Book Reviews

- H.J.M. Claessen, Jan van Bremen, Symposion. Tijdschrift voor Maatschappijwetenschap. Onder redactie van Jan van Bremen, Cees Cruson, Helle Snel, Jojada Verrips, Willem Wolters en Ton Zwaan. Uitgave: Stichting voor Maatschappijwetenschappelijk Onderzoek., Cees Cruson, Helle Snel (eds.)
- H.J.M. Claessen, Neil Lifuka, Logs in the current of the sea. Neil Lifukas story of Kioa and the Vaitupu colonists. Edited and introduced by Klaus-Friedrich Koch. With a foreword by Professor H.E. Maude. Cambridge, Mass.: Langdon Associates Press. 1978.
- H.J.M. Claessen, R.R. Nayacakalou, Leadership in Fiji. 1975. Melbourne etc.: Oxford University Press. 170 pp. Appendices, tables, notes.
- H.J.M. Claessen, Michael W. Young, The ethnography of Malinowski; The Trobriand Islands 1915-1918. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979. Bibliography, Index, illustrations.
- P.E. de Josselin de Jong, G.B. Milner, Natural symbols in South East Asia. School of Oriental and African Studies, London 1978. 181 p., 13 plates.
- P. Kloos, G.N. Appell, Ethical dilemmas in anthropological inquiry: A case book, Waltham (Mass.), Crossroads Press, 1978, xii + 291 pp.
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BOEKBESPREKINGEN

Symposion. Tijdschrift voor Maatschappijwetenschap. Onder redactie van Jan van Bremen, Gees Cruson, Helle Snel, Jojada Verrips, Willem Wolters en Ton Zwaan. Uitgave: Stichting voor Maatschappijwetenschappelijk Onderzoek. Administratie: Helle Snel, Gitaarstraat 12, 6544 XG Nijmegen.

H. J. M. CLAESSEN

Enkele maanden geleden verscheen het eerste nummer van *Symposion*, een nieuw Nederlands tijdschrift voor maatschappijwetenschap. De Redactie wijst er in zijn beginselverklaring op dat de studie van de menselijke samenlevingen tegenwoordig gekenmerkt wordt door vertakking in een veelheid van specialismen, uitgangspunten, begrippen en methoden. Het slaan van bruggen tussen de verschillende disciplines die zich met dit onderwerp bezighouden is de voornaamste taak die de Redactie zich stelt. Als middel wordt gekozen het uitbrengen van thema-nummers. Deze eerste uitgave is gewijd aan 'Staatsvormingsprocessen in Europa en Azië na 1750'. Sociologen, antropologen en historici hebben er aan bijgedragen.

Goudsblom geeft een boeiend overzicht van de Nederlandse samenleving sinds de vroege middeleeuwen en wijst op het achtereenvolgens voorkomen van feodalisme, staatsvorming, aristocratisering, absolute monarchie en democratisering, waarbij de toenemende interdependentie als rode draad door het betoog loopt. Verrips en Zwaan vergelijken twee fasen van versnelde integratie: Nederland omstreeks 1800 en de integratie van ons land in de EEG. Van den Bosch bespreekt de betekenis van de regionale adel in de eerste helft van de 19e eeuw. Blok gaat in op de verschillende vormen en functies van openbare strafvoltrekking in de 18e eeuw. Hij legt verband tussen het verdwijnen van de 'barokke' executies en het ontwikkelen van een meer onpersoonlijke bureaucratische structuur.

Van Bremen onderzoekt de relaties tussen het Confucianisme en de ontwikkeling van de Japanse staat tussen 1870 en 1970. Aya beschrijft de rol van de volksmassa's in revoluties. Boissevain geeft een overzicht van de ontwikkelingen op Malta. Twee artikelen zijn op Indonesië gericht. De Jonge laat zien hoe op verschillende manieren (V.O.C., koloniale staat etc.) een Madurees regentschap in een groter geheel wordt geïntegreerd en welke gevolgen dit had voor de lokale samenlevingen. Breman tenslotte beschrijft en analyseert de vorming van de 'typisch' Javaanse desa.

Genoemde auteurs presenteren een breed scala aan benaderingen en zienswijzen en de artikelen zijn vaak boeiend geschreven en van goede kwaliteit. De gedachte echter dat in deze bundel onderzoekers van inderdaad uiteenlopende huize bijeen zijn berust meer op schijn dan

op werkelijkheid — daarvoor hebben de wetenschappelijke wiegen van de auteurs te dicht bij elkaar geschommeld.

Het is niet duidelijk waarom een zo modern opgezet tijdschrift heeft gekozen voor een zó barbaarse manier van literatuurverwijzen: in voetnoten, overlopend van de 'op. cité's' en andere reeds lang achterhaalde termen. Ook de typografie van de literatuuropgaven kan nauwelijks gelukkig worden genoemd.

Deze opmerkingen nemen niet weg dat *Symposion* een goed en uiterst zinvol initiatief is, dat meer dan alleen maar welwillende aandacht verdient. Voor de kosten hoeft men het steunen waarachtig niet te laten. De prijs van dit goed verzorgde dubbelnummer is (voor abonnees) slechts f 20,—.

Logs in the current of the sea. Neil Lifuka's story of Kioa and the Vaitupu colonists. Edited and introduced by Klaus-Friedrich Koch. With a foreword by Professor H. E. Maude. Cambridge, Mass.: Langdon Associates Press. 1978. \$ 10.—. 110 pp. Illustrations, notes, literature. ISBN 0-916704-02-5.

H. J. M. CLAESSEN

This book contains the life history of Neil Lifuka, a man of Vaitupu, one of the Tuvalu Islands (part of the Gilbert and Ellice colony).

The story was told by Lifuka to the anthropologist Koch in the course of a number of tape-recorded sessions. In this book Lifuka comes to the fore as a bom leader, with a good eye for the interests of 'his people'. He attended school, worked for some time in a hospital, traded, worked during the war in Funafuti and Palmyra Island, and everywhere demonstrated his ability to lead others. After the war he was for some time magistrate in Vaitupu, where he did quite well, though not always acting according to the rules. As a consequence he lost his job and became assistant to the manager of a Wholesale Society in Funafuti.

- During that period plans were developed to buy a small island in the Fiji group for the settlement of people from overcrowded Vaitupu. Lifuka became the motor behind this plan. After years of saving, the small island of Kioa was bought and the colonization began. For a time Lifuka was the leader of this colony, for, as he says (p. 86), "People without a leader are like logs in the current of the sea; they don't know where to go".

In a number of notes Koch comments upon Lifuka's view of events and in an appendix summarizes the legal history of the Kioa settlement.

This is an interesting book, showing the problems of culture contact from the Polynesian angle, while it gives many inside views of the Polynesian way of life and thought. It is most useful for all who are interested in Oceania or in development aid.

R. R. Nayacakalou. *Leadership in Fiji*. 1975. Melbourne etc: Oxford University Press. 170 pp. Appendices, tables, notes.

