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- J.E. Lelijveld, Kees Groeneboer, Weg tot het Westen; Het Nederlands voor Indië 1600-1950. Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij, 1993, xii + 580 pp.
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Simone Prodolliet, *Händlerinnen, Goldgräber und Staatsbeamte; Sozialgeschichte einer Kleinstadt im Hochland Südwestsumatras*. Berlin: Reimer, 1996, 372 pp. [Berner Sumatra-Forschungen.] ISBN 3.496.02574.3. Price DM 69,-.

PETER BOOMGAARD

Most people who want to give a garden party, start off by having a garden. Therefore, when I saw the title of Simone Prodolliet's book, I expected the subject of her publication to be a small town (*Kleinstadt*). However, Muara Aman, the topic of this book, has never had more than 12,000 inhabitants. As the author herself admits (p. 21), this is not a typical small town, a category normally reserved for settlements of between 20,000 and 50,000 inhabitants.

Nevertheless, there is a case to be made for calling Muara Aman a town, albeit a very small one. It is located in the Rejang-Lebong area, in the colonial period part of the Residency Benkoelen (Bengkulu), South-West Sumatra, and now part of the province of Bengkulu. Rejang-Lebong came under Dutch administration in 1862. At that time, Muara Aman was estimated to have a population of 700 'souls'. Even this figure may have been an overestimate, because in 1879 what was presumably a more accurate population count revealed that only 121 people lived in Muara Aman. In 1896, however, gold was discovered in exploitable quantities in the adjacent areas, and by 1897 Muara Aman had already acquired the status of independent market-town (p. 102). In 1911, it had 1,028 inhabitants, and around the same time the missionary Jenissen described the place as a 'real town'. It could be reached by car, it was the seat of an Assistant-Resident and of the various mining engineers prospecting for gold, and it could boast of a market and a number of shops, among which was a photographer's (p. 132-3). Although, therefore, by 1910 Muara Aman certainly could be regarded as an administrative and economic centre for the surrounding area, and showed some urban features, it was a very small settlement. Even during its heyday in the 1920s it would never have more inhabitants than 1,800 at the most (p. 131).

It is to be regretted that the author does not provide any kind of comparative perspective regarding 'urban' centres in Sumatra in the early twentieth century. Had she done so, she might have discovered that the census of 1920 acknowledged 38 towns of less than 5,000 inhabitants in Sumatra, of which Muara Aman was one. There were also 13 towns of over

5,000 inhabitants. The census of 1930 acknowledged only 19 centres with less than 5,000 inhabitants as towns, among which Muara Aman no longer figured. The number of towns over 5,000 had increased to 16.

In 1930, therefore, the census-takers no longer regarded Muara Aman as a town. In this respect, it was apparently not alone, as more centres had lost their 'small town' status between 1920 and 1930. One hesitates to contribute this phenomenon of 'disappearing' small towns entirely to the Depression of the 1930s that started late in 1929. The author herself dates the decline of Muara Aman from the 1930s (p. 138), but according to her own data on gold and silver (Graph 1, p. 82), production had already slipped into a steady downwards decline after a peak in 1925. One would like to know whether this was just a local phenomenon, or if factors operated here that had also played a role in the other Sumatra centres that had lost their town status in the 1930 census. These questions not only remain unanswered, they are not even posed. The author is also distressingly vague about the effects of the 1930s, which, for a social history of a small town, is rather surprising.

The main body of the text (without the introduction and the appendices) is almost equally split between the colonial (pp. 42-174) and the post-colonial period (pp. 175-297). In my opinion the most interesting and novel pages on the colonial period are those on Muara Aman as a 'melting pot', particularly pp. 138-54. Here the author provides fairly detailed information on various local elite families, and her analysis reaches the level of identifiable individuals.

In the second, post-colonial part of the book, description and analysis are based largely on the results of Prodolliet's fieldwork, carried out in the late 1980s. We are provided with information on percentages of households economically active in the various sectors of the local economy, on average income and expenditure, and on the ethnic composition of the groups engaged in these sectors, including data on religious and political affiliations. More detailed information is given on the most important economically active groups, namely agriculturists, petty commodity producers, traders, civil servants, and gold-diggers (pp. 215-97).

This latter section, however interesting in principle, makes somewhat tedious reading, as the author feels obliged to deal with these groups three times consecutively. First, we are given a general description and analysis of these groups. Then the same groups are dealt with again, but now the focus has shifted to gender aspects, and finally they appear for a third time, with emphasis on the 'social space' (Bourdieu) they occupy. Neither the section on gender nor that on social space contributes much to our understanding of the groups concerned as most information presented in these sections had already been given earlier. Here, the composition seems to reflect the fact that the book is a rewritten dissertation.

Social histories of small Indonesian towns are rare, and it could even be argued that they were non-existent before this monograph was written. Despite a number of objections to Prodolliet's book, her pioneering efforts in writing such a history should be applauded.

Antje van der Hoek, *Religie in Ballingschap; Institutionaliseren en Leiderschap onder Christelijke en Islamitische Molukkers in Nederland*. Amsterdam: VU Uitgeverij, 1994, 297 pp. ISBN 90.5383.326.9. Price f 52,50.

RICHARD CHAUVEL

One of the propositions (stellingen) advanced by the author at the time of the examination of her dissertation was that: 'Despite the banality of the term "Molukkologie" has become a mature discipline'. Dr. Van der Hoek has made a significant contribution to this maturing process. It is one of the few pieces of research which seeks to understand the Moluccan exile community in the context of its historical development and social structure as it had developed in the former Netherlands East Indies. She highlights the distinct historical experiences of the Muslim Ambonese and Moluccans from south-east islands and analyses how in exile the dynamic of religious change and political conviction of these minority groups differed from the dominant Protestant Ambonese. In taking this approach Van der Hoek examines the Moluccan exile community in its full complexity.

