Book Reviews

- Mart Bax, F. Bovenkerk, Binnenstebuiten en Ondersteboven. De antropologie van de industriële samenleving. (Terreinverkenningen in de Culturele Antropologie.) Van Gorcum, Assen, 1976. 97 pp. plus bibliografie., L. Brunt (eds.)
- H.J.M. Claessen, Anthony Reid, Pre-colonial state systems in Southeast Asia. The Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Bali-Lombok, South Celebes. Monographs of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society No. 6. Published by the Council of the MBRAS. Kuala Lumpur, 1975. 135 pp. Maps., Lance Castles (eds.)
- H.J.M. Claessen, Jozef Franz Thiel, Heil und Macht - Approches du Sacré. Studia Instituti Anthropos, vol. 22. St. Augustin bei Bonn: Verlag des Anthropos-Institutes. 215 pp., Albert Doutreloux (eds.)
- J. Davis, M. Stuchlik, Goals and behaviour. The Queens University Papers in Social Anthropology, Vol. 2. Belfast (Department of Social Anthropology, Q.U.B.), 1977. 166 pp.
- Ank Klomp, A.F. Marks, Male and female and the Afro-Curacaoan household. Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde No. 77, The Hague. Martinus Nijhoff, 1976.
- A.J.F. Köbben, Richard Price, The Guiana Maroons; a historical and bibliographical introduction. (Johns Hopkins Studies in Atlantic History and Culture). The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 1976. Pp. ix, 184.
- Adam Kuper, Richard Werbner, Regional cults. London and New York: Academic Press, 1977. 257 pp.
- P. van de Velde, F.L. Dunn, Rain-forest collectors and traders - a study of resource utilization in modern and ancient Malaya. Monographs of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society No. 5, Kuala Lumpur, 1975. 151 pages; tables; map and figures.
In: Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 134 (1978), no: 1, Leiden, 181-194

BOEKBESPREKINGEN

F. BOVENKERK & L. BRUNT, *Binnenstebuiten en Ondersteboven. De antropologie van de industriële samenleving.* (Terreinverkenningen in de Culturele Antropologie.) Van Gorcum, Assen, 1976. 97 pp. plus bibliografie. Prijs Dfl. 19,00 (paperback).

MART BAX

Twee antropologen uit Utrecht hebben samen met studenten gezocht naar een eigen objectgebied en een specifieke aanpak, of "stijl" zoals zij schrijven, voor de antropologie van de industriële samenleving. Dit boekje is daarvan het resultaat. Eerst krijgt de lezer twee inleidende hoofdstukken voorgeschoteld. Hierin worden achtereenvolgens behandeld de "practische overwegingen" voor het bestuderen van de Westerse samenlevingen — "traditioneel" het studieveld van de sociologie — en de verhoudingen tussen de sociologie en de antropologie. Nadat het arbitraire van die terreinverdeling tussen de beide disciplines is besproken, komen de auteurs aan hun eigenlijke boodschap. Deze is ingegeven door twee vragen. Ten eerste, wat is het materiële object van de antropologie van de industriële samenleving. Ten tweede, hoe kan de antropologie, mede gezien haar eigen ontwikkelde aanpak, meer inzicht verschaffen in de industriële samenleving; het formele object. Beide hangen natuurlijk nauw samen; ze worden dan ook aan de hand van voorbeelden door elkaar behandeld in de hoofdstukken III en IV. De antwoorden vindt men samengevat op de pagina's 52 en 53. Omdat de sociologie vooral streeft naar formalisering, standaardisering, het algemene, de centrale tendenties, het midden van de samenleving, de familie Doorsnee, zou de antropologie wat anders moeten doen. In de woorden van de schrijver: "De antropologie van de industriële samenleving zou zich niet op de maatschappij als geheel moeten richten, noch op centrale tendenties daarbinnen, maar op uitzonderlijke verschijnselen. Het gaat hier om de marges van de samenleving, om minderheidsgroepen, om de schaduwzijde van de welvaartsstaat, om het contrapunt, om 'tegencultuur', om de rafelrand en om de elite, om periferieën en om de weinig algemene franjes van de samenleving". En deze "perifere" verschijnselen moeten van binnen uit worden bestudeerd met theorieën, en methoden en technieken ontleend aan ondermeer de geschiedenis, de economie, de politicologie en sociologie, afhankelijk van het onderwerp

of de probleemstelling. Aldus zou een levensechte, bevlogen antropologie van de industriële samenleving kunnen ontstaan.

