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Richard B. Noss (ed.), An Overview of Language Issues in South-East Asia 1950–1980 (Oxford University Press, Singapore, 1984), pp. 234.

Richard Noss is well known in Thai circles as the author of the *Thai Reference Grammar* and for being for seven years the Ford Foundation language advisor in Bangkok. He subsequently moved to the Ford Foundation in Kuala Lumpur and then joined the professional staff of the Regional Language Centre (RELC) in Singapore for six years before retiring to the United States. He has skilfully edited and one suspects authored parts of this volume to present a clear picture of different approaches to the various language issues in recent years in the original five countries of ASEAN (with occasional mention of other countries in the region).

There are three named contributors, Andrew Gonzales, now President of the De La Salle University in Manila, Amran Halim, inter alia Director of the National Centre for Language Development in Jakarta, and Angkab Palakornkul, currently with Chulalongkorn University's Department of Linguistics. The acknowledgements section mentions four authors, so one appears to wish to be anonymous and to have covered Malaysia and Singapore. Given Dr. Noss' background one assumes, possibly incorrectly, this to be him. There is no obvious division of the work among the different authors and the book reads smoothly as a whole.

There are six chapters to the volume, the first being an historical sketch covering official and unofficial language policies, a breakdown by country of educational language policies, national institutions dealing with language in the five countries, regional associations, and private sector and international inputs. The coverage is thorough and there are some deft critical touches of some of the more obviously illogical government stances. These are subtly continued in the second chapter on the present institutional framework in the five countries with neat comment being accorded to Singapore, where language policy is directed from the very top with little or no professional advice being sought, where the press discusses language issue almost daily but "officers from government departments are almost invariably assigned to write letters to the newspapers in rebuttal of criticisms expressed by the public, and after the official's letter has appeared in print the matter is usually closed", where the newsreaders appear terrified of mispronunciation in any of the

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four languages used and “the writers of public service materials are obviously more interested in correct grammar and vocabulary than they are in communication”.

The third chapter is one of the meatiest. Noss deals, country by country, with foreign, national, official, provincial, minority, classical, religious, and court languages. The problem of the position of Mandarin in the region is carefully analysed and the Tagalog-Filipino-Pilipino complexities explained (though this reader remains confused as to whether there is a real difference between the three). The championing of ‘purity’ in language use, common in the region, it is noted, leads among other things to frozen-faced television newsreading styles and incomprehensible sentences in school texts. The question of the shift to communicative competence in language teaching while teachers and syllabi are mostly geared to linguistic competence is raised here, and mentioned in other parts of the book later.

Language and Education, the next chapter, discusses language engineering (distinguished from language planning) in relation to teacher training, methodology, curriculum development, evaluation, and bilingual education. It points to the difficulty of engineering problems related to national, official, provincial and foreign languages at the same time because of the typical compartmentalization of ministries of education.

Chapter five, Language and other Development Fields, covers a very broad area. The sections on standardization, development and role planning of different languages in society or the nation are particularly interesting, and the conclusion on the Singapore dilemma apt — “the Chinese majority in Singapore wants the country to cultivate aspects of Chinese culture without associating itself politically with China.” Not discussed are the effects this has on the minorities. A considerable amount of applied research is listed in the penultimate section.

The final chapter looks to the future, analyses research needs and applications, resources and the prospects for regional cooperation. A close look is taken at the applications of research and form (corpus) planning. The role of RELC is implicitly criticised because it is established by and responds only to the needs of official educational establishments in the participating countries. Language, as Noss has pointed out in the previous chapter, has a far wider parish than ministries of education.

This interesting and thought provoking book comes with an extensive bibliography, a useful index, and only two misprints. It is a pity it took three years for Oxford to produce it (the acknowledgement is dated June 1981 and the book

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appeared in May 1984), for there have been, inevitably, some changes in the intervening years. It is an even greater pity that the book should only be available in hardback at the outrageous sum of S\$50; at that price, only libraries will buy it and the book deserves to reach and be owned by a wider public of administrators and teachers, for the issues considered affect everyone, to a greater or lesser degree, in every country in the region.

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S. Sivaraksa, Siamese Resurgence (Asian Cultural Forum On Development, Bangkok, 1985), 463 pp.

The book *Siamese Resurgence* came out a few months after the charge against the author, S. Sivaraksa, on *lèse majesté* was dropped without official explanation. Apparently, the author's will to proceed on publishing a collection of his lectures and articles after having been arrested and while waiting on bail for the trial against such a severe charge demonstrated his convictions which do not sway even at a critical point in life. Any English-speaking reader who would like to know this renowned writer and critic of Thai society through himself rather than through the views of others as appeared in scattered pieces of articles in newspapers should pay special attention to this latest book of his, which appeared in English.

The sub-title of the book: "A Thai Buddhist on Asia and a World of Change" suggests the Buddhistic standpoint of the author in viewing contemporary issues, at global, regional as well as national level. Arranged by contents, the book is divided into 5 sections: Buddhism and Society, Buddhist Perspective and Development, Culture and Asia, Some Leading Siamese Personalities and Miscellaneous. It ends with appendices of letters, petitions and critiques on the case including a chronology of events the author faced during his difficult time from October to November 1984.

Most of the lectures given, while on different occasions and at various places around the world (i.e. Hawaii, Puerto Rico, West Germany, Belgium, Denmark, India, The Philippines and Thailand) reveal the author's concern and commitment on the issues of religion and culture, and their roles on societies, specifically on the world that is rapidly changing. For him, religion means "deep commitment and personal transformation... (...to be more and more selfless...)" and "religious values equate our spiritual depth". Religion, as he perceives, does not stop as individual or personal matters, nor can it stay as an entity separated from other aspects of life i.e. politics and economics. It is in religious values that he sees a revitalizing force to change and remedy many of contemporary social grievances. Many of the lectures therefore advocate the significance and potentiality religion i.e. Buddhism could affect societies especially on fundamental social development.

The author's knowledge of Buddhism and his wide scholarship have rendered insightful analysis, synthesis and at times straight personal interpretation of the position and strength Buddhism has in relation to other faiths and the (material)

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world. However, a few of the concepts he proposes are not easily followed by beginners on Buddhism, and some may hit hard at the popular (mal) practices both in his country and the West. Nevertheless, readers are obliged to reflect for most of the sources are drawn directly from the Pali canons.

Take his analysis of what we can gain from Buddha in our pluralistic world. The author proposes that in searching for the cure of suffering, Buddhism brings with it "an emphasis on exploration rather than revelation. Buddhism's stance in the pluralistic world is (therefore) different from faiths depending more on revelation" When comes the explanation of *anicca* (impermanence) and *anatta* (non-self), the author sees that "Buddha did not assume the existence of any metaphysical substance. He reduced things, substance and souls to forces, movements, functions and process and adopted a dynamic conception of reality.. It is in the awareness of the present and of the interrelationship of all life in the process of being and becoming that the Buddhist finds a genuine pluralism. In this sense, the Buddhist interpretation of pluralism insists in going beyond the static dualisms between the relative and the absolute, and therefore takes a different view of the problems from that of western thought".

While the above mentioned passage may sound too theoretical or philosophical, most of the addresses are concrete, drawn from or related to present-day examples. Talking about "meditation", the author criticizes the misunderstanding of western people in over-emphasizing the practice which has turned Buddhism in the west to mere escapism. For him, "Samadhi" or meditation is important as it is the "direct way, the best way to look within..." in order to "know yourself, your potentiality, how you serve yourself and serve others who are less fortunate than you."