The Moluccan community in the Netherlands had its origins in 1951 in the transportation into supposedly temporary exile of some twelve thousand soldiers of the colonial army and their families. The soldiers had been stationed outside their homeland when the Republic of the South Moluccas (Republik Maluku Selatan, RMS) was proclaimed in April 1950. After the revolt had been suppressed the soldiers refused to be demobilized in areas under the control of the Indonesian Government. In ethnic and religious terms the exile community did not represent a cross-section of South Moluccan society, rather it reflected the colonial army's preference for Protestant Ambonese soldiers.

As the title spells out this work is a study of religious institutionalization and leadership among Christian (Protestant) and Muslim Moluccans in the Netherlands. The central hypothesis is that three characteristics of the Moluccan exile community – economic dependence on the Netherlands State, the political struggle to establish a free RMS in their homeland separate from Indonesia, and exile in the Netherlands being regarded as temporary – exercised a decisive influence on the character and pattern of religious change.

Van der Hoek places the Moluccans in a comparative context of migrations consequent on decolonization. She found that Indo-Europeans from Indonesia and harkis, Muslim Algerians who had fought with the French in the Algerian War of Independence, were the most relevant comparisons with the Moluccans. The comparison is undertaken in terms of colonial background and the circumstances of migration. It would have been useful to continue the comparative framework for the analysis of religious and social change post-migration.

One of the most notable features of religious change which developed in the exile community was the institutional disintegration of the Protestant majority. It broke up along highly particularistic lines of kin, clan, the village, island, and regional identification, together with military and civilian backgrounds. Once the unifying structures of the mother church – the Moluccan Protestant Church –, the *negeri* (village) and the colonial army were removed this community of former soldiers and their families reverted to more localized and narrowly defined foci of identity. Some of these affiliations are readily understandable in terms of the history and structures of late colonial Moluccan society. The ethnic differences between Ambonese and those Moluccans from the south-eastern islands together with the lesser commitment of the latter to the RMS cause pre-date exile. The on-going conflicts between the handful of political leaders – Manusama, Nanlohy, Tamaela, and Polhaupessy – who had left Ambon before or after the RMS flowed over into church life. Yet other affiliations – kin, village, and islands – while clearly of homeland origin, in 1940s Ambon were not often foci of conflicts with consequences for the unity of Protestant Church or political organizations. Conflicts within families and villages were more often politically salient. At a more general level, the influence of the great political issues of the day on the Ambonese Church seemed limited. The traumatic events leading to the proclamation of the RMS itself created great tension within the Protestant Church, but had not challenged its unity and dominance. The Moluccan Protestant Church has been able to maintain its position in independent Indonesia. The one minor exception, the flirtation of some of the nationalists in the 1920s with the Pentecostal Church, would seem to confirm the generality of the proposition.

Van der Hoek argues that in the exile community political conflict had a defining influence in the institutional disintegration of the Protestant community. Conflict within the exile community was not about issues of religious doctrine. The author categorizes the multiplicity of churches according to their political orientation: the RMS-oriented: particularly the majority Geredja Indjili Maluku (GIM), where support for the political cause became an integral part of the liturgy and assumed a messianic character. The Ambon-oriented churches, which have been reluctant to break the ties with mother church in Ambon and the Indonesia-oriented churches, whose members tended to be non-Ambonese and were open to

innovations and personnel from the Indonesian churches. The institutional fragmentation and politicization of the Protestant community are new phenomena in Moluccan society.

Van der Hoek's thorough analysis of the historical background and social context of the exile community is one of the strengths of this work. The structure of analysis relies heavily on historical explanation. The conflicts and institutional disintegration within the Protestant community are played out in terms of long-established identifications from the colonial past, but, as the author herself recognizes, represent a new dynamic of political and religious change. The rhetoric and structure of conflict may be rooted in the colonial past, but the sources of the conflict, one suspects are in the Netherlands present. One wonders whether there is not another framework of explanation more oriented towards the present Netherlands context of the Moluccan community, which could supplement the historical analysis. Such a framework of explanation might focus on the cultural transformation generated by the migration experience together with the countervailing and contradictory pressures of assimilation, isolation, alienation, and displacement. What is it about the exile experience in which political tensions within the Protestant community have so readily and frequently been expressed in institutional disintegration? The author recognizes that much of the pattern of religious change can be understood as part of an acculturation problematic – the transformation of a Moluccan religious culture in a foreign Netherlands environment – but the weight of her analysis remains historical.

The author acknowledges the importance of the self-flattering ethno-religious martial identity which developed in the colonial army for Protestant Ambonese soldiers. Even after the Moluccans had been uncereemoniously discharged from the army, the experience demarcated those of military background from the civilians. Van der Hoek notes that those who had served in the army regarded the others as not quite the full bottle. Yet, it is noteworthy that the common military experience did not develop an *esprit de corps* sufficient to bridge the internal Moluccan ethnic, religious, and regional differences. In distinction to its successor, the Indonesian National Army, the colonial army was an institution founded on ethnic difference. Ethnicity was an intrinsic part of its structure and character. Even within a relatively privileged caste, as the Moluccan soldiers were, the *ethnos* of ethnic difference pervaded.