Deze opvattingen — en trouwens het hele boekje — roepen een aantal vragen en bedenkingen op. De belangrijkste zal ik kort behandelen. Allereerst, het beeld dat Bovenkerk en Brunt schetsen omtrent de ontwikkeling van de antropologie van de industriële samenleving is beperkt en onjuist. Ze doen in hoofdstuk I of het een recent verschijnsel is, ontstaan uit praktische overwegingen. Dit beeld wordt elders in het boek, tussen de regels door maar ook door “oude” voorbeelden, weer teniet gedaan. Een genuanceerd betoog — en dat kan ook beknopt zijn — over de geschiedenis van de antropologie zou veel duidelijker hebben doen uitkomen dat dit vak zich altijd heeft bezig gehouden met de “moderne” maatschappij, en dat het zich relatief kort heeft gericht op de niet-westerse samenlevingen. De auteurs pleiten voor meer historische diepgang om betere inzichten te verkrijgen, maar laten het grondig afweten in dit eigen werkje.

Een dergelijke historische verhandeling zou ook een aanzet kunnen vormen tot het formuleren van een ruimer objectgebied dan de auteurs verstaan. En hiermee kom ik op mijn tweede bezwaar. Hoewel de auteurs best anders weten, doen zij of de antropologen van oudsher vooral het exotische en het bizarre hebben onderzocht:.... “hun traditionele studieveld bestaat immers uit één grote verzameling randverschijnselen?” (p. 43). Met deze vertekende weergave van de werkelijkheid rechtvaardigen zij hun studiegebied zoals hierboven aangegeven. Maar waarom deze beperking? Waarom zou onderzoek naar stratificatie en machtsverhoudingen in Salland, naar de ontwikkeling van de boerenbonden in de Brabantse Kempen, naar de forensisme in de Alblasserwaard(!) of Brabant, of naar de veranderende machtspositie van de katholieke geestelijkheid beneden de Moerdijk niet evenzeer kunnen vallen onder de antropologie van de industriële samenleving? Ze zijn bovendien uitvoerbaar in de “stijl” die Bovenkerk en Brunt voorstaan: diverse antropologische afdelingen van Nederlandse universiteiten houden zich hier reeds lang mee bezig. Kortom, waar de schrijvers zeggen te streven naar “meer dan integratie” (p. 32) tussen de diverse disciplines en naar het afbreken van de oude scheidslijnen, doen zij zelf het tegengestelde. Op basis van reeds lang achterhaalde opvattingen rechtvaardigen zij de creatie van een apart, klein hokje voor een deel van de antropologie. De gedachte dringt zich op dat er in Utrecht een super-specialisme aan het ontstaan is: de bevlogen antropologie van de exotica der industriële samenleving.

De serie waarin dit boekje is verschenen stelt zich ten doel de geïnteresseerde buitenstaander in grote lijnen een beeld te geven van diverse aspecten en facetten van de antropologie. *Binnenstebuiten en Ondersteboven* is daarin weinig geslaagd: het geeft veeleer een vertekening dan een verkenning van een belangrijk antropologisch terrein.

JOZEF FRANZ THIEL en ALBERT DOUTRELOUX, red., *Heil und Macht - Approches du Sacré*. Studia Instituti Anthropos, vol. 22. St. Augustin bei Bonn: Verlag des Anthropos-Institutes. 215 p.

H. J. M. CLAESSEN

Deze bundel bevat de papers welke gepresenteerd werden op een tweetal symposia gewijd aan de betrekkingen tussen het gewijde en politiek. De eerste bijeenkomst was van 22 tot 26 februari 1972 in St. Augustin, waar een groep voornamelijk Belgische, Duitse en Oostenrijkse onderzoekers van gedachten wisselden over dit vraagstuk. De tweede bijeenkomst werd gehouden op 21 en 22 april van hetzelfde jaar te Leuven, waar een aantal stafleden van het Laboratoire d'Anthropologie Sociale et Culturelle van de Leuvense Universiteit dit probleem bespraken. Als gevolg van deze achtergrond is de bundel tweetalig geworden. Een deel van de artikelen is in het Duits — met een Frans resumé. Het andere deel is in het Frans, met een Duitse samenvatting. De bijdragen aan het Leuvense gesprek zijn alle in het Frans.

De inhoud van de meeste papers komt neer op tamelijk algemene beschouwingen over de betrekkingen tussen het gewijde en politiek — of het omgekeerde daarvan. Er wordt vastgesteld dat de Europese Christelijke achtergronden vaak belemmerend hebben gewerkt om de situatie in andere culturen ten aanzien van dit vraagstuk te kunnen doorgronden. Ook wordt er op gewezen dat het dikwijls ontbreekt aan een begrippenkader om deze complexe materie analyseerbaar te maken. Dit alles geldt vooral voor de papers van Thiel, Loiskandl, Doutreloux, Klimkeit, Gesché, Remy en Watté. Slechts enkele auteurs doorbreken de vaagheid van de beschouwingen en presenteren op concreet onderzoek gebaseerde gegevens: Rodegem, Coupez en Sagaster. Voor mij zijn deze drie artikelen nog het meest bruikbaar gebleken. Voor het overige is het mij niet duidelijk voor wie de artikelen uit de bundel bedoeld zijn. Voor religieus antropologen zijn ze te oppervlakkig en voor politiek antropologen te vaag.

