W. Derks

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WILL DERKS

'If not to Anything Else'

Some Reflections on Modern Indonesian Literature

1.

In an introduction to a recently published anthology of modern Indonesian literature intended for a Dutch audience, Henk Maier (1994) makes a few thought-provoking remarks about what he believes to be some essential aspects of this literature. Perhaps, he says, people in Indonesia today read more than ever before, but this still does not mean that *sastra Indonesia* plays an important role in everyday Indonesian life. Few books are appearing in print. Moreover, the editions of literary works that are deemed 'important' by critics (novels and collections of short stories or poems) tend to be extraordinarily limited, and only idealists would want to go through the ordeal of getting their literary products published. However, Indonesian literature is not dead yet (*'nog niet dood'*), he notes, since occasionally a new publication by Pramoedya or Rendra may stir up some commotion, suggesting that the patient is still alive. Nevertheless, Indonesian literature on the whole has become a marginal phenomenon and is hardly significant any more as an influence on the opinions of the older generation or in the education of the younger generation.

This is, of course, quite a pessimistic view, and Maier's remark that Indonesian literature is 'not dead yet' is reminiscent of Hans Overbeck's famous statement (1975:3) that *'Die Malaiische Literatur ist tot, dahingewelkt, seit der Glanz der Malaiischen Reiche verging'* (Malay literature is dead, wasted away, since the glory of the Malay states has faded). We are now in a position to see that, Overbeck's epitaph notwithstanding, Malay literature was not dead at all, but on the contrary, kept on growing and blossoming and bearing fruit long after Overbeck himself passed away. Similarly the prospects for modern Indonesian literature may be much brighter. Overbeck, as we know, focused on the chirographic (or manuscript) heritage, so-called 'classical Malay literature', which at the begin-

WILL DERKS, who took his Ph.D. at the University of Leiden, is currently a research fellow at the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) there, specializing in literature. He has previously published *The Feast of Storytelling: On Malay Oral Tradition*, Jakarta/Leiden: RUL, 1994, and 'Poets and Power in Pekanbaru; On Burgeoning Malay Consciousness in Indonesia', *IIAS Yearbook 1995*, Leiden: IIAS, 1995. Dr. Derks may be contacted at IIAS, PO Box 9515, 2300 RA Leiden. E-mail: Derks@Rullet.Leidenuniv.NL.

ning of the twentieth century was indeed coming to an end. He does not seem to have taken into consideration the immense wealth of orally transmitted verbal art that was to be found virtually all over Indonesia in his time, as, to a certain extent, it still is today. Nor did he realize the significance of the so-called *sastra liar*, or 'wild literature', a popular form of literary production in print of the early twentieth century. In other words, Overbeck was, at least in part, limited in his outlook and arrived at his pessimistic conclusion on the basis of a print-literate bias.

This may also hold true for Maier's pessimistic view of modern Indonesian literature. It is striking how, to judge the state of the art of modern Indonesian literature, both the number of published books and the number of copies of each book are taken as significant indicators. Since both these figures are low, the conclusion is that Indonesian literature must be in a deplorable state, with neither the old nor the young considering it an important part of their lives. Could it be that we have here a judgement which, similarly to Overbeck's, is inspired by expectations that are part and parcel of a Western-type fully-fledged print literacy – expectations that are at variance with the present literary system in Indonesia, or which, conversely, this system cannot live up to?

It is clear that, if we do not restrict ourselves to printed books and the figures for the numbers of copies printed, but also take creative writing in journals and newspapers into consideration, our conclusion must be that, instead of a dying literature, we are dealing with a literary system that is very much alive and which can even be said to be bursting at the seams. Poems and short stories abound, and their regular appearance in newspapers, journals and periodicals, whether they be monthly or weekly, has a long tradition. Ulrich Kratz showed this most clearly in his *Bibliography of Indonesian Literature in Journals*, published some eight years ago. As the title indicates, Kratz checked *journals* – more than a hundred of them, published between 1922 and 1982 – and found well over 27,000 poems and stories (and some plays), few of which were ever published as a book. Small wonder that Kratz argues in the introduction to his book that 'our view of Indonesian literature has always been a partial one due – *if not to anything else* – to its scattered distribution and the ephemeral nature of its sources' (my italics, WD). Further down, he adds that it is practically impossible 'to describe Indonesian literature as a whole, merely on the basis of the creative literature and essays published in books' (Kratz 1988:1-2).

