NOTES

PREFACE: PROMENADES

1. Of the colony’s population of 60 million in 1930, almost completely native, “at best 0.5 percent understood the colonial language.” Anderson, Under Three Flags, 87n50.

2. Le Corbusier in 1929, quoted in Frampton, Le Corbusier, 23.


5. Walter Benjamin, Bertold Brecht, or Franz Kafka, Jean-Luc Nancy, Marc Augé, or Avital Ronell, or Le Corbusier, Theodor Adorno, and some others appear on the pages of this book so pervasively not because they are more profound, articulate, impressive, or, yes, closer to my Western ear than the Indonesians like Sosro, Soemardjan, Soemito, or Trimurti. The Westerners were not invited to “speak for the silent”; they fell in (and sometimes with a thump), and they remained in the book by the force of their fragility, their will or inability to resist their temptation to join in, their affliction with the modern, and the constant fear of homelessness in their own metropolises, just a step aside, behind, or ahead of that in the colony. They are here as the other urban intellectuals of this book.


10. “The Sharing of Speech,” in Irigaray, Way of Love, 16, 28. It is a problem of language. Even the kindest editor (and I met the kindest ones at Duke University Press) would not allow me to keep in the book what the Indonesians said in Indonesian, the Dutch in Dutch, the French in French, the Germans in German, and I in Czech. The effect of having all the quotations in English only was to flatten them into a weird kind of contemporaneity: Franz Kafka chatting with Marc Augé, Marcel Proust with Ong
Hok Ham. In some ways I did not mind so much because this might actually suggest a significant sameness in the postmodern and postcolonial world in which we now live. In other ways, however, I minded very much. In fact, increasingly, I despaired. Out of this desperation, in large part, in the end, in the last chapter, I turned to the voices—and to the noise.

**BYPASSES AND FLYOVERS**

1. Abeyasekere, *Jakarta*, 90–91. Several among the prominent Dutch architects and urban planners in the late colonial era “lamented the disappearance of plants and vegetation, which for years had given character to the ‘tropical town.’ [At the same time they] noticed an unprecedented tendency in the colony, that is, in the appearance of order or ordering (*ordening*) in the urban environment.” Abidin Kusno, “The Significance of Appearance,” 5, 17.


3. Ibid., 241.


6. “The expansion of the city of Jakarta by the Dutch can be described as ‘embracing’ of the existing native neighborhoods. These were first surrounded by urban roads. Then they became pockets in the expanding city, and much of it still persists today.” “Jakarta: kampung besar atau metropolis,” in Marco Kusumawijaya, *Jakarta*, n.p.

7. For example, Rél Revolusi [Railway tracks of revolution] in “Speech of August 17, 1960,” in Sukarno, *Dari Proklamasi sampai Takari* 444. True distance is suggested here: “No distance was more distant than the one in which its [the train’s] rails converged in the mist.” “Berlin Childhood,” 1934, in Benjamin, *Selected Writings*, 3:387. This was a distance measured in height as much as in length: “The rail becomes the first prefabricated iron component, the precursor of the girder.” “Paris, the Capital of the Nineteenth Century,” 1935, in Benjamin, *Selected Writings*, 3:33. The girder, of course, has become the crucial element of high modern skyscrapers.


15. Augé, In the Metro, 62. See also: “Anthropology, or anyway social or cultural anthropology, is in fact rather more something one picks up as one goes.” Geertz, After the Fact, 97.
18. Ibid.
21. Tan Malaka, born in 1897 in West Sumatra, became the chairman of the Indies (Indonesian) Communist Party in 1921. He was exiled in 1922 and lived outside the country until about 1942, when he returned to Java. After 1945 Tan Malaka led the so-called 100 Percent–Freedom Indonesian radicals, and he was executed (as too radical, it seems) by a local commander of the Indonesian republican army in 1949. Patjar (pacar in the new spelling) has two meanings, at least, in Indonesian—Lawsonia inermis, “red henna,” and “fiancée, boyfriend/girlfriend, darling.” Both of the meanings are used in the Patjar Merah’s many stories—the hero leaves behind a patjar blossom whenever he just-in-time escapes the police; and beyond any doubt he is a darling.
22. “Dialogue is the rhythmic interruption of the logos, the space between the replies, each reply apart from itself retaining for itself an access to sense that is only its own, an access of sense that is only itself.” Nancy, Sense of the World, 165.
23. The translation of Rilke’s epigraph to this chapter is by M. D. Herter Norton, except for “mountains,” which I have substituted for his “hills,” and my “dwellings” instead of his “huts.” Rilke, let me note, embarked on his riding expedition from Prague too.
27. Blanchot, Writing of the Disaster, 4.
29. Ibid., 138.
30. Ibid.
34. Notebook, fall 1998, no.3.

36. Where I talk about inviolable highways, Siegel talks about the absence of ghosts. There is in Jakarta, he argues, “no room for contesting interpretations,” and no room for “survivors of massacres to tell their own stories.” This, he says, makes for “communicability.” Siegel, *New Criminal Type in Jakarta*, 9, 117–19. Indeed, the power of the postcolonial traffic rests very much on the absence of the ghosts of the likes of Mrs. Sosro, let’s say, crossing on red, and telling the stories of the massacred.


42. See, for instance, Akhary, *Architectuur en stedebouw in Indonesië*, 119.


47. Interview, Jakarta, August 25, 1995. See also “Roosseno tentang Roosseno,” in *Roosseno*, 901.


49. Ir. Wiratman Wangsadinata, quoted in “Pidato penerimaan gelar,” 893, and in “Roosseno tentang Roosseno,” 897.

50. “Preparations for the construction of Istiqlal Mosque and Hotel Indonesia were started under Sudiro (the mayor of Jakarta, 1953–1960) by the eviction and resettlement of the people living in the areas chosen for the erection of these monumental works. Nas and Malo, “View from the Top,” 234.

51. “Politik Ibukota: Antara polisi dan negara,” in Marco Kusumawijaya, *Jakarta*, 179; “Ruang arsitektur Lapangan Merdeka: Fragmentasi dan sentralitas,” ibid., 125. “The first plan was to make a simple monument, created and constructed by Indonesians. President Sukarno supported the idea. In the end, however, he amended it. The monument was topped with a flame of real gold and constructed by Japanese.” Nas and Malo, “View from the Top,” 233–34.


55. This is Le Corbusier’s upgrading of Aristotle’s “Four Routes,” in Le Corbusier’s *Les trois établissements humains* (1945), quoted in Frampton, *Le Corbusier*, 147.

56. Notebook, fall 1998, no. 3.


60. This beer drinking is historically typical. According to a depressing remark by Michel de Certeau, historians’ “discourse is located outside of the experience that gives it credibility . . . [it is] oblivious to the flow of everyday labor . . . [and, by the force of it] . . . allows a classification by periods, [and] a new ‘vector space.’” Certeau, “Historiographical Operation,” 88, 90.

61. See, for example, the introduction to Sukarno, *Dari Proklamasi sampai Takari*, 6.


63. These three terms are Robert Smithson’s from his “A Tour of the Monuments of Passaic,” in Holt, *Writing of Robert Smithson*, 52–57. Smithson was a major U.S. landscape architect of the late 1960s and the 1970s and most famously the author of *Spiral Jetty* in the Great Salt Lake, Utah. Ideally, in Jakarta, too, it might be like that: after a failed revolution, an avant-garde landscaping.


68. Interview, Jakarta, August 18, 1997.


70. Ibid., 216.


73. Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 92. To get more of the Barthes’s sense here, one should remember that French for “flat” is *plat*.


75. “We must rediscover man. We must rediscover the straight line wedding the axis of fundamental laws: biology, nature, cosmos. Inflexible straight line like the horizon of the sea.” Le Corbusier, quoted in Caroline Constant, “From the Vergilian Dream to Chandigarh: Le Corbusier and the Modern Landscape,” in Wrede and Adams, *De-natured Visions*, 81.