Pro-colonial state systems in Southeast Asia. The Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Bali-Lombok, South Celebes. Edited by Anthony Reid and Lance Castles. Monographs of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society No. 6. Published by the Council of the MBRAS. Kuala Lumpur, 1975. 135 pp. Maps.

H. J. M. CLAESSEN

This volume is the outcome of a colloquium organized by the Australian National University in Canberra in April 1973. A short (perhaps too short) introduction is followed by 16 chapters on the precolonial political systems divided regionally into a) *The Malay Peninsula*: Chapters on Johor by L. Andaya, Perak by Barbara Watson-Andaya, Kedah

by Dianne Lewis and on the concept of the state in the 19th century chronicle, *Tuhfat a Nafis* by Virginia Matheson; b) *Sumatra*: Chapters on Aceh by A. Reid and L. F. Brakel, on the Bataks by L. Castles and the Minangkabau by Christine Dobbin; c) *Bali*: Chapters on the Balinese rule in Lombok by A. van der Kraan and on the concept of kingship in the 19th century chronicle *Bahad Buleleng* by P. Worsley and d) *Celebes*: Chapter on Bone by L. Andaya and on the emergence of civilization in South Celebes by C. C. Macknight.

Judging from the contents it is clear that a broad field is covered in this relatively short book. But as all the authors are specialists in their field, size is no disadvantage, for a remarkable quantity of data has been collected together here. The book is a useful and reliable introduction to the political history and the problems of precolonial political systems in this area. It also contains a wealth of data which would benefit the reader seeking comparisons with political developments elsewhere. Naturally all authors have not adopted the same approach to their subject. Some of the chapters (Andaya, Brakel, Castles and Van der Kraan) are mostly concerned with the structural aspects of the political systems. Others (Lewis, Reid and Dobbin) concentrate more on history. Matheson and Worsley discuss ideology, while Macknight links the emergence of the political systems of south Celebes to those elsewhere in Southeast Asia.

Assessment is inevitably somewhat subjective. I greatly enjoyed the analyses of the political systems by Andaya, Watson-Andaya, Reid, Brakel and Van der Kraan. Even more impressive was the chapter by Castles on the Batak and Macknight's on South Celebes. Castles' description of the structure and functioning of Batak chiefdoms and the gradual emergence of a more complex political structure is excellent. His data are rich, and therefore of value to those scholars who wish to compare it with political developments elsewhere. Macknight looks beyond the developments in South Celebes and suggests links with the general evolution of civilization in Southeast Asia.

There are a number of weak spots in the volume. Most noticeable is the neglect of concepts developed by political anthropology and political science at the time. The Introduction by Reid and Castles limits itself to vague references to Wittfogel without making at all clear in what way his ideas can be applied or rejected in the light of the articles that follow. The concept of state is nowhere defined, though Matheson discusses the concept as it was used in one of the Malay chronicles, and Watson-Andaya analyses the nature of the state in 18th century Perak. Similarly the meaning of kingship is also neglected notwithstanding Worsley's discussion of it in the *Bahad Buleleng*. And Reid, in his chapter on Aceh tempts the reader by hinting at a development towards bureaucracy (p. 50 ff.), a development away from feudalism (p. 51) the possibility of a hydraulic structure (p. 51), a balance of power policy (p. 52) and so on, but in all cases fails to connect it with the more general discussions on the subject. Brakel, on page 58ff, in an interesting analysis convincingly demonstrates that the Muslim

ruler of Aceh was sacral, but why use the outdated term, 'Divine King'? Van der Kraan uses the concept, Asiatic mode of production, in an incorrect way. One of the criteria of this mode of production is that the land is owned by the village community. In the case that he describes, on p. 107, the land is clearly the property of the Raja.

Outsiders to Malaysian studies might justifiably complain of the overdose of Malay titles, terms, chronicles etc, even though some authors do take the trouble to give a rough approximation of the translation between brackets. Even more bewildering is the outdated system of references throughout the book. Surely it is far easier and more sensible to put the references between brackets in the texts and gather the literature in a bibliography at the end? But why quibble? These are merely minor irritations and limitations and they are more than compensated for by the often brilliant analyses that the authors have presented.

