

Southeast
Asia
Program

1984
Bulletin



Cornell
University

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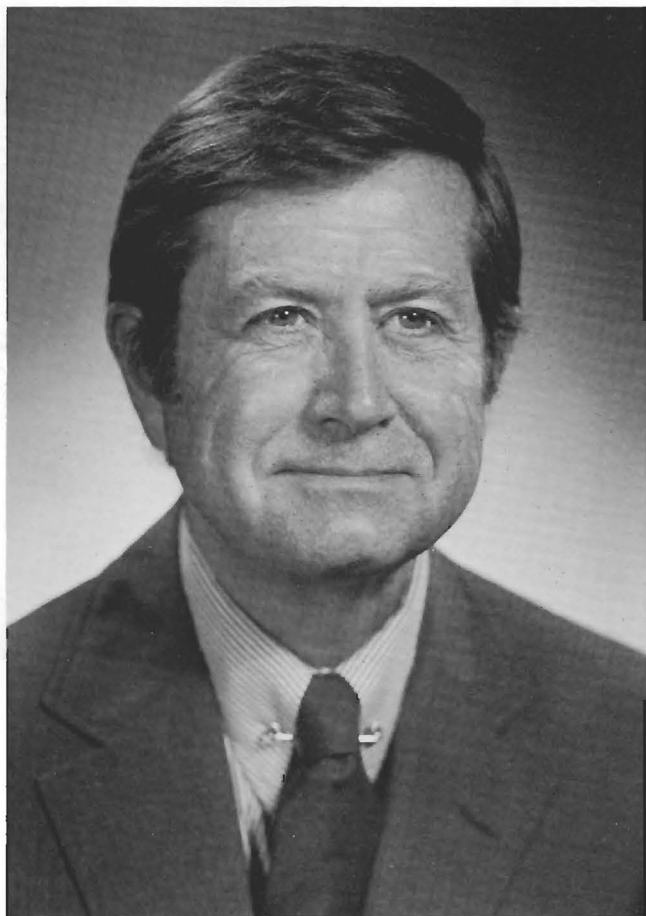
The photographs of Arena Wati and Shaharil Talib were taken by
Margaret Fabrizio; of Charles Hirschman and Palembang, by
Nigel Wolters; of James Boon and Pham Huy Thong, by Helen
Kelley.

Cover design: Rosette on a stone block. Nias.

Southeast Asia Program

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From the Director

Dear Friends,

In this issue we are happy to honor Alexander B. Griswold. He is a distinguished student of the history and art of Thailand, and for many years, as Cornell adjunct professor of the history of art, he has been a valued colleague in the Southeast Asia Program. Over the course of his productive career Professor Griswold has also generously provided support to both individuals and institutions through benefactions from the Breezewood Foundation, which he directs.

A signal development during the academic year under review is the inauguration of a fellowship program for first-year graduate students from Southeast Asia. The fellowships, two of which will normally be awarded each year over the course of the next five years, are funded by an anonymous \$100,000 challenge grant. They will be awarded by the Southeast Asia Program and will be available to prospective students who are intending to specialize in fields represented in the Southeast Asia Program: agricultural economics, anthropology, government, history, history of art, linguistics, music, development sociology, and sociology. It is hoped that fund-raising efforts will result in an endowment to ensure the continuance of such fellowships after the expiration of the five-year challenge grant.

The first two recipients, for 1984-85, are Daniel Dhakidae and Suphot Chaengrew. Dhakidae, from Indonesia, is taking leave from his position as editor of the important intellectual magazine *Prisma*. He plans to study political science. Suphot, a Thai historian, is editor of *Sinlapa-Watanatham*, a history and archaeology magazine. He will study history after an initial intensive English course.

This issue of the *Bulletin* marks the end of my five-year term as director of the Southeast Asia Program. The next director will be Benedict Anderson, professor of government and Asian studies. We look forward with confidence and high expectations to the years ahead under his leadership. I am sure that our readers will echo his colleagues' best wishes as he assumes his new duties.

Sincerely,

Stanley J. O'Connor
Director
Professor of History of Art and Asian Studies

Faculty Profiles

In previous issues of the *Bulletin* we have included profiles of faculty who have joined the Southeast Asia Program in recent years. We regard the following as informal and somewhat circumstantial introductions to two scholars whose names and work are probably already known to our readers.

James A. Boon

Jim Boon, professor of anthropology and Asian studies at Cornell, first went to Indonesia in 1971 as a Ford Foundation consultant to assist Clifford Geertz in a survey of social science research by Indonesians in Java and Bali. In 1972 Boon returned to Bali with his wife, Olivia, and their elder daughter for a year of field research. He collected materials on marriage options, local temple ceremonies, complexities in status codes, and the dynamics of expansion and contraction of ancestor groups. He concentrated on a semicorporate dynasty and another island-wide, upwardly mobile title-group, emphasizing areas of western Bali settled after the installation of a Dutch administration in 1906–08. This data provided the basis for a dissertation in anthropology at the University of Chicago in 1973.

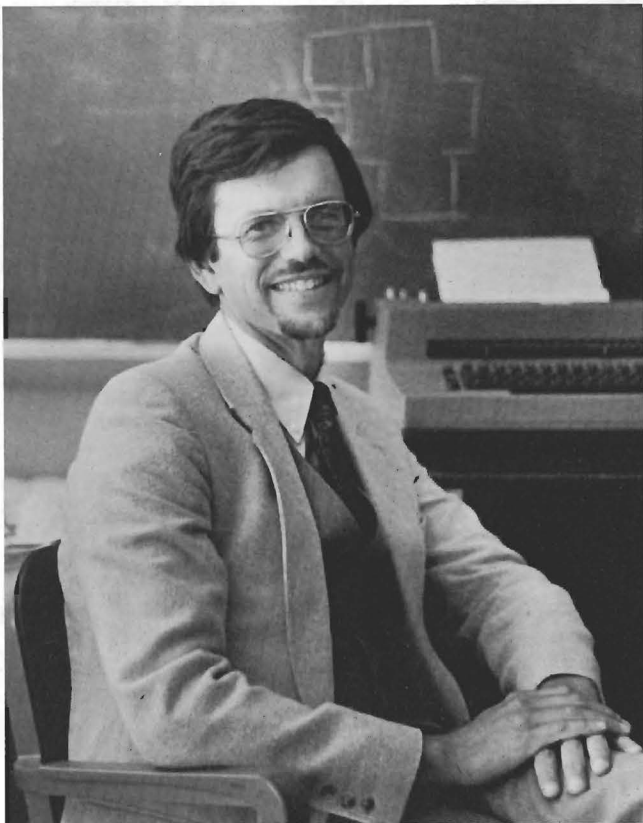
During postdoctoral research at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton and while teaching

anthropology and Southeast Asian cultures at Duke University, Boon extended his research historically and comparatively into the record of Dutch perceptions of Balinese customs and the place of Balinese religious and political forms among Indonesian, Indian, and Oceanic variations. This study plus the dissertation resulted in a book, *The Anthropological Romance of Bali, 1597–1972: Dynamic Perspectives in Marriage and Caste, Politics and Religion* (Cambridge University Press, 1977).

Since coming to Cornell, in 1977, Professor Boon has continued to work on Indonesian social structure, mythology, and ritual change. He is interested as well in the place of Balinese studies and Indonesian studies in the history of anthropological discourse. His recent book *Other Tribes, Other Scribes: Symbolic Anthropology in the Comparative Study of Cultures, Histories, Religions, and Texts* (Cambridge University Press, 1983) contains one chapter on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Dutch and British accounts of Sumatran, Javanese, and Balinese monarchs, and another on Bali's versions of Indic myths of incest and sacrifice tied to its distinctive cultural context.

The intensively researched culture of Bali and other Indonesian and Southeast Asian social systems and rituals (particularly death rites) are treated in Boon's courses on symbolism, on the history of ideas about "exotic" populations, and on the school of analysis called structuralism, influential among Dutch, French, Indonesian, British, and American scholars. Structuralism is concerned with regularized coherence and conflict in noncentralized societies and localities; the distinctive marriage rules found in Indonesia's Lesser Sunda islands and elsewhere in the archipelago are particularly interesting in this respect. In a recent study—"Balinese Twins Times Two"—for a Social Science Research Council conference on "Gender in Island Southeast Asia," Boon analyzed transformations between societies where optimum units are dependent on other units for marriage partners, and societies such as Bali, where an optimum group is ideally self-reliant in marriage (its members value marrying-in). To compare what anthropologists call *exogamous* units to *endogamous* ones, we must adjust our sense of the means by which social value is determined.

