout the book is the contrast between Minangkabau and Javanese perceptions of the nature of the independent Indonesian state that was to replace the colonial Netherlands East Indies. While the Javanese believed that maintenance of a unified Indonesia depended on strong central control, the Minangkabau had always assumed that Indonesia would emerge as a democratic egalitarian state, with its component provinces enjoying a considerable degree of local autonomy.

The Minangkabau people, Kahin argues, were massively in favour of

Indonesian independence, and a relatively large proportion of influential nationalists were of Minangkabau origin. However, the hope and satisfaction felt in West Sumatra in August 1949, at the time of the ceasefire with the Dutch, dissipated soon afterwards. They were replaced by the seeds of disillusionment and resentment, feelings which would strengthen rapidly over the ensuing years, against the Republican government in Java. Joining with political allies from provinces elsewhere in Sumatra and the other outer islands (notably North Sulawesi), the Minangkabau demanded both regional autonomy and the restoration of Mohammed Hatta, who had resigned as vice-president, in the national leadership. Calls for the restoration of a federal system, meanwhile, also grew stronger, and there were even rumours that a number of colonels had decided to form a separate Sumatran state, a charge that has always been denied by the dissidents. After a series of negotiations failed to achieve a compromise, in February 1958 a 'Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia' (PRRI) was inaugurated in West Sumatra. Its proclamaator, Husein, emphasized that the PRRI would cede authority to Hatta and the sultan of Yogyakarta if they were willing and able to head a presidential cabinet in Jakarta. To no avail: the immediate response of the central government in Jakarta was to order the arrest of the rebel cabinet members and the military invasion of West Sumatra. A guerrilla war broke out in which the only political party in West Sumatra to support the invaders was the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI).

This rebellion lasted until 1961, when the last Minangkabau militias were forced to surrender to Indonesian troops. Officers of the victorious army, most of them Javanese, now assumed key positions in the West Sumatra administrative and military system. In the 1960s the Minangkabau were a demoralized people; it was partly for this reason that they welcomed the fall of the Old Order and acquiesced in the New, which brought increasing economic prosperity to the region. By the mid-1980s, West Sumatra was integrated into Indonesia to an extent that would have seemed inconceivable in the Sukarno period (or even in the early years of the New Order itself). By the 1990s, however, changes were once more afoot: by now wary of the New Order and the corruption, collusion, and nepotism which had become its trademarks, the Minangkabau readily embraced the ideas of 'reformasi'. In the free national elections of 1999 they saw the first tentative step toward creating a decentralized and democratic Indonesian polity more in line with the ideals of the people of West Sumatra than anything previously achieved.

In my view this book is of interest not only to students of Minangkabau, but also to anyone concerned with recent political developments in the Republic of Indonesia and its component provinces.

Craig J. Reynolds and Ruth McVey, *Southeast Asian Studies: Reorientations*. Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1998, 70 pp. [The Frank H. Golay Memorial Lectures 2 and 3.] ISBN 0.87727.301.4 (paperback).

HEATHER SUTHERLAND

They say that nothing concentrates the mind like death, but declining income and prestige seem to have a similar effect, perhaps as symptoms of a terminal state. Hence it is not surprising that there has been an outbreak of self-criticism among institutions, scholars, and instant experts engaged in area studies, as they defend their turf against the disdain of the 'posts' (post-colonialism, post-modernism) and the indifference of funding agencies, all of which find global trends and cross-cultural comparisons infinitely more sexy. Centres such as Cornell's Southeast Asia Program once set the tone for students of the region; now they seem to have lost that edge, dragged down by the discredited paradigms underlying their formation. Many of the people involved were fiercely critical of conventional notions about the Cold War, the nation-state and modernity, just as they rejected European Orientalist traditions. Nevertheless, their programmes were created in that 1950s climate, and their concerns now seem to be regarded as almost as dated as those of the philologists – whose work, ironically, is being rediscovered by the more serious practitioners of cultural studies.

After Frank H. Golay's death in 1990, Cornell sought a fitting memorial for this highly respected economist, Philippine expert, and long-term member of the Southeast Asia Program; a series of lectures seemed appropriate. The second and third are reprinted in this small publication: Craig J. Reynolds's 'Self-cultivation and self-determination in post-colonial Southeast Asia' (pp. 7-35), and Ruth McVey's 'Globalization, marginalization, and the study of Southeast Asia' (pp. 37-64). Each author refers to the other; Reynolds (p. 15) notes McVey's 1995 reference to the 'ideological exhaustion of our time' ('Change and continuity in Southeast Asian studies', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 26-1 (March 1995), p. 9), while McVey, having the advantage of speaking a year after Reynolds, comments (p. 45) on his 'loss of certainty', as evidenced in the preceding Golay lecture. These comments are revealing, reflecting as they do fundamental differences in tone between the two papers.

