Moh. Sanoesi's *Siti Rayati:* A Nationalist Novel From West Java

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Introduction

The theme of this international seminar is 'The role of literature in nation building' and my field is Indonesian literature, or more specifically, the Sundanese literature of West Java. What is not well known outside of the Sunda region - and certainly less so beyond Indonesia - is that this literature, like Malay, possesses a strong manuscript tradition, many oral forms and a vigorous body of modern writing. In fact, after the literature in the national language, modern Sundanese is the most flourishing in Indonesia today.

There are historical reasons why a modern literature emerged in Sundanese early in the twentieth century. The first of these was the relative prosperity of the province of West Java, which rested on fertile rice-growing lands and widespread tea, coffee, rubber and cinchona cultivation. The second was a relative lack of population pressure. The third was intensive contact with Dutch culture, and, stemming from all of these, a good education system tied to the administrative structure of the colonial Netherlands East Indies (Poeradisastra 1979, 16-21). Bandung, the capital of the province, was a centre of arts and entertainment. The city had a phenomenal indigenous literacy rate of 23% against the all-Indies average of 6%. Newspapers and bookshops abounded. A number of government departments and educational training institutions were located there. But most important to the discussion of *Siti Rayati* was Bandung's situation as a hub of Indies political and intellectual life. It housed branches of all the major cultural and political associations, with a popular membership extending into the surrounding Sundanese countryside.

I have chosen to discuss the theme of the role of literature in nation building using material from a very clearly defined period in history, that of Indonesia's nationalist movement during the 1920's. More specifically, my text derives from a traumatic moment in that decade, the years 1926-1927, when a number of Communist-inspired uprisings against colonial authority took place in (among other places) the countryside of West Java. They were quickly put down and the PKI, the Communist Party of Indonesia was consequently banned, the most committed members being sent into exile gaol in the infamous prison camp of Boven Digoel in West New Guinea. Moh. Sanoesi, the author of my text today, was among them.

I: The Author and the Novel

Its political commitment and its sensational historical context have made Moh. Sanoesi's *Siti Rayati* something of a landmark in Sundanese literature. The book carries an overt

message of nationalism and declares class war on the colonial Dutch and their agents, the high *priyayis* who manned the Native branch of the administration. It was published in three small volumes from 1923 to 1927, not by the great colonial publishing house, Balai Pustaka but a private Sundanese firm, Dachlan-Bekti of Groote Postweg 23, in Bandung. *Siti Rayati* has passed into Sundanese literary lore, to be recognised as the most significant political novel of its time. The contemporary Sundanese writer and literary critic, Ajip Rosidi reports that Sanoesi's writings 'not only raised the consciousness of the Sundanese people, but also alarmed the colonial government' (1966, 31) and that concerning *Siti Rayati* itself, that the novel 'shook Sundanese society to its core' (1986, 1).

Moh. Sanoesi

Moh. Sanoesi was born in Ciamis in the mountainous central Priangan are of West Java in 1889 and died in Jakarta on 8 October, 1967. His father was a *Camat,* an official of middle rank in the colonial native civil service. Sanoesi completed his education in the Teachers' Training College in Bandung, and it is possible he went into school-teaching for some time, though it quickly became evident that his greatest interest lay in politics. He turned to the nationalist struggle as a journalist and a writer of popular fiction. Besides *Siti Rayati,* he wrote a number of novels, which now appear to have been lost.

He wrote for a number of newspapers and magazines in Bandung, serving also as editor of the radical *Sora Merdika* (The Voice of Freedom) which was published in both Sundanese and Malay (Rosidi 1966, 32) and *Matahari* (The Sun) which has been described as 'an extremist newspaper... which attacked the *bupatis* and the Dutch' (Yong 1973, 22).

Sanoesi was also a politician of rank in the first mass organisation in the Indies, the Sarekat Islam and had links with its underground organisation, the Afdeeling B, which had strong Communist affiliations. It must have been for these activities, as much as for the radical nature of his writing, that he came to the attention of the PID *(Politieke Inlichtingendienst)* the colonial secret police. He spent various periods under arrest through the 1920s (Yong 1973, 19). After five years in Boven Digoel his spirit was unbroken, but he had learned circumspection. In 1931 he was released and returned to Bandung, and little more was heard from him again in the public arena (*Bintang Timoer* 27 February, 1933, personal communication, Paul Tickell).

