

exhibition catalogue by dividing the history of Indonesian bronzes into three phases incorporating the seven groups delineated in the catalogue. A minor correction herein offered is that the 'silver' Surya in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art that is mentioned in her footnote no. 1 (p. 78) is actually made of copper alloy.

'An aspect of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in ancient Indonesia', by Nandana Chutiwongs, briefly discusses an important form of the bodhisattva known as Mahakarunika, the Great Compassionate Lord, which was popular across Asia. Next, A. de Vries Robbé in 'A *khakkhara* fragment from Java', examines six Javanese examples of a Buddhist monk's sistrum or staff finial to identify the previously unknown function of a Javanese bronze fragment. In terms of resolving long-standing disputes, perhaps the most significant article in the volume is by John C. Huntington, 'The iconography of Borobudur revisited: The concepts of *śleṣa* and *sarva[buddha]-kāya*', which convincingly reinterprets the great monument as a three-dimensional *mandala* of the *Avatamsakasutra*. Next, J.A. Schoterman, in 'A surviving Amoghapāśa *sādhana*; Its relations to the five main statues of Candi Jago', connects the five main statues of Candi Jago with the iconographic prescriptions of the *Amoghapasasadhana* written in northern India around 1200. Finally, Marijke J. Klokke, in 'The so-called portrait statues in East Javanese art', reexamines a controversial group of sculptures and concludes that they represent kings and queens deified after death.

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Ingrid Rudie, *Visible women in East Coast Malay Society; On the reproduction of gender in ceremonial, school and market*. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1994, xi + 337 pp. ISBN 82.00.21919.4.

ANKE NIEHOF

The Norwegian anthropologist Ingrid Rudie was given the enviable opportunity to return to the site of her first fieldwork in Kelantan, Malaysia, to do a restudy. She made the most of her opportunity. The longitudinal investigation and her long acquaintance with the people of rural Kelantan, particularly the women, has produced an inspired study which has both ethnographic and theoretical depth. The book covers a period of more than twenty years (1964-1988). During this period Malaysian society underwent profound political, socio-economic and cultural changes, one of the most important being the Islamic resurgence. The impact of the latter on politics and culture can be felt throughout the book. But also the nuclearization of extended households, women's employment and education, and the emergence of privacy as a social value, are changes which

have affected women at the local level.

From an anthropological point of view the period is significant as well. In it the concept of gender came to the fore and gender studies became an established field in anthropology. During her first fieldwork (1964-65) women were already very much visible because of their important tasks in the economy and local community, but the conceptual framework then used by the author emphasized kin and family rather than gender, as was conventional at that time. The concept of gender had not yet been invented in anthropology. Reflections triggered by both the paradigmatic changes in anthropology and by social change in Malaysian society are integrated into the discussions of the various themes in the book and add to its dynamic character.

After laying the theoretical ground by discussing various (etic) concepts and viewpoints, the authors sets out to map in time and space the lives of rural Kelantan women. At this point, 'emics' are infused, which enriches the ethnographic tapestry. Time, of course, is a complex notion. There is historical time and there is time as a phase in the life course, to name only two meanings. In the mapping of women's lives the author applies both, reminding me of Ryder's use of the concept of cohort in the study of social change. Space is mapped in spatial and social terms. Women's spaces are households, family, *kampung*, ceremonial, market (trade) and school. Their roles in these spaces are described, taking the time dimension continuously into account. School is an unusual subject in an anthropological monograph. Nor can I think of a study on gender in which the subject gets the attention it is given here. However, the author convincingly shows the increasing relevance of school to rural women's lives. The chapter on trade is original and full of insights, the part on gender and territoriality in the market-place in particular. It makes one wonder to what extent gendered descriptions of market-places in Indonesia would yield similar pictures. A restudy of Alice Dewey's work using a gender-based conceptual framework would be interesting.

All dimensions come together in the description of real-life women at the end of the book, in a section aptly called 'a type gallery'. The portraits in the gallery represent three types of women: 'mothers', 'working daughters', and 'home daughters'. The latter represent a female role model that is gaining ground in modern Malaysia: the housewife. 'These women fill their time with housework of a new standard' as the author explains (p. 270). The 'mothers' never were such housewives and will never be. The 'working daughters' are not going to fulfil the role either. These are intriguing findings.

The only critical note I would like to express at the end concerns the absence of any reference to literature on women in Indonesia, while there is so much scope for comparison. Was the author not aware of the growing body of Indonesian women studies or was it too complicated to integrate the comparative angle into the book? I shall ask her.

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