Professor Boon employs Indonesian ethnographies and episodes from colonial history in Southeast Asia, India, and areas of Islam as backdrop for a course on ritual and hierarchy. Students are encouraged to think critically about complex historical, cultural, and political circumstances that distort presumably descriptive

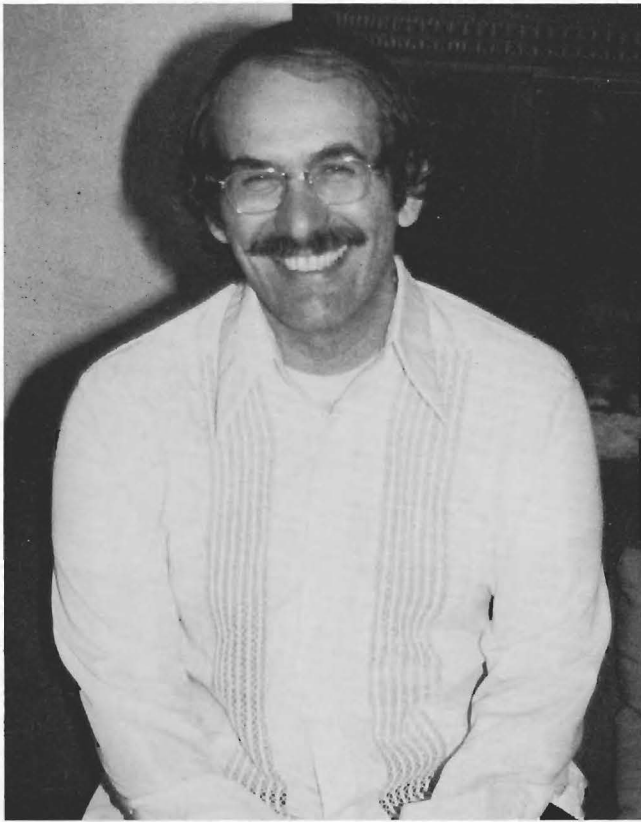


documentation; they are required to master the contents of such descriptions as well. Graduate students are reminded that their own accounts will also be embedded in values, whether the student is a foreigner doing research in Southeast Asia or a Southeast Asian returning home for fieldwork after an experience of education abroad. Boon professes that no one interprets any society neutrally, his own or anyone else's. Anthropology offers not objectivity but an intensified sense of the field of possible prejudices and, it is hoped, a chance to avoid some of the more harmful ones. One of anthropology's roles in area studies is to produce (with as much specificity and precision as possible) constructive doubt about stereotyped accounts of the nature of particular peoples or regions. Graduate students on whose committees Boon has recently served have worked in Malaysia, Sulawesi, Java, Kalimantan, Thailand, and elsewhere.

In 1981, during a stay in Bali primarily for language review, Boon gained some idea of developments since his earlier fieldwork: ancestor groups had both expanded and fractured; new interregional networks with showplace temples had formed around successful entrepreneurs; cremation rituals had been intensively commercialized, producing interesting patterns in service industries associated with tourism. Boon hopes to document in more concerted fashion related topics in Bali and Lombok: for example, the inevitable tension in ritual between forces of rationalization and forces of commercialization (not simply a product of touristic degradation) and the use in practice of reformist tracts such as *Upadeça*, an influential manual of Bali-Hinduism. His ongoing projects involve continuing work in Cornell's splendid Echols Collection on Southeast Asia and will require examining museum collections in the Netherlands and in Basel. Boon considers it unfortunate that Bali, perhaps a victim of its own celebrity, is often sidestepped in Indonesian studies other than cross-cultural surveys. By the same token Balinists tend to isolate themselves, justifying this policy by the island's Hinduism or its arts or its low profile on the national political scene (except for tourism policies).

Professor Boon's latest published articles include "Folly, Bali, and Anthropology," on tensions between philological work on Balinese texts and recent approaches to performances in context, and "Symbols, Sylphs, and Siwa," on the dialectics implicit in Bali's allegory-like ritual and social constructions. Articles now in press include "Birds, Words, and Orangutans," on early Western perceptions of Indonesian peoples as both divine and demonic; "Mead's Mediations," on how Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson deduced what to expect of Balinese culture after working among societies in the Sepik Valley of New Guinea; and "Bali: Dance-Drama," a survey article for the new *International Encyclopedia of Religion*. Another article for a volume on feminism and kinship theory, "Why Are Balinese Brides Made Beautiful?" investigates the ways marriage ceremonies convert spouses themselves into sacred heirlooms, in-house valuables. This study broaches an issue that Boon finds very important: the prevalence throughout Indonesia of what anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss has called *sociétés à maisons*, or "house societies." Such "houses" (an example is the Balinese "ancestor group") occur in both highly stratified and more egalitarian societies, including Islamic, Christian, Hindu, and other areas. They are a promising fulcrum for comparing all Indonesian cultures.

Boon has been completing a study of texts by three nineteenth-century English figures who helped launch modern Indonesian studies: William Marsden, Stamford Raffles, and John Crawfurd. The better to assess their "descriptive histories" of Sumatra, Java, and Bali, he contrasts an alternative genre of "mythological history" that was developed simultaneously by Indologists trained alongside Marsden and Crawfurd. He then examines hints of rivalry between Raffles and Crawfurd and reviews the latter's eventual accentuation of Bali and "reading" of Balinese culture in light of its Kawi texts (Crawfurd was one of the first scholars of Java and Bali's specialized courtly literary language). This intricate topic, like many others Boon pursues, requires moving on many fronts at once—perhaps too many, he confesses. Balinese, Indonesian, and comparative studies are so complicated that one must keep writing one's way into them with little hope, or desire, of ever writing one's way out.



Charles Hirschman

Charles Hirschman, sociologist and demographer, joined Cornell University's Department of Sociology and Southeast Asia Program in 1981, after nine years on the faculty of Duke University. Although their transitions were independent of one another, Hirschman followed the same path from Duke to Cornell established by Jim Boon a couple of years earlier. While slowly adapting to the rigorous winters of upstate New York, Hirschman has become an active teacher and researcher in Cornell's Southeast Asia Program.

Hirschman's acquaintance with Southeast Asia began in 1965, when he lived in a rural Malaysian village for two years as a Peace Corps volunteer. He then went on to graduate study at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, where he received his Ph.D. degree in 1972. He returned to Malaysia for dissertation research in 1970–71, and then again for an eighteen-month stint in 1974–75 as a Ford Foundation demographic consultant to the Malaysian Department of Statistics. In recent years he has been back to Malaysia and neighboring Southeast Asian countries for conferences, and as a

Fulbright scholar in 1980. Currently on sabbatic leave, he is spending the last half of 1984 as a visiting research associate at the University of Malaya, in Kuala Lumpur.

In addition to his teaching in sociology (Race and Ethnicity, Social Demography—both of which draw upon his Southeast Asian interests), Hirschman offers a course on Social and Demographic Change in Southeast Asia and has also jointly taught a seminar on Malaysia. Hirschman emphasizes that demographic research (including a knowledge of population data sources and analytical methods) has considerable relevance for students across the social sciences. His own research illustrates the links between demographic inquiry and a broader understanding of Southeast Asian societies.

Hirschman's primary research has focused on social and ethnic inequality in Malaysia. Drawing upon population census and national survey data, he has analyzed patterns of educational and economic inequality across the three primary ethnic communities of Malaysia—Malays, Chinese, and Indians. He also has written extensively on other social and economic features of Malaysian society, including urbanization, women's labor-force activities, unemployment, and fertility. A recently completed research project focused on patterns of early family formation—age at first marriage and age at first birth—across a number of Asian societies.

His current research project is a major study of Malaysian demographic changes from 1947 to 1980. His objectives are to measure the components and pace of change in population growth and distribution over this period and the reciprocal influences between demographic factors and socioeconomic change. For the future, Hirschman plans a couple of related projects that will span a number of Southeast Asian countries. One study will measure the spread of social and economic change across subnational regions in Southeast Asia, looking at patterns of population change, educational levels, employment, family characteristics, and migration. The other study will focus on the problem of delineating social classes in Southeast Asian societies on the basis of conventional population data sources. These projects should keep him fully occupied for quite a few years.

Three Interviews

A constant stream of Southeast Asian scholars passes through Cornell each year, making use of Olin Library's Echols Collection or giving lectures and seminars. Some stay for several months to carry on their own research or offer a semester-long course.

In the 1983–84 academic year three of these visitors talked with us about their backgrounds and research interests. They were interviewed by Audrey Kahin, editor of the Program's biannual journal, *Indonesia*, and of the Modern Indonesia Project's monographs. Ms. Kahin received her doctorate in Southeast Asian history at Cornell and has recently completed writing and editing a book on the history of the regions of Indonesia during the 1945–49 revolution against the Dutch, which is to be published next year by the University of Hawaii Press. Having recently received a second Fulbright award, she is due to leave later this fall for nine months' further research in West Sumatra.

The following are excerpts from Dr. Kahin's interviews with Dr. Pham Huy Thong, from Hanoi; Haji Muhammad Bin Abdul Biang (Arena Wati), from Sabah; and Dr. Shahril Talib, from the University of Malaya, in Kuala Lumpur, all of whom were in residence at Cornell for varying periods during 1983–84.

Dr. Pham Huy Thong November 16, 1983

Professor Pham Huy Thong, one of Vietnam's most distinguished scholars, is currently vice president of the Social Science Committee of Vietnam and director of the Institute of Archaeology in Hanoi. In response to a long-standing invitation he came to Cornell at the end of October 1983 as a visiting professor in the Southeast Asia Program. In addition to consulting with faculty and graduate students, he gave a series of informal seminars on Vietnamese archaeology and early history and presented an account of the current state of historical research in Vietnam.

Born in Hanoi in November 1916, Professor Pham was educated in French schools. A gifted poet, he became a leader of the "new poetry" movement in the 1930s. On completing his law degree in 1937, he was sent to France to continue his studies.

Q: How did you first become interested in the early history of Vietnam?

PHT: There were several reasons. Vietnamese people are generally interested in their nation's history; we believe that we are formed by history and that traditions shape our actions and personalities. In my youth I was part of the Vietnamese generation that wanted to liberate our country from colonialism. Until I was about



twenty years old, I was a poet, and the main impulse of my poetry was to invoke for my fellows the old legends of the Vietnamese people. Contact with these old Vietnamese traditions made me aware of the earlier greatness of my nation, and this awareness fired not only my imagination but that of my whole generation. We saw that although in earlier times, too, there had been great suffering, this had been succeeded by independence. . . .

Vietnamese culture and literature were not taught in French schools, so we had to learn by ourselves. We could also read books of Vietnamese literature, for despite government discouragement these were published privately. There were also authors who wrote historical novels exalting earlier Vietnamese patriotic heroes, but these were popular stories and not scientific histories. The contradiction between the colonial government and the people was that the people always remembered and were conscious of independence; the government always wanted the people to forget or, if not forget, adapt themselves. But a large proportion of the young people who passed through the schools were aware of Vietnamese traditions and maintained their desire for independence.