Van der Hoek argues that the Protestant Moluccan community has become more 'Moluccan', more ethnocentric and inward looking in exile. The schisms within the community have tended to divide the community into more localized and particularistic foci of identity. Exile in the homeland of the colonial church has not served to strengthen relations with other Protestant churches, nor has it opened up contact with other religious communities in the Netherlands. The small Muslim Ambonese community, in contrast, had the opportunity, long not present in the

Moluccas, of developing the universalist values of Islam. Exile brought the community into contact with unfamiliar variants of Islam and communities from other parts of the Islamic world. Muslim Ambonese have engaged in a process of religious reform and re-Islamization. This pattern of religious change represents a reversal of the dynamic evident in the Moluccas until the last decades of the colonial period. In the 1920s the adat authority F.D. Holleman observed that indigenous language, adat, and commercial vigour had a more intimate relationship with the colonial power, were more exposed to external religious and cultural influences. The change in dynamic within the two Ambonese religious communities has been brought about by external circumstances. The late colonial 'partnership' with the Netherlands was a broadening and enriching experience for many Christians. Exile has brought isolation. Whereas, paradoxically, for the Muslims exile in the Christian Netherlands has liberated them from colonial shackles.

Part of this paradox might be explained in terms of the exile community's continuing economic dependence on the Netherlands State, which was one of Van der Hoek's defining characteristics for religious change. Just as the Netherlands Indies State was responsible for the care of most of the daily needs of the soldiers and their families in the tangsi (barracks), the umbilical cord of colonial paternalism and dependence persisted in exile until recent times. The bond of dependence was most difficult to break for the Protestant Ambonese core group of the exile community than for the Muslims, whose enlistment in significant numbers commenced only on the eve of the Pacific War.

Van der Hoek has made a notable contribution to the study of the Moluccan community in The Netherlands. She is one of the first scholars to study the community in the context of late colonial Moluccan society and this has enabled her to examine it in its many facets. It is painful for a historian to acknowledge, but Van der Hoek has given too much emphasis to historical explanation. The labels of political and religious institutions and the discourse seem to owe much to the homeland and the colonial past, but the pattern and dynamic of change are new and require an analysis of the Netherlands present. Too much is explained, explained away, in terms of '... the consequences of acculturation within the Netherlands context.' Van der Hoek's thorough historical analysis needs to be integrated with another layer of explanation about the processes of acculturation, encompassing the countervailing and contradictory pressures of assimilation, isolation, alienation, and displacement, which have confronted the Moluccan community in the Netherlands.

Kees Groeneboer, *Weg tot het Westen; Het Nederlands voor Indië 1600-1950*. Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij, 1993, xii + 580 pp. ISBN 90.6718.063.7. [Verhandelingen 158.] Prijs f 60,-.

J.E. LELIJVELD

Als het onderwijs de hoeksteen vormde van het Nederlandse koloniale beleid in Indië, dan is de taalpolitiek te beschouwen als de grondstof waar die 'hoeksteen' van is gemaakt. Kees Groeneboer heeft in zijn in 1993 uitgegeven proefschrift uitvoerig aandacht besteed aan de verschillende aspecten van de taalpolitiek in Indië. Aan de orde komen het overheidsbeleid, de beïnvloeding van dat beleid door personen en organisatie, de positie en ontwikkeling van het Nederlands. Het boek bevat een uitstekend en uitgebreid notenapparaat, alsmede bijlagen met statistische gegevens ter ondersteuning van de cijfers in de tekst. In samenhang met de ontwikkeling van het onderwijsbeleid staat de geschiedenis van het Nederlands in Indië gedurende de negentiende en twintigste eeuw centraal in het boek.

Groeneboer schetst met gevoel voor precisie de ambtelijke herhaling van zetten gedurende een reeks van jaren in een bureaucratisch schaakspel tussen Batavia en Den Haag met wederzijdse secondanten over het al dan niet bevorderen van de Nederlandse taal in het buiten het onderwijs. Bovendien schenkt hij veel aandacht aan de ontwikkeling van de taal, de strijd voor een zo zuiver mogelijk Nederlands, de voortdurende pogingen om 'Indische' elementen te weren en aan het debat dat met name in de jaren twintig en dertig van de twintigste eeuw werd gevoerd tussen nationalistische onderling over het Nederlands, enerzijds gezien als taal van de koloniale overheerser, anderzijds als middel om zich politiek te uiten en hun bedoelingen duidelijk te maken.

Indirect zegt Groeneboer ook iets over de bewering dat het onderwijs de hoeksteen was van het koloniale beleid. Hij beperkt zich tot de hoofdlijnen van de 'externe structuur' van het Nederlands-Indische onderwijsstelsel en het overheidsbeleid. Het is een omissie dat niets wordt gezegd over de onderwijzersopleidingen. Misschien lijkt het vanzelfsprekend geen aandacht te schenken aan een vakopleiding in Indië (kweekschool) waar Nederlands de voertaal is, maar waar wel juist de basis wordt gelegd voor het lesgeven en opvoeden van en het lesgeven in het Nederlands aan kinderen uit verschillende bevolkingsgroepen. Hoe werden deze jonge mensen voorbereid op deze taak? Op welke manier werkte de taalpolitiek van de overheid door in hun programma?

Groeneboer laat onvoldoende de samenhang zien tussen instanties, organisaties en individuele personen die zich bezighouden met of betrokken weten bij de taalpolitiek in Nederlands-Indië. De Indische 'onderwijs-wereld' was klein, het zijn steeds dezelfde personen die zich, hetzij als voor-, hetzij als tegenstander van het overheidsbeleid, in deze laten horen.

In paragraaf 4.1 zet Groeneboer aan de hand van kwantitatieve gegevens uiteen hoe sedert 1920 het aantal Nederlandssprekenden is gegroeid. Gegeven het overheidsbeleid is er sprake van een redelijke prestatie. De vraag is echter waarom hij niet ingegaan is op de discussie die in de jaren dertig in de Volksraad is gevoerd over de werkelijkheid achter al die gegevens. Dat geldt evenzo voor de nota's van Idenburg als directeur van het departement van Onderwijs en Eeredienst waar deze zich kritisch uit over het voordien gevoerde beleid.

