

ferent human security and empowerment dimensions, remains a descriptive endeavor. Although the author does not claim to offer more than a “nuanced description,” the single-edged concentration on the (perceived) impact as such entices the author to treat donors, implementers, and addressees of the NSP in an uncritical manner as static and homogeneous, almost like “black boxes.” This manifests in the usage of undifferentiated terminology that does not scrutinize the role of these actors, but rather suggests a black and white vision of government vs. antigovernment forces, or donors vs. receivers of aid, for example. Similarly, the selection and citation of sources to back up key arguments – especially those sources which are used to add Afghan context to the analysis – seems unbalanced at times. This refers, for example, to the unquestioned usage of opinion polls and survey data, the sampling of which is rather doubtful. Taken together, these shortcomings cause the analysis to remain “inside the box.” More attention to the actors, interests, and power dynamics involved in the implementation process of participatory development would likely have enriched the study. Hence, the author’s concluding “call for honesty in the development field” – which is based on the detected disconnect between rhetoric and actual achievements of the NSP programme on the ground and demands a lowering of expectations of donors – is solely addressing a gap in performance of participatory approaches and, thus, reconfirms studies of a similar vein. Yet, the reader does not learn from the publication why and how this gap exists.

Katja Mielke

**Worsley, Peter, S. Supomo, Thomas Hunter, and Margaret Fletcher** (eds.): Mpu Monaguna’s *Sumanasāntaka*. An Old Javanese Epic Poem, Its Indian Source and Balinese Illustrations. Leiden: Brill, 2013. 714 pp. ISBN 978-90-04-25203-5. (Bibliotheca Indonesica, 36) Price: € 119.00

*Sumanasāntaka* (Death by a Sumanasa Flower) is the title of a long Old Javanese narrative poem (*kakawin*) that was composed in around 1204 C.E. by Mpu (Sir, Master) Monaguna (the Silent, the Taciturn). In its broad outlines the narrative is taken from Kālidāsa’s fifth-century Sanskrit work *Raghuvamśa* (The Story of Raghu’s Line). However, as it is clearly set in the context of ancient Javanese royal culture, it is a work of literature that also constitutes a fascinating historical source in its own right. Concerning the latter aspect, Peter Worsley specifically addresses the question of how to use the *kakawin* as a unique window to daily life in thirteenth-century Java (601–652). Intriguingly, as, for example, testified by a loanword such as *jěnggi* for a black maiden at court (canto 112.8c, from Persian *zangī* “Ethiopian, black African”), the royal world of the eastern Javanese kingdom of Kadiri in which Mpu Monaguna lived fully participated in what is now called, following Sheldon Pollock, the Sanskrit cosmopolis around the Indian Ocean. However, none of the extant manuscripts of the *Sumanasāntaka* comes from Java and the text seems to be completely forgotten on the island of its origin. Conversely, on the neighbouring

island of Bali it has remained popular to this day. Not only was it continually recopied by Balinese scribes, it also functioned as a model for Balinese poets and served to inspire Balinese painters. Petrus Josephus Zoetmulder (1906–1995), the great expert of Old Javanese literature, praised the *Sumanasāntaka* for being one of the best specimens of *kakawin* literature, but hitherto academic attention remained disproportionately low and a scholarly edition of this extensive text had not been available.

Fortunately, this omission has now been remedied, and the authors of this magnificent book deserve our thanks and congratulations for having produced a most comprehensive volume, which for its *pièce de résistance* contains a text edition and annotated translation of Mpu Monaguna’s poem (S. Supomo, Peter Worsley, and Margaret Fletcher, 53–527), while also providing commentaries on the relationship between this work and its Indian source of inspiration (Thomas M. Hunter, 529–597), the imagery of ancient Java in the early thirteenth century (Peter Worsley, 599–652), and Balinese painted representations of this story (Peter Worsley, 653–680). The text and its edition is ably introduced by S. Supomo (1–52), while the book also contains helpful appendices such as a lexicographical list (681–685), a list of proper names in the *Sumanasāntaka* and *Raghuvamśa* (687–689), a survey of the metres used (691–693), abbreviations and bibliography (695–710) as well as a general index (711–714).

The editors rather modestly refer to their translation as a rendition into “acceptable modern English” (xiv) and although readers can also follow the Old Javanese text line by line, the number of people who are able to judge the accuracy of the interpretation will, of course, be rather limited. Therefore, a cautionary note for nonexperts may be in order: as is common for translations of *kakawin* literature, in the commentary the translators honestly acknowledge that the text is not always clear and that, therefore, the translation is quite often necessarily tentative. As the translation was prepared by leading scholars in the field, it is difficult to find fault with their well-balanced translation, but, perhaps needless to say, not all specialists may always share their interpretations. For example, lines 113.7ab are translated as “Those who recited historical tales got a laugh but were eager to be shouted at / Because old women have an aversion to being married to young men” (298 f.). However, in my opinion the subject of line 113.7a, viz. *ikang amacangah* (base-word *bacangah* “[legendary] tale, genealogy, history”) should not be interpreted here as “[t]hose who recited historical tales,” but rather as “the storyteller,” referring to the performing comedian who in the preceding line was trying to get a laugh by telling dirty jokes and literally acting like a randy goat. Hence, my translation of the two lines would be: “The storyteller (joker) got a laugh, and he was most eager to get shouted at / Because old women hate having randy husbands.” The expression *wěř-wěřēh* in line 7b, which the editors derive from *wěřēh* II “adolescent, of marriageable age” could indeed be interpreted as “youthful” (see also their comment of *aměřēh* in canto 153.5a), but in this specific context the text seems to point to the *Sturm und Drang* phase of young manhood, when young

men are primarily “hormone-driven” (compare also the cognate word *wěřō* “intoxication”).