76. November 10, 1998, was the first time ever, because of the riots, that there were no lights on the central heroes’ graves. Notebook, fall 1998, no. 3.
2. Ibid.
4. Frampton, Le Corbusier, 171.
5. Ibid., 36.
10. Interview, Jakarta, August 18, 1993.
12. Interview, Bandung, August 26, 1999.
15. Interview, Jakarta, August 18, 1993.
27. Descartes, quoted ibid., 64–65.
41. Frampton, *Le Corbusier*, 9, 129. “Iron construction was succeeded by reinforced concrete. This was the nadir for architecture, one which coincided with the deepest political depression.” Benjamin, *Arcades Project*, 548.
43. This is about the modern colony. Yet in many stories of the archipelago, there are some solid and premodern bronze and iron buildings described or, at least, sung about. For instance: “Thus it was, my dear young ones, / How strong it was in Batu Kumbang. / Bronze walls rammed up to the firmament, / Iron walls concealed the clouds. / Uû, the wind against them could not get through, / Ants walking on them slipped down sideways.” Collins, *Guritan of Radin Suane*, second night, canto 221, 248.
44. Interview, Jakarta, July 26, 1994.
46. A. G. Meyer *Eisenbauten* (1907), quoted in Benjamin, *Arcades Project*, 541. The twentieth-century avant-garde has made what might appear as (again) the final step. The movement around van der Rohe especially “was interested in exploring the reflective qualities of glass, hence the prismatic and curved forms. . . . [Buildings were to become] light-reflecting transparent shafts, the interior structure variably perceptible behind the glass skin. . . . [This] use of transparency and counter-transparency [was supposed to] creat[e] the paradox of a perpetual display of everything and nothing . . . [as] ambiguous oscillation of transparency and reflectivity.” Phyllis Lambert, “Punching through the Clouds: Notes on the Place of the Toronto Dominion Center in the North America *Oeuvre* of Mies,” in Mertins, *Presence of Mies*, 37,42; and Brian Boigon, “What’s So Funny: Modern Jokes and Modern Architecture,” ibid., 229. Simulacra got closer to be created through architectural means: “Belief, faith in information attach themselves to this tautological proof that the system gives of itself by doubling the signs of an unlocatable reality” Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, 81.
47. “In geometry and logic alike a place is a possibility: something can exist in it.” Wittgenstein, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, § 3.411, 18.
50. Interview, Jakarta, August 8, 1999.

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51. Interview, Jakarta, August 18, 1993. It still feels so, let me say natural or even inevitable, to become a guest in a Jakarta house. I know it from my experience, and this is from a well-known author of my interviewees’ generation: “Without him realizing it, his feet have brought him to Mardi’s house. For a long time he can’t answer the questions that are hurled at him. Instead, he rolls his weak and weary body down onto Mardi’s mat, and tries to sleep.” “Miscarriage of a Would-Be Playwright,” in Pramoedya, *Tales from Djakarta*, 96.

52. This is not to say that there cannot be an unwelcome presence in an Indonesian house. The architecture itself can well articulate such a situation; it sometimes actually moans. Snouck Hurgronje, one of the most prominent colonial scholars and an adviser to the Dutch governor general around 1900, helping the Dutch conquest of Aceh in North Sumatra, warned against the Acehnese houses, built so as to, he wrote, alert the inhabitants — by squeaking and sighing when an intruder merely touches them or steps onto their porch. Similarly, Indonesian lore has it that “The great bamboo stairway thundered, / His advance made the corners chatter. / The floorboards shuddered; / Alarmed at his steps people started to rise.” Collins, *Guritan of Radin Suane*, first night, canto 37, 86.

53. Interview, Jakarta, July 30, 1996.
56. Interview, Jakarta, August 16, 1995.
58. Interview, Jakarta, July 28, 1996.
64. Interview, Surabaya, July 24, 1992.
68. Kafka, *Trial*, 149.
70. Interview, Jakarta, July 26, 1994.
71. Interview, Jakarta, July 14, 1997.
72. Interview, Jakarta, August 24, 1999.
75. “Heavy shadows against light shadows, a shadowy abyss beyond?” A hearth in
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a house, Henri Lefebvre says, has been the “last relic of the shadowy abyss.” Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 248.

76. Interview, Utrecht, July 6, 1998. Another shadow play of the kind is described by Mr. Sutikno’s contemporary, the novelist Kartamihardja: “I was also frequently told stories about heaven and hell. Mother usually told them to me in bed before I fell asleep. She lay by me, cuddling me. Spellbound, my gaze remained rooted on the top of the mosquito net as though looking at a movie screen. In my imagination the picture of events in hell was displayed on the screen. ‘A naughty child who does not pray will go to hell,’ mother always said. ‘In hell, naughty children will be boiled in a cauldron of bubbling lead. Nobody, not even their fathers and mothers, will be able to help them.’” Mihardja (thus this author’s name is spelled in the particular edition of the book by the publisher), *Atheis*, 10.

77. Interview, Jakarta, August 20, 1999.


79. Interview, Jakarta, June 20, 1992.


82. Like many of the things described in this book, this is not just a matter of the past: still in the early 1950s, “all areas in Jakarta in turn were having their electricity cut off every three days.” The new mayor of the city “planned to decrease this to once every six days by building an electricity plant at Ancol [the outskirts of Jakarta].” Peter J. M. Nas and Manasse Malo, “View from the Top: Accounts of the Mayors and Governors of Jakarta,” in Grijns and Nas, *Jakarta-Batavia*, 231.


84. Interview, Yogyakarta, August 5, 1997.


86. Interview, Jakarta, August 18, 1999.


89. Baudelaire, “Philosophy of Toys,” 78.


fourth floors are often closed and the curtains drawn, as if the happy inhabitants of these places were obliged to 'play subway' at home.” Augé, *In the Metro*, 54.

93. A modern hero in one of Joseph Roth's Austrian-German novels perceives “the changes taking place in society” as “the insecurity of the old established classes and their new members, the fluidity of social values and of the terminal perplexity of modern houses which are built with ‘reception rooms.’” Roth, *Right and Left*, 141; emphasis mine.

96. Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 227.

98. Here is a description of a bourgeois salon in the postcolonial Jakarta of the 1950s: “The dresser, the *ziije* [two or three chairs and a coffee table], the grandfather clock, the dining-room table, the Philips drawing-room radio and pick-up, the desks, the cabinets, the earthenware and porcelain vases from Italy and Czechoslovakia, the curtains from the textile mills of Egypt, the leather benches from Morocco, the Japanese hanging scrolls, and the Chinese embroideries.” “Mrs. Veterinary Doctor Suharko,” in Pramoedya, *Tales from Djakarta*, 132.

101. Karl Marx, quoted in “Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century, Exposé,” 18. Also: “The furniture, which is almost as heavy as the buildings themselves, continues to have façades; mirrored wardrobes, sideboards and chests still face out onto the sphere of private life, and so help dominate it.” Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 363.

104. Interview, Bandung, August 26, 1999.
107. Interview, Jakarta, July 30, 1996.
110. Interview, Jakarta, August 18, 1993.
111. Interview, Surakarta, August 9, 1995.
114. Interview, Surakarta, August 9, 1995.
115. Interview, Jakarta, August 30, 1999.

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119. The hero of the Kafka’s *The Trial*, at the opposite end of the world from the colony but “produced” very much by the same urban space, finds out in an instant from shifts of things in his house—a pincushion, a matchbox being misplaced—that the whole world is crashing around him. Kafka, *Trial*, 10.

120. Interview, Jakarta, August 24, 1999.
121. Interview, Jakarta, August 20, 1995.
122. Interview, Surakarta, August 6, 1995.
123. Interview, Bandung, August 26, 1999.
124. Interview, Jakarta, July 30, 1996.

125. “I love brief habits. . . . brief habits, too, have this faith of passion, this faith in eternity . . . deep contentment . . . without having any need for comparisons, contempt, of hatred. . . . That is what happens to me with dishes, ideas, human beings, cities, poems, music, doctrines, ways of arranging the day, and life styles . . . the passage inventories. . . . Enduring habits I hate . . . a permanent domicile, or unique good health.” Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Gay Science*, quoted in Ronell, *Test Drive*, 193, 195.

126. Cornelis van Vollenhoven (1874–1933) was a Dutch lawyer and the author of the three-volume *Het adatrecht van Nederlandsch Indië* (1918–1933), the most authoritative “customary law” colonial codex for the Dutch colony. He was equally famous for being and is remembered as a highly ethically minded professor at the University of Leiden, a mentor to many Indonesian students who, during the late colonial period, managed to get as far as a European university.

127. Interview, Utrecht, July 6, 1998. Again, this was a matter of modernity, and in particular, as a child could see itself and the people around him growing into it: “And as I gazed at the long, long rows of coffee spoons and knife rests, fruit knives and oyster forks, my pleasure in this abundance was tinged with anxiety, lest the guests we had invited would turn out to be identical to one another, like our cutlery.” “Berlin Childhood,” 3:403–4.

128. This is a pertinent comment pointing to how uneasy the progress was: “With the replacement of Dutch rulers by educated Indonesians, Javaneese ‘feudalism,’ with its complicated forms of etiquette, was disowned.” Siegel, *Naming the Witch*, 208.