Since the author's concept of Buddhism take a wholistic stand, he therefore expounds effectively and convincingly Buddhist perspectives in examining the assumptions and impacts of modern development. Historically, he sees Buddhist values and influences having beneficially operated in the agrarian societies of Siam and other Southeast Asian countries. But at present, on the whole, Buddhist values are eroding as they cannot cope with the complexities of modern societies which emphasize materialism regardless of natural waste and pollution. Conversely, development, in Buddhist perspective, means "personal growth as well as social growth, and every growth must have its limits and must be in harmonious relationship with one another". The mission the author urges on the younger generation Buddhists who wish to find an alternative society free from western models is thus not only to point out the

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problems caused by modern development but also to adapt "Dhammas" to be appropriate to urbanized and industrialized societies. If one doubts the possibility and practicability of such proposals, the achievements of some of the present monks in various parts of Siam can attest to the modest beginning. Placed separately, but related to the same issue, are those personalities in Siam's past who, through the author's discerning scholarship, have demonstrated Thai treasures and heritage hidden in history.

It is understandable, in a world where political labels are arbitrarily imposed on people, that the author's standpoint could be variously (and mildly, at least,) interpreted and stamped as "dangerous". One of his interviews for the Danish Radio did provide clarifications on such matter. It hit, directly on the questions of capitalism, western sciences and technology, democracy, communism and socialism. In his response we can grasp the author's concept of power, and freedom, in relation to Buddhism. In the final analysis, the author expresses satisfaction with a community system along the line of Ven. Buddhadasa's "Dharmika Socialism" which is guided by "Metta" or "loving-kindness".

Considering the intellectual, perception and dedication of the author in instilling Buddhist values along with justice and freedom in societies, it is not surprising that, during his difficult time, piles of letters and petitions from those of his friends abroad who understand him flowed to the Thai government. What happened in his case as revealed by most of the appendices testify to the above statement as well as the struggle, hope and reality he, the author of *Siamese Resurgence*, has faced.

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Wiwat Mungkandi & William Warren (eds.) A Century and a half of Thai-American Relations (Bangkok, Chulalongkorn University Press, 1982), 205 pp, illustrated.

When writing about a long relationship, it is more common than not to sweep any less pleasant memories under the carpet. This is also the case with "A Century and a Half of Thai-American Relations". Reviewing the decades after the Second World War several important features of the relationship is very briefly dealt with, in a few cases not even mentioned. They were contemporary events to presumably the bulk of the people who are going to read this book, and some may wonder why so little attention is paid to them.

Thus, while Wiwat Mungkandi is definitely right in taking the "security syndrome" as the central issue of his discussion of the 1941-1975 period, this is almost entirely interpreted as *international* security, while internal security is hardly mentioned. For this reason the major part of the chapter becomes the story of the Indochina War as seen from Thailand. I am not arguing against the fact that the possibility of a Communist take-over in the neighbouring countries caused the greatest concern in both Washington and Bangkok, but nor were those governments blind to the threat from a Thai Communist guerrilla movement — although during most of the period it remained localized and with limited military-political potential.

Professor Wiwat writes that the Thai government bowed to the wishes of the US and "gave external priority to regional security over internal politics and economic development" (p. 113). That depends, however, much upon the way you interpret the facts. If "internal politics" equals to keep the military-bureaucratic patronage system of those days running, the submission to the goals of US foreign policy was at least one way of solving the internal political confrontations. Besides considerable American economic aid went into rural development programmes, which were often tailored to fit into the counter-insurgency policy. Thus, Thailand was able to pursue one line of policy without giving up the other.

In his chapter on economic and trade relations, Chuchart Kangwan briefly mentions this American aid which was used "for a wide range of purposes, the most important of which were highways, health, education, and police administration" (p. 187). At least in the first and the last case the security aspects are generally acknowledged. To round-off this point, William Warren's chapter on "American Cultural Influence" deals among other subjects with academic exchange between

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the two countries, but there is not a word about the extensive US sponsored research in the 1960s on Northern hill tribes or Northeastern villages. This was part of the CI package proposed by the Americans — but as nothing is all black or all white the programs may also have contributed to a greater understanding of the rural problems.

Some touchy cases are, however, brought forward. Professor Wiwat mentions the Thai “Special Guerrilla Units” in Laos and the Thai Volunteers of Cambodian origin fighting for the Lon Nol regime (p. 103). At the time of operation, they were non-existent according to official spokesmen. And both he (p. 109) and Dr. Sarasin Viraphon (p. 122) comment critically on the “Mayaguez affair” in May 1975 when the US, in Sarasin’s words, to rescue the crew of an American freighter took “the high-handed approach to launch retaliatory attacks against the Khmer Rouge from Thai territory without prior approval from the Thai government”.

A final point of critique is that the book might have benefited from a little more statistics. It is clearly an introduction and, already loaded with facts, this might have been too much. However, I miss a comparison of the amount of American aid, trade, and investment to that of other partners such as Japan or the EEC. More data on the security cooperation would also have provided a better understanding of the extent of the relationship.

In general, however, I find the book a refreshing and factual introduction to Thai-American relations. Having basically worked on contemporary issues, professor Pensri Duke’s diplomatic-historical account and parts of the chapters by Warren and Chuchart offered me much information. With the reservations stated above, the book is recommended as an introduction.

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กนต์ธีร์ สุภมมงคล, การวิเทศมขของไทย (มหาวิทยาลัยธรรมศาสตร์) 27 มิถุนายน 2527
Charivat Santaputra, Thai Foreign Policy 1932-1946 (Thai Khadi Research
 Institute, Thammasat University, 1985), pp. 465.

The two books under review cover more or less the same subject, and almost the same period, with slight differences. The former, in Thai, was written by a well known diplomat, now retired, from his own experiences. Yet he said he had consulted various archives to get facts right. But no citation of those sources is available in the book. However, he wrote it as his memoirs, passing his personal judgements on events and personalities, although he tried to be as fair and impartial as possible.

The latter, in English, was a PhD dissertation by a budding diplomat. Apart from its academic theories at the beginning and at the end, the book is well written, giving facts and figures convincingly. Although the author is harsh on certain leading figures in shaping Thai foreign policy, he is fully substantiated by enough evidence to pass such judgements. Yet he always give benefit of the doubt to each individual if there were not enough facts to draw any definite conclusion.

Both books owes much to Dr. Pridi Banomyong, Founder of the University of Moral and Political Sciences, which published them, because he inspired both authors to write or to complete the books which throw much new light for us. Although Pridi was an important, if not the most important, figure, during the period prescribed in the books, he is treated fairly — not as an ideal figure. In fact the Thai book even tips the scale more in favour of Pibul, his political rival, whereas the English book regards Pibul and his cliques of chauvinistic irridentists as having much negative and evil influences on Thai foreign policy up to and during the Second World War.

Both books agree that it was Pridi and the Free Thai Movement which really saved Siam from being defeated in the war. Hence 16th August of forty years ago, being the day Pridi as the sole Regent of Siam, declared the war void, was so significant, that peace automatically reigned in the country again, despite some technical difficulties with the British and the French to be solved later on. However, all these hindrances were skilfully handled by diplomats, with some help from the Americans. The Thai cabinet then named the Government House — 16th August Building — in honour of the Free Thai Movement which helped to restore peace to Siam on that important date, as King Rama VI had named a square 22nd July to mark the date of Siamese declaration of war against the Central Powers in

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WWI. Both events in the two wars brought much benefit to Siam. Yet only 22nd July Square still remains in Bangkok, whereas the 16th August Building was renamed when Pibul came back to power in 1947 and pushed Pridi out of the Thai political arena for ever.