From 1937 to 1947 Professor Pham studied at the Universities of Toulouse and Paris. He first became a Doctor of Law, writing his thesis on the Vietnamese monarchy in historical times, and then passed the extremely competitive examinations for the title Agrégé de l'Université. He went on to become a Doctor of Letters in 1947. For this degree his thesis was on Vietnamese prosody, and to write it he also had to learn both Chinese and Japanese.

PHT: My academic studies were influenced by the fact that the Second World War broke out while I was studying in France, so I remained there throughout the occupation and terminated my studies just at the time of the [Franco-Vietnamese] negotiations at Fontainebleau [1946]. At the time of these negotiations, when President Ho Chi Minh came to France, he named me as his private secretary and at the same time a secretary of the Fontainebleau conference. After it was over, President Ho and the president of the Vietnamese delegation (Pham Van Dong) appointed me to stay in France and act as liaison, so that the French people could understand the truth about Vietnam and its point of view.

So from then on I combined my scientific work as a member of the French CNRS (Centre de la Recherche Scientifique) with my patriotic mission. Because of the success of my political activities, the French government and the puppet government of Bao Dai expelled me from France and I was imprisoned in South Vietnam at the end of 1952. I was freed in 1954, when the Geneva Agreements ended the war.

Along with many other intellectuals, including the lawyer Nguyen Huu Tho, who is now the president of the National Assembly of Vietnam, I worked to see that these agreements were implemented and the elections held to reunify the country. Unfortunately the government of Ngo Dinh Diem did not want this, so I was again arrested. Finally, in 1955, I escaped and went to Hanoi and subsequently participated in several international conferences on reunification. From then on I concentrated on my scientific studies.

Professor Pham was named professor and then rector of the Central Pedagogic University in Hanoi from 1955 to 1967; then he was appointed director of the Institute of Archaeology. He became vice president of the State Committee for Social Sciences, which incorporates about twenty institutes, a position he still holds, together with that of president of the Association of Vietnamese Historians.

PHT: Currently I direct the scientific teaching of history in Vietnam, not only history of archaeology but also of national and social history.

Since 1967 my studies have been directed to helping establish a new Vietnamese culture. . . . What is needed to create a society and form a new generation is to maintain the traditional roots but make use of the advantages of the modern world.

Q: How close are the ties between Vietnam's scholars and their scholarly colleagues abroad?

PHT: We Vietnamese recognize that each country has its own principles and wish to find a way whereby, despite

such differences, the academic communities can communicate with each other. We are trying in particular to establish relations with our neighbors in Southeast Asia, which should be fruitful in that these countries have often undergone similar experiences, such as colonialism, and have many cultural similarities. Although at the moment our ties are primarily with Laos and Kampuchea, we are seeking ways of cooperating even with those countries currently opposing Vietnam politically. Already we have some contact with scientific colleagues in Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Indonesia. [Dr. Pham was soon to head a five-man delegation from Vietnam to the ninth Conference of Historians of Asia, in Manila.] Outside Southeast Asia, Vietnamese scholars also have good scientific relations with India, occasional contacts with the francophone countries in Africa, and ties with several European countries in addition to France (Belgium, Holland, Sweden, and Denmark). We would like to open broader relations, particularly in the cultural field and especially with the United States.

Professor Pham views the invitation he received to visit Cornell, which was initially extended about twelve years ago ("the first invitation to any Vietnamese scientist, perhaps"), as an attempt "if only an individual attempt to me personally," to reach some mutual understanding.

PHT: I hope it will be possible for other Vietnamese academics to accept similar invitations. . . . The more one understands, the better the research and the greater the appreciation and understanding one society will have of another. . . . The more a scholarly community understands other societies, the better it can educate its own people into a better mutual understanding.

Although Cornell was the principal goal of his journey to the United States, Professor Pham also visited several other universities, giving lectures and seminars at Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, Yale, and Hawaii.

PHT: I have been impressed by the number of people who are interested in understanding Vietnam. At Cornell, in both my talks with professors and in the more general seminars, my conviction has been reinforced regarding the value of scholars from many countries, particularly from Southeast Asia, working together, exchanging ideas, and conducting joint research for their mutual benefit, as I have experienced in the Southeast Asia Program here.



Haji Muhammad Bin Abdul Biang
(Arena Wati)
January 1984

The well-known Malaysian writer Arena Wati (Haji Muhammad Bin Abdul Biang), together with his wife, Hajjah Halimah Sulong, spent six months in Ithaca, from July 1983 to January 1984. As a visiting fellow Arena Wati was doing research in the library for a projected history of Southeast Asia. Since 1974 he has been the head of the Research Department of the Sabah Foundation in Kota Kinabalu, and his visit to Cornell was part of a year's leave, the balance of which he is spending in the Netherlands and Japan.

Shortly before leaving Ithaca he answered a number of questions regarding his life, his writings, and his current work. He began with details of his childhood.

AW: I was born in Kampung Kanyina, in South Sulawesi, in 1925. My father came from a family of traders and farmers, but he himself was a sailor, and our village was at the edge of the sea. From the time I was about four or five he always took me with him on his sailing trips. Also before I was ten years old, I had already become a small trader and merchant. In the morning I would sell the cakes my mother had made. Then, from midday to evening I sold eggs, and I was able to monopolize the egg trade.

In the years before the war my family lost everything. During my childhood our family still had a warehouse for its merchandise. But all was destroyed, even my father's boat, even before the Japanese invaded Indonesia. The Dutch destroyed everything.

Q: Did you become a sailor before the Japanese invasion?

AW: When the Japanese attacked Malaya, all the schools in South Sulawesi had already been closed. All the schools had become army barracks. Before World War II broke out in Europe, my father had thought of sending me to Holland to study law. But the war closed that door to me. Without my parents' knowledge I took twenty-five cents and ran away from home. It was no longer possible to go to Holland; Holland had already fallen. The only place to go was Java. I went to the village of Pallengu to ask someone to take me to Java.

I was given a job as a clerk on a ship, the *Terang Mattappa*, which was supposed to go to Java. I was happy when we set sail. From Java I would write to my father and ask him for money to go to school. But when we sailed, we didn't go west, in the direction of Java, but to the east.

"Aren't we going to Java?" I asked the captain.

"No, to Bugis. The Java Sea isn't safe; Singapore has certainly fallen."

When we arrived at Bira, at the southwest edge of Bone Bay, we saw two Japanese warships. That night the two warships had fired their guns at Balangnipa, Kajang, and Bira itself. We sailed by them, and they let us pass without bothering us. We were really close to them. We could see the Japanese sailors, working without their shirts. . . . We got to Barobbo, in the district of Bone, and there heard the news that Makassar had fallen and all of Java had been occupied by Japan. We unloaded our cargo, and without taking on a new load we sailed home. But my desire to go to Java was still alive.

Q: I read that you became a captain by the age of seventeen. How did that happen when you were so young?

AW: At home my cousins were still carrying on their business. I thought that after the failure of my first voyage I would return to marketing eggs and wanted to begin trading in goats. My father did not want to go to sea again; his boat was destroyed. He just wanted to cultivate our land. But once I saw the behavior of the Japanese, who would seize our goods without paying for them, I changed my mind. My desire to return to sea, and also to go to Java, was rekindled.

I returned to Pallengu and became a clerk on the ship *Bintang Suasa* for one voyage. Then I transferred to the *Sorga Bone*, and it finally took me to Java. Our captain's name was Daeng Massu; the chief helmsman was Daeng Nanjeng, from my father's family. I was the clerk, and in Java I was in charge of all the affairs on shore. Our captain was illiterate and didn't know the Malay language.

The talents I had acquired as a sailor—knowledge of the currents, winds, waves, and the stars in the heavens—were very useful on that voyage, as were those I had acquired as a trader. In Semarang our captain married the daughter of the village head of Karangwulan.

Although the ship had a captain, I was in charge of all the business affairs of the voyage, and when Daeng Massu got married and didn't want to return to sea, I was appointed captain in his place. That was at the

beginning of 1943, and I was just over seventeen years old.

Our embarkation port was Semarang, and our voyages initially were between Java and Sumatra, and Java and West Kalimantan. But in the middle of 1943 we were sent to Singapore. We were one of forty ships from South Sulawesi that decided to make our anchorage at Singapore and travel between Singapore, Bangkok, Rangoon, Sumatra, Java, and West Kalimantan. Of the forty captains I was the youngest, but because of the attitude of the other captains towards me and because the Japanese came to trust me, I became the captains' leader and conducted all the relations with the Japanese.

Sea transportation was very difficult; the merchant ships that had previously crowded the harbors were now few in number and were commandeered by the Japanese for their war needs. In 1944 all cargo was the property of Japan, and no merchant owned his merchandise. We all had to live by our wits.

Q: Being a sailor must have been dangerous at that time.

AW: The most dangerous routes were in the Java Sea from Tanjung Mandalika, in Rembang, to the east to the waters of south and west Kalimantan, and in the Andaman Sea from the northern end of the Straits of Malacca to the estuary of the Irawaddy River, in Burma. . . .

As sailors we did not have to become *romusha*, *heiho*, or *giyugun* [forced labor or "voluntary" militias]. But we ultimately had to transport only cargoes the Japanese wanted and to destinations they determined. We formed the transportation network throughout the waters of the archipelago. But we also thus became the prime target for the shells and bombs of the Allied planes and for the torpedoes of the Allied submarines.

Japanese discipline was harsh, and the regulations sometimes varied from Java to Kalimantan and from Java to Sumatra to Singapore. It was as if each place was governed independently. This presented big problems for us. But it also was their weakness, at least so far as our own needs were concerned. I had several identification papers for each place. These papers would bear the stamp of the Kempei Tai [Japanese military police]. But I never asked for these papers from the Kempei Tai. The Kempei Tai stamp on them I had ordered from some Chinese friends in Semarang, Cirebon, Jakarta, Pontianak, and Singapore. I knew that if I was caught, I would be executed. Because of that I destroyed each of these rubber stamps after I'd used them. These false identification papers allowed me to pass freely from the port to the town or from the town to the port, free to choose whichever hotel I wanted to stay at in each port town.