129. Interview, Yogyakarta, August 5, 1997.
130. Ibid.
132. Ibid.
133. This is Michel de Certeau writing on the “colonized university,” but it is also applicable, I believe, to other colonial walls, shelters, and discourses: “Discourse takes on the color of the walls; it is ‘neutral.’” “The Historiographical Operation,” in Certeau, *Writing of History*, 62.

139. Interview, Surabaya, July 24, 1992.
140. Notebook, summer 1997, no. 4.
142. Interview, Wageningen, July 4, 1998. James Rush describes such auctions at the turn of the century: “The higher the position of the departing official, the larger and more dignified the crowd and the more grandiose the bids. Because of this the auctions of departing residents were carnival affairs . . .” Rush, *Opium to Java*, 132.
143. Interview, Utrecht, July 6, 1998.
144. Interview, Jakarta, August 20, 1999.
146. Interview, Jakarta, August 16, 1995.
147. Interview, Jakarta, June 20, 1992. This proves also that the “part played by war and armies as productive forces in their own rights” must not be underestimated; definitely not the war’s and armies’ role in producing space. See Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 277.
150. Interview, Jakarta, August 8, 1999.
151. Interview, Jakarta, August 18, 1993.
152. Interview, Yogyakarta, August 5, 1997.
155. “Engravings from 1830 show how the insurgents threw all sorts of furniture down on the troops out of the windows.” Benjamin, *Arcades Project*, 137.
156. Interview, Yogyakarta, August 3, 1997.
157. This is from the 1942 diary of Mrs. J. J. Husseen, a former teacher at the senior high school in Semarang. “Dagboek 89a (DB 045 en 046),” in Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogdocumentatie Archief, Amsterdam.
159. Ibid., 10.
160. Ibid., 75.
161. Interview, Bandung, August 26, 1999.
162. Interview, Jakarta, August 18, 1993.
163. Interview, Jakarta, August 8, 1999.
164. Interview, Jakarta, August 18, 1993.
165. Interview, Jakarta, August 24, 1999.
166. Interview, Bandung, August 26, 1999.
167. This is one of the most profound comments on “a certain age”: “We live bizarrely clinging to the level of our age, often with a vast repression of what has pre-
ceded us: we almost always take ourselves for the person we are at the moment we are at in our lives.” Cixous, *Three Steps on the Ladder of Writing*, 66.

170. Interview, Jakarta, August 8, 1999.
172. Ibid.
175. Notebook, summer 1997, no. 4.
177. Interview, Jakarta, July 6, 1997.

**THE FENCES**

1. Interview, Jakarta, July 19, 1992.
2. Nancy, *Inoperative Community*, 48, on Homer’s *muthos*. “Such speech . . . as Thales is supposed to have said . . . [is] a way of binding the world.” Ibid., 49.
3. Jakobson, *My Futurist Years*, 68. Jakobson was a member of the Prague Circle of Linguistics and he spent more than a decade in Prague managing Czech so well indeed that he was regularly asked by the best of the avant-garde Czech poets to correct their language. When he regrets not being able to write about the cries of hawkers, he might thus be also recalling the Prague Malá Strana and Staré Město streets of the 1930s.
13. It was Mr. Selo Soemardjan, in fact, who later told George McT. Kahin, an Ameri-

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can scholar and a friend of his, how he used to climb over the wall of the sultan’s palace in Yogyakarta during the Indonesian revolution in 1947 or 1948—not to steal fruits this time, but to smuggle messages between the agencies of the Indonesian underground government in the city occupied by the Dutch army. George Kahin, personal communication, 1995.

18. RM: “Did you play with neighbors’ children, even when your family might be of a higher status?”
   Mrs. HARTINI: “Oh, yes, children played together.”
   RM: “What kind of games?”
   Mrs. HARTINI: “Running around, yes, and making a lot of noise.”
   Interview, Jakarta, August 23, 1997.
19. Kafka, Trial, 34.
22. The place running with springs, “the Land of Valleys and Mountains, where at any moment you can hear the sound of a ketjapi harp blowing in the humid wind, where at any moment you can doze off peacefully because the soil always bestows its grace upon the crops.” “Ketjapi,” in Pramoedya, Tales from Djakarta, 128. Or, further back in time: “But morning has not yet fully arrived. / The time is called the ‘day’s breast scarf.’ / At that time the day is already up. / Sunlight strikes one’s forehead, / Just a bit topping the mountains. / The bamboo roof tiles curl and shift, / People move about humming and stretching, / The ring-necked cock crows.” Collins, Guritan of Radin Suane, second night, canto 177, 215.
27. Interview, Jakarta, August 24, 1999.
29. Interview, Surakarta, August 8, 1996.
31. Interview, Jakarta, August 8, 1999.
32. Interview, Bandung, August 21, 1993.
34. Interview, Jakarta, August 18, 1999.
35. Interview, Jakarta, August 18, 1997.
38. Moenzir, Gesang, 7, 27.
39. Ibid., 15.
40. Interview, Surakarta, August 8, 1996.
42. Suryadinata, Prominent Indonesian Chinese, 34–35.
43. Notebook, summer 1995, no. 5.
44. Interview, Jakarta, July 14, 1997.
46. Interview, Kartasura, August 14, 1997. Before meeting Mr. Naryo, I had never known anybody who related himself to puppets so powerfully and movingly. Except, perhaps, Don Quixote: “As Don Quixote watches the performance and listens to [his guide’s] commentary, which he interrupts from time to time, he grows more and more excited, for it is all very real to him. Finally, as a cavalcade of Moors sets out in pursuit of the ‘Christian lovers’ [the play is about fair Melisenda and brave Don Gaiferos], he can stand it no longer and leaping to his feet, he draws his sword and slashes the stage and puppets to bits. The audience is thrown into confusion, Master Pedro bewails the loss of his stock in trade, and the ape flees in terror.” Cervantes, “Ingenious Gentleman Don Quixote,” 520.
47. Interview, Jakarta, August 23, 1997.
51. For example, “Sitting in the river at night is a Javanese mystical practice.” Siegel, Naming the Witch, 117.
52. “There is a big destructive flood in Jakarta every five years on average, but there is some flooding every year.” Marco Kusumawijaya, Jakarta, iv. “When the rains came, water that overflowed from higher ground spilled down into the house. And because the back wall of the house was actually part of a small hill that had been cut open, and because the side of this small hill formed a big drain, the back wall of the house automatically became a nesting-place for field-mice. And when it rained heavily, mud flowed through the holes made by these mice.” “Ketjapi,” in Pramoedya, Tales from Djakarta, 138.
55. Interview, Jakarta, August 22, 1999. Among other recollections like these see, for example, “Since he was little, Sumitro [Soemitro in old spelling] showed the courage and spirit of a rebel. In spite that he was repeatedly warned against it, he sat under a big, old and haunted waringin tree during the sunset. Together with his brother, he sat directly under that tree.” Sumitro Djojohadikusumo, Jejak Perlawan, 7.
56. Interview, Jakarta, August 24, 1999.
57. The anger of Durga, the mother of Kala, the god of time, overflows from time
to time, and then she “attacks roads and burns down markets.” “Lampiran-lampiran: Murwakala,” in Latif et al., *Waktu Batu*, 86.

60. Interview, Jakarta, August 24, 1999.
63. Interview, Jakarta, August 16, 1995.
64. In 1937, according to the official count, there was one bicycle for every eight residents of the colony. Abeyasekere, *Jakarta*, 91. The bicycle clearly, in the modern world, has been both early and lasting, “a machine loved for its qualities of fate.” “Genie,” in Rimbaud, *Complete Works*, 255.
65. Interview, Kartasura, August 14, 1997.
66. Interview, Yogyakarta, August 2, 1996.
68. Interview, Jakarta, August 18, 1997.
73. This is something that can be fully experienced only in a tropical place—the “countless fireflies scattered on the bushes . . . like stars, as though the sky had been transplanted onto the earth.” Mihardja, *Atheis*, 116.
74. Interview, Jakarta, August 22, 1999.
75. Interview, Jakarta, August 18, 1997.
76. Interview, Surakarta, August 6, 1995.
78. Interview, Utrecht, July 6, 1998.
79. Interview, Surakarta, August 9, 1995.
80. Interview, Jakarta, June 20, 1992.
81. This, again, was a global modern romance and a universal Virilio moment—like in the case of this couple in Germany, at the same time: “They drove at 70 kilometers per hour, a speed which is recommended for such a situations by modern authors who have studied the connections between the human heart and the internal combustion engine.” Roth, *Right and Left*, 205.
84. Filippo Tommaso Marinetti’s futurist manifesto of 1909, quoted in Moos, *Fernand Léger*, 63.
85. Interview, Jakarta, August 8, 1999.
86. Interview, Jakarta, July 24, 1997.