***Siti Rayati* and Censorship**

Sanoesi must have been well aware of the dangers of creating characters and situations in his novels that his readers would take to have a factual basis. In the early years of public literacy, readers newly habituated to newspaper reportage would not easily have been able to distinguish between allusion in a novel and reality, nor to set it apart in a literary frame of reference. The linguistic registers of journalism and the realist fiction of the time were perilously close; certainly the colonial censor regarded them almost as one in their

potential for offence. It was also the established practice of early novelists to take up stories reported in the press and create from them fictional accounts which often carried the preface that 'this story really happened...' . It is quite likely that *Siti Rayati* would have been interpreted in this vein: in any case, it is impossible to doubt that Sanoesi deliberately ran the gauntlet of the colonial authorities with his writings.

A brief summary of how the colonial control of the press operated will illustrate what I mean. A net of censorship was drawn over every publication in the Indies, and notification was required at the office of the Dutch Assistant-Resident within twenty-four hours of new appearance in print. The name of author and domicile or business address had to be shown, along with that of the publisher and the place and date of publication. Local police monitored the process, though ultimate reponsibility lay with the Native Bupatis or Regents. An *Inlandsche Pers Overzicht* (Survey of the Native Press) was maintained and records of offences were printed in the *Javasche Courant* (The Java Journal) (Balai Pustaka 1931, 28-29).

Control of the content of publications was just as strict. In the interest of 'general peace and order', the Governor-General of the Indies, the officers (including the Bupatis) and the laws of the land were inviolable from unfavourable mention in the press. Such mention was considered seditious, carrying sentences of fines, gaol or exile. The misdemeanour of communal insult to any group within the Indies on grounds of race, religion, country of origin, descent or legal status was also recognised (Balai Pustaka 1931, 22-23, 26-27; 29-30). Banning the culpable publication was the normal means taken and the author was charged as above. We shall see that it was little wonder that *Siti Rayati* became a banned book and that more than once, Moh. Sanoesi came under the charge of *persdelict*, or 'press offence'.

II: A Post-Colonial Reading under Three Headings: Identity, Desire and Ambivalence

The Story of *Siti Rayati*

The novel unfolds across two generations and tells the story of two women characters, Nyi Patimah, a coolie on a tea-growing estate and her lost daughter, the Eurasian Gan Titi. Nyi Patimah catches the eye of Tuan Steenhart, the brutal Dutch manager of the Ragasirna plantation, somewhere in the Sundanese countryside, and he has his way with her in the tea gardens. After several months of this abuse, Patimah conceives his child, but Steenhart refuses to acknowledge paternity or to support her. She runs away from Ragasirna to return to her home in Sukabumi, delivering the child alone in the fields outside that city. She leaves the child to its fate and moves on.

The baby is found and adopted by the local childless Wadana, a District Chief and his kindly wife and is brought up with every refinement that Sundanese aristocratic life can offer. Since she was found near the village of Cirayati (*'Ci'*, 'water' indicates a river in Sundanese; *'rayat'* is Malay *'rakyat'*) she is given the name Siti Rayati, but is known

familiarly as 'Gan Titi (from Sundanese *juragan*, 'mistress', while 'Titi' is a contraction of Rayati). (The title of the book might be glossed 'A Girl of the People'.)

On reaching adulthood, Gan Titi's way is set, inspired by her elite Dutch education which inclines her, not to association with the colonial world, but towards struggle in defense of the little people: she will join the nationalist movement and marry a likeminded journalist who lives in Semarang in Central Java. Gan Titi's adoptive father, who has since reached the highest rank of the native civil service, that of Bupati, wishes to make a match for her from his peers, which she refuses. She also threatens to expose the mismanagement of his district, for on the death of his first wife he has made a second marriage to an aristocratic woman who is blatantly corrupt and who influences everyone around her.

Gan Titi lives as an independent woman in her own house in Batavia, the capital of the Indies. She has acquired a servant, a refined Sundanese woman called Patimah. A curiously close bond has developed between the two women. On the death of Gan Titi's adoptive father, the Bupati, Titi returns to stay in the home in Sukabumi. There she is taunted for her mixed blood and her illegitimate birth by her step-mother. Deeply hurt, Titi makes enquiries about this, only to have the charges confirmed.