H. J. M. CLAESSEN

This book, published posthumously after Dr. Nayacakalou's untimely death through the good offices of Dr. Crocombe, contains an interesting analysis of leaders and leadership in both traditional and modern Fiji.

In the first part of the book the traditional system is described. Here Nayacakalou criticizes the official view evolved by the British government, basing itself on the publications of the Native Land Commission. This Commission held that "both membership of landowning groups and title to office were transmitted in the male line, and the order of succession was found, with few exceptions, to be based on the principle of male primogeniture." (p. 10).

The actual situation appeared to be much more complex, however. People were found to change *yavusa* (clan, descent group) quite easily, while on the other hand *yavusa* appeared to segment or combine in response to changes in population.

A group of associated villages is called a *vanua*, while a group of these *vanua* forms a *matanitu*. Chiefs are found on each level. These chiefs had, and still have, considerable influence. They have the legitimate right to make decisions in all matters affecting the group as a group. Seniority of descent in the male line is the most important principle of selection for the chieftaincy. As a firm genealogical framework is lacking, however, most claims to office are disputed. Additional criteria such as seniority by age, knowledge of group customs and connections, and the ability to maintain group solidarity, are therefore generally applied as well (p. 34). In fact, the position of a chief is *ascribed* as well as *achieved* (p. 51). The traditional situation conflicts with the more rigorous views of the government. However, at present also competent people may succeed in gaining a positive status change.

The modern governmental structure has created the odd situation whereby in several villages now three distinct orders of authority co-reside: the traditional chief, a headman of the Fijian Administration, and an official of the Methodist Church. As the jurisdiction of each of the three is fairly well-defined, however, the number of conflicts is limited. Problems sometimes arise when a high-ranking F.A. official occupies only a low place in the traditional hierarchy (p. 65). On the whole, however, Nayacakalou considers the government official no serious threat to the traditional village leaders.

In urban areas the situation is quite different. People migrating to these areas usually begin by organizing according to district or province of origin. Here the traditional chief still plays a considerable role. Traditional leaders, however, "are of little or no value in dealing with the more individual problems of urban living such as housing, jobs and wages, for urban life has its own rules" (p. 103). Here former school-teachers and government clerks have become the new leaders. This brings

Nayacakalou to the conclusion that two types of Fijian leaders are to be distinguished: the *established* (the traditional chiefs), and the *emergent* leaders — a new elite (p. 107). It is interesting to note that this development is not a phenomenon peculiar to Fiji alone. It is also found in Ivory Coast (Cohen 1974), as well as in Malaysia. (Husin Ali 1975). In fact, it is the same development as that which took place in Mediaeval Europe with the growth of urban centers. Pirenne once coined the term *homines novi* for these new leaders — which term could be applied to the emergent leaders of Fiji as well.

This is an important book in many respects. It is written from within — by a Fijian anthropologist with a wide experience in Fijian Administration. It clearly states and analyses the problems of developing a new kind of government. This makes the book interesting for a wide group of scholars: political as well as applied anthropologists, political scientists, and historians.

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Michael W. Young (ed.), *The Ethnography of Malinowski; The Trobriand Islands 1915-18.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979. Bibliography, Index, illustrations. £ 8.50 cloth; £ 4.50 paperback.

H. J. M. CLAESSEN

In this book Michael Young tries to summarize the works of Malinowski on the Trobriand Islanders. In this author's opinion Malinowski's many books fail to present a general ethnography of this people. Most of these works tackle specific problems, which are discussed in a most thorough way, but which are also mixed with numerous and now outdated polemics. Young therefore feels that the Trobriand Islanders, in spite of their fame, are relatively unknown to the anthropologist, who is usually only familiar with certain specific aspects of their culture, such as the Kula, the coral gardens, their sexual life and their family relations.

Before attempting to reconstruct the life of the islanders from Malinowski's works, Young discusses at length the life and work of the famous scholar himself. This part of the book, the introduction, is of the greatest interest. After a short review of Malinowski's life, Young tries to evaluate his work. In doing so he confronts the aims of the ethnographer, the results of his work, and the contents of his *Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term* (which appeared posthumously in 1967;

Routledge and Kegan Paul, London) with one another. It becomes clear that Malinowski wrote many of his works under great stress. His inability to take criticism kindly, his compulsion to present his theories and ethnographic discoveries as an assault on the *ancien régime*, and his battle to assert his academic superiority must have made his seminars rather an ordeal for his pupils (p. 6).

Young also analyses Malinowski's innovations in fieldwork methods. He points to the fact that most of the prescriptions had already been formulated earlier, but that Malinowski was the first to put these prescriptions into practice with rigorous determination. The ethnographer's ultimate goal, which was "to grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to realize *his* vision of *his* world", was, as Young comments with some degree of understatement, "a good deal more elusive than Malinowski's simple directives for attaining it might suggest" (p. 8).

Young further points out that the Trobriand Islanders only rarely come alive as individuals in Malinowski's works. They often seem to be mere embodiments of theories. Was Malinowski really interested in his subjects? Some comments in his *Diary* seem to utterly rule out an affirmative answer (cf. quotations by Young, pp. 12 and 13). On the other hand, it is most natural that a fieldworker suffering from alienation, homesickness, loneliness, etc. should need some sort of a safety valve — a diary in which he puts down his feelings of the moment. Is it fair to confront the ethnographer with these "moments of weakness" afterwards (pp. 13, 14)? Young tries, after carefully weighing the pros and cons, to give a balanced judgement of Malinowski's ethnographic work. In his opinion Malinowski "reproduced the outward form meticulously but, in last analysis, was denied a vision of its inward coherence" (p. 16).

Young goes on to present his ethnography of the Trobriand Islanders, carefully excerpting from Malinowski's work. This part of the book comprises three sections: Habitat and economy (pp. 21-72); Kinship, marriage and land (pp. 73-158); and The Kula (pp. 159-242). Though every choice of quotations is bound to be individual and arbitrary, my impression is that Young presents a fairly accurate view of Trobriand culture as far as the topics mentioned are concerned. Whether he presents a more or less *complete* picture in this way is another question. In the first place, his choice was limited by the data published by Malinowski, and in the second place by his own preferences. It is quite possible that an editor with another focus might have selected other passages. For instance, Young does not treat the political aspects separately, although Sing Uberoi (*The Politics of the Kula Ring*, Manchester: M.U.P., 1962) quite convincingly demonstrated some years ago that Malinowski did pay quite a lot of attention to this facet. All in all, however, Young's resultant picture of the Trobriand Islanders is clear and consistent. He deserves our thanks for having undertaken such a vast task in such a creditable way. There are always a few minor criticisms to be made of any book. In this particular case it is not quite

clear to me, for example, why the spelling of the place names on the map on p. 24 should be so different from that adopted in the rest of the book. Another point of criticism is that on p. 30 the term *tabalu* is introduced without any explanation; this indicates the risks involved in lifting passages out of a larger work. My general impression of the book, however, is that it is a good piece of work. It contains an important introduction and a well balanced ethnography of the Trobriand Islanders. This book will be of use to both the anthropologist who is generally interested in the area and the student, who should read at least some of the "classics". For those who are interested in Malinowski's place in the development of the functionalist approach or of fieldwork methods, Young's introduction to this work is indispensable.