The title of the Thai book by Dr. Konthi Suphamonkol could be rendered roughly in English as *Thai Foreign Policy* in general. Although he had intended to write mainly on WWII and the Free Thai Movement, he started his first chapter with WWI, then skipped immediately to WWII, where he traced the cause to the Thai claim to get the lost territories in Laos and Cambodia back from the French. He concentrated much of his own personal experiences in working under Direk Jayanama, as Minister of Foreign Affairs and later as Ambassador in Tokyo. His own involvement in the Free Thai Movement got him in touch with Pridi and he was sent to meet Seni Pramoj. He was also privileged to work with Prince Wan, later with Pibul and Sarit. So he was in a unique position to know different leading personalities who shaped Thai foreign policy. He himself had minor roles in it too.

The English one by Charivat Santaputra is not really a book, but a reproduction of his thesis. Had it been edited properly for the general public, it would be more valuable. As it is, it already deserves to be praised. Apart from a few minor mistakes, the young author really convinces us that those Thai liberals who shaped our foreign policy from 1932-46 earns our deep gratitude. They were brilliant but modest. They worked carefully and patiently to safeguard our independence. Their enemies were not only Japan but our own nationals, who cared nothing for morality but to push ahead to be with the winning side.

The author is brave to sum up salient characteristics of Pibul, Vichitr and Vanit and some in the military. Adul, however, comes out too positively. Perhaps his personality needs to be tested in the events of the 1947 coup, which was beyond the scope of Charivat's thesis.

The lesson to learn from the two books is that Thai foreign policy since the days of the Princes until 1946 was conducted with flexibility but with honour. Thai interest must be regarded as of prime importance. Although the Foreign Ministry was small, it had enough devoted and able civil servants who carried out the policy steadfastly. On the whole, Foreign Ministers were capable. Dealings with Great Powers were sometimes very difficult but not beyond the Thai ability to tackle them. But when interferences came from other Thai quarters beyond the Foreign Ministry, then obstacles became almost insurmountable. Charivat argues

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very clearly how Pibul and his cliques got involved with Japan without the Foreign Ministry's knowledge. This really let us down regarding our declared policy of strict neutrality.

Konthi's book followed the tradition of his former boss, Direk Jayanama, whose *Siam and World War II* has even been translated into English, with an abridged version in German. It is a pity that Prince Wan never wrote his memoirs or any book on Thai foreign policy. Had he done so, we would have learnt a great deal from him. In fact I persuaded him a few times to write his autobiography. Failing that I asked him to grant me a series of interviews but he pleaded that his old age and ill health prevented him from doing so.

Without his writing, we must be content to read those of his contemporaries like the ones by Direk and Konthi. Now with a new generation like Charivat, writing without any previous experience in the Foreign Ministry, I feel that he has so much to say and he said it succinctly. It is really like drinking fresh water. Let us hope that when he and his likes are in a position to implement Thai foreign policy, they will follow those of their predecessors who worked successfully and sacrificially for the good of our nation.

Indeed our foreign policy at present needs to be questioned in the light of recent historical development.

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Erik Seidenfaden, 1928 Guide to Bangkok (Oxford University Press, Singapore, 1984), pp. 324.

Major Seidenfaden, noted in the 1928 title page as “late of His Siamese Majesty’s Provincial Gendarmerie”, became a considerable authority on things Siamese and a notable contributor to the pages of this journal. Oxford University Press has brought out, in its Oxford in Asia paperback series, a reprint of the second edition of his guide issued by the Royal State Railways of Siam. The first edition, a copy of which this reviewer bought for considerably less than this current reprint, appeared, if memory is right (the copy is not to hand), in 1923.

Old guidebooks are perhaps only for cognoscenti. Already in the 1920s it was felt that so many tourists were going to Thailand that a book for them was necessary (and presumably profitable). There were only five hotels listed (though one assumes Chinese hostelrys existed but were not considered worth mentioning), three of which survive, though two could hardly be considered now of international class. The grandest in those days, the former Phya Thai palace, has alas disappeared from the hotel scene; from the photographs and description provided, it must have been quite splendid.

Bangkok then was still very much a city of canals, though to get around to what were considered then the more distant parts of the city, like the Throne Hall, it was deemed advisable to take a motor car (Bt 2 an hour) or a carriage drawn by a pair of horses (Bt 3 for 2 hours). The tramways receive honorable mention; this reviewer remembers those venerable vehicles still clanking their way around the city in the early 1960s and contributing in no small measure to the already horrible traffic jams.

There were six banks, eight hospitals, no embassies and only seven full legations. Only two roads go off the map provided, one in the direction of Paknam (where the electric tramway went), the other at Ploenchit, now one of the many centres of the city which even in the 1920s was considered one “of great distances”. The “cosy cottages” of Sathorn Road have disappeared along with a lot of the charm of a city which has expanded in all directions since the war and many parts of which are unrecognisable after an absence of only a few years.

But the temples and monuments remain, thank goodness, and survive serene and untainted by the tawdry elements of the 1980s. It is perhaps only in the descriptions

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of the main temples and the Grand Palace that things are almost totally unchanged, though the general sections on Siamese architecture, festivals, history and so on remain largely valid. Very little is said about the temples of Dhonburi, which seems to have been largely terra incognita, apart from the more obvious shrines like Wat Arun. Some of the descriptions seem curiously ill-balanced; the Throne Hall, for example, is given a detailed description but the date when it was commissioned and why are not mentioned.

The 32 pages of advertisements at the beginning of the book are full of period charm, and it would seem that we are not given all of these, since the last page of the book states "For the leading business firms in Bangkok see following pages", but none follow. The photographs are also of the period, but are less charming, being inevitably fuzzy and obscure. In many of them a clochehatted European lady is to be found, perhaps in order to provide a human scale to the scene.

The purpose of this reprint somewhat escapes your reviewer. Oxford has let go out of print the standard serious guide to the country produced in the 1970s, but to go back another fifty years seems somewhat wilfully anachronistic. Seidenfaden's guide is a pleasant curiosity, and a suitable coffee table book for expatriate Bangkokians, though they could, with a little effort, have acquired not so long ago the original at the almost same price.

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Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah, *The Buddhist Saints of the Forest and the Cult of Amulets* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1984) pp. 414.

Dr. Tambiah in the book under review displays his renowned academic skills as he guides us through the dense and often tangled intellectual foliage of a forest inhabited by Buddhist saints, their disciples, the amulets embodying and transmitting power and charisma, which are sacralized by them, and the lay devotees who seek both worldly and other worldly benefits from their involvement with and attachment to these saints and their energized amulets.

Dr. Tambiah follows the tradition of F.S.C. Northrup in his *Meeting of East and West* as he explores the resultant ambiguities, dichotomies, dualities as the textual imperatives of the Buddhist canonical literature become reified in the popular Buddhism as lived and practised in the towns and villages of modern day Thailand and neighbouring Buddhist countries.

We have gained a fuller appreciation of the Buddhist Sangha and its attendant institutional forms, as well as their symbiotic relationships, with both the world of state power and the world of spirits in the previous illuminating treatises of Dr. Tambiah: *Buddhism and Spirit Cults in Northeast Thailand* and *World Conqueror and World Renouncer: A Study of Buddhism and Polity in Thailand against a Historical Background*. In the work under review, Dr. Tambiah opens doors of perception as the functional role of the *arahant*, or Buddhist saint, in relation to the society in which he wanders, meditates and preaches is clarified. Under Dr. Tambiah's able guidance, we are able to fathom the seeming inconsistency of forest ascetics achieving liberation by renouncing society and its defilements and yet returning to that very world of attachments to preach and transfer their achieved power and charisma to the laity to be used for the latter's material, as well as spiritual, benefit. Dr. Tambiah uses the disciplines and arts of the historian, the anthropologist, the political scientist, the philosopher as he probes and enlightens. He also wields the rapier pen of the scholarly fencers of the New Criticism as he plumbs the depths of Buddhist literary classics. It is unfortunate that Dr. Tambiah often resorts to convoluted and rather esoteric prose usage which requires not only patience and perseverance on the part of the reader but also perhaps similar skills in literary analysis.