STUHLIK, M. (ed.), *Goals and Behaviour*. The Queen's University Papers in Social Anthropology, Vol. 2. Belfast (Department of Social Anthropology, Q.U.B.), 1977. 166 pp.

J. DAVIS

This collection of essays begins with a theoretical paper by the editor: anthropologists should assume other people's behaviour is purposive. Therefore they should study activities (since happenings and involuntary actions are not purposive), and they should refrain from giving causal status to non-human things (norms, groups, institutions, etc), which cannot have purposes. He argues that social activities and their goals are logically and intrinsically connected, and that any activity is likely to have social consequences — to create society by limiting options for other actors. So, too, goals may often concern other people than the actor and involve transactions with other people, creating further 'intersubjective' realities. If anthropologists accept this, he says, they will find that activities have ceased to be part of the problematic of anthropology, while goals have replaced them. The example he gives is running: the question "Why is he running?" together with the answer "to catch a train", identifies the social activity "running to catch the train", and you can then ask why he wants to catch it. Stuchlik's argument and illustration is vigorous and entertaining, but it is perhaps a bit stretched to conclude that other kinds of anthropologists do not ask the questions ("they are dancing to honour their ancestors") "why do they do it by dancing?" and "why do they honour their ancestors?" Stuchlik might say that his procedure constrains them to ask these further questions, and that his procedure is mentally hygienic.

Four of the other papers take up the theme: action groups or task groups are the commonest observable social thing. So Holy discusses Toka ploughing teams; Iturra, mutual help in Galicia; MacFarlane,

gossiping in a N. Irish village, and Stuchlik contributes a short *exemplaire* on a Chilean football club.

Each of the "action group" papers begins with a theoretical preamble, and continues with a short canter through the context of the actions to be discussed — this is a society of such and such a kind, with a history of this and that, and groups and settlements like so; then they attack their problematic goals. Now obviously people cannot be expected to describe their whole society in transactionist terms in a short paper; nevertheless, the papers do seem to rely on a traditionally described "context". So, MacFarlane, "for convenience" discusses gossipers outside the domestic group but recognizing a fairly close relationship; he then demonstrates "how [the study of gossip] might be used as a methodological tool to lay bare the actors' perceptions of the. . . . relative importance of [their] social relationship" (96-7). So, Stuchlik having introduced "some basic data and the generalized conception of the social setting" continues to describe the criterion on which individuals are or are not considered members of the Coipuco sports club: in some circumstances it is all Coipucan males, in others it is those who play regularly, for there is no formal boundary round the club, and inner membership is got by claim and acclaim, within the community. So, Iturra's friend Ferreiro produces milk for Nestlé and food for his household: to do so he occasionally uses *axuda* "a traditional institution in rural Galicia" — a generalized obligation to help out, discharged reciprocally. But not everyone joins or is invited to join a task force of this kind: that will depend on existing debts, on the size of the task, and the householder's calculation of his ability to reciprocate the debts incurred. To explain any particular task force that is sufficient: "the generalized norm [of *axuda*] has no specific explanatory power". So, Holy explains the formation of ploughing teams by invoking ecology, existing resources, and social relations (including close neighbourly kinship relations based, among other things, on virilocal residence). Social relations, too, depend on personality, which has to be taken into account because it has meaning for actors. "The composition of ploughing teams changes from one season to another. What remains constant are the goals people pursue and the factors they manipulate in the process of their strategic behaviour."

The other two papers in this collection are of the kind which say that an account produced by someone else is inadequate because they do not have the right ideas. Milton takes on Robinson's study of the myth of Dutthagamani. The villagers of Morapitiya claim to be superior because they practise Buddhist piety and because they are descended from Dutthagamani, a rather disreputable conqueror, or at least, certainly no Buddhist. In Robinson's analysis the myth resolves the opposition of these conflicting claims to high rank, in the way in which myths are now said to resolve oppositions, and thus preserves its function as a charter for Morapitiyan superiority, in the way in which myths used to be said to justify social distinctions. Milton disagrees: many

of the items in the story as told by Robinson are not known to most Morapitiyans, and many of the incidents they recount are deemed insignificant by Robinson. Milton lists five incidents when claims were made about royal descent. "In each case the actors . . . claim . . . descent from Dutthagamani in order to manipulate their relationship with each other, with outsiders and with the government" (p. 128). In Milton's interpretation these statements about descent are made in order to win arguments, and therefore it is not necessary that they should be used consistently, nor that they should be reconcilable with other arguments they use on other occasions. She does not say whether or not this particular statement does win arguments.