Reynolds does indeed seem to be groping in the dark, aware that a broad comparative sweep is required, engaging uneasily with postcolonial debates and 'self-hood'. The reader can sense his relief when he abandons these and turns to practical matters. He recommends research on literary production, religious reform movements and disciplines of the body (Boy Scouts, asceticism)

as offering potential access to an understanding of the self. Work is being done on these themes – on autobiography, Islamic movements, football – but a coherent integration around ideas of individual awareness and personhood has yet to take place, and Reynolds's suggestions deserve attention.

McVey is typically brisk; she is not going to be rattled by trendy critics or academic bureaucrats, she has heard it all before. Her sketch of area studies' lineage is clear, but she is particularly acute on the post-post unease which began in the 1970s, and the shortcomings of the globalist perspective. Paraphrasing her more subtle description, you could say that the first all too easily degenerates into solipsist self-obsession, the second into glib superficiality. She concedes that these critics have a solid case, but believes nonetheless that Southeast Asian studies has much to offer. Potentially multidisciplinary and comparative, their emphasis on a solid knowledge of regional societies can provide an essential 'groundedness in local understanding'. This, however, cannot be acquired 'on the cheap' (pp. 50-1). If area programmes can rise to the challenge, re-examine their intellectual assumptions and re-orient their institutions, then this crisis of confidence can be overcome. Her suggestions: more co-operative networks, less institutional competition; cross-disciplinary and cross-cultural programmes that address trans-regional issues of intellectual importance; work on literature and culture, on the realities of social and economic change (industrialization); and self-liberation from constraining assumptions about the nation-state, modernity and 'West versus non-Western'.

The tide may turn: fashions change, and foundations are glutted with stock-market profits, but whatever happens, area-studies programme will have to continue to fight for their place in the sun (and at the trough). Reynolds's and McVey's lectures help us understand how we arrived in our present situation, and suggest possible responses. The reformulation of research agendas is an essential and relatively accessible first step, something scholars know how to do. Changing public images and politicians' priorities, and manipulating inter-institutional politics, demand new skills and tougher hides. For better or worse, academic entrepreneurs and lobbyists will continue their advance into the heart of academe.

Patrick Tuck, *The French wolf and the Siamese lamb; The French threat to Siamese independence, 1858-1907*. Bangkok: White Lotus, 1995, xviii + 434 pp. [Studies in Southeast Asian History 1.] ISBN 974.8496.28.7. Price: USD 37.50 (paperback).

NICHOLAS TARLING

Though its title does not have a very Southeast Asian ring, this book is a major contribution to Southeast Asian historiography. Specialists will already be aware of Patrick Tuck's high level of scholarship through his documentary publication *French Catholic missionaries and the politics of imperialism in Vietnam 1857-1914* (Liverpool University Press, 1987). The new book, based on research in the archives in London, Paris and Aix, confirms and enhances his reputation.

Part, at least, of the story has been told before. There is, for example, the subtle work of Chandran Jeshurun, *The contest for Siam 1889-1902* (Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1977), which drew substantially on British official records and private papers. More recently, Tuck's present publisher has offered us a different perspective with Walter Timp's work, *Gustave Rolin-Jaequemyns and the making of modern Siam* (1996).

Tuck's new book gives us novel insights into the policies and activities of the French. His account of policy-making in Paris is not, of course, entirely new, and he benefits, as he modestly admits, from the work of Brunschwig, Andrew and Kanya-Forstner. It is, however, remarkably compendious, and it is useful to place the Southeast Asian experience alongside the African. The emphasis in France's policy came indeed to be on Africa rather than Asia. Even so, its ambitions astound. If it had secured Siam, its emphasis might have been different.

No doubt encouraged by their easy victories in Vietnam (though these required desperate periods of 'pacification'), the French sought to gain an ascendancy in Siam as well. They were not influenced by industrialization or the pressures of high finance: the models of Hobson and Lenin give us little help in explaining their motivation. We look rather to rivalry among European states, their increased insecurity, their attempts to guarantee the future, and in the French case to the weakness of metropolitan governments.