The book is divided into four parts. The first part describes the Buddhist doctrinal concepts of the *arahant*, his path of purification and his position in the Buddhist hierarchy of beings. The second part of the book focuses on biographies

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of famous Thai forest monks and the select few who have been perceived and revered as saints. Continuities in Buddhist hagiography are explored so as to decipher the patterns of relations between the meditation masters and their disciples and between these holy men and the laity whom they initially renounce (though dependent on them for their sustenance) only to return and spread compassion after their liberation and enlightenment. A detailed analysis of the hagiography of the famous meditation master and perceived saint, *Acharn* Man, is undertaken as Dr. Tambiah takes us down the largely uncharted paths of Buddhist sectarian rivalries and interplay of religion and politics.

Part III of the book describes the cult of amulets and the objectification and transmission of charisma and power. Detailed descriptions of the origin, travels, and characteristics of famous Buddha images are given as Dr. Tambiah defines the parameters of orientation and perception of Buddhists vis-a-vis sacralized images, relics, amulets and other sacra.

Part IV of the book is devoted to reflections on conceptual and theoretical formulations on the basis of substantive accounts in the preceding sections. Dr. Tambiah suggests the provocative thesis that the esoteric, cultic, and mystical features of the forest hermitages of contemporary meditation masters may be linked to militant and violent millennial insurrections that have occurred during the past few centuries in Burma and Thailand. Dr. Tambiah explores a new typology of charisma. The cult of amulets is conceived of as within the scope of fetishism of objects and the Buddhist conception of the saint's acquisition of special powers as within the general scope of the theory of charisma. Dr. Tambiah offers the interesting proposition that the contemporary intensification in the use of amulets and resort to and support of charismatic forest masters is a result of both the desire for disinterested loving kindness in time of deprivation on the part of the general public and the desire on the part of the ruling establishment, devoid of self-confidence, for legitimacy which is conferred by identification with these holy men on the nation's periphery. Dr. Tambiah is always provocative though he sometimes gets bogged down in too much detail and theoretical flights of intricate fancy.

A few minor reservations with Dr. Tambiah's exposition might be mentioned. In his emphasis on the pervasiveness of amulets, Dr. Tambiah neglects to explain the intriguing phenomenon that villagers throughout the Northeast do not revere or wear such amulets nor do they become involved in their purchase and collection. One is tempted to suggest that the peasants have a keener appreciation of the

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doctrinal parameters of the Dhamma than their more educated bretheren of the metropolis. The villagers seek help and benefit not from sacrilized Buddhist images but from the worlds of animist spirit worship and Brahmanical ritual.

Lastly, Dr. Tambiah makes constant reference to the vocations open to monks in institutionalized Buddhism i.e. vocation of books and vocation of meditation or, to phrase it another way, the concentration on learning and the concentration on practice. I would like to suggest there is another vocation, that of community service. Thus, in popular Buddhism today, there is, in addition to the scholar monk and the meditation master, the “development monk” who is dedicated to community service and to “the alleviation of suffering”, as enjoined by the Buddha. Dr. Tambiah, somewhat perfunctorily, dismisses this segment of the Sangha referring to their being captive to the government and fulfilling government political goals and objectives. Here, Dr. Tambiah neglects an entire new movement of socially conscious monks working, independently of the government, to encourage village participation in a variety of self-help programs directed at improving villager spiritual as well as material well-being and quality of life. Certain of these worker monks have achieved the status of revered charismatic leaders. Dr. Tambiah might fruitfully analyze this movement, in his intellectually provocative fashion, as the focus of his next book.

All serious scholars of Buddhism would profit greatly from cerebral harvesting in the intellectual field of merit planted so expertly by Dr. Tambiah in “*The Buddhist Saints of the Forest and the Cult of Amulets*”.

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Neils Mulder, Java–Thailand, A Comparative Perspective (Gadjah Mada University Press, Yogyakarta, 1983) pp. 130.

Neils Mulder is unusually well placed to make a comparative sociological study of two very similar traditional societies, those of Thailand and Java. He has been moving between the two since 1965 and is the author of a number of publications about both, including the perceptive *Mysticism and Everyday Life in Contemporary Java*, a review of which appeared in *JSS* Vol. 67, No. 2 (July 1979). He has a good working knowledge of the relevant languages, including Dutch (without which serious work on Indonesia is greatly handicapped), though not apparently Javanese, since he mentions having Javanese responses translated into Indonesian for him (p. 63).

All but one of the chapters constituting the book have appeared already in various publications. The first three deal with Thailand and are taken from a previously published work of Mulder, *Everyday Life in Thailand* (1979); they are, respectively, Dynamics and Conflicting Values in the Modern Thai Order; the Achievement Motive in Thai Society; and Buddhism, National Identity and Modernity. The fourth deals with traditional Javanese religious thought and practice and the fifth, the only new material, is no more than a five page note of a field visit to a Samin Buddhist Community in central Java.

Chapter six gives some truly comparative material, trying to distinguish the role of the individual and society in the two countries by analysing the works of “serious creative...authors”. Mulder admits that there are few Javanese, apart from Pramoedya Ananta Toer, who clearly fall into this category, and to try and prove his point he had to consider non-Javanese like Titie Said, Iwan Simatupang and Armijn Pane. Thais chosen for study are Seenii Sawwaphong, Siiburaphaa, Bunchook Caimwiriya, and Khamsing Srinawk, with Nimit Phuumthawon, Botan and Rom Ratiwan thrown in as of secondary importance. It does not read very convincingly that the position of the individual and society can be determined by a few works by a handful of authors. It is not made clear how Pramoedya, for example, rightly praised for *This Earth of Mankind* and *Child of all Nations*, describes contemporary society today when he is writing historical novels set at the turn of the century. The whole of this chapter seems on rather thin ground and the arguments advanced in it are therefore shaky and unconvincing. There is also an element of subjectivity here (Mulder only read what friends and informed persons directed him to read). This is inevitable, but it casts doubt on the scholarly viability of the argument.

Michael Smithies

The final chapter, *Avoidance and Involvement*, seeks to define ideas about "the relationship between the individual and society in Java and Thailand". After considering cosmological and religious perspectives, Mulder has some interesting comments on the ideal of the reticent individual in both societies. He concludes that both societies are hierarchical and react to status, social life is felt as a compulsion and the individual seeks personal autonomy within society. That, in such a general form, could probably be said of nearly every society one can think of, to a greater or lesser degree. The Javanese, he finds, outwardly conform more but inwardly reserve more of themselves, developing mystical self-abstinence and improvement, whereas social control appears less developed in Thai society, but prestige and face count for more, with Thais therefore more outwardly motivated. Both, he finds, tend to perceive life as hazardous and insecure and therefore cultivate indifference and avoid social responsibility. Both attitudes, he feels, may be the cause of problems in relation to development.

Sweeping conclusions of this kind are all very well, and Mulder may well be right (he is probably right, for example, on the score of observation alone, that Thais prefer to adorn their environment whereas the Javanese tend to be indifferent to it) but the points need to be proven. Mulder himself implies this by suggesting that further research into the area is necessary. Certainly Mulder puts his fingers neatly on the religious motivations in the societies, but the rest is all rather tenuous.

The book is certainly very readable and even provoking, but to be more than an essay, it needs more research in order to justify the generalisations. It certainly deserves to be better produced. There are spelling errors and typographical mistakes throughout the book to a degree unacceptable from an academic press (this unfortunate characteristic is not a special feature of this volume, since *The Pedicab in Yogyakarta*, from the same press, suffers in the same way). Worse, it seems that Mulder did not have his typescript checked by a native speaker, and there are many expressions which are unacceptable in English, notably referring to "bundles" of short stories, including wrong use of prepositions and strange structures. The heavy sociological jargon becomes at times a little overpowering, though one has seen far worse examples.