Riches takes on Sahlins, Damas, Balicki and Steward. If you accept that "social behaviour realises a goal that the actor has formulated in response to some circumstance" you can search the context of circumstances of the actor and find out "essentially by inference, to which of the circumstances the behaviour may be most plausibly regarded as a rational response" (p. 132). Then, if your inferential equipment is like Riches', you will conclude that hunters and gatherers share food because they are making a rational response to scarcity and therefore Sahlins' talk about primitive affluence is ethnocentric. You will conclude that Eskimos co-ordinate their hunting when caribou are in herds because they don't want *individual* hunters to frighten the herds away, and that simply to say that hunting herds in packs is the best method is to take Eskimo statements at face value: it is better to ask why it is the best method. So far as Steward is concerned you may conclude that Riches is flogging a dead horse when he reviews the theoretical weakness in Steward's causal argument to show that hunters and gatherers would group in patrilineal bands: Riches points out the bands are not patrilineal and a theoretical argument therefore seems otiose. He ends his paper with a case study of Eskimos who settled in Port Burwell in 1959 and left, returning to their original communities, in the period after 1968. They found that drunken violence was commoner in Port Burwell, and that they had little support from neighbours when they needed it. They could have called in the police to curb drunks, and they could have redefined neighbourly relationships to include obligations of mutual support, but they left: Riches says that is because they found it cheaper to leave than to innovate.

Because these papers are the product of a seminar of people who work together most argument between the contributors has already been eliminated and the discussion of colleagues has produced a consensus, a consensus of assent. Reviewers usually complain of the disparity and diversity of collections of papers, but there must be a middle ground between that and the rather reiterative unanimity of this set, must there not?

One common theme in these essays is the use of the word *context*. In Riches', context is the field in which he searches for self-interest, as a Marxist might search for class interest, or a structural-functionalist for

what Gellner characterises as consistency (Concepts and Society, in B. R. Wilson, ed., *Rationality*, 1970: 18-49). Indeed, the process of sympathetic inference of rationality is open to the same sort of objection Gellner makes to Evans-Pritchard. In the others, context is also an area of givens, but they seem to say that that is because they do not have the space to show how it is really an area of manipulation and of institutions generated by strategic decisions and co-operation. Nevertheless, it seems that the papers are bound to context — family, household, Nestlé, the state, football and kinship may be context while ploughing teams or *axuda* or club formation are discussed; perhaps ploughing teams too become context when the focus shifts to other areas of manipulation.

Readers may doubt it is possible to describe a whole social structure as the statistical outcome of multiple individual choices. In part on practical grounds for books would have to be very long and immensely detailed, if these papers, mostly dealing with minutiae, are any guide. Moreover, there is no possibility whatsoever of showing how a Galician institution such as the *axuda* came to be generated: it is ancient, found in a population of two million who live in an area five-sixths the size of Holland. Stuchlik has difficulty enough with a local sports club serving a population of 150 people and which merely circumstantial evidence strongly suggests may predate his field work by thirty years.

There is no special reason people, even social anthropologists, should not present detailed ethnography in this way: it is often interesting, it emphasises the variety of options and outcomes, and can give a valuable understanding of the day-to-day efforts which men make to solve particular and sometimes desperate problems. People everywhere, every minute, are using ingenuity and creativity to survive, to improve their lot, to crush their enemies. On the other hand, it is not a sufficiently explanatory account: people may concede that it explains individual social behaviour (though many do not), but they are still entitled to say that is not the most absorbing thing about social inquiries. For example, they might be interested in the differences between social structures, and in making broad comparisons of kinds of institution. Indeed, if they are told that rationality is a universal principle of social behaviour (a most dubious proposition) then they would be entitled to exclude individuals altogether from their search for the causes of variation: human action would be a constant invariable, and could not explain why one society is different from another.

The older anthropologists, taken to task by Stuchlik, were indeed often unconcerned with explaining individual social behaviour, rather than describing institutions and their interconnections. But they did write about it from time to time, and when they did they too made the assumption of rationality. They would not have been surprised to be told that Eskimos and Bushmen, Ulstermen and Galegos, Mopache and Morapitians all manipulate rationally within a varying context, but they might have questioned the need to go on about it so.

A. F. MARKS, *Male and female and the Afro-Curaçaoan household*. Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde No. 77, The Hague. Martinus Nijhoff, 1976.

ANK KLOMP

Dit boek is de vertaling van de dissertatie van Dr. A. F. Marks uit 1973 getiteld: *Man, Vrouw en Huishoudgroep; De Afro-Amerikaanse familie in de samenleving van Curaçao*. Het werk behelst een studie van de samenlevingsvormen tussen mannen en vrouwen en van de samenstelling van de huishoudgroepen bij de lagere strata van de Curaçaose gemeenschap.