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89. Adorno, *Minima Moralia*, 162, 139.


91. Interview, Surakarta, August 6, 1995.

92. Interview, Jakarta, August 18, 1999.


94. Interview, Kartasura, August 4, 1997.


96. Interview, Jakarta, August 27, 1999.


100. Interview, Yogyakarta, July 17, 1992.

101. This, or something very close to it, I heard often repeated—ghostly images like that, for instance: “Their hair on fire, their eyes blue” (*rambutnya terbakar dan matanya biru*). “Lampiran-lampiran: Murwakala,” in Latif et al., *Waktu Batu*, 63.

102. Interview, Jakarta, August 8, 1999.


105. Interview, Jakarta, August 18, 1999.

106. Interview, Wageningen, July 4, 1998. See also Wertheim and Wertheim-Gijse Weenink, *Vier Wendingen*, 201: “For me,” Wim Wertheim wrote, “serving on the city watch [at the time of the Japanese invasion early in 1942] was an opportunity, *for the first time in the ten years I spent in Batavia*, to see the city poor native quarters that were just next to the city center”; emphasis mine.

107. Compare Friedrich Engels: “There is something distasteful about the very bustle of the streets, something that is abhorrent to human nature itself. Hundreds of thousands of people of all classes and ranks of society jostle past one another. Are they not all human beings with the same characteristics and potentials, equally interested in the pursuit of happiness? . . . And yet they rush past one another as if they had nothing in common or were in no way associated with one another. Their only agreement is a tacit one: that everyone should keep to the right of the pavement, so as not to impede the stream of the people moving in the opposite direction. No one even bothers to spare a glance for the other. The greater the number of people that are packed into a tiny space, the more repulsive and offensive becomes the brutal indifference, the unfeeling concentration of each person on his personal affairs.” Engels’s *The Conditions of the Working Class in England*, 1844, quoted—so others also think of Engels as relevant to Jakarta!—in “Jalan, kaki-lima, mall,” in Marco Kusumawijaya. *Jakarta*, 67–68.

See also Virilio: “Since the dawn of the bourgeois revolution, the political discourse has been . . . confusing social order with the control of traffic (of people, of goods)
and revolution, revolt, with traffic jams, illegal parking, multiple crashes, collisions.”


110. Interview, Jakarta, August 8, 1999.

111. Interview, Jakarta, August 18, 1999.

112. Interview, Yogyakarta, August 2, 1996.


114. *Indos* (common name for Eurasians) and prostitution were a theme constantly talked or whispered about in the colony, and thus it is sometimes still recalled. See, for example, this recollection of the first days of the Japanese occupation of Yogyakarta by an Indonesian then living in the city: “During the first days after the Japanese arrived, the high Dutch officials were forced to work as traffic police and they wore a large piece of white cloth pinned to their sleeves as a sign of surrender. . . . Eurasian girls and young women who usually talked and thought of themselves as if they were Dutch persons, were moved to a brothel to serve the Japanese army.” Soemardjan, *Biografi*, 98.


117. Ibid.


120. Notebook, summer 1997, no. 4.

121. Notebook, fall 1998, no. 3. Sometimes “the mob had worn masks and its members were therefore referred to as [the Japanese TV cartoon characters] ‘Ninja’; they spoke Indonesian rather than Javanese.” Siegel, *Naming the Witch*, 144. Notebook, fall 1998, no. 3: “The comments on the murders are flatly one-sided and the murders, with all the blood and other horrors, appear cartoonlike and one-dimensional. The killed are just described as ‘mentally ill.’ One also hears about the murders in the same vein as about the ‘lynching of the ninjas.’”

122. François Guizot, 1830, quoted in Benjamin, *Arcades Project*, 141. See also Baron Haussmann’s memo, dated 1864, speaking about “floating mass of workers who have come to the city, ready to leave tomorrow, of families whose members are dispersed throughout the city by their diverse places of work, of nomad renters who are incessantly moving from quarter to quarter, without knowing a fixed residence or a patrimonial place.” Quoted in Jordan, *Transforming Paris*, 217.


124. Ibid., 35–37.


126. With all the power of the bourgeois modernity behind him, Le Corbusier built his masterpiece, the chapel of Notre Dame de la Rochelle, on a hill overlooking border-
lands between France and Germany, the site of big battles during the First World War. There, he also used “electronic music, especially composed by Olivier Messiaen for broadcasting throughout the terrain from loudspeakers mounted in an adjacent steel-framed carillon.” Frampton, *Le Corbusier*, 168.

130. Interview, Jakarta, August 5, 1997.
132. Ibid., 19.
133. Ibid., 193.
134. Ibid., 21.
135. Ibid.
137. Interview, Surakarta, August 8, 1996.
139. Interview, Jakarta, August 22, 1995.
140. Echols, Shadily, and Wolff, *Kamus Indonesia Inggris*.
141. Interview, Jakarta, August 20, 1999.
143. Ibid. *Corso* (It. “course”), originally a street in an Italian town in which races and festivals were held; a procession of carriages, or a promenade. See the *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edn., 1989, s.v. “corso.” *Corso* might have gotten to the Indonesian island of Flores, where we talked, and into Mr. Timu’s vocabulary, I speculate, through the strong cultural Portuguese influence in the region dating back long before the Dutch appeared and lasting into the twentieth century. The clublike and feastlike new space of this modernity was grimly called by Henri Lefebvre a “space of leisure . . . as prodigal of monstrosities as of promises (that it cannot keep).” Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 385. The new-place connection with freedom (or liberty) might also be noted: the “red-light districts” in the big cities, East or West, had often been called a “tolerant neighborhood.” See Virilio, *Landscape of Events*, 4.
144. There were modern and significant connections between amusement parks built on the “empty” lots, the “spontaneous urbanism of the masses,” and the progressive architecture and urbanism of the time. See, for instance, the architect Rem Koolhaas’s comments on New York Coney Island’s “continuing fertility as a breeding ground for revolutionary architectural prototypes.” Koolhaas, *Delirious New York*, 70–71. (I would say “avant-garde” rather than “revolutionary.”)
145. Interview, Surakarta, August 9, 1995.
146. Clifford Geertz in his *The Religion of Java* called *selamatan* “the core ritual.”

*Notes to Chapter Three*
Siegel wrote: “selamatan, or common feast[s] . . . are found throughout Java, but they are local in the first place because the spirits that are referred to in the rites are local in their habitat.” Siegel, Naming the Witch, 139–40.

147. This happened in a colony and it was colonial, as, at the same time, it was modern and akin to the new kind of festivals around the globe and far beyond colonialism. The words I used in the text above to describe the colonial, in fact, are the “fest” words Avital Ronell used in writing about the mid-twentieth-century Woodstock and late nineteenth-century Bayreuth of Richard Wagner. See Ronell, Test Drive, 294–300.

152. The quote is from Benjamin, Arcades Project, 531.
155. Interview, Jakarta, August 8, 1999.
156. Interview, Jakarta, August 20, 1995.
158. Interview, Jakarta, August 20, 1999.
159. One of the krontjong Gesang’s lyrics quoted in Moenzir, Gesang, 23.
161. Meyer Shapiro, 1936, quoted in Moos, Fernand Léger, 32, 33.
162. “I Run around with Them,” 1949, in Chairil Anwar, Voice of the Night, 140–41. This, again, is planetary, and it often seems to rise to its most intense at moments of failed revolutions. See this quote from Siegfried Kracauer on Germany in the 1930s: “In the evening one saunters through the streets, replete with an unfulfilment from which a fulness could sprout. Illuminated words glide by on the rooftops, and already one is banished from one’s own emptiness into the alien advertisement. One’s body takes root in the asphalt, and together with the enlightening revelation of the illuminations, one’s spirit—which is no longer one’s own — roams ceaselessly out of the night and into the night.” “Boredom,” in Kracauer, Mass Ornament, 32.
165. Ibid., my emphasis.
167. These are terms Virilio used to describe the modern and the postmodern “dissolution of the city in its own outskirts.” Virilio, Speed and Politics, 110–11, 121.
169. Frampton, Le Corbusier, 35.

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170. Ibid., 173.
171. Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 38.