French failure was partly the achievement of the Siamese. The monarchy had begun a programme of modernization which would alone make the status of 'buffer state' viable. But its attempts to assert its claims over Laos and Cambodia (in order, as Prince Prisdang put it, to be able Medea-like to cast away dependencies to its pursuers) brought about a decisive crisis. Its relationship with the British – the other foundation of its policy, something the

Vietnamese had neglected – helped to preserve the independence of the kingdom, at the cost of what became the permanent division of the Lao lands.

Tuck's work makes a useful contribution to the study of British policy in Burma, too. The reasons for the Third Burma War have been a source of controversy among historians: were the British actuated by commercial objectives or security fears? Tuck convincingly advocates accepting a statement made by the unreliable Deloncle: 'What Jules Ferry wanted was to conclude an agreement with Burma which would give him the tiller in Siam' (p. 72). Burma was sacrificed to French ambitions.

The study is astounding in other respects, too. Again we are reminded of the ruthlessness of those on the spot. 'I consider', wrote Jules Harmand, consul at Bangkok, 'that my sense of duty would not allow me to recoil from the destitution and massacre of entire populations, if a sure and lasting advantage to France was to be the outcome' (p. 51). If we look back at Europe, and not only at Southeast Asia, it remains hard to reconcile such an attitude with an image of the France of Redon and Massenet.

Andreas Sturm, *Die Handels- und Agrarpolitik Thailands von 1767 bis 1932*. Passau: Universität Passau, Lehrstuhl für Südostasienkunde, 1997, vii + 181 pp. [Passauer Beiträge zur Südostasienkunde 2.] ISBN 3.9805413.1.2.

B.J. TERWIEL

This revised MA thesis is divided into four parts dealing respectively with: Thailand's 'traditional' (pre-1767) social and economic organization; 2. economic change from King Taksin to the Bowring Treaty; 3. The Bowring Treaty of 1855; 4. The policies of kings Mongkut and Chulalongkorn, and the economic crises of the early twentieth century. Covering such a long timespan, this study is clearly an ambitious undertaking.

Sturm begins in an indeterminate pre-1767 era where he devotes much attention to the *sakdina* ranking of the population, summarily describes the tribute trade with China and the royal monopolies, and finally discusses the relative importance of agriculture and foreign trade in the Thai economy, coming to the somewhat lame conclusion that this varied from period to period. For the period between Ayutthaya's destruction in 1767 and the Bowring Treaty of 1855, he begins with a dramatic depiction of a devastated economy and the restoration of royal monopolies. A fundamental economic reorganization, he argues, was associated with the enthronement of a new king in 1824; the

impact of the increasing European presence in the early nineteenth century is also considered. All this is covered in a mere ten pages of text (albeit enriched by some twelve pages of footnotes).

The third part of the book deals with the changes which followed when the Thai economy was opened up to European-dominated international trade. King Chulalongkorn, whose reign lasted more than forty years, is credited with the central role in the reorganization of the Siamese administration. Finally, the economic difficulties of the first decades of the twentieth century are considered; Sturm's account here is interspersed with descriptions of Siamese efforts to abolish unequal treaties. The book ends with the overthrow of the absolute monarchy.

A somewhat irritating feature of this work is Sturm's habit of drawing direct causal links between the lives and thoughts of various monarchs, and developments in the Thai economy. Rama III, for instance, is described as personally deciding to change the tax system (p. 28). Mongkut, we are told, was more interested in agriculture than his predecessor, but did not favour the development of a sugar industry; if he had, according to Sturm, we would probably have seen thriving sugar plantations (pp. 58-9). Such an oversimplified approach to the influence of royal policy on the economy is to be regretted. On a point of style, it may be remarked that in this book many important thoughts, critical observations, and even substantial arguments are hidden in the footnotes, so that the attentive reader is forced to refer to and fro between text and notes. In general terms, however, Sturm has succeeded in surveying a vast topic, critically examining in the process a large volume of written sources (including a few in Thai). The book concludes with an extensive bibliography, but lacks an index.

Koos van Brakel, David van Duuren, and Itie van Hout, *A passion for Indonesian art; The Georg Tillmann collection at the Tropenmuseum Amsterdam*. Amsterdam. Royal Tropical Institute/Tropenmuseum, 1996, 128 pp. ISBN 90.6932.261.3. Price: NLG 39 (paperback).