Het hoofdbestanddeel wordt gevormd door een bespreking van de resultaten van een enquête waarbij 431 huishoudens betrokken waren en van een aantal interviews met bezoekersters van een consultatiebureau voor zuigelingenverzorging. Hieraan vooraf gaat een uiteenzetting van de gangbare theorieën op het gebied van de afro-amerikaanse familie, alsmede een schets van de Curaçaose samenleving. Hoewel de enquête de centrale plaats heeft gekregen in dit onderzoek, althans bij de publicatie van de resultaten, heeft de auteur ook langdurig (10 van de 15 maanden) andere onderzoekstechnieken gebruikt, zoals het vrije interview en participerende observatie. Voor de lezer zijn die delen van het boek die mede gebaseerd zijn op de kwalitatieve technieken het meest interessant; dan komen de geïnterviewden tot leven, krijgt men werkelijk een beeld van de verhoudingen binnen de huishoudgroep en van de gevoelens van de leden van de groep daarover. Ook blijkt dat de kwalitatieve technieken een weelde aan etnografische details hebben opgeleverd, waarvan men zou wensen dat zij een ruimere plaats in het boek gekregen zouden hebben.

De resultaten van de eigenlijke enquête bieden een stroom van gegevens over de vormen van "hoofdschap" van de huishoudens, gerelateerd aan de bronnen van inkomsten, de omvang van de groep en dergelijke. Maar deze veelheid van naakte gegevens heeft hier en daar wel tot gevolg dat de lezer het spoor bijster raakt en door de bomen het bos niet meer ziet. De kernhoofdstukken (V en VI), waarin deze data gepresenteerd worden missen een duidelijke indeling. Mogelijk speelt hierbij mede een rol dat Marks moeite heeft gehad om een patroon of patronen te ontdekken in de relaties tussen de leden van de huishoudgroepen en hun verwanten; de veelheid van relatievormen zo schrijft hij op pag. 274 "defies delimitation in some neat model of social relations". Het probleem wordt nog verscherpt door de omstandigheid dat de stijl van de schrijver niet uitblinkt door kernachtigheid. Zinnen als "Older women (...) frequently enter into new, uncertain affairs from obvious economic besides sexual and, possibly, affective considerations" (p. 47) zijn geen uitzondering. Daarnaast vallen er nogal wat slordigheden bij de vertaling van het Papyamentu te constateren; b.v. "funchi" p. 107, is geen maïsmeel, maar een soort pudding van maïs- of sorghummeel; "cangreew" p. 144, is een

krab en geen kreeft; "floho" p. 226, is lui, niet zwak; "x ta mala mucha" p. 289, betekent niet x is slecht, maar x is ondeugend.

Wat betreft de eigenlijke resultaten van het onderzoek, een van de belangrijkste uitkomsten is dat Curaçao met zijn relatief hoog percentage wettig gehuwden en het hieruit voortvloeiend laag percentage onwettige kinderen een uitzonderingspositie inneemt in het Caraïbisch gebied. Marks brengt dit in verband met de gestegen mobiliteitskansen op Curaçao, waardoor velen hun aspiratie inzake een wettig huwelijk konden realiseren. Een verdienste van deze publicatie is dat deze gegevens nu ook voor een engelstalig lezerspubliek beschikbaar zijn. In de Nederlandse taal verscheen reeds eerder de studie van E. E. Abraham-v. d. Mark: *Yu i Mama, enkele facetten van de gezinsstructuur op Curaçao* (1969) waarin soortgelijke gegevens naar voren kwamen. Het is opmerkelijk dat Marks slechts éénmaal verwijst naar deze studie die toch qua onderwerp zo nauw aan de zijne verwant is; Abrahams conclusies worden verder onbesproken gelaten.

Mark's omvangrijke en gedegen studie, biedt een afronding van onze kennis aangaande het huishouden en de relaties tussen de leden daarvan bij de lagere strata van de Curaçaose bevolking. Door de rijkdom aan statistische gegevens is dit boek daarnaast van groot belang voor beleidsgericht werk, bijv. in de welzijnssector. Het valt te hopen dat, nu wij zo langzamerhand vrij goed geïnformeerd zijn over het familieleven van de gewone man, antropologen en sociologen ook de hogere strata in hun belangstelling zullen betrekken, zowel op Curaçao als elders; een evenwichtiger totaalbeeld van deze gemeenschappen zou hiervan het resultaat kunnen zijn.

RICHARD PRICE, *The Guiana Maroons; a historical and bibliographical introduction*. (Johns Hopkins studies in Atlantic History and Culture). The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 1976. Pp. ix, 184. Price \$ 18,50.