THE CLASSROOM

1. Interview, Jakarta, July 6, 1997.
2. Interview, Mrs. Muter, Jakarta, July 28, 1996.
4. Interview, Bandung, August 26, 1999.
5. Interview, Jakarta, August 24, 1999.
9. Interview, Jakarta, November 20, 1997. It is almost always correct to connect the school adventure with ambition, and often hardship is the signal word: “Why was the mortality rate in London so much higher in the new working-class districts than in the slums? — Because people went hungry so that they could afford the high rents.” Friedrich Engels, 1872, quoted in Benjamin, *Arcades Project*, 145.
10. Soesilo, *Perjalanan Hidup*, 16. This, too, goes beyond the colonial period. “The local government . . . made elementary schooling in Jakarta free of charge in 1957. This lasted only one year, after which the state decided to rescind the decision.” Peter J. M. Nas and Manasse Malo, “View from the Top,” in Grijns and Nas, *Jakarta-Batavia*, 233.
17. Ibid.
21. Avital Ronell writes about the “experience of enlightenment [as] triumphal narratives of self-gathering, or . . . the bloated accomplishments of successive sieges of alien territory.” Ronell, *Test Drive*, 121. There was a large expanse of really strange land to be experienced along the road to school. A study of city-employed coolies in Batavia-Jakarta in 1937, for instance, has shown that “the best housing [the workers] could afford was generally a pondok [shack] with an earthen floor, a privy shared by
ten to thirty families, and drainage through open sewers. A kampung [urban quarters] study of Batavia in the same period found that most Indonesians were living in impermanent dwellings of the petak (one-room apartments giving onto a shared verandah) or pondok types.” As for the infant mortality among Indonesians [in Batavia-Jakarta] in 1935–1936, “30 per cent of Indonesian and 15 per cent of Chinese [Indonesian] infants were estimated to have died (compared with less than 6 per cent for Europeans), which gave Batavia a worse record than any other Asian city except Hong Kong.” Abeyasekere, Jakarta, 94. During the same period, “leaving subsistence farming aside, in 1939, assessed per-capita income in the European community in Indonesia was more than one hundred times that in the Indonesian community.” Kahin, Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia, 36.

22. Interview, Jakarta, August 30, 1999.
24. Benjamin at the same time wrote about the German students’ shelters and stopovers on their way to education: “All these institutions are nothing but a marketplace for the preliminary and provisional.” “The Life of Students,” 1914–1915, in Benjamin, Selected Writings, 1:46.
27. Interview, Jakarta, August 20, 1999.
29. Interview, Jakarta, August 20, 1999.
37. Ibid.
41. Interview, Jakarta, August 18, 1993.
42. Interview, Jakarta, August 23, 1997.
43. “In larger places the railway stations were the most memorable buildings, made of robust stone, grandly conceived and in often a rich mixture of styles, most frequently neo-classic, neo-gothic, and neo-renaissance with application of Indonesian ornaments of all kinds. . . . [They were] comparable to the early neo-classical stations in the Netherlands, namely in Haarlem and Amsterdam-Willemspoort dating from 1841–1842. . . . The larger [colonial] stations were most ostentatious, with luxurious first- and second-class waiting-rooms. They were to recall the Dutch villa- and chalet-
styles with Indies overtones. . . . The stations, like in Ambarawa, Djati and Poerwasari [all on Java] had a large and very-high-arching iron construction reminiscent of the platform of Haarlem, Hengelo and The Hague.” Ballegoijen, *Spoorwegstations op Java*, 22, 28.

44. Interview, Yogyakarta, August 5, 1997.
47. Interview, Jakarta, August 30, 1999.
50. A note by Walter Kaufmann to Nietzsche’s “Ecce Homo,” in *Basic Writings of Nietzsche*, 732n2.
55. Interview, Jakarta, August 18, 1999.
57. Interview, Surakarta, August 8, 1996.
60. Interview, Jakarta, August 16, 1995.
61. Georges Demenÿ’s *L’évolution de l’éducation physique* (1889), was the most respected text on modern (and patriotic) sports long into the twentieth century. It suggested a “body in motion, harmonious and curved,” and laid all the emphasis on “movement and élan.” Quoted in Dagognet, *Étienne-Jules Marey*, 168–73.
64. Interview, Jakarta, August 18, 1993.
68. Interview, Jakarta, August 30, 1999.
70. Interview, Jakarta, December 1, 1998.
72. Interview, Jakarta, August 20, 1999.
73. Interview, Jakarta, July 8, 1999.
75. Interview, Jakarta, July 30, 1996.
76. Interview, Jakarta, November 25, 1998.
77. Interview, Jakarta, August 19, 1997.
80. Interview, Jakarta, August 30, 1999.
81. Ibid.
82. Interview, Jakarta, July 30, 1996.
84. Interview, Bandung, August 21, 1993.
85. Interview, Jakarta, August 8, 1999.
90. Interview, Jakarta, July 30, 1996.
93. Interview, Jakarta, August 30, 1999.
98. This is related to the road, to school and to the correct way of walking in more than one way. See, for instance, “The problem of shoes had been posed to civilian industry by the mass armies before that of cars.” Virilio, Speed and Politics, 28.
100. Interview, Jakarta, July 6, 1997.
103. Interview, Bandung, August 21, 1993.
105. Thinking of the power the costumes have over an urban person, I am reminded of Rilke: “It was then that I first learned to know the influence that can emanate directly from a particular costume itself. Hardly had I donned one of these suits, when I had to admit that it got me in its power; that it prescribed my movements, my facial expression, yes, even my ideas. . . . now mirror was the stronger, and I was the mirror.” Rilke, Notebooks of Malte Laurids Brigge, 91–92, 95.
106. Lefebvre, Production of Space, 53. Lefebvre writes: “When an institution loses its birthplace, its original space, and feels threatened, it tends to describe itself as ‘organic.’” Ibid., 274. Brecht, I think, pointed out the same thing: “The People” has “no wish to be Folk.” Quotation from John Willett’s introduction to Brecht, Poems, 1913–1956, xiv–xv. A high-level culture official of the postcolonial Indonesian state is
quoted by Philip Yampolsky as expressing a happy-engineering view that seems still well alive: “Tradition is something that is broken and has to be fixed before it can be used.” Yampolsky, “Forces for Change,” 711n. In Clifford Geertz’s words, also referring to Indonesia: “Peoples . . . ‘archaic,’ ‘tribal,’ ‘simple,’ ‘subject,’ ‘folk,’ or ‘primitive’ became, quite suddenly, ‘emergent.’” Geertz, After the Fact, 138.

110. Interview, Jakarta, August 24, 1999.
111. Interview, Jakarta, July 19, 1995. There is a variation on the theme in a short story from the late colonial Batavia-Jakarta. Two teenage Eurasian siblings, a houseboy and a maid, are plotting to climb the ladder and get into the better and “truly white” part of society—she as a prostitute, he as a gigolo: “‘But your skin is so blotchy and pocked from scabies. You wouldn’t be embarrassed, kak?’ asked his little sister. Sobi giggled. ‘When someone becomes Dutch,’ he said, full of self-confidence, ‘those scars and blotches disappear automatically! When did you ever see a Dutch person with blotches? Only Indonesians get scabies. People like us, Nah.’” “Houseboy + Maid,” in Pramoedya, Tales from Djakarta, 22.

112. “The pedagogy of Enlightenment stages stupidity, repeatedly casting brutality, prejudice, superstition, and violence as so many manifestations of the eclipse of reason.” Ronell, Stupidity, 44.
113. Interview, Jakarta, August 18, 1993.
114. “In Kafka’s world the Furies descend before instead of after the deed. They even drive the criminal to the crime, to ‘catch-up with his own retribution.’ . . . Kafka declared: ‘it is an essential part of the justice dispensed here that you should be condemned not only in innocence but also in ignorance.’” Pelt and Westfall. Architectural Principles, 372.

118. Interview, Jakarta, August 24, 1999.
120. Interview, Jakarta, August 30, 1999.
121. Interview, Yogyakarta, August 5, 1997.
123. “On the Genealogy of Morals,” 1887, in Nietzsche, Basic Writings of Nietzsche, 522. Jean-François Lyotard speaks of “‘absolute wrong’ done to the one who is exploited and who does not even have the language to express the wrong done to him.” Quoted in Nancy, Inoperative Community, 35–36.
125. Soesilo, Perjalanan Hidup, 14–15.
126. Interview, Jakarta, August 30, 1999.
129. “Epistemic interruptions” may be another term for this; see Ronell, *Test Drive*, 81.
130. Interview, Jakarta, August 30, 1999.
132. Interview, Jakarta, July 30, 1996. Again, this is what one can hear often: one was (or was not) born on a correct date. See, for example, Soesilo, *Perjalanan Hidup*, 13–14.
135. Interview, Jakarta, July 30, 1996.
137. One can point again to a German equivalent of it, the *Amtsprache*, officialese. Adolf Eichmann, to mention a beyond-the-pale case, admitted during his trial in Jerusalem that *Amtsprache* had actually become his only language. See Arendt, *Eichmann and the Holocaust*, 19.
138. This may compare with an earlier European situation, of German versus Latin: “Leibniz encourages philosophers to abandon late-born languages that flow out of classical Latin and immerse themselves in those languages, like German, which are awash in ‘realities (realibus).’” Fenves, *Arresting Language*, 27.
139. In early Malay literature, into the mid-twentieth century, translations from European languages and especially from Dutch were very often not signaled as translations at all. They seemed to be understood as appropriations of something that was still missing for the country to become real and wholesome. If a Malay equivalent could not be easily found, a word or whole phrase would simply be left as it was (real and wholesome?) in the Dutch original.
140. There were other languages in the colony, as ready-mades for the same kind of service, to back up where Dutch (or Malay) might still encounter a problem — there was being developed and taught service Javanese, service Balinese, service Minangkabau, service Sundanese, and so forth. These service languages were more local, less all-colonial and all-Indonesian, more “awash in realities,” and also potentially more nostalgic and thus, from the point of view of the colony as a whole and real, not so strongly perspectival (and less dependable).
142. Interview, Jakarta, August 30, 1999.
143. Interview, Jakarta, November 14, 1998.
145. Interview, Surakarta, August 8, 1996.
146. Balai Pustaka still exists as the government publishing house in Indonesia today.