With this freedom to enter and leave the port I was able to work and arrange everything smoothly. I was able to carry smuggled goods that were small in bulk but high in value. I took quinine pills from Java to Singapore. I carried gold from Pontianak to Java. I carried needles for Singer sewing machines from Singapore to Java. To receive my smuggled goods I had agents in Semarang, Cirebon, Jakarta, Pontianak, and Singapore. I also had people in those places to buy

goods for me. For example, in Pontianak I used an Arab, called Syed Usman, and a Dayak. In Semarang I used Ramalang, the son of the Lurah of Barutikon, and a Javanese nobleman, Raden Mas, from Ambarawa. In Semarang I used policemen, including Sergeant Mustafa. Only in 1945 did I come to know that Raden Mas, from Ambarawa, and police sergeant Mustafa were anti-Japanese nationalists, working underground. . . .

Q: Was "Impian dan Kenyataan" [Dreams and Reality] your first piece of creative writing, or had you written any poem or short story while you were at sea? What was the background for writing your first story?

AW: Yes, that is indeed true. "Impian dan Kenyataan" was my first short story and actually my first composition. I never wrote any poems or short stories before that. That story was published in *Pedoman Rakyat*, in Makassar, in 1952. Its background was our experiences at the beginning of the 1950s in developing the villages, using the people's energy, the people's money, without any help from the government, because we needed schools, the people needed health facilities, and so on.

Q: What made you decide to become a writer?

AW: Perhaps I am an idealist. But if you read about my experiences, above all during the Second World War and during the revolution, and all the hardships of that time, even though what I have put down does not form even 20 percent of them, I am convinced that you will agree with what I have stated on the back cover of my book *Burung Badai* [Bird of the Hurricane]: "There is much that I have seen, experienced, felt, and thought, so I want to put it down as a personal reflection of what I must say."

I am proud of the era in which I have lived. In my era there has occurred a historical turning point in the life of our people and country, and thus I need to immortalize my experiences and my thoughts in words for my future descendants.

Q: Which of your novels and short stories do you think are the best? Why?

AW: I like all my novels and short stories, but thus far none has satisfied me. I am still trying to produce something better. Nevertheless, at the moment I think the novel I like best is *Lingkaran*. The novel *Sandera* is also good, but for me *Lingkaran* is more profound. If the complete original version of the novel *Sandera* were published, it would surpass *Lingkaran*. But its present version is incomplete, its contents have been cut, and one of the characters, one whose personality and role I consider important, has been removed—an English official in Malaya who plays a behind-the-scenes role in influencing the results of the independence struggle and the concepts of democracy.

I have written many short stories, and I find it difficult to decide which is the best, but for the time being I think perhaps it is "Barabatu." It is rather long and has only one character. But through this single character I have shown how the thoughts, soul, and potential of a human being cannot be defeated by prison walls.

Q: How would you compare the role of writers in the nationalist struggle in Malaysia and Indonesia?

AW: From the point of view of the maturity of their writings, Indonesia is ahead of Malaya, or of the Malay writers of Malaya. From the point of view of their role in their people's struggle, the level reached in Indonesia in the 1930s was almost the same as that in the Malaya of the 1940s and 1950s. But subsequently, for example from the 1960s on, the role of writers in Malaysia has been more "concrete" than that of writers in Indonesia. The writer in Malaysia, besides expressing his opinions through his writings, focuses on the real society, farmers and fishermen and the poor of the cities, while Indonesian writings take place in and are focused on either elite groups in the city or the very poor and ignore the majority of Indonesia's population, particularly in the countryside.

Q: What is the nature of the Sabah Foundation?

AW: The Sabah Foundation is a government body with the duty of (a) helping the government implement its responsibilities to the people, (b) supplementing the government actions with regard to the welfare of the people, (c) taking the initiative in pioneering and implementing projects for the people when the government itself is not in a position to implement them. In short, the essence of this role is (a) complementary, (b) supplementary, (c) leadership or pioneering.

The Sabah Foundation does not use funds from the government treasury, because it has its private sources of funding. These sources are the 3,300 square miles of timberland given it by the State of Sabah. The Sabah Foundation proper carries out the project's duties for the people. It has thirteen departments, and its staff consists of government officials paid according to the government wage scale. The Sabah Foundation proper cedes operation of its timberlands of 3,300 square miles to a group of trading bodies under the Sabah Foundation itself. The trading body is in charge of

felling the timber, transporting the timber via the Sabah Foundation's own ships, working the wood, selling it, and then replanting the forests on the land from which the trees have been taken, so that it is reforested.

In the education field alone, in 1983 the Sabah Foundation used funds amounting to M\$ 38,000,000. Every year our Research Department organizes seminars or conferences on various topics: history, culture, education, and economy, inviting experts from various nations to participate and write working papers for each field.

Q: Can you describe the research and writing in which you are presently engaged and how your stay at Cornell has helped this?

AW: My research currently is a history of Southeast Asia, and I am focusing principally on Thailand and Vietnam and to a lesser extent on Indonesia. I came here because from early on I knew that the Cornell library had many materials on Southeast Asia and Cornell was well known for its many Southeast Asia experts. My visit to Cornell has given me a great opportunity to obtain and study materials on Southeast Asia.

Q: Can you describe your future plans at the foundation and in your own writing?

AW: At the Sabah Foundation we will continue the short- and long-term programs we have already decided upon. As far as I am concerned personally, perhaps at the beginning of 1986 I will leave the Sabah Foundation and return to Kuala Lumpur to become writer-in-residence at the University and continue my writing.

Arena Wati has prepared for us a hundred-page account of his background, focusing largely on his experiences during the Japanese occupation and the Indonesian revolution against the Dutch. This account is being deposited in the John M. Echols Collection in Olin Library.



Dr. Shaharil Talib
April 30, 1984

*A Fulbright scholar, Dr. Shaharil Talib spent the academic year 1983–84 as a visiting fellow of the Southeast Asia Program, giving a number of talks and seminars as well as pursuing his own research interests. Currently a lecturer in the Southeast Asian Studies Program at the University of Malaya, in Kuala Lumpur, he received his doctorate from the Department of History at Monash University in 1980. His dissertation has just been published under the title *After Its Own Image: The Trengganu Experience, 1881–1941*.*

While Dr. Talib was here, his wife, Azanin Ahmad, also spent a few weeks in Ithaca as a guest of the Southeast Asia Program and the Department of Music, conducting her own research and participating in the Cornell Gamelan Ensemble. She is a choreographer and dancer in Kuala Lumpur, where she and her husband are in the process of setting up an arts foundation, Yayasan Seni. First mooted a year ago, this project already has its own theater, and the foundation is presenting its first performance in September 1984. It was on this topic that the interview began.

Q: What would you say is the main aim of the foundation?

ST: At the moment, its main thrust is to take a lead with regard to the traditional arts. We've argued that the past has never been frozen; the past is really a continuous dynamic process. Hence it has seen artists and geniuses keeping the arts alive, creating all the time. Variation, subtle as it is, will always be noticed by the connoisseurs. That collapsed during the long colonial period, when the focuses were elsewhere. The edifice, the colonial apparatus itself, displaced the arts. There was no sort of institution that kept the arts alive. At the courts... the old personalities—the court magicians, the

court jokers, the jesters, the gamelan players, the musicians, the storytellers—these people now found it difficult to survive. . . . In the countryside, I think things looked even more bleak, in the sense that all musical performances needed to be licensed. . . . The postcolonial period did no better, I mean in the sense that it just continued the process.

Q: They didn't continue the passes, the permissions?

ST: They did. It's still very much intact, in fact probably more elaborate now. . . . What we got during the postcolonial period was the setting up of ministries. I see it as a tremendous bureaucratization process. From the center it was amplified to the states; from the states it went down to the districts. An official perception of the past was developed, which means that the past had to be preserved. They had that concept, which I think is diametrically opposed to what we hold, at least to what I personally would hold as an academic. They would hold the view that the past is relics; we must maintain what we have, preserve what we have, so it is almost like museum pieces. . . .

In many instances I also find there are weaknesses in the records of publications that come out from bureaucrats. I once had an interview with a gamelan player in Trengganu. He was over eighty years old, eighty-four years old, a particularly old gentleman. Pak Mat was his name—a royal gamelan player who played for about six sultans. Six living rulers he played for, a man with tremendous verve and knowledge. In the process of that interview he explained how the gamelan came to the Southeast Asian world. It was a story of music developing in the Middle East. Nabi Noeh appeared and wanted to spread the word of God to the world. A big bird was called upon to carry the *nobat* [traditional Malay orchestra] and the gamelan to Southeast Asia. This bird flew with a gamelan set on one wing and a *nobat* on the other wing. As it flew around Southeast Asia, the gamelan fell into the Javanese world and the *nobat* fell into the Malay world. He made the point that both of them were *adik beradik* [brothers and sisters]; they were a family group. Now as I was recording this, I was pulled aside by a bureaucrat who said, "Hey, that guy is already senile; you should not record this. You cannot take it seriously. . . ."

Q: You were working with your wife on this? Was this part of your interest before you and she started work on this project?

ST: Yes, well, we met in Australia, at Monash University.

Q: She was studying theater, was she?

ST: No, she's an economist. She got a degree in economics, and she went off to do postgraduate work in management. That has been her professional qualification, but she was nurtured and raised in the arts by the old schools, the old teachers. She is very fortunate because she has continually held on to that lifeblood. It has become a kind of framework in which we have been building our cultural expression, all the time linking with old teachers. Remember, we talked about collapse. Collapse does not mean that there are no experts in the countryside. You've got to identify and bring them to the fore. That has been our objective over the last few years, many years.

Q: How long have you been working?