As a somewhat subjective comparative sketch covering certain aspects in the two societies, this collection of material is interesting, but the ideas need to be sustained and proven without doubt for it to carry more weight.

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Dawn Rooney, Khmer Ceramics (Oxford University Press, Singapore, 1984), pp. 246.

This handsome and extremely expensive volume deals with a little-known area of Southeast Asian ceramic arts. Unlike Sukothai or Vietnamese wares, Khmer ceramics appear to have been made for purely domestic and ritual use, and hardly exported at all. Given that no Angkorean ceramics were produced after the fifteenth century, and production appears to have declined in quality and durability after the twelfth century, the quantity which has survived is small.

Dawn Rooney says, in a text of 132 pages, all that appears possible to say about the subject. She covers in separate chapters, after a general introduction, the influences, characteristics, shapes and uses of the ceramics. She is particularly strong on the chemistry related to the clays, glazes and firing processes.

It cannot be claimed that Khmer ceramics are particularly exciting or varied. Production was largely utilitarian, the thinly and unevenly applied glazes were limited to brown or green, and decoration was basically geometrical or, where figurative, rather crude. But some of the classical shapes produced, notably the urn, the covered box and the bottle, are aesthetically extremely satisfying. With very limited technological means, the best pieces are surprisingly good.

Because comparatively little is known about the ancient Khmer ceramicist and his techniques, Dr Rooney is obliged to extrapolate, probably correctly, into current Cambodian and Thai practices in relation to the production and use of the pots. However, the textual padding is rather too evident in the chapter on uses, where whole paragraphs have nothing whatever to do with ceramics.

The 22 pages of colour plates and the 83 pages of black-and-white photographs do justice to their subjects. The 36 figures, all but two appearing in the broad margins by the text, are helpful in detailing decoration and cross-sectional shapes. The index is selective; not all references to coil construction appear, stoneware does not make it, nor do all people and places mentioned (Jayavarman II and Lop Buri, for example, are both discussed in the text but do not figure in the index).

This volume is an attractive addition to the Oxford in Asia Studies in Ceramics series, but its specialist appeal and high price will limit its ownership to ardent and affluent collectors.

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C.E. Wurtzburg, *Raffles of the Eastern Isles* (first published 1954; Singapore, Oxford University Press, 1984.), pp. 788.

This enormous biography of the founder of Singapore and the Lieutenant-Governor of Java from 1812-1816 was assembled as a labour of love by the former manager of the Glen Line and published posthumously by Hodder and Stoughton, with a brief foreward by the editor Clifford Witting. In the now customary Oxford fashion, thirty years later the book has been reprinted with no further material or introduction and is presented as a classic biography of a remarkable, and remarkably unlucky, person.

The book certainly is far more weighty than the slimmer, but perhaps more readable, volume of Maurice Collis which appeared in 1966. It covers in chronological order the different periods of Raffles' life, from his birth off Jamaica, to being a humble London clerk in the East India Company, to Penang in 1805 as Assistant Secretary to the recently created Fourth Presidency of the Honorable Company, to Malacca, the Javanese interregnum, the English interlude of 1816-17 and knighthood, Bencoolen, Singapore, and the two years in England again before his death in 1826 at the age of forty-five.

Raffles' achievement in creating Singapore in 1819, through a combination of acumen, good luck, chicanery vis-a-vis his opponents, the Dutch, and disobedience, is perhaps his most important legacy. He was also founder-president of the London Zoological Society (1826) and the author of the monumental *History of Java* (1817). But it is the period as ruler of Java and the reforms he attempted there during the brief British control of the island, one of the more curious consequences of the Napoleonic wars, and his contributions to knowledge which attract scholarly attention today.

At this distance from the original publication, one is struck by incidentals rather than the main thread of the story. As far as Raffles himself is concerned, he was a person of scholarly bent though with scarcely a secondary education to his name, an administrator who was one of the first to realise the importance of learning local languages and studying local customs. Yet, as an administrator, he had his faults; he sometimes did not follow explicit instructions, he could be mean and petty, he was nepotistic, and though well aware of the company's desire to economise and consolidate, he allowed the useless Sumatran outpost of Bencoolen to continue, at vast expense in both financial and human terms.

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Devastating ill-luck dogged him in the last ten years of his life -- the loss of nearly all his children and many of his friends at Bencoolen, the loss of his entire collection of artefacts, books, notes, zoological specimens and treasures in the burning of the ship, the "Fame", carrying him and what remained of his family home, the constant ill-diagnosed ill-health of his last years, the loss of a large proportion of his investments, and the penny-pinching dunning of the Honorable Company after his resignation, all this makes sad reading. A man of such talent deserved far better.

But he was a curious character, never entirely accepted by the establishment, perhaps too much the clever Dick (or Tom), too much of an upstart. In the face of great difficulties, he was invariably sociable and charming. He was at least extraordinary lucky in his two marriages, both initially loveless as far as one can tell, and he was capable of firing the staunchest of friendships as well as the most implacable of enmities.

Wurtzburg sets all this against the background of poor communications with Calcutta and London, and the overall desire of the Supreme Council of the Company to make money. Raffles could well wax eloquent about the potential of Java, as the VOC did before him and many did after, including contemporary investors, but it was a will-of-the-wisp ever in the future, while the present remained a bottomless pit or in less charitable current terms a basket case. Java only seemed to produce a profit under the later Culture System, with all its attendant evils. Raffles' land and financial reforms hardly had time to be given a fair trial, so assessment of his actual achievements in this respect is difficult. In the confusion of the period it is amazing he was able to govern Java as effectively as he did, with a suspicious Dutch population and a resentful native population nearly half that of England and Wales at the time -- Java had 4.6 million inhabitants according to the British census of 1815 and England and Wales a population of 10.1 million in the 1811 census. Furthermore, Raffles had under him virtually no trained administrators, only a handful of troops and runaway inflation, a legacy of Daendels, to cope with.

Wurtzburg's method as a biographer is to introduce a topic, give the background to the relevant characters, and extensive quotes from contemporary correspondence (with sources only rarely completely identified), to follow through these characters briefly and then move on to the next topic. In this sense it can be called a classic biography. The quotes, particularly from the India House archives, are very extensive. In some ways they are both too long and too short; the former because they could undoubtedly be summarized, and the latter because they are not in themselves complete. One suspects this to be in part the result of the work being post-

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humorous; in part too it is also dated as being of the pre-photocopy period, when hand-written copies of documents had to be laboriously gathered by the researcher. The proper place for much of the material would be in complete appendices. It is curious to think that the ubiquitous photocopying machine had just in a generation changed one's presentation of history and personalities.

The method in some ways is similar to Raffles' own in the assembly of the *History of Java*. Everything that was known about particular aspects of the question is put in the relevant chapter, with extensive quotes and copyings and comparatively little sifting. This nevertheless served at the time a real and useful purpose.

A reading of this biography makes one wonder if Raffles is not to blame a little for the lack of attention his reports received from his superiors. Missives went unopened in Leadenhall Street, he learned, and the Honorable Company took years to settle quite minor matters. While it is true that it was the custom of the time to write at length on every subject (Raffles' reports to Minto from Malacca are typical), the missives might have received more attention if they had been briefer. Reading the flowery language and length of these documents today is wearisome, as it must have been to the directors in London with little idea of where Java or Malacca were and not much interest either unless they increased their profits. As contemporaries hinted, London was far more concerned as to whether there was to be a Royal Divorce than whether remote outstations were lost or found.