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148. I have been repeatedly amazed at how little the people in Anglo-Saxon countries know about the German writer Karl May (1842–1912). May’s stories of the “Red Indians” accompanied my childhood as much as that of German, Dutch, and, as I found out, very much also Indonesian children. Winnetou, the Apache chief, and his white brother Old Shatterhand, were the greatest of my, as well as the old Indonesians’ and my interviewees’, early heroes.


152. Ronell, *Test Drive*, 183, on computing tests.

153. Foucault called something like this a “fiction of a universal geometry.” Foucault, “Nietzsche, Genealogy, History,” 158.


156. Interview, Jakarta, June 3, 2000.


162. Interview, Jakarta, August 18, 1999.


164. The last colonial edition of the songbook, as far as I know, was Stassen et al., *Kun je nog zingen, zing dan mee!*, in 1939.


166. Interview, Jakarta, August 20, 1995.


170. Ibid.


174. On Sartre’s and Lacan’s working with and around Rimbaud’s “I is the other,” see Jay, *Downcast Eyes*, 347.

175. Interview, Surakarta, August 6, 1995.


177. Interview, Jakarta, August 20, 1999.
179. Ronell, *Test Drive*, 5. “Thus an elliptical circuit has been established between testing and the real: a circuit as radically installed—it is irreversible—cancels the essential difference between test and what was assumed to be real.” Ibid., 163–64.
182. The *residency* was the next largest administrative unit in the Dutch East Indies below the *province*.
184. “It is fair to say that there are no results, just an interminable trial, a series of deferrals.” Ronell, *Test Drive*, 13, on Kafka’s “Before the Law.” Benjamin calls this a “bourgeois education”: “Proletarian education needs first and foremost a framework, an objective space *within* which education can be located. The bourgeois, in contrast, requires an idea *toward* which education leads.” “Program for a Proletarian Children’s Theater,” 1929, in Benjamin, *Selected Writings*, 2:202.
186. Interview, Jakarta, August 22, 1999.
187. Kusno Abidin, referring to James Scott’s *Seeing Like a State*, wrote about the making of the Dutch colony into a pedagogical space: “By the 1930s, the urban space had become a pedagogical apparatus or a heuristic device, which, through its organization of space, attempted to create an obedient ‘public.’” Abidin Kusno, “Significance of Appearance,” 7–8.
188. Interview, Jakarta, July 14, 1997.
191. Interview, Jakarta, July 30, 1996.
195. This was a meeting in Jakarta where young Indonesians promised to give their lives for “One Nation, One Motherland, One Language”—according to the dominant view, the high point of the modern Indonesian nationalist movement in the late colonial era.
197. Interview, Bandung, August 21, 1993. See also: “Sukarno was a talented student. His works were displayed in the aula of the Technical College. If only he would not waste so much time of his student days on politics! This is what we heard from our teachers who had known him well.” Manusama, *Eigenlijk moest ik niet veel hebben van de politiek*, 33.
201. Interview, Jakarta, August 30, 1999.
204. Ibid.
206. Eduard Douwes Dekker, pen name Multatuli, published his immensely influential Max Havelaar, of de koffij-veilingen der Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij (Max Havelaar: Or the Coffee Auctions of the Dutch Trading Company) in 1860. It was a Dutch liberal critique of the “unnecessary crudeness” of some nineteenth-century colonial practices. Like the letters by Kartini, Multatuli became required reading in the colonial schools of the 1930s.
207. What Mrs. Lasmidjah Hardi most probably meant was Mohammad Hatta’s defense speech from his trial in 1927, a speech instantly published and then republished many times as “Indonesië vrij,” “Free Indonesia.” For the last complete edition see Hatta, Verspreide Geschriften, 210–308.
211. This is the title of the chapter on Dapitan, the place of José Rizal’s exile, in Anderson, Under Three Flags, 138.
212. Much has been written, of course, “on the play of the penal and pedagogical meaning of ‘discipline.’” Geertz, After the Fact, 182n. And sure, Geertz (with not too hearty an approval) quotes in this passage first of all Foucault’s Discipline and Punish.
214. View of the Indonesian radicals in Shiraishi, Age in Motion, 314.
217. Interview, Jakarta, December 1, 1998; also interview with Mrs. Sukarsih, Jakarta, July 20, 1992.
218. Interview, Jakarta, December 1, 1998. This is an important legend told often and with a different number of boxes.
219. There were private schools, organized by the internees themselves, schools for the children of the internees, for the adult internees, as well as thematic lecture series and specialized courses. Among the Boven Digoel surviving papers, under no. 314, for instance, there is a letter by the internee Marsoedi, dated May 5, 1932, informing the camp authorities that a “school of journalism is to be opened”; under no. 315, in the

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archives, there is another letter by an internee, one of quite a number of letters of the kind, this one asking the authorities for permission to begin with “Dutch language courses.” Boven-Digoel Archief, Indonesian National Archives, Jakarta.


221. Writing about Nietzsche, Ronell notes: “He sensed the test sites would make the wasteland grow and foresaw the concentration camp as the most unrestricted experimental laboratory in modern history, a part of the will to scientific knowledge.” Ronell, Test Drive, 6–7, 327n.

222. Hannah Arendt, and before her Franz Neumann’s Behemoth (1944), quoted in Heilbut, Exiled in Paradise, 413–14.

223. Ronell, Stupidity, 188. As for the death camps: “Of poverty, hunger, deportation, torture, deprivation, ugliness, horror: ‘Such are the sacrificed bodies, but sacrificed to nothing.’” Jean-Luc Nancy, quoted in Ronell, Stupidity, 189.

224. Ibid., 200.

225. Augé, Non-places, 34.


227. Ibid., 77.

228. Koolhaas, Delirious New York, 45; Koolhaas also speaks of New York’s Coney Island and of Manhattan as the Dreamlands of the modern and the postmodern.

229. Architects “had a unique responsibility in the creation and the perfection of the camps and the death camps as well; professional architects designed the camps, the barracks and the crematoria. . . . not only were the men who designed Auschwitz fully qualified architects, but at least one of them, Fritz Ertl, was even a Bauhaus graduate.” Pelt and Westfall, Architectural Principles, 120.

THE WINDOW

1. Interview, Jakarta, July 17, 1997.


4. A colony—also in this—might be ahead of the West, namely, in that there in principle and in building up a modern society soon and robustly, the “visual medium has been prints rather than drawing or painting,” and that there “prints have been far more influential as a vehicle for the transmission of information.” “The Artist,” in Fryberger, Changing Garden, 2.

5. Notebook, summer 2000, no. 6. It was “Van Gogh, who declared that ‘duty is something absolute’; who admitted ‘no acclaim could please me more than to have ordinary working people wanting to hang my lithographs in their rooms or their workshops.’” Tarkovsky, Sculpting in Time, 182.