RENÉ S. WASSING

Georg Tillmann (1882-1941), a Jewish German banker from Hamburg, was a passionate and erudite collector of a wide spectrum of artefacts and art objects from Western and non-Western cultures. In 1932 he settled in Amsterdam, became a Dutch citizen, and started what is now known as the Indonesian Tillmann collection of the Tropenmuseum, comprising some

2,000 objects (including 670 textiles). When Tillmann fled to New York in 1940 to escape the Nazis, he entrusted his valuables to the care of the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam. Following his death, his heirs first loaned (1946) and later donated (1994) the collection to the museum. After half a century of confinement and relative obscurity, the Tillmann collection is now enjoying a well-deserved increase in public interest.

Apart from a limited number of objects from peninsular Southeast Asia, Oceania, West Africa, and South America, this collection originates from the various cultural regions of Indonesia, and provides a fairly complete view of the highlights of Indonesian art through the centuries. Considering that it was built up mainly through serendipitous purchases at art markets and auctions, with few opportunities for exchange with museums and other private collectors, Tillmann's achievement cannot but command our deepest respect. He did, however, have the assistance of a number of expert collecting assistants – notably C.M.A. Groenevelt (1899-1973), who supplied some of the most spectacular objects in the collection.

Tillmann himself was also very knowledgeable regarding the objects which he collected; his far-reaching and well-founded theories on the symbolic meanings and transformations of certain traditional motifs, notably in ikat textiles, featured in several articles published in contemporary academic journals. The English text of *A passion for Indonesian art* depicts Tillmann as a cautious amateur ethnologist, and stresses his scientific approach based on methodical description, numbering, cataloguing and meticulous documentation of data provided by his suppliers as well as by specialized scholars.

Alongside a selection of illustrations in colour and black and white runs a narrative text explaining the peculiarities of the most spectacular objects in the collection. A separate section, similarly structured, is devoted to textiles. The book concludes with a comprehensive inventory list and a select bibliography.

The message at the heart of this delightful little book is that here is a priceless collection of irreplaceable treasures, once treated as sacred heirlooms, now in many cases the sole surviving witnesses to dead cultures. Thanks to Tillmann, these outstanding objects have begun a new life in memory of their vanished past.

J. de Bruijn en G. Harinck (red.), *Een Leidse vriendschap; De briefwisseling tussen Herman Bavinck en Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, 1875-1921*. Baarn: Ten Have, 1999, 192 pp. [Passage 11.] ISBN 90.259.4697.6. Price: NLG 34.90.

EDWIN WIERINGA

De vriendschap tussen Herman Bavinck (1854-1921) en Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) dateert uit 1874 toen beiden met de studie theologie begonnen te Leiden. Vooral in de eerste studiejaren gingen zij bijna dagelijks met elkaar om en bereidden zij samen hun tentamens en examens voor. Hoewel het contact na 1878 minder frequent werd, omdat Bavinck verder ging in de theologie, terwijl Snouck Hurgronje voor de Semitische letteren koos, bleef de vriendschapsband tot Bavincks dood in 1921 bestaan. De briefwisseling tussen de gereformeerde dogmaticus en pedagoog Bavinck en de arabist en islamwetenschapper Snouck Hurgronje is in dit boek uitgegeven. De brieven van Snouck Hurgronje aan Bavinck waren in 1992 reeds gepubliceerd, maar zijn nu aangevuld met twee nieuw ontdekte brieven. In de uitgave zijn 29 brieven van Snouck Hurgronje en 66 brieven van Bavinck opgenomen.

De uitgevers hebben zich beperkt tot een weergave van de brieven zonder al te veel commentaar. De inleiding (pp. 7-11) is summier en steunt blijkens uitdrukkingen als 'de pacificatie van Atjeh' (p. 9) of 'het mohammedaanse geloof' (p. 11) vooral op oudere literatuur. In de annotatie durven de uitgevers weinig algemene kennis te vooronderstellen bij hun lezers: bij een zinsnede over een college in Perzische geschiedenis tot Alexander achten zij de noot 'Alexander de Grote, 356-323 voor Christus, koning van Macedonië, veroveraar van het Perzische Rijk' (p. 77) noodzakelijk. Ook Maarten Luther, '1483-1546, Duits kerkhervormer' (p. 63), Johannes Calvijn, '1509-1564, Frans kerkhervormer' (p. 63) of Mohammed, 'ca. 569-632, profeet en stichter van de islam' (p. 91) mogen blijkbaar niet bekend verondersteld worden. De index is alleen een naamregister (pp. 187-91).