To make matters 'worse', there is the fact that creative writing is to be found not only in journals, but also in newspapers. These, wherever they are published throughout the archipelago, regularly contain short stories and poems, sometimes even on their front page. Here also, as Tom van den Berge (1993) showed in his dissertation on Sundanese poetry in the nineteenth century, we are dealing with a long tradition. Obviously, if Kratz had included newspapers as a source in his survey – if an investigation of these as well were at all possible for a single researcher – the resultant list

would have been many times longer than the 27,000 titles yielded by his examination of the limited corpus of journals.

What are we to make of this? Kratz, as well as, for that matter, A. Teeuw, who wrote the foreword to the *Bibliography*, mainly emphasizes the immense problems of description and documentation posed by the remarkable phenomenon of scattered literature. Certainly no less urgent and problematic, however, is an *explanation* of the well-nigh Bakhtinian overabundance of this literature. Kratz (1988:11) may be right in saying that in the mere compilation of his *Bibliography* no 'profound insights into Indonesian literature were gained'. The astonishing evidence provided by his book nevertheless almost forces one to reflect upon what may be called 'the nature of modern Indonesian literature'.

2.

In the recent historiography of Southeast Asia there have been important contributions to our understanding of the nature of power in that part of the world and the ways in which (pre-colonial) states were held together, differently from states in Europe. The models proposed include the *mandala*, the theatre state, and the kingdom of words (Wolters 1982; Geertz 1980; Drakard 1993). Inspired by this, I propose to consider the possibility of a modern Southeast Asian literature like that of Indonesia constituting a system that is essentially different in kind from, say, the present European one. This is not an entirely new enterprise in the development of scholarship on Indonesian and Malay verbal art. In recent decades we have witnessed a fundamental shift in the approach to the Malay chirographic heritage. Where until quite recently the manuscript literature was viewed as a totally '*literate*' phenomenon and the expectations held of it were the expectations of specialists with a background of print literacy, lately such attempts as tracing the 'archetype' of a particular text, identifying corruptions and contaminations, and other endeavours inspired by the print-literate's inclination to standardize, have been called into question. This has been mainly a result of the increased awareness that these manuscripts should be interpreted as part of a radically oral manuscript literature rather than in terms of the Euro-American ideal of print literacy.

Although this is not the place to elaborate this idea, it should be observed that this changed perspective has made it possible to analyse any given manuscript in its own right, with the quest for the archetype being equated by some with an exercise in futility. Be that as it may, it is on the analogy of this fundamental change in the perspective from which so-called classical Malay literature came to be viewed that I have come to look upon modern Indonesian literature as an *orally oriented* phenomenon, as a system of production and consumption of works of verbal art that can best be understood in oral rather than literate terms (Even-Zohar 1986; 1990).

The development of Western literatures has gone hand in hand with the

possibility for print literacy to develop and spread over a relatively long period of four to five centuries. In Southeast Asia, on the other hand, the impact of the printing press came to be felt only a little over a hundred years ago. It could also be argued that when print literacy began to spread through this region, other, no less powerful, new means of communication were introduced here. These new means of communication – first the telegraph, telephone and radio, and later audiotapes and cassettes, television, dish aerials, videos, (interactive) compact disks, computers, faxes, and Internet – are changing the world in ways that are not yet fully understood. As a tentative solution, however, the term ‘*secondary orality*’ has been adopted to enable us somehow to grasp the profound influence this technology is having on us (Ong 1977; 1982).

Interestingly, it has already been argued elsewhere that to a certain extent Indonesians have entered this age of secondary orality direct from the preceding phase of primary orality, without first going through a stage of fully-fledged print literacy, as in the case of the Western world (Sweeney 1987; Teeuw 1988). If this is a tenable assumption – as for the time being I would like to think it is – then it could logically be argued further that modern Indonesian literature may be better understood if it is viewed as a different kind of literary system, akin to what the Western scholar would characterize as an ‘orally oriented’ one, although it remains to be seen whether this orality is of a primary or a secondary kind, or is a mixture of both.

3.