A. J. F. KÖBBEN

Richard Price has done a very real service to the scientific community by producing this book. The larger part (pp. 71-184) consists of a bibliography on Maroon (Bush Negro) societies in the Guianas, especially Suriname. He lists no less than 1330 items and one would be hard put to find a significant title on the subject that is missing here. The work has been done with meticulous and loving care that must have taken an enormous investment in time and energy. A commendable feature is the providing of a library or archival location for each item in the bibliography, one in the U.S.A., one in Europe, one in Suriname. The author, moreover, did much more than just note down titles. He

presents a coherent picture (pp. 43-69) of the literature, assessing its value and indicating its strong and weak points. One of its "byproducts" is an *aperçu* of the various stereotypes of Bush Negroes in the literature (pp. 44-45): as Noble Savages, as Childlike Innocents, as Rapacious Outlaws and Sneaky Liars (and recently, one may add, as Revolutionaries against the colonial exploiters).

I used to say to students that a critical review should contain information (1) what is in the book; (2) what is commendable; (3) what is reprehensible in it. Here I am at a loss to follow my own advice as I find very little to criticize. There are a handful of printing errors (in fact fewer than one would expect in a text of this kind) and, perhaps, one may wonder why the author has brought together in one volume this bibliography with an essay on Maroon history (pp. 1-42). The essay itself is, however of such quality that the reader is glad to have it available in any case. Much of what has happened in the formative years of Maroon societies will, of course, forever remain a secret. But as Richard Price shows, a careful study of the various sources produces much more data than most specialists up to now would have thought possible. This book will be a standard reference work for years to come.

RICHARD WERBNER (ed.), *Regional Cults*. London and New York: Academic Press, 1977. 257 pp. Price £ 7.50.

ADAM KUPER

Richard Werbner chose an imaginative and important topic for the 1976 ASA meeting, a meeting which resulted (with unaccustomed speed) in the production of the present volume. Werbner argues in his introduction that "cults of the middle range" have been neglected, but raise important theoretical problems. These regional cults include the intertribal land and rain shrines of Central Africa, Muslim movements like the Sanusiya, pilgrimage centres, perhaps some prophetic movements. A mixed bag, then, which obviously raises problems of definition. Are Mecca and Lourdes regional cults? Can one have regional cults which are yet limited to a political community? Perhaps the editor's refusal to define his boundaries too sharply (following cult leaders?) is wise at this stage, but the blurring which results is accentuated by the fact that while five of the eight ethnographic contributions discuss regional cults in Central Africa, cults which are clearly of the same sort, three others — including two of the liveliest — deal with very different sorts of movements, in Israel, Morocco and Surinam.

Certainly some of the contributors appear a little vague about the reasons for concentrating on regional cults, but the essays gain somewhat

in unity by an acceptance of three guidelines laid down by the editor. These point to the problems of change in cults, to their relationship to their environments (less successfully developed), and direct attention to Turner's work on pilgrimage as a point of reference. In my view none of these guidelines provoked interesting theoretical discussions. The three authors who are not concerned with Central Africa do, however, debate the classical issue in religious anthropology, the relationship of cults to social structure, an issue which takes on a new sharpness when cults are studied which break through social and cultural boundaries.

Eickelman describes the relationships between a Sherqawi religious lodge in western Morocco and its clientele, and argues that cults cannot be understood in classical Durkheimian terms, as reflecting social structures. Emmanuel Marx, discussing the cults of tombs and saints among the Bedouin of South Sinai, argues to the contrary, that, "The ideologies of agnation and of the saint's cult not only complement each other; they are also linked up, through the person of the saint." Bonno Thoden van Velzen analyzes a Surinamese Bush Negro system of cults in materialist terms. The Gaan Tata cult and the later Akalali cult rose and fell in relation to the rise and fall of different economic opportunities, and "the vitality of both cults derived from a clear choice in favour of the privileged". The three authors thus illustrate the three main contemporary positions on the relation between religion and social structure. The editor casts his lot in with Eickelman, but those committed to either of the other common positions will find little to disturb their conclusions.

The Central African studies are less concerned with grand theory, but provide a range of potentially interlocking accounts of very similar cultic movements. Kingsley Garbett provides a long and detailed description of the relationship between two cultic fields among the Zezeru (Shona). Richard Werbner discusses the Shona Mwari cult, in its western marches, where the ethnic base is complex and diverse, and focusses upon the politics of cult organization. J. M. Schoffelleers writes about the very similar Mbona cult of southern Malawi and part of Mozambique, but he is particularly interested in its ideological role, providing a symbolic focus of unity for diverse groupings. Elizabeth Colson discusses the shifting relationships between prophets and local shrines among the Tonga of Zambia, and finally Wim van Binsbergen deals with cults of affliction in Barotseland, non-regional cults forming a continuous base from which regional cults emerge, and into which they eventually sink once again. These chapters are the real core of the book, and will be of great interest to regional specialists. It is perhaps a pity that the editor was not more ruthless in defining the scope of the book, for these Central African chapters cry out for a specifically regional structural comparison, neglected in favour of more general but rather unfocussed theoretical issues.