Raffles, who was frequently taken to task for minor breaches of discipline by a petty administration primarily concerned with profit and unable to conceive grander schemes painted with a broader brush, would not be surprised by contemporary Singapore, which does the same to its citizens for the same motive. Raffles' greater plans, his immense vision for his cultural hub of Southeast Asia, for so many years symbolised by the incomplete buildings of his institution, remain unfulfilled. Singapore, Raffles' only child to survive, from the start attracted Chinese immigrants and waxed rich, as Raffles was never to do, on commerce and free trade, and this remains its *raison d'être*.

This volume is a useful addition to the Oxford in Asia Paperback series as it has been for some time unavailable. One wonders if there is still not room for another biography, paying closer attention to Raffles' psychology and contradictions. The India House archives, already used for some publications subsequent to this, among others, undoubtedly can yet reveal more about this extraordinary and very

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talented man who singlehandedly changed the face of South-east Asia and brought about Britain's involvement in the Far East in the nineteenth century.

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Koentjaraningrat, Javanese Culture (Singapore, Oxford University Press, 1985) pp.550.

This weighty volume is published under the auspices of the Institute of South-east Asian Studies in Singapore, and according to the author grew out of his "having read, reviewed and annotated several hundred books and articles on Javanese culture". To these were added Professor Koentjaraningrat's personal experiences and sociological fieldwork, and the whole sets out to be a definitive compilation of one of the most complex and introverted cultures of the region.

The book is divided into six chapters with numerous footnotes (in one case, 275) at the end of each. The first is a brief introduction to the geography, population and language of Java. A linguist might take exception to differentiating the levels of Javanese, *ngoko*, *madya* and what Koentjaraningrat spells as *krami*, as "styles". When the entire vocabulary shifts depending on the level of the person being addressed it is rather more than a style. There is no discussion in the section on orthography of the Javanese open vowel, most commonly rendered -o-, though often in transliteration as -a- (e.g. Sala instead of Solo). Koentjaraningrat prefers for unstated reasons -i-, so one has for example *Agami Jawi*, adding to the confusion.

Chapter Two, A Brief History of Javanese Culture, is by and large a brief history of the Javanese, though with emphasis on early twentieth century developments. This is followed by a substantive chapter on Javanese Peasant Culture of more than one hundred pages, but when all is said and done one is left wondering if it is so very different from the urban culture. One is rather taken aback when Professor Koentjaraningrat writes "This chapter will not describe Javanese traditional handicraft, as it needs too much space". Instead, one is referred to a five volume book published in Dutch between 1912-1930, a two volume book on batik, in Dutch, of 1914, and an article, also in Dutch, published in 1924. Apart from these sources being inaccessible to most readers by both language and antiquity, it seems unlikely that there have been no changes whatever in traditional handicrafts in the last sixty or so years. There is however ample space given over to a summary of Pigeaud's 1938 volume on Javanese folk dances and drama, possibly because one learns elsewhere that the author taught dance during the war.

It is at this stage that the absence of a complete index becomes maddening. Koentjaraningrat maintains that in the 1930s he saw in villages west of Yogyakarta *jatilan* performances which were always accompanied with *barong* dances. "Since

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the war in 1942 I have not seen *jatilan* and *barong* dance groups with their comedians in the villages of the Yogyakarta region" (p.211). *Jatilan* does not make the index, *barong* does. But this reviewer has certainly seen in the last decade *jatilan* performances in kampongs in Yogyakarta itself, though never accompanied by a *barong*, more associated with Balinese dancing. Yet there is no mention of *jatilan* or *barong* in the following chapter dealing with Javanese urban culture. This is only one of what could be many examples of where the book is both inadequate and dated as far as Javanese cultural manifestations are concerned.

Koentjaraningrat is strong on the sociological trappings of Javanese society. All that dreary terminology of consanguinal relatives, uxori-local, viri-local or neolocal residence patterns, and the inevitable appendix on Javanese kinship terms, is to be found, together with sections on toilet training and the enculturation of adult norms, but the outward forms of the culture, by which it will be remembered and from which it can be more readily considered by outsiders, are only sketchily touched upon. Javanese urban culture is essentially that of the *priyayi* class, and it is curious that Sutherland's major book on the subject, published in 1979 and reviewed in *JSS* in 1981, is not listed in the bibliography, which is stated to have been completed in 1980 with the subsequent addition of a few important works.

The fifth chapter, on Javanese religion, necessarily owes a lot to Geertz's masterly book on the subject (with a scope far wider than its title implies). Here again Koentjaraningrat's text relies rather too much on dated spasmodic observation and not enough on proven fact. What Geertz called the *abangan* and Koentjaraningrat the Agami Jawi, the nominal Muslims, are the dominant religious non-force in Indonesia. But they do not all refer, as Koentjaraningrat maintains, to god as "Allah", but often as "Tuhan", it is not true that they have all pronounced the Al-fatihaha at their circumcision ceremony, they do not all regard the Koran as the source of religious wisdom and so on. A great number of Koentjaraningrat's statements about the *abangan* are no more than wishful thinking, and he needs to update his contact with *abangan* families. Significantly he is more accurate in his description of Santri or orthodox Muslim Javanese practices.

The book concludes with a short chapter on the Javanese symbolic system and value orientation, which as the title implies, is fairly strongly sociological in nature, and tries to bring the volume up to date in three pages on "the Javanese today".

Apart from the lack of an adequate index, perhaps even more irritating is the lack of a glossary of Javanese terms used, usually given in *kromo* rather than

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ngoko. These inevitably pepper the pages of the book, but the reader needs a phenomenal memory (or a copy of Horne's *Javanese-English Dictionary* to hand) to remember more than a handful.

All in all, the book is something of a disappointment. It is not what one would expect from the title, a complete survey of Javanese culture from the past to the present. As an annotated bibliography it clearly has merits. But even its readily verifiable facts are sometimes wrong (for example: on page 232, the principalities of central Java, throughout referred to by the obscure term as *Negarigung* by the author, were split from three into four parts not *after* but *during* the British interregnum, and this was not in 1815 but 1812-1816, and furthermore the Paku Alaman was created in 1813 and not 1815, and lastly the division can hardly be referred to as "current").

Javanese Culture does not make for easy reading and it does not significantly add to Clifford Geertz's book *The Religion of Java* of 1960; this, on the contrary, was and remains a far more comprehensible and more readable survey of Javanese culture than Koentjaraningrat's

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Pramoedya Ananta Toer, Child of All Nations (Penguin, Ringwood, Victoria, 1982), Translated and introduced by Max Lane, pp.295.

This is the second volume to appear in English of Pramoedya Ananta Toer's quartet and is a highly successful translation of *Anak Semoa Bangsa* which came out in 1980 in Jakarta before being banned, though another edition, published in Malacca in 1982, is still available outside Indonesia. There is no sign yet of the third and fourth volumes in Indonesian, *Jejak Langkah* (Footsteps) and *Rumah Kaca* (The Glass House), though it is well known that they were completed in first draft on the prison island of Buru from which the author was released in 1979. At this rate, they will appear in English first -- a fate which befell Mochtar Lubis' novel, *Twilight in Djakarta*.

Child of all Nations starts, logically enough, where *This Earth of Mankind* stopped, with the forced departure of Annelies for Holland, leaving her husband, Minke and her mother Nyai (Concubine) Ontosoroh to fend for themselves. Minke sends a Dutch school friend to shadow her and learns from him that she died, virtually untended by her legal guardian, of a broken heart. Minke is now fired, he says, by the desire of revenge. His friends Jean Marais, the French soldier-painter, and Kommer, the Eurasian journalist try to persuade him to write in Malay rather than Dutch to communicate with a wider audience of his own race. It is only when his report of an interview with a young Chinese, Khouw Ah Soe, determined to work for the resurrection of China on the Japanese model, is butchered by his editor Nijman that Minke sees working with the Dutch is pointless. Ah Soe is literally butchered shortly after leaving refuge on the safety of Nyai's Wonokromo estate and Minke then swings behind his ideas.