On her return to Batavia, Gan Titi reads aloud from the newspaper a report from the plantations in Deli, Sumatra, where a Dutchman, Steenhart has been killed by his coolies for a crime similar to the one formerly committed on Nyi Patimah. Patimah's shocked reaction leads Gan Titi to probe her story, and the two women learn they are indeed mother and daughter. Gan Titi marries her journalist and the couple devote their lives to defending the cause of social justice through their newspaper.

It will be immediately apparent from this synopsis that *Siti Rayati* takes us deep into the terrain of post-colonialism. From the rich range of avenues of investigation which post-colonial literary criticism opens up, I find three themes which best illuminate this novel: identity, desire and ambivalence. These are not in any order of importance; they are the dynamic of the novel. First, identity: *Siti Rayati* is a 'quest tale' in which a Eurasian foundling seeks, and finds, her true parentage and rises to a higher destiny. Reading this as political myth, the brutal union between coloniser and colonised is resolved through a recognition of the historical forces which have shaped the Indies and which still hold its people in bondage. The 'solution' offered by the novel is not an aggressive nativism but the mestizo amalgam of colonizer and colonized cultures which the character of Gan Titi represents. However, while it was an ideal to which the Communist party was already deeply committed in 1926, the novel stops short of calling for national independence.

The second theme is desire. This is a topic which I think calls for more attention in the post-colonial criticism of Indonesian literature, because it seems to me that it forms a major part of the post-colonial aesthetic. (So far the chief paradigm has been that of 'modernity'). The category of desire derives from Homi Bhabha's work, which has been based on Indian experience. Bhabha proposes 'a mixed economy of not only power and domination but also desire and pleasure', pointing out that the colonised, while resenting

the privilege and wealth of the colonisers, equally desired their semi-aristocratic style with its round of leisure activities, fine buildings and material ease. The colonised subject attempted to imitate colonial style, yet this was always only partially possible, creating ambivalence at psychological and intellectual levels within her/himself (Sharpe 1995, 100-101). (We note that it was part of the colonial power structure that colonising men were free to exercise their desire and to take their pleasure from colonised women. Hence the account of Steenhart's appetite for Native girls. I shall return to this point below.)

The portrait of Gan Titi is also infused with desire arising in the mind of the author. As Ajip Rosidi points out, Sanoesi's protrayal of Gan Titi makes her a paragon of feminine beauty and of idealised female character (1986, 9). The formation of the character of Gan Titi is carefully built up in the second volume of the work. (The following are direct quotes from the novel.)

Siti Rayati is born

> She was a well-rounded baby, fair and shining and beautiful. This was not to be wondered at, for her mother was of fair complexion, and her father had been a Dutchman, and a strapping figure of a man *(Siti Rayati* Vol. II, 5).

And is fostered by the aristocrats of Sukabumi

> 'Oh dear, the poor little thing,' said the Wadana's wife, rising from her chair to take the child in her arms. 'Look, dear, she's such a plump little baby, and so fair-skinned... so fair... and beautiful...'
>
> 'That's true,' answered her husband, 'she looks like a Dutch child, her nose isn't flat...' and he stroked the baby *(Siti Rayati* Vol. II, 6-7).

Gan Titi goes to school

> As she grew older, the clearer her speech became and the prettier and the more charming she looked, especially as she became more aware of what was around her, being the only daughter of the Bupati. When she was five years old, Titi was enrolled in the Frobelschool Dutch kindergarten.
>
> Every day she was delivered and picked up in a carriage or a motor-car, sometimes with her mother, the Bupati's wife herself, or sometimes she went just with a servant and the chauffeur. She was dressed exactly as a Dutch child, and those who did not know who she was would have called her 'Missy' because in appearance she differed not one whit from a little Dutch girl.
>
> After one year in the Frobelschool, the Bupati sent Gan Titi on to a Class I European Normal School and she was no longer brought to and from the

> residence, but was sent to live with one of her Dutch teachers. This was done so that she would be able to mix every day with Dutch children, so that she might learn the faster. Her father permitted her to come home to the residence only on Sundays and during the holidays when she was not going on outings with her teacher, so only seldom was she able to spend a few days in the company of her mother and father.
>
> Every year Gan Titi moved up one class; she was among the most advanced students and one of the most popular in the school. At the age of thirteen she passed her entrance examination to Dutch Secondary School and then her name appeared in the newspaper as second highest in the class list of Dutch names *(Siti Rayati,* Vol. II, 8).