G. B. Milner (ed.), *Natural Symbols in South East Asia*.
School of Oriental and African Studies, London 1978.
181 p., 13 plates.

P. E. DE JOSSELIN DE JONG

This book is based on a series of "open lectures" given at SOAS early in 1976; it is most interesting both for the valuable contributions themselves and for the questions they raise with regard to the various approaches to South East Asian studies.

The editor's Introduction is followed by two articles on Burma: "Burmese attitudes to plants and animals" by Hla Pe and "The planets, the days of the week and the points of the compass" by H. L. Shorto; one on Vietnam: "A Vietnamese response to nature" by J. H. G. S. Davidson; two on Thailand: "Thai political systems" by Georges Condominas and "Architectural and political space in Thailand" by Andrew Turton; one on Java: "Natural symbols in Java" by Anthony Christie; and two on Bali: "... Balinese conceptions of space" and "*Padi*, puns and the attribution of responsibility", both by Mark Hobart.

Systems of classification, and of spatial classification in particular, are the major concern of this volume; this offers a remarkable instance of how a certain topic is apparently "in the air" in a certain period, as it is studied in various research centres without any central planning or consultation having brought this about. In The Netherlands, de Josselin de Jong 1972 and 1977 were two publications on spatial or territorial classification; in France, results of an extensive research programme on *espace social* were published in a special issue of *Asie du Sud-Est et Monde Insulindien* (1977), and in England we have SOAS's enterprise of 1976-78.

Besides the theme of spatial classification, it is of course also the concentration on the region of South East Asia which serves as a link between the contributions to this volume; and here we are immediately faced by a number of problems. In the first place, it is remarkable that

H. L. Shorto (155, 160) is one of the very few authors who compares the data of the society he is studying with those of other S-E Asian cultures (and several authors seem to be unaware of the relevant, i.e. comparable, data). This may be due to a fundamental problem: can S-E Asia as a whole, that is to say Continental and insular S-E Asia together, be taken as a Field of Ethnological Study ("ethnologisch studieveld"), as has been done for the Malay Archipelago? (J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong 1977.)

This would be a very important question to be tackled by such institutions as SOAS in London and the CeDRASEMI in Paris, that have experts on both subdivisions of the region. (Holland is unfortunately ruled out in this respect, as Continental S-E Asia is a deplorable lacuna in all Dutch universities and research centres.) We shall have to say a few more words on these questions.

On comparative work within an established Field of Ethnological Study we do well to take Lévi-Strauss's words as a guideline: "Resemblance as such does not exist: it is only a particular type of difference, namely one where the difference approaches zero" (1917:32). In one of the chapters on Bali, the well-known *kelod-kaja* opposition is discussed, which is not only a binary opposition of "towards the sea" versus "towards the mountain", but for the greater part of the island also forms an approximate north-south axis (p. 7). This is the backbone of Balinese (spatdal) classification. Now it is remarkable that in many other Indonesian societies the natural environment would seem to supply all the material required for building a similar binary classification system, but the culture in question apparently does not need to make use of this material. Kelantan (Malaya) can serve as an example. The very strong opposition is "given" as follows:

West	<i>versus</i>	East
inland		coast
mountains		sea
south-westerly winds		north-east monsoon
dry season		sudden onset of rainy season
safety		dangerous floods
etc.		etc.

In Kelantan Malay culture, however, these natural phenomena are not made into a conceptual scheme of "natural symbols" as is done in Bali. Workers in the Indonesian Field of Ethnological Study have so far been much less concerned with explaining such differences than with finding resemblances.

In ibis second article on Bali, Hobart briefly refers to Malaya, in connection with the "puns" that also appear in this chapter's title. Twelve species of plants are ritually placed on the outside walls of the granary, because by rhyme or assonance their names suggest words with auspicious meanings (60, 61). This type of punning also plays a role in Balinese quatrains, and in the Malay *pantun* (58). Here we may note

how pervasive the influence is of such associations-by-asonance, by quoting the opening lines of H. J. Resink's poem on the Javanese lake Ngebel:

"De naam al is zo vreemd. Bezielde bossen dringen naar een
verdrinkingsdood in het koud kratermeer ..."

"De naam is zo vreemd" because Ngebel suggests *sebel*, "inauspicious, unlucky". We can also venture from insular to continental S-E Asia, as Davidson (35-37) describes and analyzes Vietnamese folksongs "sung antithetically, consisting of improvised boy-girl stanzas"; they strongly suggest the *pantun*, particularly if we also consult the old but classic article by Nguyen Van Huyen (1934) on the subject.

Having passed from Bali to Vietnam by way of Java and the Malay region, the problem of the Field of Ethnological Study becomes even more acute if we turn to Thailand. Turton describes the ritual which accompanies the building of a house. As an item in this ritual, "leaves with auspicious names (sometimes punningly auspicious sounding names) are placed" in the holes for the corner-posts (116).

The problem is obvious: what are we to make of these very specific continental-insular similarities? Are they fortuitous? Are they of world-wide occurrence? Are they due to distribution from one half of the S-E Asian region to the other, or from an outside source to both? Or do specific resemblances justify taking all of S-E Asia as a Field of Ethnological Study, in spite of the immense over-all cultural, linguistic, and historical differences? None of the individual contributors raises these questions, but it is a merit of the SOAS volume as a whole that it does so, albeit tacitly, by supplying the information which contains the problem.

Of the abundant information that is relevant for comparative purposes I shall only mention the lay-out of the Thai house, with its clear distinction between the interior and the outward-looking parts (122); the territorial arrangement of the Burmese royal capital, which Shorto aptly compares with the findings of Durkheim and Mauss and of Van Ossenbruggen (160, 161); and, more specifically again, the seating order of Burmese courtiers, by which "absences were at once detectable" (162) — precisely what 17th-century Dutch envoys reported about the Javanese court of Mataram!

As the present review has gradually assumed the character of a plea for further comparative research on S-E Asian cultures, before its conclusion we must inquire into possible disagreements on matters of theory between the SOAS group and Dutch students of Indonesia. The only instances of this are in Christie's chapter on natural symbols in Java.

The theme of that chapter is that "the concept of oppositions is inappropriate" (133). The author discusses several cases where two characters or two groups figure in Javanese and Balinese *wayang* and other ritual performances: the Korawas and the Pandawas, Rangda and Barong, Bubukshah and Gagang Aking and odiers, and comes to the conclusion that "we are dealing with wholes and that the unreality

of opposition is shown" (by these cases) (148). I think Christie has misunderstood what not only Rassers (135, 138), but anthropologists in general, Dutch and others, mean by opposition.