So far the argument has been quite abstract and theoretical. One means of bringing us down to a more concrete level of argument would be a closer examination of the genres in which this literature is mainly manifest in present-day Indonesia, namely the poem and the short story. It is important to note here that, with relatively few exceptions, the novel is conspicuous by its absence; and this absence is even more striking in comparison with the overwhelming abundance of poems and short stories. In Indonesia the novel is, in fact, a marginal phenomenon. What springs to mind in this connection is Walter Benjamin’s idea of the novel’s total dependence on the printing press, and therefore its absolute incompatibility with orality. Proceeding along this line of argument in the present context, I might add that, although the abundance I referred to just now is in fact an abundance of printed material, poems and short stories in Indonesia surely do not have this dependence. As was suggested above, the wealth of literary products in Indonesian magazines and newspapers, of which we can gain an inkling from Kratz’s *Bibliography*, is much greater than we ordinary mortals can ever hope to comprehend. This ‘desperate’ situation only becomes worse when we realize that poems and short stories not only proliferate in print, but also are the warp and woof of the related phenomenon of poetry readings, or *pembacaan puisi*.

Although they have been studied even less than literary works published in journals and newspapers, we can safely say that these gatherings at which people read poetry as well as short stories, and even essays, aloud are extremely popular in Indonesia. Poetry readings are a widespread phenomenon, and there are examples of people reading poetry in factories, hospitals and prisons, as well as of poetry readings by students, members of the armed forces, and even former prostitutes (Eka Budianta 1991). It goes without saying that this aspect of literary life in Indonesia in particular is undeniably oral in nature, while its popularity strongly suggests that literature in Indonesia really is something one listens to, in the company of others, rather than reads silently and in seclusion. In this respect, poetry reading is highly reminiscent of traditional story-telling as it is still practised throughout Indonesia today, although the former is often found in urban and the latter in rural settings. It does not seem quite correct, therefore, to project 'primary' oral phenomena such as traditional story-telling onto a more or less remote past, as does Benedict Anderson when he speaks of 'the older culture' in which 'literature was still to a high degree an intimate, social art'. Nor does it seem consistent with reality to argue, as Anderson also does, that all this changed dramatically and that a 'sudden, enormous silence' was brought to the literary world with the rise of print-capitalism (Anderson 1990:209-10). The popularity of poetry readings simply belies this. I might point out further that poems during such performances often are not simply transmitted orally, but are recited at the top of the performer's voice. Poets reciting their works may yell and shout, hiss and boo and swear, stamp their feet, beat the stage with their hands and fists, break glasses and bottles, and fall to the ground gesticulating wildly. Moreover, the sense of togetherness of the audience and the performer that also characterizes a *pembacaan puisi* is hardly affected when the poems and short stories recited here appear in some local or regional newspaper, as is often the case. Indeed, the newspaper 'does not cut the reader off from his fellow men. On the contrary, reading it is usually a sociable activity, with the reader always ready to oblige his companions with the content of articles which interest him' (Sweeney 1980:26).

Both Kratz and Teeuw in the *Bibliography of Indonesian Literature in Journals* seem almost to complain about what they call the 'ephemeral character' of literature in print. If one widens one's scope once again and includes poetry readings as well in one's considerations, then this disgruntlement is apt to change to sheer bewilderment, as an orally delivered literary work is even more fleeting and transient than a poem or a short story that is published today and forgotten tomorrow. It is precisely this evanescence that is typical of an *oral* tradition, however. Voice and sound are elusive, and with the utterance of the last syllable not only is the story or poem over, but it is gone – *and nobody cares*. Therefore, instead of taking the ephemerality of modern Indonesian literature as a cause for despair, it may be more fruitful and productive to take this transient

character as a clue to understanding the nature of this literary system as an oral one. From this perspective it will be obvious that even a poem or short story produced *in print* was not made or meant to stand the test of time. In the bookish culture of the West it is taken for granted that an author's aim is to be read and remembered over the ages, preferably through the publication of one or more long novels. The institution of the Nobel prize is the ultimate expression of this attitude. In Indonesia, on the other hand, the average author may be much less interested in creating a work of art that will stand for all eternity than in producing something for next week's poetry reading or the coming Sunday issue of the local newspaper, in which the *sate* he will buy in a street *warung* will be wrapped on Monday. In this connection it is telling that some of the journals examined by Kratz presented their literary sections under such headings as *Cerita 500 Kata* (500-word stories) or, even more illuminating, *Cerita 3 Menit* (3-minute stories).