Ondanks deze kanttekeningen draagt het boek van Groeneboer bij tot de kennis van de veelal nog onbekende interne structuur van het onderwijs in Nederlands-Indië. Bovendien geeft het op verschillende punten een aanzet tot verder onderzoek.

P.W. Martin, C. Ozog and G. Poedjosoedarmo (ed.), *Language Use & Language Change in Brunei Darussalam*, Athens, OH: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1996, xvi + 373 pp. [Monographs in International Studies 100.] ISBN 0.89680.193.4.

BERND NOTHOFER

With the exception of James T. Collins, all contributors to this valuable book are (or were) staff members of Universiti Brunei Darussalam (UBD). While the papers of the UBD scholars (of whom three are Bruneians) deal mainly with sociolinguistic and grammatical questions pertaining to the Austronesian languages of Brunei Darussalam as well as to the Chinese dialects and to English), Collins' paper ('Borneo and Maluku: the evidence from the language of Bacan') is of a historical nature and puts forth evidence for a closer genetic relationship between Brunei Malay and the variant of Malay used on Bacan (Maluku).

The book begins with an introductory paper (P.W. Martin and G. Poedjosoedarmo) which presents an overview of the language situation in Brunei Darussalam. It discusses such problems as the principal Malay dialects (Brunei Malay, Kampong Ayer, Kadayan, and Standard Malay) and the so-called non-Malay languages (also called 'additional' or 'other' languages) of Brunei Darussalam. There are three groups of non-Malay languages: (1) non-indigenous Austronesian languages; (2) indigenous Austronesian languages; and (3) Chinese dialects. The distinction between categories (1) and (2) is based on non-linguistic grounds: the members of category (1), namely Iban and Penan, are treated as immigrant groups by the Brunei government. Category (2) consists of five languages which belong to three subgroups: Dusunic (Dusun and Bisaya), Murutic (Murut, also called Lun Bawang), and North Sarawak (Belait and Tutong).

This introductory overview is followed by nineteen papers which are grouped into three parts: Part 1. 'The Malay dialects of Brunei Darussalam', Part 2. 'The role of English in Brunei Darussalam', Part 3. 'Additional languages of Brunei Darussalam'. Part 1 consists of Collins' paper and the following six contributions: 'Brunei Malay and Bahasa Melayu' (P.W. Martin); 'Variation and change in the sound systems of Brunei dialects of Malay' (G. Poedjosoedarmo); 'An overview of Brunei Malay morphology' (S. Poedjosoedarmo); 'Some notes on Brunei Malay syntax' (G. Poedjosoedarmo and Hjh Rosnah Hj Ramly); 'The palace language of Brunei' (Fatimah Awg Chuchu); and 'Language shift in Kampong Ayer' (Hjh Sumijah Alias and G. Poedjosoedarmo). Part 2 consists of eight papers: 'The bilingual education policy in Brunei Darussalam' (G.M Jones); 'Factors influencing the choice of a role model for trainee English teachers in Brunei Darussalam' (G. Cane and Hjh Rosnah Hj Ramly); 'The unplanned use of English': the case of 'Brunei Darussalam' (A.C.K. Ozog); 'Code switching in Peninsular Malaysia and Brunei Darussalam: a study in contrasting linguistic strategies' (A.C.K. Ozog), 'Some phonological features of Brunei English' (J. Mossop), 'Syntactic simplification and creativity in spoken Brunei English' (G. Cane); 'Some features of written discourse in Brunei English' (J.A.H. McLellan); and 'The *bah* particle in Brunei English' (A.C.K. Ozog and P.W. Martin). Part 3 is limited to four contributions: 'Social change and language shift among the Belait' (P.W. Martin); 'A comparative ethnolinguistic survey of the Murut (Lun Bawang) with special reference to Brunei' (P.W. Martin); 'Aspects of language maintenance and language shift among the Chinese community in Brunei: some preliminary observations' (K. Dunseath); and 'The Penan of Brunei: patterns of linguistic interaction' (P.W. Martin and P. Sercombe). At the end of the book is a useful annotated bibliography which briefly reviews about 125 major studies, which are important to language research in Brunei (including surveys written by Bruneian scholars).

This volume is strongly recommended to sociolinguists, language planners, applied linguists, and educational planners who are interested in the languages and communities of this small, but remarkably diverse South-East Asian sultanate. It is hoped that future research by UBD scholars will focus more on non-Malay Austronesian languages (such as Iban which plays an important role as lingua franca in the southern areas of Brunei).

Pamela Swadling, *Plumes from Paradise; Trade Cycles in Outer Southeast Asia and their Impact on New Guinea and Nearby Islands until 1920*. With contributions by Roy Wagner and Billai Laba. Boroko/Coorparoo (Qld): Papua New Guinea National Museum in association with R. Brown & Ass. (Qld), 1996, 352 pp. Plates, maps, index. ISBN 9980.83.103.1.

ANTON PLOEG

In her acknowledgements to this study Swadling notes that it took her more than ten years to complete. At times she felt disheartened. Since the result is outstanding, it is fortunate that she persevered. In her book she documents four consecutive trade cycles, starting just over 2000 years BP. Her main aim is description and she does not address theoretical issues.

The main trade good in the first trade cycle were plumes, especially bird of paradise plumes. In the second these were replaced by spices, foremost among them cloves, nutmeg, and mace, but also including New Guinea massoy, the bark of the tree species *Cryptocarya massoy*. Marine produce such as trepang and mother-of-pearl dominated the third. The last is characterized by a variety of goods, including copra, minerals, and, again, bird of paradise plumes. The slave trade is not discussed. As far as the impact on New Guinea is concerned, the first cycle is a matter for prehistorians. It was not until the end of the second that written sources became available. Swadling refers primarily to English documents, and had Indonesian, German, Danish, and Dutch sources translated for her. The range of possible sources is likely to be even wider with the early presence of traders from Indonesia in the area and the Portuguese and Spanish colonial projects in the Moluccas.