However, a detailed critique of the translation would not only go far beyond the scope of this review, it would also be quite unnecessary as the editors prove themselves expert translators. An outstanding achievement, this book is a monument of scholarship on Mpu Monaguṇa’s *Sumanasāntaka*. The text edition and translation make this Old Javanese poem accessible to a global audience and will, together with its accompanying elucidating essays, undoubtedly remain a standard reference for generations to come.

Edwin P. Wieringa

**Zucker, Eve Monique:** *Forest of Struggle. Moralities of Remembrance in Upland Cambodia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2013. 235 pp. ISBN 978-0-8248-3805-8. Price: \$ 28.00

This absorbing book delivers the reader into a Cambodian village in the southwest of Kampong Speu, deep in the Cardamom Mountains. The author provides an historical background of this forested region that has provided geographic isolation for those seeking refuge as fugitives, political insurgents, or visionaries over the centuries. The area region made strategic sense for the Khmer Rouge guerillas when they were seeking to occupy an area in the early 1970 onwards, where they could prepare and gather the infrastructure for their revolution.

The author begins with narrative material illustrating villagers’ past challenges and current daily lives. While presenting what seems to be a standard ethnographic study of a place she calls O’Thmaa, Zucker masterfully stitches together the trepidation within residents from the Khmer Rouge fallout that lingers in this particular place. She did not seek testimony from residents about the Khmer Rouge era and its aftermath. But through the course of her conversations with villagers, she learned about Khmer Rouge recruitment tactics and behavior by building trusting relations with those she came to know over the course of a few years. The themes, trust and morality, emerged as a central struggle for respondents in her study. How can one trust anyone who has violated the essential core of individual, collective, and ancestral well-being? How can people trust those who took away their future potential, forever? In this regard, Zucker strove to comprehend and explain Khmer perceptions of the static and shifting moral order in the context of O’Thmaa. In her sample, she found that the majority of adults who were former Khmer Rouge soldiers had lived their formative years under the regime. With little Buddhist or animistic exposure, they have been more vulnerable to missionaries’ imported projects, and more likely to adopt Christian, ideological views of a moral order. “In any case, these children of the revolution, who grew up without much *direct* Buddhist influence, were probably easy converts for the Methodist missionaries, who offered spiritual salvation as well as material help in the form of food and education” (111). What gets lost in conversion, she poses, is the advancement of moral messages embedded in Khmer mythical stories that highlight “being honest and bearing

traits of clarity and wisdom” (173). Regardless of avenues chosen, villagers’ trust of former Khmer Rouge seemed to increase as they witnessed former soldiers’ struggling to be released from their past – which yields another dimension in this “Forest of Struggle.”

Her book unfurls the living story of people and place. Her methods of inquiry allowed respondents to stretch out their lived history in ways that did not always shine a spotlight on the traumatic past. Zucker’s unyielding attention to context with an inclusive methodological process allowed her to generate and gather vital, contradictory experiences. All too often researchers of the Khmer Rouge period push for consistency and conclusions. What makes this work peculiarly powerful is the analysis of contradictions between and within respondents, which is most representative of how traumatized people experience their lives. In addition, the reader gains a sense of how the insulated, geographic “place” protected and abandoned children, youth, and adults under the Khmer Rouge. I would surmise that villagers’ experiences of confusion gave the Khmer Rouge one of its advantages as they curtailed resistance and increased compliance among villagers.

Zucker has lifted the bar for Cambodian genocide literature, while demonstrating the power of pursuing a classic ethnographic study. She has avoided the trap of over theorizing or intellectualizing on why the regime did what it did. Rather, her inquiry accounted equally for the utilitarian nature of the metaphysical influences in a particular mountain area where tigers still roam. What made Zucker’s book so remarkable for me was the way she accounted for a landscape that can absorb its inhabitants suffering. In this way, she brings a vital ethnographic lens to our genocide literature. “Features of the landscape also remind Cambodian people of particular moral tales, which are told and passed on to their children, who are then able to narrate them themselves ... But it is not just the mythical tales of the ancestors and enchanted creatures that are told; historical events are also absorbed into the land’s features” (134f.).

“Forest of Struggle” offers room for contemplation on *ritualcide* under the Khmer Rouge, and the protective strength offered by traditional rituals that protect people and their living places. (Relevant to this book under review is the operation of ritualcide – emanating from the strategic breakdown or blockage of access to traditional protective rituals by the Khmer Rouge. See: LeVine, *Love and Dread in Cambodia. Weddings, Births and Ritual Harm under the Khmer Rouge*. Singapore 2010.) Zucker accounts for the ways that men and women who were adults under Democratic Kampuchea reflect back in time on all that had been customary before the Genocide, but those who were children under DK cannot do this. A child’s reflective capacity for judging normal from abnormal had no developmental chance to solidify. The demographics of the region under study demonstrated how elderly sources of historical and ritual memories are disappearing.

In the concluding section of the book, Zucker discusses the ongoing Khmer Rouge Tribunal. For me, it was here that she sold herself short of heightened brilliance. I am confident she could have taken her thesis that next