Gan Titi's political awakening

While studying to become a teacher in Batavia, Gan Titi lodges with the van der Gouds (the 'Golds') a Dutch family who hold to the Ethical ideal of the advancement of the Native peoples of the Indies. Tuan van der Goud is identified as a member of the ISDV (*Indische Sociaal Democratische Vereniging*) a radical, largely Dutch organisation founded in Semarang in 1914, which was the forerunner of the PKI. Again, Gan Titi impresses all those around her:

> Tuan van der Goud and his wife were very pleased with and fond of Gan Titi because of her receptiveness to learning. In her free time, Tuan van der Goud and his wife would often invite her to join them in conversation concerning education and other ways for the Natives to improve their self-esteem. Titi's outlook was broadened and her humanitarian sentiments grew the stronger and deeper.
>
> Now, besides studying the school texts to become a teacher, she would read books of general interest as well; for example, the course of history taken by diverse nations, the ways of government in the countries of Europe and other states, what were the rights of the People vis-a-vis their rulers, both independent Peoples and Peoples who were not yet free. She would also read the dynastic histories of Java, which she enjoyed immensely. Then she would pause and consider whether these *babad* were true or not. She compared the history of the Javanese and of the Indies with other books written by Dutch writers.
>
> 'Ah, Westerners really know how to twist their words...' Gan Titi concluded, closing the covers of the latter books.

One evening, Nyonya van der Goud discovers Gan Titi reading the Dutch classic of anti-colonial protest, Multatuli's *Max Havelaar* (first published 1860) and is well aware of the dangerous potential of its effect:

> Nyonya van der Goud smiled and opened the book, making as if she did not know its contents, while listening to what Gan Titi was saying. The girl related perfectly the story of the people of Lebak in the time of the Assistant-Resident Multatuli.
>
> 'That's all very well, Ti, but first do your homework!' she said, to remind the girl of her responsibilities. As she left the room she thought to herself: 'It's good that she's reading that book. As a Native of the Indies, she should be aware of such things, only... I do fear... she's still only at school... yet if I forbid her, she'll surely become the more resolute, and only want to know all the more...' *(Siti Rayati* Vol II, 9-10).

Then comes the culmination of Gan Titi's maturation:

Gan Titi as an adult:

> In time she gained friends among Natives and Netherlanders alike. And since she had received a thorough education, Gan Titi shrank from being high-handed or ill-spoken towards her fellow race. She remained polite, was not conceited, and was open-hearted towards all persons.
>
> When she found herself among Sundanese people, she would use the Sundanese language and Sundanese manners; when among Hollanders, she would speak their language and follow their etiquette; in short, she adapted herself to her company. More and more often she would put on Sundanese dress, but since she had such flair, whatever she wore was both fitting and flattering. In fact, all her movements and her whole appearance delighted those who saw her, enchanted those who observed her, and endeared her to those into whose sight she came *(Siti Rayati* Vol. II, 11).

A Trope of the Eurasian?

There are certain differences between the images in *Siti Rayati* and the depiction of women in the literature of the times, where we find that the figures of the *nyai*, the 'native mistresses' kept by Dutchmen and wealthy Chinese are sites of sensuality par excellence. The *'nyai* genre' has been examined by scholars in recent years as sites of interrracial, and hence of intense post-colonial interaction (e.g. Fane 1997; Hellwig 1994). Despite the setting of the story in a plantation and despite the fact that a Eurasian child is produced from the union of Steenhart and Nyi Patimah, *Siti Rayati* is not a *nyai* story by any strict definition. Patimah does *not* become a *nyai* to Tuan Steenhart, she remains something even less in status, merely the object of his abuse. He refuses to take her into his big house or to maintain their child. In 1923, Moh. Sanoesi saw no possibility of developing Nyi Patimah into the independent woman who was every bit a match for her Dutch husband-master in Pramoedya's Nyai Ontosoroh of *Bumi Manusia* (Hasta Mitrta, Jakarta 1980).

The literary figure of the Eurasian woman is another important site of post-colonial ideological contestation. Again, Moh. Sanoesi does not follow the norm. In Patimah's daughter, Titi we do not have the case of the stereotyped Eurasian 'other', her sensuality exaggerated to a fantastic degree. In fact, although the author has been at pains to build her up as a beauty, he falls silent on describing any passion on her part. As Ajip Rosidi (1986, 10) has remarked, Titi's courtship with the journalist whom she is to marry seems to have been carried out through no more than an exchange of political opinions through the mail!