In keeping with the title of her book, Swadling's first interest is in the plume trade. Birds of paradise were hunted by both New Guineans and by outsiders, Europeans and Indonesians, some of whom ventured far into the interior. The numbers of birds killed raised concerns about the possible extinction of species, so early this century colonial administrations began to restrict the hunting of birds of paradise, at least for export trade. The contributions by Wagner and Laba deal with the traces of Indonesian bird hunters and traders in the regions to the west and east of the Fly River. Wagner attributes the widespread myths featuring travelling heroes – from Sosom among the Marind-Anim to Souw among the Daribi – to the exploits of travelling hunters. As Sosom's origin is reputed to have been the south-east, while the Daribi and peoples closer to the Fly remember that their heroes came from the south-west, Wagner regards the Torres Strait Islands as their common point of origin. Since the latest bibliographical entry in his essay is Jorgensen's 1981 PhD thesis, it might be worthwhile to attempt an update. Laba records oral tradition among peoples living on the

south coast, west of the mouth of the Fly River. They have memories of books kept in men's houses, ancient boats now associated with Noah's ark and the existence of schools.

The involvement of the western tip of New Guinea, and of its inhabitants, in commercial and political developments taking place further west, has been well documented. Hence it is fortunate that Swadling's survey of the literature has been chosen to concentrate on the Onin Peninsula and Kowiai on the south coast and Humboldt Bay and its hinterland on the north coast. She has included intriguing discussions of the Aru Islands as a trading centre, especially in the colonial era.

This book is an excellent and hence highly recommendable introduction to the trade relations between New Guinea and South-East Asia. Since little archaeological research has taken place in West New Guinea, Swadling's account is of necessity a pioneering effort, to be complemented and revised on the basis of future findings. She herself realizes this, which several times prompts her to suggest topics for further research. The book is well produced, with an abundance of plates and maps. Their quality greatly enhances its value.

Traude Gavin, *The Women's Warpath; Iban Ritual Fabrics from Borneo*, Los Angeles: UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History, 1996, 99 pp. ISBN 0.930741.50.1.

BERNARD SELLATO

Standing out in contrast to various recent volumes, wholly or partly devoted to Borneo art forms and put together either by museum curators unfamiliar with the region or unqualified primitive-art collectors or dealers, this exhibition catalogue, written by a specialist with two years' fieldwork behind her, is well documented and authoritative. (Another notable exception is J.B. Avé and V.T. King's *Borneo; The People of the Weeping Forest*, Leiden, 1986). Gavin's text, brief and to the point, contains two main sections: 'The women's warpath' provides background data to the Iban, their weaving tradition, and the ritual and social functions of cloth; 'Iban fabrics and their patterns' discusses patterns and motifs, the spiritual power with which they are endowed or associated, and the thorny question of the names they are given. Forty colour photo plates of outstanding pieces of cloth form the catalogue section. A glossary, a brief pictorial description of the warp-*ikat* technique, and a bibliography are also included. For more extensive information, readers are referred to Gavin's 1995 PhD thesis.

In what probably constitutes the principal merit of this book, Gavin does away with the 'realist-degenerative' views of primitive art propagated by

the art historian, A.C Haddon, that have obscured decades of studies in Iban textiles. After his general treatise (*Evolution in Art; As Illustrated by the Life-Histories of Designs*, 1895), Haddon became interested in Borneo (see in *Man*, 1905), and later dealt with the Iban (*Sea Dayak Fabrics and Their Patterns*, 1936). Patterns, he postulated, form an iconographic language and contain encoded meanings. Originally they were realistic depictions of nature but through time they degenerated into simplified forms, in which it is no longer possible to identify the objects they are supposed to depict. Following in Haddon's footsteps, E. Banks, finding the Iban 'a very literal sort of people', described their carved motifs on bamboo. Among 'the clouds that drift away' and 'the legs of the centipede', one motif is said to 'literally and graphically [to] represent a section of a fowl's gizzard' (in *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1941). Often enough, Gavin contends, the Iban weaver named a motif after an object simply because it looks like that object, not because she intended to depict that object. So much, therefore, for all those shrimps, scorpions, and other lobsters that Haddon had attempted to turn into the elements of a sort of primitive form of language. As many Iban motifs are very geometric or 'abstract', naming them 'vine' or 'leech' clearly implies nothing beyond a perceptible likeness and practical designation. Aware of this, Gavin correctly gets rid of a long-purported 'pictorial language of symbols' – which, as she interestingly notes, educated Iban today tend to endorse (for example., Augustine Anggat's *Basic Iban Design*, 1988; not cited) – to acknowledge in some way the freedom weavers really enjoy in the process of seeking prestige through weaving.

Indeed, in this so-called egalitarian, but really extremely competitive society, expertise in weaving allows women to achieve status and prominence. Women's weaving is shown to parallel men's head-hunting (hence the title of the book) – this is the other strong point of the book – and weaving cannot be understood outside the context of head-hunting. ((The thought inevitably arises if the reverse is not also true). As one informant put it: 'Men take heads, we women make cloth' (p. 13). Heads and cloth are associated in the ritual to promote fertility. In their 1991 essay on Iban head-hunting (in *Female and Male in Borneo*, Borneo Research Council; also not cited), J. Davison and V. Sutlive submit that women, if they must rely on men to supply them with heads in order to activate the fertility of their bodies, are themselves able to boost the taking of heads through the weaving of magic cloth. But Gavin might disagree with this interpretation. Now, is this weaving-head-hunting parallel valid beyond the Iban case? Among some Dusun (Kadazan) groups of Sabah, weaving is done by the men, although they, too, formerly were dedicated head-hunters. It may be noted that in the wider Borneo setting, another, similar parallel is also found, that of male iron-working and female pottery.