In addition to this transient character, there is another trait of modern Indonesian literature that is reminiscent of orality in general. Teeuw's foreword to Kratz's book also mentions 'the innumerable quantity of people who at some point in their lives engage, if only incidentally, in creative writing' (Kratz 1988:iv). Here it is germane to point out that in an oral tradition every member of the community to which this tradition belongs is its potential bearer, in spite of the fact that only some people attain the status of professional storyteller. In other words, in an oral tradition many individuals may and will engage in retrieving, and thus preserving, parts of this tradition at some point in their life, be it as a grandmother retelling well-known stories to her grandchildren or as a listener commenting on a performance he is attending, or indeed as a professional storyteller.

Walter Ong, in a different context, referred to this phenomenon with the term *participatory poetics* (for instance, Ong 1977:118). Although he was, of course, talking about the primary orality of peoples who do not possess writing, this notion of participatory poetics seems to be very useful to help explain the fact that so many individuals in present-day Indonesia engage in all kinds of literary activity. Much like any oral tradition, the modern Indonesian literary system is open and democratic. Few Indonesians have reservations about coming forward as poets, and few consider this childish, pretentious, or even ridiculous. Everyone who desires to express him- or herself in a literary composition is accepted and taken seriously. Even junior high school students who wish to recite or publish their poetical outpourings – and we know there are many – have every chance of doing so. They are good-naturedly classified as *penyair muda*, young poet. One might say, again borrowing a phrase from Amin Sweeney (1980:26), where he comments on a similar phenomenon in Malaysia, that 'the ratio of writers to readers is, by Western standards, surprisingly high, so that the casual observer may be forgiven if he receives the impression that there are as many writers as readers!' (See also Ismail Hussein 1976.)

Thus, literature is anything but an elitist pastime in Indonesia. Quite the contrary. The Indonesian literary system could be described as a highly egalitarian, democratic and participatory 'republic' of poets that is open to anyone at any given moment in his or her life. In other words, much more so than in the West, and quite similarly to oral traditions, literature in Indonesia is a form of popular culture.

4.

The Western author endeavours to create works that will outlive him. To achieve this goal he or she is expected to produce works that are novel and unique. Given the notion of modern Indonesian literature as a predominantly oral system, however, it comes as no surprise that authors in Indonesia today are as little interested in eternal fame as in novelty and uniqueness. An oral tradition makes use of a limited stock of elements with which an infinite number of stories may be composed. In this connection the metaphor of the kaleidoscope has been used: a limited number of pieces of coloured glass are combined ad infinitum into larger units. Extrapolating from this, it could be argued that the impetus of modern Indonesian literature has been not so much the urge to create a singular, outstanding piece of poetry or prose as the pleasure of engaging in an *ars combinatoria*, whereby a number of elements again and again are assembled from a limited range of possibilities to produce a different but structurally or formally similar text each time. In other words, from the perspective we are exploring, the majority of poems and stories produced by Indonesians today can be expected to display a relatively high proportion of stereotypical 'figures in the carpet'. Consequently, certain demands made of this literature, such as, for instance, those inspired by the fixation of a print literate tradition on a certain kind of originality, should be given up or modified. Problems such as 'the difficulty of establishing the boundaries between literature and non-literature', which imply this kind of fixation, may then prove much less 'insurmountable' than they seem (Teeuw, in Kratz 1988:iv). From the different perspective proposed here, modern Indonesian literature would be viewed less as an art form in the Western sense than as a craft, and its practitioners less as artists than as craftsmen – although the distinction between 'art' and 'craft' again is very much a Western one.

Of course, much research is needed to support this proposition. I myself have not read (or listened to!) anything near the 27,000 titles listed in Kratz's *Bibliography*, let alone immersed myself in the elusive *mer à boire* in all the magazines and newspapers not included there and, for that matter, in poetry readings. Nevertheless, the argument so far can be taken further with the discussion of a few striking related phenomena which seem to support the theory proposed here.

5.

In connection with the notion of the craftsmanship of the oral specialist it has been emphasized that in an oral tradition stylized stories are a marketable commodity. When a professional storyteller is invited to give a performance he expects to be rewarded for his efforts, preferably in cash. Precisely this aspect seems to play a prominent role in the generation of the innumerable poems and short stories that are published in newspapers and magazines as well. Newspapers pay, sometimes generously, for such contributions. Because of the daily appearance of these papers, publishing a story is a means of earning instant cash. Naturally, these newspapers and magazines only pay for texts whose length matches the limited space they are able to offer. This may, at least partially, explain the predominance of poems and short stories. On the other hand, works in both these genres also lend themselves extremely well to reading aloud at poetry readings, which, generally speaking, take up less time than what is required by traditional story-telling, and which often comprise the performances of several poets. More problematic in this respect is the *cerber* (or *cerbung* = *cerita bersambung* = serial), a third literary category that is often found in Indonesian press publications. I would tentatively argue here that in form and content the serial is reminiscent of the soap opera, a stereotypical class of television drama that has been put forward as an example of secondary orality. Of course, if such a serial is accepted for publication, it may not only serve to bind part of the readership to the newspaper concerned, but will also provide the author with a regular income for some time.