ST: My wife has been dancing since way back. I met her in 1973, so it's been ten years. Initially in Australia, as an undergraduate, and later in her postgraduate life, she had beneath that life this cultural endeavor. We got back to Malaysia in 1977, and from then on she engaged herself in the arts. What we are doing now is using the facilities of the modern era, the theater as the box in which theater art is developed. . . . We're trying to argue that the new art that is emerging is an unfolding of processes that have occurred and probably a revival of our past through contemporary eyes, as opposed to five hundred years ago or three hundred years ago.

Q: Do you think you're stimulating this process?

ST: Stimulating, yes, within the broader frame of the Malaysian performing arts. . . . But the main business of the day is to identify your choreographers, your creative forces, and allow them to get on with their job.

Q: How do you identify them?

ST: The institution that has been set up will cater to that.

Q: So it's aimed at the choreographer?

ST: Yes. Once you get your choreography, then the whole rank and file comes into play. You need your first-generation dancers, your second-generation dancers, your higher performers, your soloists. Then you need to build your gamelan base. It's an extension of work, and in another sense it's also centralization, because you're bringing in resources from the countryside and holding them in. And using the media now—here again there are advantages in the modern age. You can use television, you can use cassettes, you can use LP records to push the images of contemporary Malaysia to a wider audience.

With all this in mind, the institution, the Yayasan Seni, can help facilitate that, in the sense that it draws in the funds, sets up the buildings that are necessary, and allows the artist to reign supreme. I think that is critical. The artist should be given as much space as possible.

Q: Is the government in favor of this? Do you actually send a proposal to them?

ST: Yes, we've got their blessing. In fact the prime minister, I understand, has written to say that he would accept being the patron of the arts of this foundation.

Q: How do you see this tying in with your work as a historian and as a teaching historian in the university?

ST: For me, I think that's just life. History to me has to have relevance and contemporary meaning. I've always had that in mind as part of my training. That's so much a historian's bag of tools, the contemporariness of the past. And hence to see the past alive—flickering, dancing, making music, creative—is so much within the philosophy we have as historians.

What did I gain as a professional historian? I gained sensitivity. Through art I gained those insights that I will never be able to understand through any document except through the artist's voice and the artist's movements and gestures. That has been my asset,

something I see personally as a plus sign. I'm really grateful to be given that opportunity to work with the artists and literature, art, dance, music—that type of thing. But as a historian my main concern has always been the life process, the basic production and reproduction of the laboring classes, of the working man. . . .

I've done about six pieces on Kelantan over the last five years. It's an ongoing project. It has no theme, really. There is no sort of working out of chapters according to themes. I prefer to see it as sort of one burst of energy, a release after a doctorate, where you start running wild in the archives picking up bits. But eventually I would try to hold it in a structured theme or in a structured premise. Now, what I've done basically is study the indigenous society of Kelantan, the precapitalist society of Kelantan, and the main foundations of that society, the economic basis of that society and the whole political machine that developed, and the groups that worked within this society. . . .

Then I moved off into the peasant letters that led me along a different road. And that's essentially a twentieth-century phenomenon, a phenomenon expressing the changing world, the new circumstances, the new material conditions in which human beings now exist. Peasant letters articulate that painful process of change. How do people react when they lose their land? How do people react when they cannot get up into the forest? All that was integrated into this particular article.

Then I worked on something for a Philippines conference: the colonial legal machine and capitalist penetration, where specifically I pulled out one institution, the law machine (the courts, the judicial system, the police), all that tied down to this whole new process of change. I got that out of my way.

From there I swung to a new theme that was basically everyday revolts, the everyday expression of the peasantry. Essentially what I'll be doing then is nineteenth- and twentieth-century Kelantan with all these sorts of rays coming out. Eventually, when I put it together, I feel it is going to tell that underlying story of those moments of change from an old world to a newly emerging society or a newly emerging condition emerging out of new circumstances.

Q: And what have you been working on while you have been here?

ST: I've been trying to get the atmosphere and the feel of Cornell first—102 [West Avenue] and the Wason Echols Collection are big institutions. The idea was essentially to spend nine months where I could work with the library. I was fully aware that I would not be able to do much as far as the Malaysian section went. But I wanted to get the feel of Southeast Asia, the whole thrust of research work that has been done, and the type of material that is available here. So I spent several months working through catalogs. Burma is really my next big interest. I look at Burmese records with envy, because they are so much more thorough. The British were so much more thorough in keeping the records in Burma than in Malaya. They've got tenancy; they've got rice production; they've got yields, soil types, all. I enjoyed myself going through that set of documents, but that's sort of way down the road.

Alexander B. Griswold and Thai Studies

David K. Wyatt

More than twenty years ago, Southeast Asia Program students began the annual spring practice of making the day-long drive down to the rolling hills of the hunt country north of Baltimore to attend what was called the "Breezewood Seminar." The name was descriptive of Alexander Griswold's home, an imposing border-country house built over more than a century, set atop a hill, that indeed caught the breezes under the tall elms. It is surrounded by exquisite gardens, which, in the spring, garden clubs come from miles away to visit. At the west wing of the house there is a high-ceilinged gallery, once filled with an admirable collection of Thai art, where ten or twenty visiting Cornellians—faculty and students alike—would sit for two or three days, all of us slightly awed by Alex Griswold's extraordinary range and depth of knowledge of things Siamese, but especially of Thailand's art and history. These might more accurately have been termed the "Griswold Seminars," for as pleasant and delightful as the place was and is, it was the man who drew us there; and the content of the sessions expressed his interests, the energy with which he pursued them, and the original style and manner of a true professional.

Professor Griswold is not, however, a "professional" in the formal, narrow, academic sense of that word. His initial experience of Thailand stemmed from wartime duty rather than from any particular choice. Once the people, the landscape, and the culture captured his interest and imagination, however, he pursued his study of Thailand with the fervor of the true amateur but with the discipline of a well-trained professional, aided by the leisure afforded by independent means and a willingness to reach out to, and learn from, those already established in the field. He soon became known as a scholar of the first rank.

When reviewing the list of Professor Griswold's publications appended to this note, one notices that his work falls into two distinct categories, 1968 marking the dividing line between them.

From the late forties until 1968 Griswold's interests and contributions lay largely in the realm of the arts. He wrote mainly about the Buddhist sculpture of Siam but particularly about the bronze sculpture of Sukhothai and of the north. His main contributions here are his *Artibus Asiae* monograph, *Dated Buddha Images of Northern Siam* (Ascona, 1957), and his general survey, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art* (Bangkok, 1967). There is nothing esoteric about these volumes: they are accessible to the neophyte, and they combine a sure grasp of details with the rare ability to put them into broader contexts, both historical and artistic. His numerous articles of this period range broadly over these and related subjects, and what is most characteristic of them is a meticulous thoroughness: an exhaustive consideration of all aspects of his subject

combined with a clarity of exposition that is seductive to the reader. In his writings, as in the seminars, he demonstrates a thorough familiarity with the techniques involved in the casting of bronze, with the iconographic formulae that constrained the sculptor, with the ways in which Buddhist monks went about donning their robes, or with the means by which Buddha images were consecrated, for example. At the same time, however, his sure connoisseur's eye could catch the art in sculpture, and his natural eloquence could communicate his feeling for what he saw. As we sat in the seminars—and now read his articles—we gained both in our understanding and in our appreciation of Thai art. Here the magnitude of his achievement is so great that it is easy to forget that when Griswold first approached the study of Thai art, he was virtually a pioneer in the serious study of that field.

Griswold's later, historical work is foreshadowed by little in this earlier period save for his concern for chronology; his devastating critique of Anna Leonowens and *The King and I* in his series of articles, and then the pamphlet *King Mongkut of Siam* (1961); and the occasional attention he gave to inscriptions. Only those who visited Breezewood regularly over the years caught the dramatic shift from art to epigraphy that issued in the extraordinary series of articles that he published, with Prasert na Nagara, in the *Journal of the Siam Society* between 1968 and 1979—the twenty-four installments of their "Epigraphic and Historical Studies." These amounted to a complete re-doing of George Coedès's *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, which had appeared in 1924. Here, he and Dr. Prasert painstakingly worked through all the known inscriptions of Sukhothai (and related epigraphy and historical sources). They established definitive texts, fashioned excellent translations, set their texts in their historical context, and attempted to assess their significance. Those of us who constantly make reference to those inscriptions and wish they were available as a separate publication are a bit startled to realize that the result would be a volume of several thousand pages!

In the late sixties and early seventies, on our annual visit to Breezewood, Professor Griswold might spend the perfunctory half or full day with what by now had become a set-piece lecture on Thai Buddhist sculpture; but then, with the enthusiasm and intellectual excitement of work-in-progress, he would take us word-by-word and line-by-line through the inscription upon which he and Dr. Prasert then happened to be working. And the articles that ultimately appeared reflect well the way those sessions went. Readers now can carry away from a reading of those articles an excellent sense of what good epigraphic and historical scholarship ought to be. To my knowledge there is no parallel to his achievement in all the scholarship on the epigraphy of Southeast Asia. The series of articles contributed greatly to the awakening of historical scholarship and scholarly

debate in Thailand itself, an interest that was practically dormant before the articles began to appear. Fifteen years ago it would have been inconceivable that major debates might range about inscription number 2, for example.

Those who have not met Professor Griswold, nor read his books and articles, might suppose from their subjects and titles that they are pedantic, philological, or even antiquarian in nature. Nothing could be further from the truth. There is an intellectual energy, a scholarly rigor, and a quality of excitement in them, and in Griswold, that engages and delights the mind. It was therefore only fitting that the Southeast Asia Program should, in 1965, have invited Griswold to join our faculty as an adjunct professor in the history of Southeast Asian art. His physical infirmity some years ago necessitated bringing the series of Breezewood Seminars to an end, but those who missed the rare experience of attending them might get something of their flavor by sampling the publications listed below.