This is not to deny that the portrait of Gan Titi, with her beguiling beauty, her social compassion and the poise and grace she has learned in the Sundanese *kabupaten* is not one thoroughly infused with desire - an authorial desire. We might compare Abdoel Moeis' more skilfully developed, yet damning portrayal of the self-absorbed Eurasian woman, Corrie in the Malay classic novel, *Salah Asuhan* (A Wrong Upbringing, 1928) which was issued by Balai Pustaka only one year after the last volume of *Siti Rayati.* The two books serve very different ends: *Salah Asuhan* to uphold the social hierachy of race in the Indies, *Siti Rayati* to boldly contest it. For Sanoesi, the political ideal far outweighed the imperial trope.

III: Figures of Resistance, Figures of Resolution

TABLE: MORALITY IN THE COLONIAL SOCIAL WORLD

'bad' Hollanders	**'good' Hollanders**
1. Tuan Steenhart, tea planter Gan Titi's natural father (Volume I)	**3. Van der Gouds of Batavia Gan Titi's political mentors (Volume II)**
'good' Native aristocrats	**'bad' Native aristocrats**
2. Wadana of Sukabumi & wife Gan Titi's adoptive parents (Volume II)	**4. Bupati and his second wife estrangement from Gan Titi (Volume III)**

Ambivalence in the supporting characters

I will now consider briefly the significance of the supporting cast of characters in *Siti Rayati,* which expand the moral and political programme inscribed in the character of Gan Titi. Here I invoke the third heading in my post-colonial reading of *Siti Rayati,* that of ambivalence, which is the simultaneous state of desire (again) and autochthony, the Native condition. In *Siti Rayati* ambivalence is graphically expressed as a moral system of 'black and white' qualities. 'Good' and 'bad' are symmetrically juxtaposed within the portrayal of the oppressors of the little people, the Dutch and the Native aristocracy, so

that neither group is all 'good' or all 'bad' but *both* groups have examples of both (see the Table above).

First, the Dutch characters are polarized, as their names indicate, between the van der Gouds, Gan Titi's political mentors, shown in the quotations above, and the 'stone-hearted' Dutchman, her natural father. (The following extracts are summaries, not direct quotations from the text.)

Tuan Steenhart, the plantation manager

> Tuan Steenhart, manager of the Ragasirna tea estate, is a brutal man who regularly beats his coolies. He savagely uses the girl, Nyi Patimah. She gives birth to a daughter, Eurasian and illegitimate *(Siti Rayati,* Vol. I, 1-23; Vol. II, 1-6).
>
> It is reported in the newspaper that Steenhart has been killed by a coolie mob in Deli, Sumatra, for having raped a young woman there *(Siti Rayati,* Vol. III, 14).

The connotations of Steenhart's rape of Nyi Patimah are an obvious anti-colonial and anti-capitalist complaint. The violent manner of his death is a none too veiled warning that the Indonesian people, when pressed far enough, will rise up to avenge themselves like the aggrieved community of his last victim.

Equally, the Sundanese *priyayi* are portrayed as having both 'good' and 'bad dimensions. We have seen how the Wadana of Sukabumi and his wife have raised Gan Titi with true parental affection. This changes when the Wadana is promoted to Bupati, is bereaved of his first wife, and takes a second. The influence of the second *dalem istri* corrupts the Bupati and all of his district - precisely the image of the *priyayi* propagated by the PKI in their wider political propaganda.

Corrupt native nobility

> Gan Titi refuses a match to a Sundanese aristocrat which her foster father, the Bupati of Sukabumi proposes. Her reason is her abhorrence of the privileges enjoyed by the *priyayi* at the expense of the *rayat.* In particular, she rejects her father's choice of husband for her, a young man who will certainly become a Regent one day. Gan Titi states her opinion that the young man has lost the loyalty of his people and moreover, that there is some scandal in his family, which has been hushed up.
>
> Respecting the strength of Titi's feelings and apprehensive about the unsuspected depth of her political knowledge, the Bupati does not press the matter any further *(Siti Rayati,* Vol. III, 4).

Corruption in Sukabumi

> The Bupati's second wife has been procuring bribes from regency officers to supplement the household provisions of the *kabupaten.* These take the form of solicited gifts of eggs, poultry and the like. The Bupati orders her to stop, lest her misdemeanours come to be reported in the newspapers. But she persists when he leaves the *kabupaten* to go on tour of his district.
>
> Gradually the *kabupaten* of Sukabumi becomes deserted; guests seldom visit and traders avoid its compounds *(Siti Rayati,* Vol. III, 4).