Over het privéleven van beide personen komt men in de brieven weinig aan de weet. De lezer die bijvoorbeeld verwacht dat Snouck Hurgronje aan zijn vriend openheid van zaken zal geven over zijn overgang tot de Islam of zijn Indische huwelijken komt bedrogen uit. Op de opmerking van Bavinck in 1885 dat hij verbaasd was dat Snouck langere tijd in Mekka kon doorbrengen, terwijl deze voor zijn vertrek nog had gezegd, dat Mekka niet door ongelovigen betreden mocht worden (p. 125), komt in de brieven geen antwoord. En in een brief van 16 juli 1890 ontkent Snouck de huwelijksberichten uit de Indische pers als 'geruchten' en koren 'op den molen der gewetenlooze courantiers' (p. 141). Overigens moest Bavinck niet veel van de

Islam hebben: vóór Snoucks vertrek naar Arabië sprak Bavinck de hoop uit dat zijn vriend 'bewaard blijft voor eene waardeering van den islam' (p. 119).

Wel durfden beide mannen openhartig kritiek op elkaars ideeën te uiten. Zo kritiseerde Bavinck in 1913 bijvoorbeeld de associatiepolitiek van Snouck Hurgronje: de openbare scholen die Snouck in Nederlands-Indië wilde realiseren, zouden volgens Bavinck er toe leiden, dat

de leerlingen òf mohammedanen bleven, [of] dat ze (laat me maar zeggen) neutraal werden, onverschillig voor hun eigen en anderer godsdienst. In het eerste geval zou uwe associatie daarop schipbreuk lijden, dat bij conflict het mohammedanisme het toch weer winnen zou van de Europeesche cultuur; en in het tweede geval zoudt gij die enkele tot de neutraliteit bekeerden losgemaakt hebben van hun eigen volks- en geloofsgenooten. Door dezen gewantrouwd en veracht, zouden zij niet alleen in eene onaangename positie komen, maar ook voor de associatie niets kunnen uitrusten. (p. 171.)

Bavinck had het zwaar met de oppositie geloof en rede. In 1881 schreef hij:

Eerlijk gezegd, ik word en ben steeds meer 'gereformeerd'. Menig voorbarig oordeel van vroeger spreek ik thans niet meer uit. Ik heb meer eerbied gekregen en meer piëteit voor het geloof en den geloofsarbeid der eeuwen, ik ben bescheiden geworden in mijn meeningen, en ben eenigszins afgedaald van 't hoogmoedig standpunt om alles te toetsen aan mijn verstand en aan mijne rede. (p. 88.)

Snouck kritiseerde echter geestelijke gemakzucht en drong in meerdere brieven aan op een wetenschappelijke bestudering van de theologie. In 1882 nam hij het zijn vriend niet kwalijk dat deze 'beter dan vroeger' door wilde dringen in de geest van de Reformatie, maar Bavinck moest niet menen dat 'de invloed uwer meerdere studie u het bewustzijn had doen verliezen van de niet geringe bezwaren tegen de pars formalis der dogmatiek' (p. 101). Met betrekking tot het eerste deel van Bavincks *Gereformeerde dogmatiek* (Kampen 1895) wees hij Bavinck erop, dat deze de bezwaren tegen de schriftkritiek niet ernstig genoeg behandelde, terwijl Bavinck in de andere hoofdstukken zijn standpunten wel 'wetenschappelijk zeer sterk' had gemaakt (p. 147).

De uitgave van deze correspondentie geeft een beeld van de opvattingen op met name theologisch gebied van de 'orthodoxe' Bavinck en de 'vrijzinnige' Snouck Hurgronje die in de loop der jaren steeds meer gingen verschillen. Beiden respecteerden zij elkaar als waardige opponenten. Al in 1879 schreef Snouck Hurgronje dat hij er naar streefde 'ook anderer ernstige overtuiging te begrijpen en daarmêe mijne eigen geestesorganen te scherpen' (p. 55), terwijl Bavinck, die zich altijd dominee voelde en daardoor 'nooit eens recht vertrouwelijk meer spreken' kon (p. 87), in Snouck een kritische gesprekspartner had buiten de enge kring van gelijkgezinden.