6. Virilio, Landscape of Events, 24. The Indonesian writer so frequently cited already, Pramoedya Ananta Toer, here again conveys a sharp sense of a (post)colonial Indonesian house, in this case with a newspaper as the punctum: “When he was home...
he always did the same thing; read the newspaper and nothing but the newspaper. Before he finished reading it no one else was allowed to touch it.” “The Mastermind,” in Pramoedya, Tales from Djakarta, 122.
12. Interview, Jakarta, August 18, 1993.
14. Dossier 88/71, Het Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam; also in Koos van Brakel, “‘Immers,’ Indië is nu eenmaal geen Land van Kunst,” in Brakel et al., Indië omlijst, 113.
15. The painter Basuki Resobowo, quoted in McIntyre, “Sukarno as Artist-Politician,” 166–67. There is a broad social implication of it: for example, “On August 20, 1979, an exhibition of paintings (among other artifacts) from the Sukarno Collection was opened in [Jakarta]. In 15 days it was visited by 147,713 visitors.” Labrousse, “Le deuxième vie de Bung Karno,” 189.
19. Kafka, Trial, 199. See also Pierre Bourdieu’s comment, quoted in Le Goff, History and Memory: “The family album expresses the truth of social remembrance. Nothing is less like the artistic search for lost time than the showing of these family pictures, accompanied by commentaries—an initiation rite families impose on all their new members. . . . there is nothing more decent, more reassuring, or more edifying than a family album: all the particular adventures that enclose individual remembrance in the particularity of a secret are excluded from it, and the common past, or if one prefers, the lowest common denominator of the past, has the almost coquettish neatness of a frequently visited funeral monument” (89).
22. Interview, Surakarta, August 9, 1995.

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25. Ibid.

26. “There is an abundant literature whose stylistic character forms an exact counterpart to the diorama, panorama, and so forth. I refer to the feuilletonistic miscellanies and series of sketches from mid-century. . . . To the plastically worked, more or less detailed foreground of the diorama corresponds the sharply profiled feuilletonistic gesturing of the social study . . . [in] panopticon: not only does one see everything, but one sees it in all ways.” Benjamin, *Arcades Project*, 531.


30. This is from the archives of the Royal Tropical Institute in Amsterdam, Album 502/16A, and also Brakel, “‘Immers,’” 103.


33. Dickerman, *Dada*, 160.


36. Ibid., 539.

37. Ibid.

38. Dickerman, *Dada*, 281. “The painter’s own body, whose restoration we will see demanded by Merleau-Ponty and other(s) . . . was effectively banished [as a consequence of] the differentiation of the idealized gaze from the corporeal glance and the monocular spectator from the scene he observed on the other side of the window.” Jay, *Downcast Eyes*, 55–57.


41. Interview, Jakarta, August 18, 1997.

42. Interview, Yogyakarta, July 19, 1992.


44. Interview, Jakarta, July 24, 1997.

45. Interview, Jakarta, August 24, 1999.


51. Interview, Jakarta, August 21, 1999.
52. Interview, Jakarta, August 8, 1999.
54. Interview, Jakarta, August 27, 1999.
58. Interview, Jakarta, August 24, 1999. “From the plane there is no pleasure, but a concentrated, mournful meditation.” Le Corbusier, Aircraft, 123. Similarly, “in most high-rise buildings the lower parts are full of the enormous inheritance of everything that comes from above. In this building, the construction system allowed the bottom to have the same freedom found at the top.” Koolhaas, Conversations with Students, 28.
59. Breton, Manifestoes of Surrealism, 21.
60. “Describing The Human Condition painting, Magritte wrote: ‘I placed in front of the window, seen from inside a room, a painting representing exactly that part of the landscape which was hidden from view by the painting. Therefore, the tree represented the real tree situated behind it, outside the room. It existed for the spectator, as it were, simultaneously in his mind, as both inside the room in the painting, and outside in the real landscape.’” Quoted in Jay, Downcast Eyes, 245–46n131.
61. Interview, Jakarta, June 20, 1992.
62. Exhibitions best express this working of the window. “They are a school [school indeed] in which the masses, forcibly excluded from consumption, are imbued with the exchange value of commodities to the point of identifying with it: ‘Do not touch the items on display.’” Walter Benjamin “Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century, Exposé,” 1939, in Benjamin, Arcades Project, 18.
64. Ibid., 82.
65. Mies van der Rohe, quoted ibid., 82.
67. Ibid., 217.
68. Frampton, Le Corbusier, 213, 37.
70. Krauss, Originality of the Avant-Garde, 191.
72. Dagognet, Étienne-Jules Marey, 41. “The frame of structure, its self-contained boundary, has a very similar significance for the social group as for a work of art. It performs two functions for the latter, which are really only two sides of a single function: closing the work of art off against the surrounding world and holding it together. The frame proclaims that a world is located inside of it which is subject only to its own laws, not drawn into the determinations and changes of the surrounding world. In so far as it symbolizes the self-contented unity of the work of art, the frame at the same


74. “The words of Guy Debord . . . that the Big Night so long awaited has arrived, if only because our perception of the world has imploded.” Quoted ibid., 7.


76. Brakel, “‘Immers,’” 122.

77. The photograph is ibid., 126.

78. Antoine-Joseph Wiertz, 1870, quoted in Benjamin, *Arcades Project*, 529. “Panoramas [were] originally designed to be viewed from the center of a rotunda. They were introduced in France in 1799 by the American engineer Robert Fulton.” “Paris, the Capital of the Nineteenth Century,” 1935, 3:45111.


81. “L’Arrivée d’un train en Gare de La Ciotat . . . . As the train approached panic started in the theatre: people jumped up and ran away. That was the moment when cinema was born. . . . But immediately afterwards cinema turned aside from art, forced down the path that was safest from the point of view of philistine interest and profit. In the course of the following two decades almost the whole of world literature was screened, together with a huge number of theatrical plots. . . . Film took a wrong turn.” Tarkovsky, *Sculpting in Time*, 62–63.

82. “Cinema is capable of operating with any fact diffused in time.” Ibid., 65.

83. Ibid., 66.

84. Ibid., 73. Throughout, filmmakers like Tarkovsky tried to make their films “to continue beyond the edges of the screen.” Ibid., 114, 118. This is how Tarkovsky put it: “I resist structuralist attempts to look at a frame as sign of something else, the meaning of which is summed up in the shot.” Ibid., 177.


86. “Modern architects’, like Mies van der Rohe’s, ‘universal spaces’ articulate no function whatever. They are space frames within which anything might be accommodated.” Krauss, *Originality of the Avant-Garde*, 236.


89. Interview, Surakarta, August 8, 1996.


92. Interview, Bandung, August 21, 1993.


96. Jean Goudal, 1925, quoted ibid., 255.

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97. Roland Barthes, “Leaving the Movie Theater” (from his Rustle of Language), quoted ibid., 457.
100. Interview, Utrecht, July 6, 1998.
101. This is a tradition reaching as far back as the sixteenth century and since—like modernity (of Europe and beyond)—powerfully expanding. See, for instance: “From the late sixteenth century a large number of foreign travelers visited Italy on the Grand Tour, and the major gardens inevitably were included on their itinerary of sites to see.” Claudia Lazzaro, “Representing the Social and Cultural Experiences of Italian Gardens in Prints,” in Fryberger, Changing Garden, 32.
102. “Berlin Childhood,” 1934, in Benjamin, Selected Writings, 3:34.
103. Geertz, After the Fact, 3.
104. There is a power in “pedestal,” and there is a recurring resistance to it. Some sculptors felt that “like a picture frame, the pedestal closes off the virtual field of representation from the actual space around it.” Krauss, Originality of the Avant-Garde, 74. Some other artists even “expanded sculpture by taking the object off the pedestal.” Neal Benezra, “Sculpture and Paradox,” in Benezra et al., Juan Muñoz, 35.
106. Ibid.
108. Overy, De Stijl, 143–44.
110. An affinity between the colonial mooi Indië and both the capitalist-realist and the Calvinist (and Dutch) worldview is hard to disregard. Looking at these colonial images, one is almost tempted to exclaim: “The[se] safety zones of hermeneutic horizons and habitual sunsets belong to the Christian solvents.” Ronell, Test Drive, 207.
112. Mooi Indië, like so many other things of the colony marching forward, tasted of what Jean Baudrillard would later call simulacra: “Belief, faith in information attach themselves to this tautological proof that the system gives of itself by doubling the signs of an unlocatable reality.” Baudrillard, Simulacra and Simulation, 81.
113. Benjamin, Arcades Project, 121.
116. This was the time of cubism, among other things of course, when painters became famous for their inversion of near and far.
119. Dickerman, *Dada*, 7, 8, 38.


122. Interview, Jakarta, July 30, 1996.


126. On a painting called *Two Masks* (1935) by Pieter Ouborg, see Brakel, “‘Immers,’” 125–27.

127. Ibid., 131.


131. Quoted in Dickerman, *Dada*, 177.


137. Mr. Asrul: “Later, after my parents moved from Sumatra to Bandung, we lived in a street near a prison. Next to the prison, there was the house of Wahdi, the painter. I remember only his paintings of landscapes around the Mount Merapi and Bukittinggi [both in West Sumatra] from that time. Always, his scenes were set as if in the morning and always the colors were bright, from orange to red. His skies were flamboyant.” Interview, Jakarta, July 25, 1997.