When he says (136) that "At first sight Rangda and Barong must appear absolutely opposed, but it is soon clear that their opposition can equally well be analysed as interaction", he himself introduces a false "opposition" between opposition and interaction. Interaction is a *conditio sine qua non* for opposition. There is no opposition between pencil and female, but there is between male and female, right and left, upperworld and underworld, etc. Thus also ambiguous figures like Semar (137) and others do not contradict the notion of opposition. It has often been pointed out that a binary system usually includes an ambivalent, central figure who represents the totality; in the literature he (and/or she) is frequently designated as "divine trickster", and this same figure can appear as the "culture hero" (it is not for nothing that the volume of Rassers' collected papers was given the title "Panji, the culture hero"). In this chapter the concept of binary opposition is principally attributed to W. H. Rassers, who comes in for what one can only call a sneer (148). I venture to suggest a calm appraisal of the strong and weak points in Rassers' work (e.g. de Josselin de Jong 1972: 76-79) as recommended reading for Rassers' critics.

In spite of some errors (e.g. *Ada-trechtbundels* p. 56, Gatutkaja, p. 133, Damar Wulun, p. 138) the volume as a whole is carefully edited, and its pleasing format matches its valuable contents.

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G. N. Appell, *Ethical Dilemmas in Anthropological inquiry: A Case Book*, Waltham (Mass.), Crossroads Press, 1978, xii + 291 pp.

P. KLOOS

The general attitude towards ethical codes for social scientists, I think, is one of indifference. No one really expects these codes to offer much help to those scientists who run into trouble. Most codes are moreover too abstract to be of much use when it comes to increasing one's own or one's students' awareness of ethical dilemmas in anthropological research or giving ideas on how to solve them — if they can be solved at all. The only way of increasing one's sensitivity in this field is, I suppose, by studying actual conflict cases. The trouble up till now has been that even though all anthropologists must have at least some personal experience in this respect, collections of cases to be used for class study, for instance, have been lacking. This gap is now filled by Appell's book, which is really no more than a collection of cases. Many cases even lack a proper conclusion, but end in confusion and doubt. Thus they provide the reader with a good opportunity to consider what he would do if caught in such a web of conflicting requirements and responsibilities.

The book contains about one hundred cases, some taking up half a page, some several pages; some disclosing the author's name, some suppressing it; some concerning foolish, insignificant quarrels, and some conflicts of life and death. Together they cover most of the problems anthropologists today are likely to become involved in in their relations with informants, assistants, members of the community, leaders, missionaries, politicians, funding agencies, teachers, fellow-anthropologists, and so on. There are also some very interesting cases about the use and abuse of data and publications.

Appell's book contains no indication as to whether *every* anthropologist today is beset by the kind of dilemmas described, or whether their number is on the increase (as I believe it is). If so, one faces the question of why this is so. What do these dilemmas tell us about anthropology, about anthropologists, and about the society we are living in? A good question, I feel, for the teacher who will use this book, but also for all other readers — and I trust there will be many.

M. B. Hooker, *A Concise Legal History of South-East Asia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978. 289 pp. Price £ 12.00.

DAVID S. MOYER

When Oxford University Press publishes a book with the word "concise" in the title, one expects extensive coverage of a topic combined with brevity, or at least relative brevity. Furthermore, one also hopes for,

if not expects, freedom from the author's idiosyncracies. Otherwise, one would not have a reference work but another contribution to a variety of ongoing academie arguments. In every respect, M. B. Hooker's latest book lives up to our initial expectations. The book will be a valuable tool for the anthropologist, non-western sociologist, political scientist, philologist and comparative legal scholar seeking a guide to the complexities of South-East Asian legal history. Furthermore, the writing style successfully avoids the worst excesses of academie prose. It is written by a legal scholar with an obvious respect for the communication potential of the English language.

After a short introduction the book is divided into two parts: "Status" and "Contract". The terminology is that of Sir Henry Sumner Maine. However, the author explicitly states that he offers "no opinion ... on progressive legal development" (p. 10). In short, he wishes to use Maine's distinction without being committed to, or at least reserving judgment upon, Maine's evolutionary sequence "from status to contract". This distinction has a noble heritage. Lewis Henry Morgan made virtually the same distinction (possibly drawn from Maine) under the names *societas* (status) and *civitas* (contract). Towards the end of the nineteenth century Tönnies and Durkheim evoked similar distinctions under the names *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* and *solidarité mécanique* and *solidarité organique*. And in the twentieth century one finds Redfield's "folk/urban continuum" and Lévi-Strauss' *structures élémentaires* and *structures complexes* all dealing with similar distinctions with varying views on evolutionary progression. Given the fact that the classification is often confused (e.g. Durkheim's is often accidentally inverted) and confusing (e.g. Lévi-Strauss' has been debated in a *reductio ad nauseam*) it is incumbent upon one to carefully examine the meaning Hooker assigns to the terms "status" and "contract". This is all the more important because Hooker groups all of the oriental "legal worlds" in the section on status and all of the Occidental "legal worlds" in that on contract.

For Hooker, "personal obligation is defined in status systems as a function of race, sex, caste, and religion, whereas in contract systems the individual is defined without reference to such criteria so that obligation is a function of abstract normative propositions having absolute validity within an exclusive universe" (p. 10). And further, "in status systems the legal universe is not thought of as a self-contained entity but is part of a wider system of thought which has moral and ethical sides to it... In contract... the definition of the legal universe is strictly confined and any connection with things not legal is by way of direct reference and not by necessary implication" (p. 11). A third point involves the differences in the validation of law. "Law in the status system is part of a defined order which is true because it exists. In contract systems... laws are either valid or invalid, judged by their congruence with standards internal to a particular legal system" (p. 12). Hooker's fourth point involves administration. "For status systems the administration of law is at best part of a wider political and state

order" (p. 12). On the other hand, in contract systems, "the effective administration of laws, is part of the definition of validity" (p. 13). At first glance one wonders why Hooker's definitions of status and contract seem to deviate so much from Maine's original formulation. However, one's doubts are quickly dispelled when one sees the use to which the author puts his own classification.

"Part I: Status" includes four chapters: "The Indian Legal World: The Law Texts of Burma, Thailand, Champā and Cambodia, and Java", "The Islamic Legal World: The Law Texts of Island South-East Asia", "The Chinese Legal World: The Vietnamese Texts", and "The South-East Asian Law Texts: Cultural Borrowing and the Concept of Law". The tone of the chapters is one familiar to philologists. In the first three of these chapters, one begins to suspect that Hooker has fallen into the trap by which South-East Asian literary sources are considered only as a catch basin for a series of differing foreign streams. In other words, one has the impression that he might be ignoring the genuine local elements in the various texts. However, the fourth chapter makes it clear that this impression is largely the result of Hooker's careful organization, and not any particular theoretical bias. In short, the South-East Asian dimension is fully developed in the fourth chapter of this section. Thus the reader is well advised to avoid the temptation, so implicit in the use of reference books of this type, to read only those chapters related to one's own special interest. If one is reading selectively from this section one should read the chapter on South-East Asian law texts in addition to whatever else one chooses to read.