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"Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 10: King Lōdaiya of Sukhodaya and His Contemporaries." In collaboration with Prasert ṇa Nagara. *JSS* 60, no. 1.

1973

"Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 11: The Epigraphy of Mahādharmaṛājā I of Sukhodaya." Part 1. In collaboration with Prasert ṇa Nagara. *JSS* 61, no. 1.

"Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 11: The Epigraphy of Mahādharmaṛājā I of Sukhodaya." Part 2. In collaboration with Prasert ṇa Nagara. *JSS* 61, no. 2.

"Notes and Comments." *JSS* 61, no. 2.

"Notes on the Art of Siam, 7. An Eighteenth-Century Monastery, Its Colossal Statue, and Its Benefactors." In collaboration with Prasert ṇa Nagara. *Artibus Asiae* 35, no. 3.

"Three Buddhist Bronzes in the National Museum, Bangkok." In collaboration with Uraīśrī Varasarin. In *Masterpieces of Bronze Sculpture from Ban Fai, Lam Plai Mat, Buri Ram* (handbook of the special exhibition at the Bangkok National Museum, 16 October–30 November, 1973). Bangkok: Department of Fine Arts.

Translation of *Monuments of the Buddha in Siam*, by Prince Damrong Rājānubhāb. In collaboration with Sulak Sivaraksa. Monograph no. 2 (revised). Bangkok: Siam Society.

Review of *Sculpture from Thailand at Asia House*. *Oriental Art* 19, no. 1.

1974

"Notes on the Art of Siam, 8. Three Inscribed Sukhodayan Images in the Bo Tree Monastery." *Artibus Asiae* 36, no. 1/2.

"Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 12: Inscription 9." In collaboration with Prasert ṇa Nagara. *JSS* 62, no. 1.

"Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 13: The Inscription of Wat Pra Yūn." In collaboration with Prasert ṇa Nagara. *JSS* 62, no. 1.

"Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 14: Inscription of the Śiva of Kāmbēn Bejra." In collaboration with Prasert ṇa Nagara. *JSS* 62, no. 2.

"A Pali Inscription from Vāt Śrīratnamahādātu, Subarnapurī." In collaboration with Prasert ṇa

Nagara. In *Art and Archaeology in Thailand*. Bangkok: Department of Fine Arts.

1975

The Story of Alex. Brown & Sons, 1800–1975. (A revised edition of *The Story of Alex. Brown & Sons, 1800–1950*, by Frank R. Kent, to which is added a chapter by Louis Azrael covering the period 1950–75.)

Baltimore: Privately printed for Alex. Brown & Sons. *Wat Pra Yūn Reconsidered*. Monograph no. 4. Bangkok: Siam Society.

"Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 15: The Inscription of Vāt Khemā. In collaboration with Prasert ṇa Nagara. *JSS* 63, no. 1.

"Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 16: The Inscription of Vāt Braḥ Stec, near Sukhodaya." In collaboration with Prasert ṇa Nagara. *JSS* 63, no. 1.

"On Kingship and Society at Sukhodaya." In collaboration with Prasert ṇa Nagara. In *Change and Persistence in Thai Society: Essays in Honor of Lauriston Sharp*, edited by G. W. Skinner and A. T. Kirsch. Ithaca and London.

1976

"A Fifteenth-Century Siamese Historical Poem." In collaboration with Prasert ṇa Nagara. In *Southeast Asian History and Historiography: Essays Presented to D. G. E. Hall*, edited by C. D. Cowan and O. W. Wolters. Ithaca and London.

1977

"Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 17: The 'Judgments of King Mān Rāy.'" In collaboration with Prasert ṇa Nagara. *JSS* 65, no. 1.

"Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 18: The Inscription of Vāt Jyañ Hmān (Wat Chieng Man)." In collaboration with Prasert ṇa Nagara. *JSS* 65, no. 2.

1978

"A Note Regarding Two European Statues in the Bangkok Museum." *JSS* 66, no. 2.

"Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 19: An Inscription from Keng Tung (1451 A.D.)." In collaboration with Prasert ṇa Nagara. *JSS* 66, no. 1.

"Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 20: The Buddhapāda of Vāt Pavarānivesa and Its Inscription." In collaboration with Prasert ṇa Nagara. *JSS* 66, no. 2.

1979

"Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 21: The Second Oldest Known Writing in Siam." In collaboration with Prasert ṇa Nagara. *JSS* 67, no. 1.

"Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 22: An Inscription from Vāt Hin Tan." In collaboration with Prasert ṇa Nagara. *JSS* 67, no. 1.

"Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 23: An Inscription of 1528 A.D. from Sukhodaya." In collaboration with Prasert ṇa Nagara. *JSS* 67, no. 2.

"Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 24: An Inscription of 1563 A.D. regarding a Treaty between Laos and Ayodhya in 1560." In collaboration with Prasert ṇa Nagara. *JSS* 67, no. 2.

1980

The Old Architecture and Sculpture of Northern Thailand. Chiang Mai, Thailand: World Fellowship of Buddhists.

Palembang Revisited

O. W. Wolters

Teachers of early Southeast Asian history may sometimes suspect that they have to convince students that Sriwijaya actually existed, whether in Sumatra or elsewhere. This situation has now changed, and a specific site has every chance of being the Mahārājas' *kraton*. The location is in the village of Karang Anyar, a short distance behind the northern bank of the Musi river and a few miles upstream from the modern city of Palembang and center of the former sultanate. Karang Anyar is almost due south of the Bukit Seguntang hill, associated in the Malay Annals with the origin of the founder of Malacca. The site in question is a quadrangular enclosure of about 400 by 250 meters and is known locally as the "Bamboo Fort."

In July 1984, under the auspices of the Indonesian National Research Centre of Archaeology, Mr. Bambang Budi Utomo, Dr. Edwards-McKinnon (Cornell Ph.D. 1984), my son, and I had the opportunity of visiting Karang Anyar. What we believe we saw was a royal *kraton* site surrounded by an elaborate, systematically aligned, and man-made moat, the southern and particularly the northern end of which broadened out. The northern end of the moat contained a small artificial island. A square-shaped pond of considerable dimensions lay to the east of the putative *kraton* site and contained an island in the middle, while a smaller pond was situated not far southwest of the *kraton* and also had an island in the middle. The moat and ponds



Above: *the summit of Bukit Seguntang*

Below: *looking across the moat at the western shore of the kraton. (Photos by Nigel Wolters)*



were now padi fields, tapioca gardens, houses, roads, and small factories.

The profile of a well inside the enclosure exposed two wafer-shaped bricks alongside each other about three feet below the surface, and their juxtaposition suggested that they belonged to a floor foundation. Fragments of waterlogged local earthenware and of Chinese *dusun* jars were discovered in the debris of another well. The *dusun* jars may situate the site within the first millennium A.D. Carbonized materials such as pieces of wood and bone were also found in the debris and may be expected to yield reliable C14 dates. Since the water level at Karang Anyar is only a few feet below the surface, the soil is sufficiently moist to preserve organic data for laboratory analysis. Miscellaneous shards of Chinese stoneware and porcelain found on the surface of the *kraton* complex reinforced our view that this was a settlement site well within Sriwijayan time from the seventh until at least the eleventh century. We found no Ming-period "blue and white" porcelain of the fourteenth and subsequent centuries.

The island gracing the northern end of the moat was the only island where tapioca was being cultivated, and heaps of wafer-shaped bricks, dug up by farmers, lay on the surface. Perhaps the island was once the site of a sacral foundation within the *kraton* complex. According to local tradition a bright light sometimes shines on the island at night and those who work on it may become ill or even mad. A passage in the Malay Annals describes how two widows beheld a glow "as of fire" on Bukit Seguntang on the eve of the appearance of Malacca's founder. Again, a Palembang inscription of the late seventh century records that the ruler threatened his disloyal subjects with madness. One need not contrive connections between these details over the centuries. Nevertheless, Karang Anyar is not without its mystery.

The vicinity of the site provides an appropriate artifactual context well within Sriwijayan time. The oldest dated Indonesian inscription, of A.D. 682 and referring to Sriwijaya, was found long ago not far from Karang Anyar. Another Sriwijayan inscription, of A.D. 684, is to the west of Bukit Seguntang. A large Buddha image, now attributed to the late seventh and early eighth centuries, was excavated in the 1920s in the neighborhood of Kedukan Bukit, adjacent to Karang Anyar. Since 1978 renewed archaeological research has been creeping ever closer to Karang Anyar. In 1978, 1980, and 1982 Indonesian scholars found large quantities of T'ang and early Sung shards in the fields around Bukit Seguntang. Dr. Edwards-McKinnon considers that the shards recovered in recent years are comparable in range and quality to materials deposited under the foundations of a mosque at Sīrāf between A.D. 803–804 and 825 at the latest. Sīrāf was a thriving port on the Persian Gulf during the ninth and most of the tenth centuries. Evidently the Palembang area had extensive foreign trading contacts before A.D. 1000 as well as thereafter. To the best of my knowledge, no other area in southeastern Sumatra contains a profusion of T'ang and early Sung ceramics.

The Indonesian Archaeological Research Centre is responding energetically to the challenge of Karang Anyar, and exciting discoveries can be expected in the future. Much more work will, of course, be necessary before the claim on behalf of the site is substantiated.



Top: the island off the northern end of the *kraton*
Center: debris from the well on the *kraton* site. (Photos by Nigel Wolters)

Nevertheless, the quest for Sriwijaya is quite likely now a thing of the past, and the focus henceforth will be on what can be discovered about the earliest identifiable settlement so far found in Indonesia. The Dutch archaeologist F. D. K. Bosch has acknowledged the passing of "the romantic period" in Indonesian historical scholarship, when a great kingdom such as Sriwijaya "could suddenly be plucked out of thin air." He was referring to George Coedès's study in 1918, which established that *Sriwijaya* was the name of a "kingdom" and not of a ruler, as had originally been supposed. Karang Anyar is a surprise on a similar scale, and the lesson it teaches is surely that all kinds of surprises await those who stay the course.