139. Quoted in Dickerman, *Dada*, 165.


144. See also Asikin Hasan, quoted in *Srihadi dan Paradigma*, 45.
147. Interview, Bandung, July 13, 1992. See also “Sketsa I: Pesawat Dakota VT-CLA yang ditembak oleh dua pesawat pemburu P40 Kitty Hawk.” in *Srihadi dan Paradigma*, 2; also ibid., 5, 41.
148. There is a story about a Dada artist’s relative, a manufacturer in his “real life,” invited to a Dada exhibition and, in front of a “painting of a machine,” “blurting out”: “the goddam thing wouldn’t work.” Dickerman, *Dada*, 284–85.

**POSTSCRIPT: SOMETIMES VOICES**

3. It sounded, to give a provocative but expressive example, like a well-behaved New England radio station: “People with their snot impacted voices that they paid for in college: their rumbling snot.” Jack Smith, quoted in “Uncle Fishhook and the Sacred Baby Poo Poo of Art,” in Kraus and Lotringer (eds.), *Hatred of Capitalism*, 247.
5. Besides teaching Javanese at the Law College, Dr. Kats wrote books, among them the most often quoted book (until the 1960s certainly) on Javanese wajang, the shadow-puppet theater; see Kats, *Het Javaansche tooneel*.
6. This is also close to what Roman Jakobson and some others called *Kindersprache*, or “nursery speech.” Jakobson, *Child Language*, 16.
9. Interview, Jakarta, July 24, 1997. I believe that this is akin to “crying” as it was described for instance by Hildred Geertz in her studies of latah, or in other cases by James Siegel and Benedict Anderson. Geertz, “Latah in Java”; Siegel, *Solo in the New Order*, 28–32. According to an Indonesian dictionary, latah is “a nervous condition characterized by erratic involuntary imitative behavior,” most strikingly, “uttering absurd statements.” See Echols, Shadily, and Wolff, *Kamus Indonesia Inggris*, 331. Elsewhere, Siegel wrote about a young woman, the victim of recent communal brutality in Central Java: “Her father’s death and the threats against her left her speechless.” Siegel, *Naming the Witch*, 152. Anderson, describing another moment of crisis, writes about “eruptions” of language. See Anderson, *Under Three Flags*, 21. This may be also not far away from what Marcel Proust defined as “stuttering efforts at silence.” Proust, *In Search of Lost
Time, 302. Traces of defiance are often observed in that kind of speech: “The young speaker frequently perseveres obstinately in these deviations and resists every attempt at correction.” Jakobson, Child Language, 15.

10. Nancy, Inoperative Community, 62. Here is my disappointment with Jakobson. He got so close, and this is especially relevant to this book, to appreciating the cries of the hawkers, to babbling and to aphasia, the speech of the aging and the old. But he remained a structuralist, and “babbling” was kept out of his arena of what one should study in language, perhaps not just because of “lack of time.” To him the dialogue of the young, old, sick (or subjugated), whose drama he seemed well to realize, remained a “dummy dialogue.” See especially Jakobson, Child Language, 24–25; also Jakobson, Six Lectures on Sound and Meaning, 60, 111.

14. Ibid., 60. As for the unemitted words, see Nietzsche: “Silence is an objection; swallowing things leads of necessity to a bad character—it even upsets the stomach.” “Ecce Homo,” in Basic Writings of Nietzsche, 685. Similar to Nietzsche, but more profound, I think, is what we find in that epic from Sumatra: “[Some] words were not expressed, they just died in her heart.” Collins, Guritan of Radin Suane, first night, canto 75, 125.

15. Nancy, Inoperative Community, 70. And also, a “passage of the Politics situates the proper place of the polis in the transition from voice to language . . . in the relation between phonè and logos . . . the community of these things makes dwelling and the city.” Aristotle’s Politics, quoted in Agamben, Homo Sacer, 7–8.
21. Epistle of James, quoted in Cornish, Reading Dante’s Stars, 57.
22. “Pidato 17 Augustus 1958,” in Sukarno, Dari Proklamasi sampai Takari, 365. See (hear) also Sukarno’s Independence Day speech of 1960: “My voice carries on, over the whole nation between Sabang [in the west], Merauke [in the east] and beyond. . . . not just the voice. It is courage. It is soul” (ibid., 435); or his Independence Day speech of August 17, 1963: “THUS THE VOICE OF THE REVOLUTION RINGS. . . . The Indonesian people gather at the CENTRAL STADIUM OF SUKARNO. . . . Here and now, I am not just SUKARNO—the private person, but SUKARNO—THE EXTENSION OF THE TONGUE OF THE INDONESIAN PEOPLE, THE EXTENSION OF THE TONGUE OF THE INDONESIAN REVOLUTION. . . . All that has been hidden inside my body thus overflows!” Ibid., 563–64, 567–68.
24. Ibid., 650. A few years after Sukarno’s death, in 1978, the “main pillars” of Sukarno’s contributions to Indonesian history had been inscribed onto his tomb in Blitar. The first of these pillars was the “Extension of the Tongue of the People,” only as the second one came, “The Proclaimer of the Indonesian Republic.” Labrousse, “Le deuxième vie de Bung Karno,” 189. One may say that modern Indonesia, through its center, the capital, the city of Jakarta, is as if it were built by Sukarno’s voice. In the view of many Indonesians, including some prominent architects and urban planners, the core of Jakarta, and of Indonesia, the burden of the urban, modern, and national axis, is Gelora Bung Karno, “The Tempestuousness of Sukarno,” a stadium and a complex of sports fields, parks, parking lots, paths, and overpasses. Here there is a companion to Jakarta’s crucial traffic junction, the Semanggi Flyover nearby. See “Ulang Tahun,” in Marco Kusumawijaya, Jakarta, 51. One may compare this also, in the frame of the same twentieth century (without judging the ethics of it), with the “Schmittian thesis” and “the principle of Führung”: “The word of the Führer is not a factual situation that is then transformed into a rule, but is rather itself rule insofar as it is living voice.” Agamben, Homo Sacer, 172–73.

25. “For it is doubling that produces the formal rhythm of spacing . . . an experience of fission . . . sense of deferral of opening reality to the ‘interval of breath.’” Krauss, Originality of the Avant-Garde, 109. Rosalind Krauss is here referring to Jacques Derrida’s “spacing.”

26. See Cornish, Reading Dante’s Stars, 135, on Aristotle’s and an “angelic” notion of time.

27. “Story [in contrast to music] . . . can only present itself in successive events, as movement toward an end, and not as something suddenly brilliantly present.” Mann, Magic Mountain, 531–32.


29. Plato’s Republic, quoted ibid., 47.

30. Foucault, Archeology of Knowledge, 6. Similarly, Walter Benjamin thought, “the mistake of all interpretation lies in presenting the residue of the poetic reduction as meaning.” Paraphrased in Fenves, Arresting Language, 223.


37. Lapian, “Catatan permulaan,” 3, 6. For a scholar, sure, it is a part of his or her urge and pleasure to “bring something home,” a sort of sublimated desire, in the sense G. W. F. Hegel liked to call Aufheben, something “canceled, preserved, and lifted up.” See Nietzsche, “Ecce Homo,” in Basic Writings of Nietzsche, 727n4. In a more specific, postcolonial context, Clifford Geertz described this as “the appropriation of the voice

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of the weak by those of the strong . . . ventriloquizing others, making off with their words.” Geertz, After the Fact, 129.


39. “February 1943,” in Chairil Anwar, Voice of the Night, 17; I have modified the translation.

40. The “voice underground” is from Dickens, Tale of Two Cities, 47.


42. “Kisah yang ditulis Waktu Batu,” in Latif et al., Waktu Batu, xviii.

43. Ibid., xix–xx.

44. Echols, Shadily, and Wolff, Kamus Indonesia Inggris.


47. Heidegger’s Being and Time, quoted ibid., 131.

48. Says Wittgenstein, “In every serious philosophical question uncertainty extends to the very roots of the problem. We must always be prepared to learn something totally new.” Wittgenstein, Remarks on Colour, sec. I § 15, 4; also ibid., sec. III, §§ 44–45, 23. Ronell may be referring to the same thing when she speaks about the “newly acknowledged openness to failure.” Ronell, Test Drive, 98. Another mode of the zone may be Barthes’s neuter (or “the Neutral”), especially in its capacity to “baffle paradigm” and to “sidestep assertion.” See Barthes, Neutral, 6, 11, 44.

49. Latif et al., Waktu Batu, 70.

50. Ibid., 72, 75.

51. On a letter by St. Augustine on the Crucifixion as “not opposed to” annual celebrations of Easter, see Cornish, Reading Dante’s Stars, 41.