Minke and Nyai go off to another estate which Nyai's elder brother Sastro-wongso helps to run, and here the novel shifts gear. As in the previous volume, where in the picaresque tradition the story of the Japanese prostitute Maiko was introduced, this time it is the story of Surat, Nyai's niece, whose father is more or less forced by circumstances to hand over his daughter to the detested Dutch overseer of the sugar mill. She deliberately goes to a village sealed off by troops because smallpox is raging there and, having contracted the disease, returns, sleeps with the Dutchman, who dies, while she, hideously disfigured, manages to survive, working more or less as a servant in her father's house.

The next dramatic interlude is Minke's encounter with Trunodongso, a "real"

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Javanese peasant (the kind of person Minke's friends say he does not know). Minke is not, as planned, murdered by Trunodongso and is eventually accepted by the family, writes about Truno losing his land by Dutch subterfuge and presents his article to Nijman, which of course is at once rejected. Truno is involved in a minor rebellion and flees, to be protected at Wonokromo. Minke sets off by ship to start medical studies but never gets to his destination; at Semarang he is taken under police escort, unaware of the reason for his detention, and returned by train to Surabaya. While he is travelling, learning from Ter Haar aboard ship about the Filipino revolt (all news of which was suppressed by the Dutch) and the political and financial complexities of colonial newspapers. Eventually Minke learns the cause of his forced change of plan: Robert, Nyai's other child, had died in Los Angeles of venereal disease, and in another touch of melodrama acknowledged in his last letter that Rono, the milkmaid Minem's child, is his. He also reveals all the machinations of Baba Tjong, the local brothel owner, trying to lay hands on the Mellema-Ontosoroh estate through the father, who was killed on the premises, and the son. A lengthy court case follows, but Ah Tjong dies before his sentence of hanging can be carried out.

The final dramatic touch is the confrontation between Engineer Mellema, now working in the Indies, the legitimate son of the dead Herman Mellema, and his father's mistress, Nyai, surrounded by her entourage. Jean Marais and Kommer are present, dressed in their best, Marais' daughter May, Rono, Nyai's only grandchild, Darsan the faithful guard-retainer, and of course Minke. In a mixture of French, Dutch and Malay, the confrontation with the person who caused the death of Annelies is enacted. May is the catalyst, not having known until then that Annelies had died in Holland. Mellema beats a retreat, leaving behind a battered tin suitcase, with Annelies' clothes, the same case that Nyai had taken with her when she was sold by her father to Mellema to be his concubine.

At one stage, Pramoedya writes, "The Jan Tintang affair turned out to be a melodrama". Jan Tintang is no other than the spy Fatso, employed, as it is finally revealed, by the former Assistant Resident Hubert de la Croix, told to watch over Minke's activities to find out how a native receiving a Dutch education behaved.

But how much more of the novel has become melodrama? Surati's story is certainly that, Trunodongso scarcely less, the Robert-Minem-Rono story the same, the denouement no more. What is gained by the confrontation? The novel ends

"Just as we will always remember this day, he too will be
haunted by it, all his life, and into the grave."

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“Yes, Ma, we fought back, Ma, even though only with our mouths.”

Will Engineer Mellema, so proud, in fact be haunted? A few nips of gin are wonderful for the spirits. Did Minke *do* anything? Nothing at all. His feeling of “the fire of revenge” translates itself into a few sharp words with the legitimate Mellema, come to claim the estate after seizing tutelage of Minke’s wife in a mixed marriage, which, being Moslem not recognised by Dutch law. All very Javanese. Nothing has been done at all. But positions have been stated, high horses mounted, the adversary has lost face before others. Triumph? Well, perhaps, in Javanese terms. Not in Western terms though. Engineer Mellema has been discomfited, nothing more, and is poised to set hands on the entire estate.

In comparison to the first volume of the projected quartet, this is not so satisfactory, but it is none the less compelling reading. One does not stop, one wants to know what is going to come next. Though Annelies dies at the beginning of the novel, all the other main characters reappear, even Stuurhof, turned vagrant in Amsterdam, Magda Peters, now politicised in Holland. New faces crowd in and take their places, more (Truno, Tantang) or less (Surati, Ah Soe, Minem, Ter Haar) integrated into the overall picture. Nyai and Minke are caught in the web of events they cannot escape from and some of the comments come close to dangerous truths, not just in 1899, but also today. Nyai says at one point “It seems anybody who has an opinion must be expelled or annihilated here in the Indies”. Plus ça change.

Pramoedya Ananta Toer is trying to do something none of his contemporaries seems to be attempting, writing an historical novel on the grand scale. Whether this is going to degenerate into unacceptable melodrama remains to be seen. The trouble is, of course, that truth *is* stranger than fiction. But artifice and art have to go into the novel too. One is left uncertain at the end of the second volume in which direction Pramoedya is going.

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John Ingleson, Road to Exile - The Indonesian Nationalist Movement 1927-1934 (Heinemann Educational Books, Singapore, 1979), pp.254.

This volume, of which a notice is somewhat delayed, is the first in a series of Southeast Asian Publications under the aegis of the Asian Studies Association of Australia, with Harry Aveling heading its editorial committee. It bears all the marks of being a published PhD thesis, with an extensive bibliography of primary and secondary sources in Indonesian, Dutch and English and a massive panoply of footnotes.

Like most such works, this is a brightly polished pinhead of history, covering the activities of the nationalists and their ever-changing and renamed parties in the very short space of time between the crushing of the ill-organised communist uprisings of November 1926 in West Java and January 1927 in West Sumatra, covered by Ruth McVey in *The Rise of Indonesian Communism* (1965) and the inevitable banishment of the independence leaders Hatta, Sjahrir, Maskun and others to Boven Digul (already full of arrested communists from 1926-27) in West Irian in 1934, following Sukarno's arrest in August 1933 and exile to Endah in Flores in February 1934.

Although these seven years were bustling with activity and the creation of new parties and newer acronyms (it is sometimes confusing for reader to distinguish between PNI, PNI Baru, PSI, PSII, PPPKI, PKI and SKBI), the shifting alliances around Sukarno, on the spot in Bandung, and Hatta, until 1932 at a safe distance in Rotterdam, but directing from afar, and the shifts in attitudes of the different leaders (always away from Islam, increasingly, to avoid arrest, away from political independence, to stress social reform and educational need) make fascinating reading. Sukarno's incredible plea for release from prison in 1933 and grovelling promise to abandon politics make as astonishing reading today as to his contemporaries. It would be easier to explain if prison tortures were practised, but for all the faults of the Dutch colonial regime, these appear to have been mercifully absent.

But the writing was on the wall right from the beginning of the period under study. The liberals were in retreat and so was the "ethical policy" announced by Queen Wilhelmina in 1901. De Graeff was the last of the liberal governors-general, and he was forced by events to imprison Sukarno, Mangkupradja, Supriadinata and Maskun in 1929; they were sentenced to jail for varying terms in 1930. It is true that de Graeff remitted part of their sentences in 1931, for which he was reprimanded by the Minister of Colonies. De Graeff was replaced in September 1931 by de Jonge, an arch conservative who foresaw Dutch rule continuing unchanged for at least another

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three hundred years.

The depression and its severe economic effect on the Indonesian economy did nothing to improve matters or relax official rigidity. The singing of what was virtually the nationalist anthem, Indonesia Raya, the waving of red and white flags and the sporting of red and white flowers, and worse the lese-majeste cries of "Republik Indonesia" at the political meetings, were clearly incitements against *rust en orde* (tranquillity and order). With far fewer crises de conscience than de Graeff and with no consultation with the adviser for native affairs, de Jonge found it easier to clap the whole pesky bunch in exile. Dutch political immobility was rewarded, as we now know, with the Japanese invasion and the four year war of independence in all but name after the end of the world war.