The figures of the young *priyayi* of high family, for whom promotion will be automatic, the 'bad blood' of his line which Gan Titi believes inevitably passes itself on and the Bupati's second wife, who seeks bribes, are all notations of intrenched corruption which the text imputes to the feudal classes of Java as a whole. The second *dalem istri,* too, is descended from a line of cruel aristocrats not loved by their people. Under the tutelage of her fiance, the newspaper journalist 'N.N.', Gan Titi makes the final revelation of the true extent of the corruption in Sukabumi:

The Journalist in Semarang

> After a courtship by correspondence, Gan Titi has become engaged to an ex-schoolfriend from Semarang, the journalist who goes under the pen-name of 'N.N.' He writes political critiques in Malay, which find favour with Titi's own sentiments. She writes some articles of her own in Dutch, which he translates into Malay and publishes for her under a pseudonym.
>
> One day the journalist sends her a piece published in the newspaper, *The Reflector,* entitled 'A Regent and His People' about a despotic Regent of Java. Titi shows it to her father during one of his visits to her in Batavia. The Bupati knows this journalist by name, and he is aware of the fact that he has twice been gaoled for his writings. Titi is adamant that they will marry and announces her own intentions to take up that profession herself. Her father is appalled and denounces journalists as 'muckrakers who dig up and publicize the mistakes of the *priyayis.*'
>
> Gan Titi goes on to challenge her father to account for the motor-car given him by the *babah* Kim Long and the race-horse from a man called Karta in Ciwaru. The Bupati is struck dumb with fear, lest his own malfeasance also come to the attention of the journalists. Shortly thereafter, since he has been ill for some time and is overcome with misgivings, the Bupati dies *(Siti Rayati,* Vol. III, 6-10).

And as in the case of the Dutchman Steenhart, the Bupati's crimes are brought to a common narrative solution: since there is no prospect that he will reform himself, he is

'killed off'. The wider political inference is that colonizers and Native feudal classes alike represent a doomed social formation which must be resisted.

Conclusion

I am sure that in the course of this paper commonalities will have suggested themselves between *Siti Rayati* and works of the independent Malay presses of the period. Pramoedya Ananta Toer's examination of *Tempo Doeloe* material of this nature, which reached a full flowering in the four outstanding novels of the *Karya Buru*, the Butu Tetralogy, is probably the most familiar to us. If we wait in vain for a Sundanese Pram to see *Siti Rayati* through into a post-colonial vintage work, I do not take it to be a shortcoming of the regional tradition. Instead, there will have been time to reflect on how courageous Moh. Sanoesi's project was to give voice to socialist, nationalist aspirations at the very centre of the whirlwind of political change in the Indies during the 1920's, and not to blench at the immediate repercussions of his stand.

Postscript

Siti Rayati is a small masterpiece that nearly went missing. Although its name was long known in the canon of early modern Sundanese literature, very few people had the opportunity to read it. This was because while Volumes II and III were held in the private library of the Sundanese writer and critic, Ajip Rosidi, Volume I had not been sighted within living memory in West Java. It is, in fact, held in the library of the State University of Leiden, The Netherlands.

I had been able read and enjoy all three volumes during my research on Sundanese novels of the early decades of the twentieth century, but it was not until the First International Conference on Sundanese Culture, convened by Rosidi and held in Bandung under the auspices of the Rancage Literary Awards and the Toyota Foundation, in August, 2001 that an interest in *Siti Rayati* began to be shown by younger Sundanese literary scholars in conversations that we had. One instance of this attention produced a happy result when Neneng Yanti Khozanatu Lahpan submitted a thesis on *Siti Rayati* for the degree of Master of Arts one year later to Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta and received the degree *cum laude.*

All of those interested in this classic from the time of nationalist struggle agreed that it should be republished, now that the three volumes had been reunited and were in private circulation. Publication had to wait, however, until Rosidi retired from his post as Professor at the University of Foreign Languages in Osaka, Japan and returned to Indonesia. A new impression of *Siti Rayati* is now planned to appear shortly through the firm of Girimukti Pasaka in Bandung.

A newspaper Malay version of the novel also existed, which was consulted by Pramoedya Ananta Toer while working on his *Tempo Doeloe* project in the National

Library of Indonesia, since Pramoedya's notes are found in the margins. It is however incomplete and covers only Volume 1 (personal communication, Paul Tickel).

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