F. L. DUNN, *Rain-forest collectors and traders — a study of resource utilization in Modern and Ancient Malaya*. Monographs of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society No. 5, Kuala Lumpur, 1975. 151 pages; tables; maps and figures.

P. VAN DE VELDE

The central theme of this study is the history of 'human adaptation in the tropical rain-forest systems of the Southern Malay Peninsula, with special reference to forest resources and their exploitation by man in the protohistoric and prehistoric past. In particular,.... the collection and trade of those resources.... that are usually designated "forest products".' (p. 2).

This theme is approached through an analysis of present-day resources, a hypothetical reconstruction of resources available in the past, a review of present-day forest trading and collecting, which ultimately lead to a reconstruction of trading and collecting at various points in time.

More specifically the data on which this study is based is as diverse as the rainforest itself: excavations, ethnographical research (a very brief summary of earlier ethnographies, and an ethnographical study of a community in the *Orang Asli* — autochthones of Malaya — ethnically Temuan, linguistically belonging to the Jakun division), and an ethnoecological study. The latter takes up a conspicuous part of the book, if only through the vast lists of forest inhabitants; as I have not the slightest competence in this field, I merely note its 'eco-system orientation', that all informants belong to one eco-system, that the informants are (statistically) representative of their community, and that the findings are related to the sex/age structure of the population.

The pivot on which the reconstructions to this data base hinges is a model (p. 100) in which all external trade of the forest groups is brought directly from its point of origin to a secondary trader at the forest's edge, and from there to markets further on. The main products traded this way are: rattan, gum and resin which are presently exchanged for cash, in earlier times bartered for agricultural products and shells.

The reconstructed trade structures are, briefly:

20,000 B.P. (Sundashelf dry), internal trade (if any) of an inland-inland type.

10,000 B.P. (Sundashelf inundated), as before, with more coastal-inland contacts.

5,000 B.P. as previously, though supplemented by coastal trade.

2,000 B.P. to Present: a growth toward a complete realization of the model.

As a commentary, several points of differing weight can be made:

(i) The outlook is thoroughly empiricist. Nowhere is there an explicit consideration of alternative explanations, nor any testing of hypotheses.

Also, the cultural model employed is neither a materialistic nor a fully developed ideational one though it is more of the latter than of the former: culture comes out of people's heads, and the diffusion of ideas is the main vehicle of change.

(ii) Several of the Quaternary geological statements seem to be oversimplified: the statements that the Sundashelf (or even its major part) was already inundated by 10,000 B(e)fore P(resent) (p. 134), or that no raised Holocene beaches are extant in Malaya will probably not be accepted without qualifications by everybody.

(iii) The community studied, and the model developed, are essentially on the forest front, not in the interior. Especially as the inland trade/barter is only treated in three paragraphs less than one page long, (pp. 95; 117) I am left with the problem: how do coastal valuables get into the interior, by direct, or by indirect (chain) exchange — which has obvious bearings on the interpretation of the ancient valuables excavated at inland sites. Similarly, it is not clear who trades what — except that it is a male affair; is it the collector himself who barter, everything found, or are there different rights to his produce along kin-lines? There is not even a hint as to the type of social structure in the community.

(iv) Regarding the archaeography, I have similar problems: there is no mention in this book (except in a bibliographical reference) of the size and quality of the excavations, nor to the inventories found. E.g., the statement that some artefact type increases in Hoabinhian layers, and then rapidly diminishes in quantity with time, begs the question whether this is a proportional, or an absolute count, with important consequences for the interpretation. Furthermore, the assertion that without good boats the coast (with its tides, extensive flats, river mouths and swamps) is unattractive to exploit simply mistakes neretic adaptations for pelagic ones (which are indeed impossible then).

(v) A minor point is the absence of a simple topographical map of Malaya: not everybody is so familiar with the country as to have the geographical position of, say, Gua Kechil or even the State of Perak in his head.

To sum up: I think that both the ethnography and the archaeography are quite poor (possibly in contrast to the ethnoecology); but then, the author's aim is *not* to provide descriptions of his data sets, rather it is to propose models of past ways of life-archaeology, as he would label it. In my opinion he has succeeded beyond the customary level of archaeological textbook towards this goal.