In the conclusion to chapter four the author summarizes his view (though it is not entirely clear whether he is referring only to South-East Asian texts or to all oriental texts) as follows. "In all of the codes described above, the notion of status is primary; the propriety of any action which an individual may undertake is determined by reference to a natural system of obligation. 'NaturaP here' means principles which are self-evident in the ecologies, social systems and religions. They are, so to speak, given in the facts of life" (pp. 118-119). Thus not only does Hooker successfully deal with the essential nature of the oriental and South-East Asian texts but his use of the status/contract distinction allows him to draw appropriate contrasts with the Western legal systems.

"Part II: Contract", like Part I, contains four chapters: "The English Legal World: The Straits Settlements, Federated and Unfederated Malay States, British Borneo and Burma", "The French Legal World: French Indo-China and Thailand (Siam)", "The Dutch Legal World: The Philippines". The tone of these chapters is markedly different from that of the previous section in that it involves a change to a more legalist style of discourse. Here, although common themes are developed, the chapters are so self-contained that the reader, if he so desires, could read each chapter independently. In this section one might expect strong parallels with Hooker's other recent book, *Legal Pluralism: An Introduction to Colonial and Neo-Colonial Laws*

(reviewed by J. A. Zevenbergen in *BKI* 134: 381-383). However, this is not as much the case as one might expect. To take one example of particular interest to the readers of this journal, the chapter entitled "The Dutch Legal World" is about one half of the length of the corresponding chapter in *Legal Pluralism*. But some of the material in the shorter work is not included in the longer. Of particular significance to the non-legal scholar is the fact that the writing style of *A Concise Legal History of South-East Asia* is more general and less legalist. Unfortunately, this section (like the book as a whole) lacks a summary and conclusion that is in any way analogous to the final chapter in the previous section. Thus the reader, in the end, has a much less clear picture as to what the author sees as the essentials of a "contract" type legal system as opposed to those of "status" systems.

In conclusion, the book is a valuable "concise" handbook to the legal history of South-East Asia. Of special significance is the author's treatment of law texts and the use of the status/contract distinction. The only complaint that one might have in this regard is that the use of Maine's terminology might serve to obscure the author's very perceptive observations on the qualitative differences in the two main streams of South-East Asian legal history.

Henri J. M. Claessen and P. Skalnik, eds., *The Early State*. Mouton Publishers. The Hague, The Netherlands 1978. XII + 690 pages. Retail Price: DM 115.—. U.S. \$ 64.00.

J. G. OOSTEN

The Early State is a monumental book. It is an attempt to coordinate and integrate theories of state formation and to present a number of case studies at the same time. The book consists of a theoretical introduction by the editors (Thesis, 1-107), the presentation of a number of case studies by different authors (Antithesis, 109-529) and a critical evaluation of the data presented in the book again by the editors (Synthesis, 530-650). Far from being a Hegelian attempt to develop a phenomenology of the early state, the book rests on a firm empirical base. The main part consists of 21 case studies devoted to Angkor, Ankole, Axum, China, Egypt, France, Georgia, Hawaii, Inca state, Galla state, Kachari state, Kuba state, Mauryan state, early states in Norway, among the Scythians, in Tahiti, in the Voltaic basin, Yoruba states and the early state among the Zande. These articles are written by leading authorities in their respective fields, and the case studies represent a rich source of information on early states. We will not discuss the merits of the different articles, but will concentrate on the theoretical perspective of the book.

The orientation of the book as a whole is materialistic and evolu-

tionistic. This is consistent with the theoretical outlook of the editors, who play a prominent part in the Evomat (evolutionistic-materialistic) research programme of the Leyden State University. The majority of the authors of the case studies share this perspective, although there are important exceptions (cf., e.g., Jansen's study of the early Egyptian state). The rise of the early state is explained by demographic, economic and social processes. The concept of the early state is complex. Glaessen and Skalnik give the following working definition (p. 21): "The Early State is the organization for the regulation of social relations in a society that is divided into two emergent social classes, the rulers and the ruled". This simple opposition often proves difficult to apply. In many states it is often difficult to determine which groups belong to which stratum.

The early state can be studied in diachronic as well as synchronic perspective. Claessen's approach is predominantly synchronic. His main concern is with the structuring principles that are shared by different early states in order to make comparison possible. Skalnik's approach is diachronic. He is interested in state formation as a process and tries to trace the principles that determine this process.

The two approaches are complementary, but at the same time tend to be mutually exclusive. The concept of the early state itself is a compromise between these two approaches. It refers to a stage of indeterminate length in the development of states, namely that of the transition from chieftaincy to state. When we study the chart on page 534 we notice that for each state a particular period in its history, usually of a few hundred years, has been selected. This gives scope for both a diachronic and a synchronic approach.

The historians, however, feel restricted by these limits. The Han state in China represents just one of a long series of attempts at state formation in China, and one could argue that each new dynasty (at least in the first two thousand years of Chinese history) had to pass through the stage of the early state. The historian requires the perspective of the dynastic cycles over the ages in China as well as Egypt and other cultural areas in order to understand the processes of state formation.

The comparatist, however, is still confronted with too much diachronic variety. This has led to the introduction of subdivisions (inchoate state, typical early state, transitional early state, the last of which terms is not quite satisfactory, since the early state itself is conceived of as a transitional phenomenon). The authors give much attention to demographic, economic and social factors, but devote little space to the analysis of the idea of the state. The principle of legitimation is acknowledged, but legitimation is usually considered as a secondary reflection of social and economic relations (cf., e.g., Kurtz's article on 'Legitimation in the Aztec state').

The idea of the state can be an important factor in the process of state formation. State formation itself implies the development of an idea. Once the idea is developed it acquires its own momentum. We

see that the idea of the state can continue to exist after the state where it was developed has disappeared. A well-known example is the Roman empire. The developments of later states in Europe and the importance of the idea of the emperor should be studied in the perspective of the importance of the idea of the Roman empire for later rulers.

The editors of the book stress the importance of the state as a centralized entity. This criterion was important in the selection of the case studies. We have to take into account the possibility that the unity of the state may have had a different meaning for the participants. The Roman emperors and the Frankish kings were quite prepared to divide their states into different independent parts. In periods of decentralization the idea of the ultimate unity of the state could motivate warring rulers and warlords in their decisions, etc.

The authors were aware of many of these problems. Their aim was to coordinate different ideas on state formation and to develop a general theory that encompassed different approaches. In order to do so they had to define their subject strictly and to develop rather narrow criteria for the concept of the early state. It is obvious that some of these criteria will have to be adapted, but as it stands the book provides a sound foundation for the development of theories of state formation. It is an excellent handbook for anthropologists, sociologists and historians in its combination of a number of excellent case studies with a reliable theoretical basis. Demographic, economic and social processes, etc., are of the utmost importance in the development of early states, but I personally hope that further developments in the theories of state formation will take into account long-term state formation developments and the meaning and importance of the idea of the state in processes of state formation as well. I am looking forward to the second part of this book, which is currently in preparation.