The short period under study, though full of local excitement, has none of the blood and thunder of the ill-advised communist uprisings and the war years (both international and national) between which it is situated. It is none the less interesting for it was the calm before, first the totally barren period 1934-42, and then the storm of war and inevitable independence. Ingleson's work makes fascinating reading, for all the futility of the machinations described. As with each work dealing with the period before in the independence of Indonesia, and with the benefit of hindsight, one wonders why the whole process had to be so needlessly chaotic, bloody and protracted, why a little flexibility could not have been introduced to make the inevitable birth of modern Indonesia a little easier. It is also to be wondered if the lessons of the results of past rigidity have been sufficiently learned.

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Eliza R. Scidmore, Java, The Garden of the East (first published New York 1899; Oxford University Press, Singapore, 1984), pp. 336.

Augusta de Wit, Java, Facts and Fancies (first published The Hague, 1912; Oxford University Press, Singapore, 1984), pp. 316.

Having gone through turn of the century lady writers dealing with Malaya, Isabella Bird and her detractor Emily Innes, OUP has now resurrected two more dealing this time with Java. As is lamentably becoming the standard the 'university' press now sets itself, we are told nothing whatever about either authoress which cannot be gathered from the text itself and no fresh introductions are supplied. The books are straightforward royalty-less photographic reprints, comprising, in the case of the de Wit volume, a considerable number of original misprints.

Eliza Scidmore, an American lady with connections with the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, travelled with some female companions in the interests of science to the island, visited Sunda, Solo, Yogya and the major ruins of central Java. She had obviously read the available literature beforehand, quoting frequently from it, and writes elegantly, if somewhat scathingly, of the Dutch colonial system and the difficulties of travelling in the country: the required 'toetlatings-kaarten' of the Dutch police merely seems to have been replaced by the 'surat jalan' of today.

Augusta de Wit, presumably Dutch, appears to have travelled less widely, mostly in Batavia, Bogor and a village in the hills above Cirebon, where she appeared to have stayed with Dutch friends. She sees things through satisfied colonial eyes but is none the less curious about native life and the people she so tiresomely refers to as 'brownies'.

Of the two, Ms Scidmore is the more perceptive and scholarly and has the occasional touch of acid in her finely poised pen. She gives an hilarious account of a reception of the two hundred or so of the Yogya elite, expatriate, native and Chinese, at the Paku Alam's palace, the Dutch ladies dressed in brocades and velvets, perspiring and fanning themselves equally vigorously. After a three hour wayang wong performance, "the applause was long and the sighs of relief profound". But then the native ladies withdrew on their golden slippers and the European dancing began; Ms Scidmore was too tired to watch but wonders

"how many of the broadcloth-coated men and their partners in winter gowns survived one vigorous continental waltz on a marble floor, or if an anteroom was converted into an emergency hospital for treating heat prostration."

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Both ladies were clearly repelled by the *deshabille* of Batavian society in the daytime, where Europeans, especially the ladies, openly went native, wearing sarongs and loose blouses.

“On a Javenese, a small, spare, slightly-made race, the garb sits not ungracefully. But on the sturdier Hollander the effect is something appalling,”

writes Ms de Wit. Both write quite well, though Scidmore with more penetration and wit. Both illustrate their text generously with period photographs, de Wit running to 160 showing many people, things and places not mentioned at all in the text.

As one might expect, the scenes presented are both familiar and strangely different. We have the portly Chinese millionaire of Batavia “who entertains army officers and civil servants in his own profusely decorated mansion” (de Wit), the fruit sellers, the batik makers, the wayang, even the ‘labyrinthine passar’ of Solo (Scidmore); these are all still around, thank goodness. Gone is the art of tying a turban with the aid of one’s feet, the clearly delightful post road pavilions covering the entire street in a *pendopo* at regular distances, the indolence of colonial existence (perhaps replaced by another). The monuments, the native people remain, much the same.

While neither is dull, Scidmore is decidedly more interesting, and both would have benefitted from a proper introduction by their new publisher.

Michael Smithies

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Cesar Guillen-Nunez, Macao (Oxford University Press, HongKong, 1984), pp. 76.

Oxford has launched a new series, 'Images of Asia', with this short volume on the Portuguese colony of Macao, written by the assistant curator of the Camoes Museum in the city. To judge by this work, the series is going to comprise brief handbooks, largely historical in approach, to facets of East Asian life and culture, with colour and black-and-white illustrations (the latter mostly of old prints and drawings), together with a selective bibliography and an index.

Macao, until recently a gently decaying anomaly on the South China coast, is a good subject with which to launch the series, and Oxford has obviously selected someone who knows his stuff. The first seven of the nine chapters follow a broad chronological and historical approach, while the last two are loosely thematic ('Churches and Temples' and 'Gardens and Villas').

The first, discussing the curiously haphazard foundation of the colony in the sixteenth century, starts off with a cliché by comparing the site to Rome, since Macao was built on hills (the magic number of seven is not invoked) and the first three pages, using archaic words like 'adrift' and 'thither', hackneyed phrases like 'Venice's iron grip' and 'in days of old', and talking of a 'cosmic jigsaw puzzle' (whatever that might be), make one apprehensive of what is coming after. However, after this shaky start, the text improves and the volume is a neat little summary of the background to the present backwater.

It is a curious fact that as Macao declined in the nineteenth century with the opening of the treaty ports and the rapid growth of Hong Kong, the city, instead of keeping its old buildings, gradually lost them. The famous Praia Grande was ruined by reclamation, the churches were 'improved' (i.e. spoilt), the old Leal Senado rebuilt, Sao Paulo destroyed by fire (and never rebuilt) and typhoons coupled with thoughtless urbanisation finished off the rest. Silvo Mendes, a champion of Macao, could write in 1919 that "there was nothing in Macao's religious architecture which deserved one's attention" and that "a stroll through the city streets reveals a complete absence of artistic feeling... Previously there were a good number of buildings, especially in Chinese style, of which one could note... indications of good taste... Everything, or almost everything, has been pulled down." The poor man would turn in his grave at the sight of more recent monstrosities like the Lisboa Hotel and the wasteland by the piers for Hong Kong.

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For all this, Macao still manages to have corners of charm, in the streets near the Dom Pedro V theatre, in the Governor's palace on the Praia Grande, in the Monte Fort overlooking the town, in the area near the Casa Garden, and of course in the spectacular facade of Sao Paolo. It would seem to survive on postage stamps and gambling (neither mentioned in the text), thanks to day trippers from Hong Kong who also come for cheap drink and different food. In fact, there is now a small industrial base in addition to the traditional fireworks factories, a thriving colony of commuters and pensioners and of course Macanese Chinese who keep the place going and who also receive remarkably little attention in the present volume.

No less than 11 of the 16 pages of coloured illustrations provided are devoted to thoroughly indifferent Christian works of art and are on this account disappointing. The 19th century oil painting reproduced on the Praia Grande is however charming and shows what has been lost. The black and white drawings, including three by Chinnery (who does not make the colour section) and the old photos are much better value than most of the colour plates. The rear inside cover gives a fairly summary map of the city, and the map on the inside front cover will raise a few eyebrows, showing as it does Hong Kong as a Portuguese trading port in the 17th century, not mentioning Amboin and Ternate, and misplacing Macassar to cover the whole of Sulawesi. It is true that both the Molucca bases, as well as Banda, passed to the Dutch in the early part of the 17th century, but they were founded by the Portuguese in the 16th century and were still Portuguese at the beginning of the next. The rear cover blurb has a surprising but common misuse of the phrase 'as such', which does not mean 'therefore' in standard English.

These are minor matters. The book is an interesting introduction to the subject and one looks forward to the other titles in the series.

Michael Smithies