The John M. Echols Collection on Southeast Asia

Noteworthy Acquisitions

This year witnessed the completion of the Surakarta Manuscript Project, jointly supported by the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Cornell Southeast Asia Program, which resulted in the microfilming of some 700,000 pages of Javanese manuscripts. The project was administered by Professor David K. Wyatt, while the field operation was conducted by Cornell graduate student Nancy Florida.

Another valuable acquisition was the *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Siamese Government Students in Great Britain* covering the years 1903 to 1932. The three reels of microfilm contain details of yearly scholastic performance and personal data on each of the students, many of whom became national leaders in the decades after World War II. The *Report* is a rich source for the study of the modern history of Thailand. The films also include three issues of the similar *Report on the Government Students and His Majesty the King's Own Students in the U. S. A.* covering the years 1921 to 1923. Thanks are due to Cornell graduate student Chakrit Choomwattana for her assistance in acquiring this title.

From the personal possession of Cornell alumnus Takashi Shiraishi we were able to make seven reels of microfilm copies of a most valuable collection of Dutch Colonial Documents on Indonesian Nationalist Leaders from the 1910s and 1920s. They include unpublished reports from Dutch administrators of that time.

A different kind of source material is the collection of 103 reels of Dispatches between the State Department and Southeast Asian Countries, 1801–1906, from the U. S. National Archives. Together with the large number of microfilms, from the British Public Record Office, of correspondence from British colonial administrators and diplomatic representatives in Southeast Asia, they promise to provide a wealth of documentation on the nineteenth-century history of this area.

Gifts and Exchange

Aside from our continuing exchanges with Burma and Vietnam, we developed a new relationship with the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, in Kunming, Yunnan Province, China. Since the beginning of 1984 some thirty volumes of Chinese publications on the non-Chinese minorities of Southwest China have been received. Ethnically and linguistically these minorities belong to the mountain people of mainland Southeast Asia. They have been of long-standing interest to our linguists and anthropologists.

A request to enter an exchange relationship with the Faculty of Arts of Chulalongkorn University, in Bangkok, was conveyed by its dean, Professor Karnchana Nacaskul, on her visit to the library. It was acted upon soon afterwards, and we await further development of the project.

Two more gift shipments of books and periodicals on Asian art and culture were received from the Breezewood Foundation of Alexander B. Griswold. The first contained 528 titles of books; the second was a shipment of 49 boxes containing 437 titles of periodicals. It is expected that at least one more shipment will come during 1984–85.

Southeast Asia Catalog

The Echols Collection is pleased to announce the completion of the three-volume *First Supplement* to the previously published seven-volume *Southeast Asia Catalog*. The entire ten-volume set is available from G. K. Hall and Company, Boston, Massachusetts.

Program Publications

Indonesia

A multidisciplinary journal issued in April and October, *Indonesia* publishes articles in the fields of history, politics, and anthropology; translations of fiction, academic articles, and important historical and contemporary documents; and data on contemporary Indonesian politics and changes in the military high command. Dr. Audrey Kahin was appointed the editor of *Indonesia* in July 1984, with Benedict Anderson continuing on as a contributing editor. Annual subscriptions are available at \$14 per year; single issues at \$7.50. They may be ordered from the Southeast Asia Program, 120 Uris Hall.

Accessions List of the Echols Collection

The monthly *Accessions List* is an important source of information on new acquisitions of the John M. Echols Collection on Southeast Asia. Compiled by curator Giok Po Oey, it contains information on books and serials in both Western and Southeast Asian languages. Those who would like to subscribe (\$10 per year) should write to the Southeast Asia Program office. Back issues from volume 20 (January 1980) are also available.

Guide to the Echols Collection

A guide to the Echols Collection has been developed. It has been designed to introduce and describe in some detail the library resources on Southeast Asia now available at Cornell. This publication may be requested through the Southeast Asia Program.

New Publications

Beginning Indonesian through Self-Instruction, by John U. Wolff, Dede Oetomo, and Daniel Fietkiewicz. 900 pages, \$25 per copy, postage included. Available from the Program. ♦ This book is designed for use either in a classroom setting or privately with a cassette tape recorder with or without a teacher. The material covered is equivalent to that contained in six college-semester courses, or about four hundred hours of self-study.

Cassette tapes for *Beginning Indonesian through Self-Instruction* are available from the DMLL Language Laboratory, Cornell University, 009 Morrill Hall, Ithaca, New York 14853. Lessons 1–12 cost \$162.00 per set plus \$2.50 postage in the continental U.S. or \$5.00 in Alaska and Hawaii; lessons 13–25 cost \$151.20 per set plus \$2.50 postage in the continental U.S. and \$5.00 in Alaska and Hawaii. Prepayment is required.

Modern Spoken Cambodian, by Franklin E. Huffman with the assistance of Charan Promchan and Chhom-Rak thong Lambert (originally issued by Yale University Press in 1970). Reissued 1984. 451 pages, \$12 per copy, postage included. Available from the Program. ♦ The aim of this book is to provide a thorough command of the basic structures of standard spoken Cambodian (Khmer); it does not deal with the writing system. It is designed to be used with the help of a native speaker of Cambodian or with tapes to provide supplementary practice for the student outside the classroom. About 225 classroom hours should be required for the completion of the material in this book.

The following new publications are available from the Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 102 West Avenue, Ithaca, New York 14850:

Dynamics of Dissent in Indonesia: Sawito and the Phantom Coup, by David Bouchier. Publication no. 63. Interim Report Series. 128 pages, \$9.00, postage included.

Suharto and His Generals: Indonesian Military Politics, 1975–1983, by David Jenkins. Publication no. 64. Monograph Series. 300 pages, \$12.50, postage included.

About Program People

Thursday Luncheon Speakers

On almost every Thursday during the academic year the Southeast Asia Program sponsors a brown-bag lunch featuring a talk on a Southeast Asian topic. Speakers may be visitors from other institutions or Cornell faculty or graduate students reporting on their research. During the academic year 1983-84 these speakers included: Benedict Anderson, Carol Carpenter, John Duewel, Audrey Kahin, U Myo Myint, Dede Oetomo, and David Wyatt, Cornell University; Joseph Errington, James Scott, and Huynh Sanh Thong, Yale University; L. Harald Bockman, University of Oslo; John Bowen, Harvard University; Clairta Carlos, University of the Philippines; James Collins, University of Hawaii; J. Anthony Day, Sydney University; Barry Desker, Singapore Mission to the United Nations; Dave Elder, American Friends Service Committee; Christine Gray, University of Chicago; Ariel Heryanto, Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana; John Larkin, SUNY-Buffalo; Mah Hui Lim, Temple University; Ralph McGehee, former C.I.A. employee; Norman Parmer, Trinity University; Martin Rudner, Carleton University; Shaharil Talib, University of Malaya; Haji Muhammad bin Abdul Biang (Arena Wati), Sabah Foundation.

Faculty and Staff Publications

The following are some of the most recent books and articles written by Southeast Asia Program people.

Anderson, Benedict R. O'G. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London and New York: Verso/Schocken, 1983.

_____. "Old State and New Society: Indonesia's New Order in Comparative Historical Perspective." *Journal of Asian Studies* 42 (1983): 477-96.

_____. "Pramoedya Ananta Toer." In *Encyclopedia of World Literature in the 20th Century*, vol. 2. New York: Frederick Ungar, 1983.

Barker, Randolph, and Beth Rose, eds. *Agricultural and Rural Development in China Today*. Selected Papers from a Cornell University Workshop. Cornell International Agriculture Mimeograph 102. 1983.

Barker, Randolph; E. Walter Coward, Jr.; Gilbert Levine; and Leslie E. Small. "Irrigation Development in Asia: Past Trends and Future Directions." Cornell University Studies in Irrigation Series no. 1. 1984.

Boon, James A. "Folly, Bali, and Anthropology, or Satire across Cultures." In *Text, Play, and Story*. Edited by E. Bruner. Proceedings of the American Ethnological Society. 1983.

Golay, Frank H. *The Philippines*. Asian Regional Review Program, Background Review Paper no. 4. Canadian International Development Agency, 1983.

_____. "Economic Challenges Facing the Philippines." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 14 (1983): 254-62.

_____. "Manila Americans and Philippine Policy: The Voice of American Business" and "Taming the American Multinationals." In *The Philippine Economy and the United States: Studies in Past and Present Interactions*. Edited by Norman G. Owen. University of Michigan, Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, 1983.

Hatch, Martin. "Social Change and the Functions of Music in Java." In *Explorations in Ethnomusicology: Essays in Honor of David P. McAllester*. Detroit Monographs. In press.

_____. "Defining Pop in Indonesia." In *Popular Music Perspectives* 2. In press.

Hirschman, Charles, and Morrison Wong. "The New Asian Immigrants." In *Culture, Ethnicity and Identity: Current Issues in Research*. Edited by William C. McCready. New York: Academic Press, 1983.

Hirschman, Charles; Ronald Rindfuss; and Allen Parnell. "Timing of Entry into Motherhood in Asia: A Comparative Perspective." *Population Studies* 37 (July 1983): 253-72.

Hirschman, Charles. "Timing of Family Formation: Structural and Societal Factors in the Asian Context." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 46 (February 1984): 205-14.

_____. "Society and Its Environment." In *Malaysia: A Country Study*. Edited by Frederica M. Bunge. Area Handbook Series, Foreign Area Studies, The American University. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Huffman, Franklin E. "Khmer Loanwords in Thai." In *Papers on Thai Studies in Honor of William J. Gedney*. Edited by

Robert J. Bickner, et al. University of Michigan Publications in Southeast Asian Studies. Ann Arbor: forthcoming 1984.

_____. "Vowel Permutations in Austroasiatic Languages." In *Linguistics of the Sino-Tibetan Area: The State of the Art*. Papers presented to Paul K. Benedict for his 71st Birthday. Edited by Graham Thurgood et al. Australian National University: forthcoming 1984.