Ethnologie Régionale 2. Asie-Amérique-Mascareignes.
Sous la direction de Jean Poirier. Encyclopedie de la
Pleiade. Gallimard, Paris 1978.

J. G. OOSTEN

Ethnologie Régionale is a most useful handbook in two volumes. The first volume covers Africa and Oceania, the second gives a survey of Asia, America and the Mascarene Islands. It comprises a number of essays in which different cultural areas are discussed. The demarcation of such areas is a crucial issue in cultural anthropology, as was already perceived by J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong in his discussion of the Malay archipelago as a field of ethnological study (1935; recently republished in P. E. de Josselin de Jong, ed., *Structural Anthropology in the Netherlands*, The Hague: Nijhoff, 1977). It would have been worthwhile to give some attention to this problem in the regional essays.

Now it is not always clear how different cultural areas have been distinguished. The essays are written by leading authorities in their respective fields and some are of outstanding quality. No attempt has been made to subordinate the authors to specific theoretical and methodological principles. Each essay can be read as an independent introduction to the study of the given cultural area. The greater part of the book is devoted to Asia. Lemoine's essays on China and Japan, coming to more than 500 pages, Herrenschmidt's essay on India, covering about 200 pages, and Condominas' essay on South East Asia together comprise about half the book. Rather surprisingly, relatively little attention is paid to Islamic culture (80 pages by Monteil).

The second part of the book is devoted to America. Relatively little attention is given to North America (about 50 pages being devoted to Eskimo culture by Malaurie and about 60 pages to the North American Indians by Jean Micha). A long essay by Georgette Soustelle is devoted to the Indians of Mexico and Central America (about 160 pages), while the cultures of South America are discussed at length by different authors.

The third part of the book consists of a short essay on the Mascarene Islands by Benoist (about 35 pages). One would have expected this part of the book to have been included in the first volume.

Ethnologie Régionale concludes with an interesting essay by the editor. He discusses the relations between ethnic groups and hetero-cultural societies, and in particular the position of the researcher who is involved with both.

Ethnologie Régionale 2 is a valuable book in an excellent series put out by the Encyclopédie de la Pleiade.

A. de Ruyter, *Een speurtocht naar het denken. Een inleiding tot het structuralisme van Claude Lévi-Strauss*. Van Gorcum & Comp. N.V., Assen 1979. Prijs f 19,90. Serie: Terreinverkenningen in de Culturele Anthropologie, nr. 16.

J. G. OOSTEN

De structurele anthropologie van Claude Lévi-Strauss is een uiterst belangrijk maar moeilijk toegankelijk terrein in de culturele anthropologie. Het is daarom verheugend, dat er nu ook in het Nederlands een inleiding tot zijn denken verschenen is. De Ruyter poogt een overzicht te geven van dit terrein in een handzaam boekje van 137 pagina's, dat ook voor geïnteresseerde leken toegankelijk is. Het moet gezegd worden, dat hij hierin voortreffelijk geslaagd is. Het is geen gemakkelijke zaak het denken van Lévi-Strauss eenvoudig en overzichtelijk uiteen te zetten, maar de auteur is een kenner van het werk van Lévi-Strauss en gepromoveerd op een systeemanalyse van zijn werk. Het boek is

kort en overzichtelijk gehouden en vormt een uitstekende inleiding tot de structurele anthropologie. Niettemin zou ik er toch ook enkele kritische kanttekeningen bij willen plaatsen.

In de eerste plaats wordt Lévi-Strauss nauwelijks in zijn historische kontekst geplaatst. De lijn Durkheim-Mauss-Lévi-Strauss wordt nauwelijks aangegeven en er wordt ook weinig moeite gedaan het werk van Lévi-Strauss in de kontekst van contemporaine theoretische ontwikkelingen te plaatsen. Met name een verdere uitwerking van de tegenstelling tussen het britse functionalisme en het franse structuralisme zou de plaats van Lévi-Strauss in de culturele anthropologie aanmerkelijk kunnen verduidelijken. Het is echter duidelijk dat de geringe omvang van de inleiding de auteur dwingt tot beperkingen en het is daarom begrijpelijk dat deze kontekst er wat bekaaid af komt.

Een tweede en mijns inziens nog belangrijker probleem is gelegen in de kritische bespreking die de auteur in ieder hoofdstuk aan de ideeën van Lévi-Strauss wijdt. Hierbij wordt geen onderscheid gemaakt tussen critiek die op Lévi-Strauss gegeven kan worden op basis van zijn eigen vooronderstellingen en methodische regels, en critiek, die voorkomt uit geheel andere (psychologische, functionalistische e.a.) benaderingen en voor Lévi-Strauss zelf nooit erg relevant is geweest. Deze laatste vorm van critiek had waarschijnlijk beter in een apart hoofdstuk opgenomen kunnen worden. Nu is de portee van de kritische besprekingen niet altijd duidelijk en in een aantal gevallen, met name in hoofdstuk vier en vijf, vertroebelen zij het inzicht, dat de auteur in zijn weergave van Lévi-Strauss juist gegeven heeft. Het werkt verwarrend wanneer Lévi-Strauss voor de voeten geworpen wordt, dat hij onvoldoende oog heeft voor het denkende subject (pag. 105), terwijl in de inleiding is uiteengezet dat de portee van het structuralisme er nu juist in gelegen is dat niet het denkende subject, maar de ordenende principes van zijn denken tot onderwerp van onderzoek worden gemaakt. Daar komt nog bij, dat Lévi-Strauss dikwijls blijkt gegeven van zijn interesses in het denkende subject. Ik denk daarbij o.a. aan *Tristes Tropiques* en 'Le Sorcier et sa Magie'.

Soortgelijke bezwaren kunnen worden ingebracht tegen de Ruyters verwijt, dat Lévi-Strauss onvoldoende aandacht besteedt aan de functies van mythe (106). Dit is ook zijn bedoeling niet. Hij analyseert de mythen in termen van structuren en niet in termen van functies. Hierin ligt het belangrijkste verschil tussen structuralisme en functionalisme. De conclusie dat Lévi-Strauss "tot een soort evolutionisme vervalt" door het bricoleursdenken als een soort oervorm van het ingenieursdenken te beschouwen valt niet uit Lévi-Strauss' werk af te leiden, waarin hij beide vormen van denken modelmatig tegenover elkaar plaatst zonder daaruit enige historische of causale band af te leiden.

De suggestie de oppositie cultuur-natuur te vervangen door de oppositie menselijk-niet menselijk (pag. 88) lijkt geen verbetering. Het ambigue van de menselijke situatie is juist, dat de mens zowel door de natuur als door de cultuur bepaald wordt en die ambiguïteit kan niet uitgedrukt worden door de oppositie menselijk-niet menselijk.