Returning now to Gavin's argument, one may find the expression

'realist-degenerative' unpalatable, yet believe that motifs commonly exist independent of a weaver's conscious intent or the names she gives them, and often endure through the changing constraints of techniques and materials. Although – as in the case of words (!) – some motifs certainly were innovations, most have had a long life of their own, simply because they were handed down through time and diffused in space, derived or 'evolved' from earlier examples. Flatly dismissing attempts to link Iban cloth patterns to the Dong-son culture as irrelevant, and choosing to focus instead on a search for their origins within Iban culture itself (pp. 19-21) might be somewhat reductive. By over-stressing the unique internal dynamics of what seems to be regarded as a timeless, self-contained Iban culture, one may be seduced into disconnecting it from its own history and overlooking the contribution of the cultures of the Iban's neighbours in the past. The present Iban ethnic entity, after all, arose through a process of aggregation of countless such neighbours in the course of long-distance migrations. Contemplating what the Ibans' culture owes to their predecessors and former neighbours, some like myself trust that a comparative historical approach acknowledging past cultural interactions – such as R. Heine-Geldern's famous (or infamous?) 'Some tribal art styles of Southeast Asia: An experiment in art history', 1966 – may not be totally unproductive. A. McBain, for instance, made a good point in her 'Shang and Chou influences observed in the ethnic art of Borneo' (*Brunei Museum Journal*, 1981). In this respect, Gavin's views appear quite Ibano-centric, as are, indeed, those of most Sarawak Iban – Why ignore J. Maxwell's 'Textiles of the Kapuas Basin' (1980)? This Ibano-centrism, in other respects, is definitely a commendation.

Having given praise where it was due, there are a couple of other, slightly critical remarks which I would like to make. The map of the 'Iban Region' (p. 9) is slightly misleading. It does not show the geographical distribution of Iban groups in Borneo – which is much more extensive – but indicates the areas of the main 'stylistic' genres (see p. 92), which seem to correspond to those areas of Iban settlement from which the author procured the bulk of her field data (see pp. 11-3). And it is unfortunate to find the misspelling 'genealogies' twice (p. 16) in this otherwise well-edited book.

In the wake of *To Speak With Cloth; Studies in Indonesian Textiles* (1989) and *Gift of the Cotton Maiden; Textiles of Flores and the Solor Islands* (1994), this volume constitutes another most welcome testimony to the commitment of the Fowler Museum of Cultural History of the UCLA to both the textile traditions of insular South-East Asia and to high scholarly standards.

Malcolm W. Mintz, *A Course in Conversational Indonesian (With Equivalent Malay Vocabulary)*. Singapore: EPB Publishers, 1994, 558 pp. ISBN 9971.0.0453.4.

JYH WEE SEW

While there is no need to provide a detailed profile of Indonesian languages before offering a book on spoken Indonesian, it is always wise to acknowledge the diverse speech communities in Indonesia. Mintz has mentioned this in the book and even made it clear that there is a need to distinguish (standard) Indonesian from (standard) Malay. The particular spoken Indonesian in question should therefore be understood as the standard version spoken only in formal situations among well-educated people and those concentrated in Jakarta, Bali, Surabaya, Medan and the other big cities, who speak the sociolect.

Students will find the introductory chapter of this book helpful as a brief historical account of Indonesian is provided along with an outline of the layout. The book consists of 25 lessons. They are preceded by an introduction and an account of Indonesian phonology. Three sets of glossaries complement the lessons, the first being the situational glossary. Both the second and third glossaries are ordered alphabetically. In each lesson, Mintz also provides the Malay expression for the Indonesian counterpart whenever a variation occurs.

Mintz explains that Indonesian has 25 consonants and six vowels. The vowels are [i, e, é, a, u, o]. In addition to the vowels, there are three diphthongs: /ai/, /au/, and /oi/. Examples are given of the distribution of vowels in the antepenultimate and penultimate syllables. The varying positions of [a], for instance, are presented as follows (p. 28):

apa	what	/a:.pa:/
nama	name	/na:.ma:/
malam	night	/ma:.lam/
ambil	take	/am.bil/

The long vowels are represented with a colon adjacent to them and the syllabic demarcation is symbolized by a full-stop. They are useful pointers as to how a word is pronounced. The fact that, in contrast to English which is a stress-timed language, Indonesian is a syllable-timed language (p. 37) justifies the need to specify the vowel length and the syllabification in Indonesian lexicon.

Mintz' proficiency in Malay makes him a better writer who cautions his readers about the variations in Malay pronunciation: 'In the standard Malay in Malaysia, however, the /a/ in final position (that is, at the end of the word is commonly pronounced as a schwa... While this is not true throughout the country, it is true of the prestigious dialects of the central

and southern peninsula, including the capital Kuala Lumpur...' (p. 28). This point was indeed valid until recently when the fully fledged [a] Malay replaces the schwa Malay as the standard version (see Asmah Haji Omar 1992).

The [a]-Malay is now expected in formal situations and the once prestigious schwa-Malay has been relegated to an informal status.¹

Students are reminded to speak the [a]-Malay in the oral examination of *Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia*, the Malaysian version of the ordinary school examination in the British school system, if they want to pass with flying colours.

Mintz has also provided what all beginners need to know about Indonesian phonology. The voiceless plosive stops are illustrated in different phonology at various positions within a word. All voiceless stops are clearly pointed out as unaspirated in word final positions. Another important phonological phenomenon which is mentioned is the fact that the voiced bilabial plosive stop [b] is realized as [p] at the end of the word thus /jawab/ should be pronounced as [jawap], /lembab/ >[lembap] and so forth.