Be that as it may, verbal creativity and the chance of making some quick money together are linked to another manifestation of mass involvement in literary activity in Indonesia. Where the number of poems and short stories one comes across in the press and at poetry readings already is much larger than anyone can ever hope to be able to study, there is in addition the creative writing produced in the context of the – also innumerable and immensely popular – writing contests that are regularly organized on the national, regional or local level throughout Indonesia. To give an example, in a writing contest on the subject of *Merdeka* recently organized by the Indonesian section of the Dutch World Service, for which I was asked to sit on the jury, more than 2000 entries were received from Indonesia. This was after only one advertisement in the national newspaper *Kompas* and in spite of a three-week deadline, and was due not in the last place to the fact that even the amount of the third prize exceeded that of the average Indonesian monthly salary. This is only one example of a kind of literary activity in modern Indonesia which Sapardi Djoko Damono (1983:134) over thirteen years ago referred to as '*sastra sayembara*' (contest literature). Typically, in the essay in which he coined this term, he also linked it to money where he wondered, '*Sedang munculkah hasil-hasil sastra yang lahir karena dorongan "memenangkan sejumlah uang"?*' (Are there literary products appearing as a result of the incentive 'to win

some money'?). Indeed, perhaps there was such a kind of literature coming into being then, for there certainly is one now. And not only the role of money as a catalyst suggests the oral nature of this literature, but also the contest context in which it is generated as a form of participatory poetics where what Ong calls the 'agonistic' quality of orality most clearly comes to the fore.

This love of competition through verbal creation is certainly not alien in the Malay-Indonesian context. We need only think of the way in which the impromptu composition of *pantun* quatrains is apt to become the object of a good-natured contest at any kind of gathering, in which everyone present may join spontaneously and in high spirits. The basic aim here is the production of *pantun* in rapid-fire composition and outdoing all the other participants, with the winner being decided by the shouting, cheering and clapping of the audience. Another example of this kind of contest, the Minangkabau *Indang*, was recently discussed by Suryadi, who shows that in this traditional debating contest a number of teams are involved who, to defend the honour of their respective villages, may engage for days on end in making mocking, insulting and derisive remarks about each other in highly stylized chants. As Suryadi (1994:226) notes, the essence ('*hakikat*') of *Indang* is '*bersilat lidah*', which means literally 'fight with the tongue'. In the context of the poetry reading, something similar can often be observed, especially in the inevitable debates that take place after the performance – debates in which individual performers may be fiercely attacked by their poet friends or by members of the audience. The mutual friendship of the participants is hardly ever affected by the vehemence with which these debates are often conducted, even though there are sometimes reports of their ending in hand-to-hand fighting.

The intimacy, or even congeniality, that characterizes these agonistic literary gatherings presupposes a community, a group of performers and listeners, living and working in relatively close proximity to each other, permitting them to know, meet and speak to one another and share a way of imagining things that holds them together as a distinct group. It is not perhaps surprising that the imagination shared by these urbanites may have the living oral tradition of their native region as main source. For instance, as I have tried to show elsewhere, the Malay literati of Pekanbaru, in the province of Riau, are well aware of their common literary heritage, which is still passed on by word of mouth today (Derks 1994; 1995). This awareness not only partly determines the content of their work, but also leads them to write their poetry and short stories in a style of Indonesian that is closely related to their regional languages, in which the singers of tales with whom they have been familiar from childhood are still performing. Similar concerns may play an important role, though not necessarily with the same results, in the literary activities of similar communities in, say, Palembang, Solo, Denpasar, and many other cities and towns throughout Indonesia (Derks 1996). I would refer once more to

Teeuw's foreword to Kratz's book here (1988:iv), where he speaks of 'all kinds of literary activity going on "from Sabang to Merauke", which in many cases never reach the centre of literary studies'. Indeed, a vital, though perhaps always underestimated or even disregarded, aspect of modern Indonesian literature is the fact that it is generated by a multitude of regionally or locally active groups, much like an oral system in which a large number of communities, spread over a considerable geographical area, develop regional and local variants of a larger tradition. The idea of a single centre of authority indeed is alien to such a system, which is as open, democratic and participatory as it is evanescent, popular and agonistic.