Kahin, Audrey. "Brokers and Middlemen in Indonesian History: A Review." *Indonesia* 36 (October 1983): 135-42.

Kahin, George McT. "Remove the Bases from the Philippines." Op-Ed, *New York Times*, 12 October 1983.

Kirsch, A. Thomas. "Cosmology and Ecology as Factors in Interpreting Early Thai Social Organization." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 15 (September 1984).

O'Connor, Stanley J. "Some Early Siva Lingas in Nakhon Si Thammarat, Peninsular Thailand." *Journal of the Siam Society* 71 (January-July 1983): 1-5.

_____. "Art Critics, Connoisseurs and Collectors in the Southeast Asian Rain Forest." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 14 (September 1983): 400-408.

Wolff, John U. *Indonesian through Self-Instruction*. Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1984.

_____. "Language Mixture and the Language of the Peranakan of East Java." In *Essays in Honor of C. Hockett*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1983.

Wolters, O. W. "A Few and Miscellaneous pi-chi Jottings on Early Indonesia." *Indonesia* 36 (October 1983): 49-65.

Wyatt, David R. "Laws and Social Order in Early Thailand: Some Suggestions from the *Mangraisat*." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 15 (September 1984).

Lauriston Sharp Prize

Robert S. Wicks (Ph.D., art history, 1983) was awarded the Lauriston Sharp Prize for 1982–83. The prize was created in 1974 to honor the founder and first director of the Cornell Southeast Asia Program. It is awarded annually to the outstanding advanced graduate student in the Program.

In awarding this honor to Wicks, the selection committee recognized his high overall achievement in graduate studies and the important, innovative quality of his thesis, "A Survey of Native Southeast Asian Coinage circa 450–1850: Documentation and Typology," which was judged likely to be a fundamental resource for the future development of Southeast Asian historical studies.

Previous winners of the prize have been Barbara Harrison (1974–75), Anthony Diller (1975–76), William O'Malley and Tsuyoshi Kato jointly (1976–77), Richard O'Connor (1977–78), John Miksic (1978–79), Martin Hatch (1979–80), Christine White (1980–81), and George Sherman (1981–82).

Visiting Fellows

Donald S. Allen, professor emeritus, Eisenhower College; research on an Indonesian-English science dictionary

David J. Banks, associate professor of anthropology, State University of New York at Buffalo; research on modern Malaysian literature

L. Harald Bockman, lecturer in modern Chinese language, East Asian Institute, University of Oslo; research on the history and anthropology of the border region of the Chinese southwest

Clarita R. Carlos, assistant professor of political science, University of the Philippines; research on regional integration and on political leadership and socialization

John A. Larkin, associate professor of history and adjunct associate professor of anthropology, State University of New York at Buffalo; research for a book on Philippine social and economic history

James A. C. Mackie, professor and head of the Department of Political and Social Change, Australian National University; research on the changing roles of the Chinese in Indonesia

Douglas A. Raybeck, associate professor and chairman of the Department of Anthropology, Hamilton College; research for a book on Kelantan Malay culture

Shaharil Talib, lecturer, Faculty of Arts, University of Malaya; research on the laboring classes (peasantry and wage labor) in the history of Southeast Asia

Arena Wati (Haji Muhammad Bin Abdul Blang), author and director of the research department, Sabah Foundation; research on Southeast Asia in general and Malaysia and Indonesia in particular

Sachchidanand Sahai, professor of Southeast Asian history, Magadh University, India; completing a translation of a Lao version of the *Ramayana*

Takashi Shiraishi, associate professor of international relations, Tokyo University; research on politics of religious administration in Indonesia: Masjumi and Nahdatul Ulama in the 1950s

Ju-kang Tien, professor emeritus of history, Fudan University, Shanghai, China; research on Chinese relations with Southeast Asia

Visiting Faculty

Professor J. Anthony Day, of the Department of Indonesian and Malaysian Studies of the University of Sydney, was a visiting professor of Southeast Asian history during spring term 1984. He taught Southeast Asian history from the fifteenth century and a course in the historiography of Southeast Asia.

Graduate Students in Field Research

During fall term 1983 eleven SEAP graduate students were conducting dissertation research in Southeast Asia. Six were in Indonesia: Charles Daloz (vegetable crops), Edmund Edwards-McKinnon (history of art), Nancy Florida (history), Lenore Launer (nutrition), John Pemberton and Anne Schiller (anthropology). In the Philippines were Evan Antworth (linguistics) and Jill Belsky (education), while Jean Aden (government) was in Singapore. John Dennis (rural sociology) and Stephen Heder (government) were in Thailand.

Graduate Students in Residence

Spring term 1984

Laurens Ackman, city and regional planning (Vietnam)

John Ambler, development sociology (Burma, Indonesia)

Peter Berman, agricultural economics (Indonesia)

Jane Brass, development sociology (Thailand)

Suzanne Brenner, anthropology (Indonesia)

Bryan Bruns, development sociology (Thailand)

Carol Carpenter, anthropology (Indonesia)

James M. Coyle, Southeast Asian history (Vietnam)

Jose M. Cruz, Southeast Asian history (Philippines)

Katharine Davis, linguistics (Indonesia)

Roger Downey, economics (Indonesia)

John Duewel, development sociology (Indonesia)

Zahid Emby, anthropology (Malaysia)

Ismet Fanany, education (Indonesia)

Karen Fisher, linguistics (Khmer)

Pornpun Futrakul, art history (Thailand)

Janice P. Hostetler, anthropology (Indonesia)

Solehah Ishak, theater arts (Malaysia)

William A. Kinsel, government (Thailand)

Suvanna Kriengkraipetch, anthropology (Thailand)

Bruce Lockhart, Southeast Asian history (Vietnam)

Charles Mehl, development sociology (Thailand)

Dolina Millar, government (Thailand)

U Myo Myint, Southeast Asian history (Burma)

Dede Oetomo, linguistics (Indonesia)

Nancy Lee Peluso, development sociology (Indonesia)

Douglas Podell, education (Indonesia)

Vincente L. Rafael, Southeast Asian history (Philippines)

Talissa Ralph, education (Indonesia)

Nicola Reiss, linguistics (Indonesia)

Geoffrey B. Robinson, government (Indonesia, Malaysia)

Marina Roseman, anthropology (Malaysia, Indonesia)

Sjafrir Sairin, anthropology (Indonesia)

Laurie Schwede, anthropology (Indonesia)

Sumarsam, music (Indonesia)

Budi Susanto, anthropology (Indonesia)

Chee-Kiong Tong, anthropology (Singapore)

Thaveeporn Vasavakul, government (Thailand)

Douglas L. Vermillion, development sociology (Indonesia, Philippines)

Frederick Wackernagle, agricultural economics (Philippines)

Gretchen G. Weix, anthropology (Indonesia)

David Westendorff, city and regional planning (Indonesia)

Amrih F. Widodo, education (Indonesia)

Astri Wright, art history (Indonesia)

Ruth Yabes, city and regional planning (Philippines)

Yoshiko Yamamoto, anthropology (Indonesia)

Edwin Zehner, anthropology (Thailand)

Full-Year Asian Language Concentration (FALCON) — Indonesian

Peter Bailey, St. Lawrence University

John Comines, University of Washington, Seattle

Lois Hines, United Methodist Church

Ronald Hines, United Methodist Church

Barbara Whitney, U. S. Peace Corps, Thailand

Edson Whitney, U. S. Peace Corps, Thailand

Recent Doctoral Dissertations

The following dissertations were completed in 1983 and 1984.

Mongkol Dandhanin (education). "An Analysis of Organizational Structure, Role Perceptions, and Inter-Role Relationships Affecting the Functioning and Effectiveness of the Agricultural Extension Education System in Thailand" (1984).

Anan Ganjanapan (anthropology). "The Partial Commercialization of Rice Production in Northern Thailand (1900–1981)" (1984).

Carlos Garces-Restrepo (agricultural engineering). "A Methodology to Evaluate the Performance of Irrigation Systems: Application to Philippine National Systems" (1983).

Solehah Ishak (theater arts). "Histronics of Development: A Study of Three Contemporary Malay Playwrights" (1984).

Eric Morris (government). "Islam and Politics in Aceh: A Study of Center-Periphery Relations in Indonesia" (1983).

Susan Randolph (economics). "Labor Market Structure and Intertemporal Aspects of Earnings Inequality in Malaysia" (1983).

Soekirman (nutrition). "The Effect of Maternal Employment on Nutritional Status of Infants from Low-Income Households in Central Java" (1983).

Pajung Surbakti (agricultural economics). "Identifying the Nutritionally Vulnerable Urban and Rural Groups in Indonesia" (1983).

Soedarti Surbakti (development sociology). "The Link of Socioeconomic Factors, Community Development and Fertility Behaviour: The Case of Indonesia" (1983).

Uraivan Tan-Kim-Yong (development sociology). "Resource Mobilization in Traditional Irrigation Systems of Northern Thailand: A Comparison between the Lowland and the Upland Irrigation Communities" (1983).

Joseph Weinstock (development sociology). "Kaharingan and the Luangan Dayaks: Religion and Identity in Central-East Borneo" (1983).

Recent Master's Theses

The following theses were completed in 1983 and 1984.

Ellen Barclay (human service studies). "Supplementary Feeding Programs in Nutritional Emergencies: Experiences in the Kampuchean Emergency Relief Operation in Thailand" (1983).

Andrea Cheng (linguistics). Project: "ESL Guide to Ithaca for South East Asian Refugees" (1984).

Peggy Chuarles (linguistics). "The Colloquial Bahasa Indonesia of Bandung, West Java: A Study in Linguistic Interference" (1983).

Arturo Corpuz (regional planning). "Mode of Production and Surplus Concentration: An Approach for the Study of Urbanism in the Philippines" (1984).

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