It was Mintz' own choice not to use phonetic brackets in the representations of phonetic transcriptions throughout the book and I think it is quite appropriate as accurate linguistic representative symbols should not be a major concern. Pragmatics should take pride of place and the use of the least technical symbols is certainly a rule to be observed.

The reader is advised to follow through the first 14 lessons as these, Mintz claims, form the basics of the learning. Each lesson is equipped with additional vocabulary, notes, sentence structures, and drills. The drills are of four varieties: cued conversation, substitution, straight translation, and grammar. They are meant to test and enhance the student's language learning in one fell swoop.

As the student proceeds from the first lesson towards the last, the morphology in the dialogues becomes more complicated.

¹ For a clearer scenario of the a- and schwa-Malay saga I would like to quote Asmah Haji Omar (1992:418):

'I have all these years referred to the two standard pronunciations of Malay in Malaysia as the a-variety (the Kedah based norm inclusive of the one used in Sabah and Sarawak), and the schwa-variety (the Johor based norm). These two varieties have been in co-existence for a very long time in official language use. It is not unusual for speakers to fluctuate between these two varieties in their speech.

Since 1987, there has been a move to institute only one standard pronunciation of Malay in Malaysia. The principle taken is that pronunciation should be based on the spelling of the language. This principle was adopted not by a horizontal decision but by a top down process from Ministry of Education. It has sparked a lot of controversy and unhappiness and has not been fully implemented either in school or the media. The only body that has used this pronunciation is TV3, which is a private television company. Even this particular media only uses this spelling based pronunciation in its news bulletins.'

Reduplication, compounds, and words formed by means of affixation, suffixation, or both appear more frequently. The sentence structures become more complex and additional vocabulary is supplemented. Since phrases such as *buang air besar/kecil* (pass water/motion) in Pelajaran 23 (Lesson 23) are handy for locating rest rooms, I think they could be included at the beginning of the lessons.

Mintz' proficiency in Indonesian and Malay has enabled him to pinpoint some more refined grammatical details. For instance, the particle *-lah*, a minute linguistic unit that designates a voluminous difference in semantics, is examined. This particle, as pointed out by Mintz in Pelajaran 2 (Lesson Two), can add emphasis to a word to which it is affixed. Apart from this, it could modulate the voice of a speech act to provide an added degree of politeness. Consider the following:

Bangun	Bangun-lah
Stand-up	Stand-up LAH

Most native speakers in Indonesian and Malay (Sew 1996) will prefer the second speech act as it sounds less abrupt, pragmatically speaking (cf. Goddard 1994 for a detail analysis of *-lah* in Malay).

I do not know if the readers will find the book too unwieldy or whether it would have been better had it been split into two volumes. As Mintz himself has said, the first 14 lessons are the basics. Incontrovertibly it has to be agreed that in his book Mintz has made a serious attempt to provide a clear understanding of Indonesian. Obvious effort has been lavished on the choice of topics, the selected glossaries and the exercises at the end of each lesson. Learners should find it an informative reference.

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Liesbeth Dolk, *Twee Zielen, Twee Gedachten; Tijdschriften en Intellectuelen op Java (1900-1957)*, Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij, 1993, 220 pp. ISBN 90.6718.064.5. Prijs f 45,-.

KEES SNOEK

This study takes as its subject the Indonesian encounter with the West in the cultural and especially the literary fields between 1900 and 1957. It approaches this complex topic by focusing on opinions which Dutch and Indonesians in this period held about the future of 'Indonesian culture', particularly in connection with the role Dutch culture and literature might play in it. A number of connected issues are raised such as the influence of the Dutch education system on the ideas of Indonesian intellectuals, the attitude of the intellectuals towards, and their adoption of, western culture and literature, and finally the interaction and cooperation between Indonesians and Dutch in the cultural field. The author focuses mainly on those Indonesians who as a result of the Ethical Policies after 1900 gained access to western education, the so-called 'new intellectuals' of Harry J. Benda. As source materials she has used articles dealing with her topic which appeared in Dutch and Indonesian language journals and magazines in the Dutch East Indies/Indonesia as well as letters documenting the interaction between the Dutch and Indonesians and interviews with a few surviving participants.

Dolk has adopted a somewhat fragmented approach in the four chapters of her book, which can be read as separate essays on respectively the pre-war reception of Multatuli in Indonesia, the journal *De Fakkel* (1940-1942), three journals from the period 1946-1947 and, finally, *Oriëntatie* (1947-1954). Various pre-war journals are discussed in the first chapter. A very useful inventory of Indonesian and Dutch cultural magazines and journals published in the Dutch East Indies/Indonesia between 1900 and 1966 is given in Supplement 1: a 'Fundgrube' for further study. The author has wisely scaled down the mountain of materials and concentrated on a few selected pivotal journals from the period 1940-1950 while relegating other ones to the footnotes, where they are briefly characterized, or to the supplement. The often lengthy footnotes contain a wealth of information from many sources which enhances the main discourse. Occasionally however I felt that a topic tucked away in a footnote would have deserved a more profound treatment in the main text.

In an introductory chapter the author states her intention to write a book which can also be read as a cultural history of a wide scope (p. 5), encompassing idealistic, documentary and social aspects (p. 16) of the historical dynamic. In the post-war period the idealistic view of a Dutch-Indonesian interaction in the cultural field was wrecked on the political realities of the time, but diverging interpretations played a role as well. In chapter 3, aptly titled 'A history of illusions', the author claims that

'cooperation' was a concept which from the very beginning was interpreted differently by the Indonesian and the Dutch sides (p. 106). Yet, in spite of these differences, personal relations within the small community of Dutch and western-educated Indonesian intellectuals remained good, even after the first Dutch military action in 1947 (p. 142). A convincing picture is drawn of those ambivalent 'new intellectuals' who – in the words of Soebandrio – 'saw themselves with the eyes of white people, with all the inner conflicts related thereto. Two souls, two ways of thinking in one person.' (p. vii). Their dilemma is apparent as well in their view of the white opponent as an 'enemy brother', not just an enemy (p. 145). The author even uses the term *mengcultuur* (blended culture) to characterize this group. Both sides felt a need to build bridges and enter into dialogue with each other (p. 147). The last attempt to build such bridges, the journal *Oriëntatie*, was however a wholly Dutch venture which drew only lukewarm responses at best from the Indonesian side. After the first military action something had snapped and even a cultural dialogue didn't seem viable any more.