De vooronderstelling, dat het criterium van geografische en historische beïnvloeding niet in Lévi-Strauss' benadering zou passen wordt niet nader beargumenteerd. Het is ongetwijfeld juist, dat Lévi-Strauss weinig moeite doet dergelijke invloeden te onderzoeken, maar zij vormen de voorwaarde voor zijn onderzoek. Als dit criterium er niet zou zijn, zou de deur open staan voor willekeur in de mythe-analyse en zouden mythen uit verschillende werelddelen zonder nadere argumentatie aan elkaar gerelateerd kunnen worden. Dit is bepaald niet Lévi-Strauss' bedoeling. Wanneer hij mythen van verschillende continenten, of ver verwijderde culturen met elkaar verbindt, doet hij dat altijd met zeer specifieke bedoelingen en worden deze verbindingen in de regel ook duidelijk beargumenteerd.

Aan het slot van zijn boekje besteedt de Ruyter nog enige aandacht aan de Leidse School. Dit is zeer toe te juichen, want er bestaat een belangrijke band tussen de structurele anthropologie in Parijs en die in Leiden (cf. D. S. Moyer, *Paris-Leiden and other oppositions*, Leiden 1977).

Hoewel er dus bezwaren ingebracht kunnen worden tegen de critiek van de auteur op Lévi-Strauss' werk heeft hij in deze inleiding niettemin uitstekend werk gedaan. Deze inleiding kan de vergelijking met reeds bestaande inleidingen goed doorstaan. Zo schenkt Oppitz (*Notwendige Beziehungen*, Suhrkamp 1975) veel minder aandacht aan de classificatieproblematiek, terwijl Leach in zijn inleiding tot het werk van Lévi-Strauss (*Lévi-Strauss*, Fontana/Gollins 1970) zijn eigen opvattingen en die van Lévi-Strauss niet altijd even goed onderscheidt. De Ruyter's boek is vooral bedoeld als een eerste inleiding en als zodanig zeer geslaagd. Het kan een nuttige functie vervullen in de opleiding van studenten in de culturele anthropologie en niet-westerse sociologie.

Raymond C. Kelly. *Etoro Social Structure. A Study in Structural Contradiction*. Foreword by Marshall Sahlins. The University of Michigan Press. Ann Arbor, 1974, 1977. xvi + 329 pages. Maps, tables, plates, figures, index. Price U.S. \$ 12.

ANTON PLOEG

The Etoro, on whose lives this book is based, are a group numbering about 400 people in 1968-9, the time of field research. They live in Papua New Guinea, in the border area of the Central Highlands and the Great Papuan Plateau, an area which is not well known anthropologically. The author has collected outstanding field data and deals with a major issue in anthropological theory, namely the nature of social structure. Consequently the book is an important one, deserving a wide readership.

However, it is a frustrating one to review. Kelly's main theoretical

contention is that systems of social structure do not show functional consistency, but rather are ordered by a dialectical interplay of structural principles (which Kelly defines as principles designating "specific form(s) of connection or linkage" (p. 1)) which "manifest contradiction rather than consistence" (p. 3). The analysis of Etoro social structure, which forms the bulk of the book, is an illustration of this contention. The contradiction incorporated in Etoro social structure is one between principles of descent and sibblingship. Recognition of the interplay of such principles, Kelly contends further, entails the recognition that New Guinea societies need not be 'loosely structured'. The author believes his ideas have wider applicability, and in the concluding chapter of the book he presents a reanalysis of Nuer social structure in terms of structural contradiction. He adds that he would have given fuller evidence "were my employer less demanding of a concrete, actually existing manifestation of my efforts. Choice was not mine and decision was dictated by the structure" (p. 297). Finally, Kelly discusses the implications of his views for the relations between abstract structure and empirical events. He first mentions three different notions of 'structure': the Lévi-Straussian one in which the relation of structure to events is irrelevant; the notion of structure as a consistent set of rules Which, however, cannot account for the of ten substantial amount of behaviour violating the rules; and finally the idea of structure as the statistical outcome of empirical events in which there is a one to one relationship between the two, with empirical events as the determining variable. Kelly favours a refinement of the second notion, and feels, if I have interpreted him rightly, that his concept of structural contradiction makes a larger and more varied number of empirical events accountable in terms of structural principles. He would admit, I think, that it does not dispose of the problem of behaviour violating the rules.

The amount of ethnographic detail of the book is overwhelming. It constitutes only part of the data collected by Kelly. He is planning other publications, notably on leadership. He remarks almost casually on p. 50 that, prior to the introduction of steel tools, men did 58 % of the gardening work, and afterwards only 38 %, without even hinting how he has arrived at these figures.

I mentioned above that I found the book frustrating to review. While Kelly is to be commended for a most useful contribution to the theoretical discussion on the concept of social structure, his work suffers from various defects.

Firstly, the book contains a lot of jargon and is often laborious in expression. For instance, population decrease is at one stage referred to as "demographic decompression" (p. 142). Other examples are: "True sister exchange is the enabling precondition for the aggregation of all the close kinsmen and affines encompassed by Etoro residential preferences" (p. 131), and "The nexus of sibblingship is the relational property equivalent transitivity (embodied in the formula $X:M::Y:M$) which is the key to the structure of the social puzzle and generative of the models which are expressed in 'the rules governing the con-

stikution of social groups and their inter-relations" (p. 279). The linguistic hurdles make the argument the harder to follow, and I have to confess that I have not systematically checked it for internal consistency.

Secondly, while Kelly claims to deal with Etoro social structure, he in fact deals with the Etoro system of kinship and marriage, without demonstrating that the two are one and the same.

Thirdly, I wonder if his analysis indeed enables or compels us to do away with the idea of looseness of New Guinea social structures. On p. 128 he writes: "The kinship structure is capable of providing an organisational framework for whatever happens 'on the ground'", and on p. 179: "The possibility of selective recognition of one of a variety of utilizable connections provides wide latitude in the ascription of individuals to kinship categories". The state of affairs described in the two quotations is exactly what led anthropologists to coin the expression 'loose social structure'. Furthermore, the situation in which social structure allows a wide variety of events to be in accordance with its rules implies a relationship between abstract structure and empirical events not considered by Kelly.

Fourthly, in the course of the book Kelly gradually unfolds a picture of the Etoro system of kinship and marriage as a kind of elaborate baroque building, without making clear, however, how the Etoro experience living in it and what uses they make of it. This struck me since Kelly acknowledges the influence of Sahlins' writings, among which I would single out his analysis of the use to which segmentary lineage organisation can be put. It would have been most worthwhile for Kelly to have attempted an analogous exercise with regard to the Etoro descent-cum-siblingship-structure.

Kelly does not describe the Etoro as distinct individuals. In fact, he seems to have purposely avoided doing so. He acknowledges the assistance of his principal informant, Iliyawi (p. xiv), and again refers to him, but without mentioning his name, in the course of his analysis (p. 79). Iliyawi may also be the man shown in plate 1 (opposite p. 64), but Kelly does not make this clear. His objective seems to be to present Etoro social structure as an abstract phenomenon, using events observed by and reported to him in the course of his field research as illustrations of the interplay of abstract structural principles. I do not contest the usefulness of such an approach, but would like to stress that the events, at the same time, make up the lives of individual men and women. In my view ethnography "in its highest form" (Sahlins' qualification of the book in his foreword) manages somehow to combine the two approaches.