In this connection it may be relevant to refer to the polemic about the so-called *sastra pedalaman* or 'literature of the interior' in various Indonesian national and regional newspapers and periodicals in the autumn of 1994. The details of this polemic need not concern us here, but what it demonstrated was not only the significance of local and regional literary activities in Indonesia, but also the increasing self-awareness and self-confidence of the people involved. Apparently, these local and regional literary activists have begun to oppose and challenge a closed, monolithic centre, which, from the point of view of modern Indonesian literature as an 'oral' phenomenon, is artificial – a *Fremdkörper* that has its origins in and is sustained by a purely Western-determined print-literate set of expectations and Western literary norms.

6.

The ultimate consequence of these reflections must be a change in the demands made of, as well as the approach to, the phenomenon we refer to as 'modern Indonesian literature'. The preliminary nature and limited scope of the present paper preclude an in-depth investigation of what this change should entail. However, some suggestions about this may be put forward by way of conclusion.

Earlier on, I considered the possibility of the abundance of Indonesian short stories and poems appearing in newspapers and periodicals and cropping up in writing contests and poetry readings being largely a product of a kind of 'craftsmanship' or an *ars combinatoria*, which may generate an infinite number of structurally or formally similar texts that are not meant for eternity and never are entirely novel. If this is a tenable proposition, it follows that the ingrained tendency of Western scholars to search Indonesian literature for novel, original works of lasting, indeed eternal, value should be abandoned. The focus should shift to other kinds of originality that are more intrinsic to a literature operating in an oral mode. Such a shift in approach may benefit from the lines of inquiry developed by Amin Sweeney in his book on a professional Malay storyteller from Kelantan, Malaysia (Sweeney 1994). In this study he convincingly demonstrates in what *different* ways a number of seemingly stereotypical oral narratives may on closer inspection turn out to be highly original.

To put it in different, more polemical terms: from this perspective, all efforts of an international lobby of (Western) scholars of Indonesian literature to have the Nobel prize for literature conferred on Pramoedya Ananta Toer are quite beside the point. His *novels* may live up to Western, print-literate expectations concerning the high points of a particular literature. Eventually they may even live up to the expectations of the committee of distinguished gentlemen judges in Stockholm. But in Indonesian literature as a predominantly oral system, these novels are as alien as they are marginal, if only because 'the birthplace of the novel is the solitary individual' (Benjamin 1969:87), whereas in Indonesia writing, reading and listening to short stories and poems – the most important genres by far in this country – are *sociable* activities (see also Watt 1957). Therefore such efforts to honour these novels with the Nobel prize totally disregard what is really important in Indonesian literature today, and thus are a manifestation of print-literate, or even of Orientalist, hang-ups.

As was suggested earlier, our continuing to restrict ourselves, openly or covertly, to printed books and to wait until these reach 'the centre of literary studies' would also have deplorable consequences for our understanding of what Indonesian literature is all about. In that case we would only arrive at pessimistic conclusions about the role played by literature in the lives of modern Indonesians, and other causes for complaint. As I have tried to show, Indonesian literature today is enormously vital and prolific. To experience this vitality, however, one has to go beyond the artificial centre of excellence, out to the regions, the cities and the towns where the battalions making up the Indonesian army of poets are encamped. So research needs to be done in Tegal, Ngawi, Malang, Magelang, Menado, Ujung Pandang, Pontianak, Banjarmasin, Kupang, Ambon, Jambi, Palembang, Tanjung Pinang, Padang, and so on, in order to obtain a more accurate map of Indonesian literature today, of which we now only have an inkling. Such research should show who is involved in what kinds of literary activity; how and why this is so; what are the products and how they are consumed, in what form and what particular context. Last, but certainly not least, this research should show what may be the significance of all this for the enormous number of old and young persons involved; for it is hardly conceivable that so many individuals should be engaged in literary activity with so much enthusiasm and energy if literature did not play a profoundly meaningful part in their daily lives. In order to understand this, however, we have to go out there and be with the people concerned.

7.

Like the study of any other oral tradition, that of modern Indonesian literature requires field work.

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