Sometimes this study is too exclusively descriptive: two negative reviews of Hella S. Haasse's novel *Oeroeg* (1947) – which deals with the relationship between a Dutch and a Sundanese boy – are summarized, but no critical assessment of their value in the cultural-political context of the time is given. The author is also somewhat cautious in her criticism of Rob Nieuwenhuys, the chief editor of *Oriëntatie*, but she subtly confronts his rosy view of the role Dutch culture could play for Indonesia as a 'window onto the world' (p. 171) with sharp quotes taken from letters of H.B. Jassin. Nieuwenhuys was sincere in his desire to maintain a meaningful cultural dialogue, yet one senses a condescending attitude in his remarks, quoted on p. 175-6, about the lack of erudition in the Angkatan '45 and the inability of the various Kongres Kebudayaan to formulate philosophically sound problems. The author doesn't want to be 'wise after the event' (p. 20), so she presents these statements as they are, leaving it up to the reader to draw any conclusions. One can however question this professed lack of erudition in the Angkatan '45. Chairil Anwar was familiar with figures like André Gide and T.S. Eliot, while Dolk herself gives a few examples of Ida Nasoetion's international orientation.

The selected journals are important mainly in the context of the Dutch-Indonesian cultural-political relationship; their literary significance is rather less pronounced. A thorough discussion of journals such as *Gema*, *Konfrontasi* and *Siasat* would have shed more light on the Angkatan '45 and its views on literature. An analysis of the intermediary role played by maverick Dutchman Dolf Verspoor, great friend and translator of Chairil Anwar, would have shown a different kind of interaction, more bohemian and more along literary lines. Since the publication of her dissertation Liesbeth Dolk has written about another interesting Dutchman from this

period, Oscar Mohr, Sticusa-representative (1949-1952) in Djakarta (*Indische Letteren*, vol. 11, nr. 2-3, p. 131-42). Personally I look forward to an essay written by her on Ida Nasoetion, this bright intellectual whose mysterious death (at the hands of amuck *pemuda* as Beb Vuyk once told me) cut short a promising career. The various references to her in this study show a good deal of intrigue and respect on the part of the author.

Overall, this is a meticulous, well-researched study, which only makes us desire for more. Just a few small additions: Noegroho (p. 136), who was a secretary of Sjahrir during the Revolution, was born in 1919 and died in 1984. I didn't find *Indisch Weekblad* (1941-1942) in supplement 1, a Bandung-based magazine which was run by K. Posthumus. Many light-hearted contributions of Leo Vroman appeared in it. Both in his illustrations and his writings Vroman often mocked colonial attitudes: a very distinct example that culture is never 'politically innocent' (p. 12).

Paul H. Kratoska (ed.), *Malaya and Singapore during the Japanese Occupation*. Singapore: National University of Singapore, 1995, xii + 175 pp. [Journal of Southeast Asian Studies Special Publication Series 3.] ISBN 9971.62.416.8.

NICHOLAS TARLING

This little book, ably edited and introduced by Paul Kratoska, promises 'a fresh look at the Occupation and its consequences for the people of Malaya and of Japan', and it fulfils its promise.

One way in which it does this – and in my view the most effective way – is in its presentation of new evidence. In his paper on the Malay-Muslim population, Abu Talib Ahmad offers almost a Namierite approach, and it is profitable: particular Malays are identified and their actions and reactions described. There is also new evidence of the invaders' handling of the Muslim community, including an account of the Kuala Kangsar conference of 13-15 December 1944.

In his article on the Chinese, Hara Fujio pursues a not dissimilar approach with an unprecedented degree of precision and detail. The information on the forced donation is also valuable. But two general, if somewhat tentative conclusions, make the article particularly worthwhile. One points to the significance of the new villages, and connects the 'realienation' of their land at the end of the war to the support later given to the MCA. A second implies that the MPAJA/MCP were 'China-oriented' – most of the leaders were China-born – and so had 'little interest in pursuing an anti-British war after 1945'. That may help to explain their failure to challenge the BMA or support the Union.

The third piece, on the guerrillas in Perak, is from the authoritative pen of

Yoji Akashi. Its thorough research permits an appraisal of the activities of the

MPAJA in the state where it had its strongest and best-trained force. The conclusion is that the MPAJA was 'a thorn in the flesh but not a major threat'. But again the article offers an insight into the post-war situation. The experience the guerrillas gained stood them in good stead when they did turn against the British in the Emergency after 1948.

A second way in which the collection fulfils its promise is by its assembling and analysis of new evidence. The articles outlined above clearly show what can still be done. A fourth article by Patricia Lim outlines the contribution biography and autobiography may make. Her comprehensive list and sensible assessments are preceded by penetrating comments on the genres themselves.

Third, the collection prompts us to think about this war, and about war in general. In a final contribution Henry Frei studies Japanese literature on the campaign. What is it that made Japanese soldiers behave the way they did? That question, as he suggests, ought to be asked in the context of a more general account of combat behaviour. That will still not guarantee what Goh Sin Tub sought. 'We are not looking for an apology, but we do want you to teach your children about the past fairly and squarely.'