Likewise in the foreword Sahlins predicts that the book will provoke controversy. I hope this will in fact be the case, and that it may stimulate Kelly to go on with both his theoretical research and the writing up of his field material.

Utrecht University

Dr. L. M. Serpenti, *Cultivators in the Swamps. Social Structure and Horticulture in a New Guinea Society*. Second edition. Van Gorcum, Assen, 1977, 308 pp., maps, tables, figures, glossary. Dutch price fl. 45.

A. PLOEG

This book is a photographic reprint of the 1965 edition, which has long been out of print. This second edition is in soft cover and has to do without the photographs and the attractive dust jacket of the 1965 one. The texts of the two editions are identical. It is unfortunate that the publisher has not used the opportunity to correct misprints and mistakes. Consequently van Vollenhoven's name remains misspelt (for instance on p. 109) and there is again mention of the mysterious Marcel Strauss (on p. 256). Also, while it was understandable that in the 1965 edition a term such as Frederik Hendrik Island was used, this name has now become an anachronism. Finally, since the book first appeared, interest in ecology has increased and, as far as New Guinea is concerned, several other analyses of agricultural systems have been published. In 1965 Serpenti's book was a forerunner and it might have been interesting if the author had been able to add a chapter linking his own analysis with later published works.

The first edition has not been reviewed in *Bijdragen*. Easily accessible reviews are those by Jacques Barrau and Harold Scheffler in the *American Anthropologist*, vol. 68 (1966), pp. 1034-6, with a reply by Serpenti in vol. 69 (1967), pp. 86-7; by Scarlett Epstein in *Man*, N.S. vol. 1 (1966), pp. 129-30; by Jeremy Beckett in *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 76 (1967), pp. 520-1; and by Marilyn Strathern in *Oceania*, vol. 40 (1969), pp. 83-4.

There is only one additional matter I would like to mention. The first chapter of the book deals with food production. Pig-raising is not mentioned, while moreover pork is not among the items in the lists showing the content of meals. Given Serpenti's comment that "means of subsistence on Frederik Hendrik Island are decidedly marginal" (p. 62), while the physical environment is hardly conducive to pig husbandry as practised in most other parts of Melanesia, it would seem that the people obtain pigs and pork exclusively by hunting. However, data given on page 230 suggest that pig husbandry is practised. Serpenti (pers. comixi.) confirms that this is the case, but that the number of pigs is small — on average less than one animal per nuclear family.

S. F. Moore and B. G. Myerhoff (eds.), *Secular Ritual*. Van Gorcum, Assen, 1977. 293 pp.

A. DE RUIJTER

This collection of articles is the result of an international conference organized by Max Gluckman, Sally F. Moore and Victor Turner at Burg Wartenstein (Austria) in 1974. The fourteen contributions, dealing

with creation, performance and outcome of secular ceremonies and their meanings, are divided into four sections: (1) theoretical and definitional studies, (2) traditional settings, (3) group assemblies, and (4) mass occasions. In view of the fact that the range of subjects is rather wide, I shall try to cover the content of this book by concentrating on the Introduction written by the editors. I shall use the chapters, which analyze certain collective ceremonial events, as illustrations. This manner of analysis is facilitated by the fact that the Introduction is to a large extent a representation and reflection of the discussions of the conference.

Two central issues dealt with in the Introduction are the explanation of the "tradition-celebrating role" of ritual and the relationship between secular ritual and cultural values and norms.

With regard to the first issue Moore and Myerhoff come to the conclusion that ritual is a suitable vehicle for social and cultural perpetuation because of its formal characteristics (p. 7-8). These are: (1) repetition (of occasion, content, form), (2) acting (ritual is not a spontaneous activity), (3) special behavior or stylization, (4) order, (5) evocative presentational style, and (6) social meaning. Especially in repetition and order ritual suggests a link with perpetual processes of the cosmos by imitating the rhythm of biological and physical phenomena.

Ritual can be seen as a container, the effect of which is at least partly attributable to its formal characteristics. This is elaborated in Myerhoff's contribution, "We don't wrap herring in a printed page: fusion, fictions and continuity in secular ritual" (pp. 199-227), on a graduation ceremony of a Yiddish History Class, consisting of 31 persons in their eighties and nineties, in a Jewish Senior Citizens' Center in a city in California. The editors also state that ritual, although it is a traditionalizing medium, can be used to create and mark changes. Golson's article "The least common denominator" (pp. 189-199) illustrates this point well. She describes a birthday party in a senior citizens' center in the San Francisco Bay area in 1974. Held once a month for those whose birthdays fall in that month, this traditional form is used in a new setting with many modifications to introduce strangers to each other and to give them a collective experience in sharing: it is as much a rite of passage as a rite of solidarity. She tries to strike a balance between two characteristics of ritual: on the one hand ritual represents, defines or masks existing social arrangements and conflicts, on the other hand it also reorganizes these or helps to create new arrangements. Victor Turner's "Variations on a theme of liminality" (pp. 36-53) emphasizes this innovating role of ritual by paying attention to the ways in which ritual may be a conceptual framework that stimulates creativity in men both through "mandatory improvisations" (trance, visions) and through structured rule-guided activities.

Regarding the second issue, the relationship between secular ritual and cultural values and norms, it is concluded in the Introduction that a secular ceremony — contrary to a religious ceremony which is simultaneously a declaration about religion and a demonstration of its operation (p. 10) — need not be attached to a worked-out, elaborate

ideology. Secular ritual has only vague associations with certain parts of culture. This conclusion is exemplified in Manning's description of cup match and carnival as rites of revitalization in two Caribbean societies: their implied meanings account more for their effectiveness than any overt ideology (see chapter XIV, pp. 265-282). Yet, the editors also point to a striking similarity between religious and secular ceremonies. Both show the unseen. Ritual objectifies and reifies ideas or values which are inherently invisible most of the time, as is shown in Moore's contribution "Political meetings and the simulation of unanimity: Kilimanjaro 1973" (pp. 151-173). Moore describes how the national Government of Tanzania tries to give its socialist ideology concrete immediacy through the medium of regular local political meetings.

In my opinion *Secular Ritual* is a very interesting and stimulating collection of articles. In several empirical case-studies a central aspect of ritual is pointed out: the tension between process and structure, resulting from the fact that ritual is a declaration of form against indeterminacy. In Moore's and Myerhoffs words: "Underlying all rituals is an ultimate danger: the slip in that fatal perspective of recognizing culture as our construct, arbitrary, conventional, invented by mortals. This gives ritual a paradoxical nature: because of its obviously contrived form it epitomizes that made-up quality of culture, while at the same time its very form and purpose is to discourage untrammelled inquiry into this question" (p. 18). Interesting is the introduction of a two-dimensional classification based on the oppositions religious-non religious and sacred-non sacred. This I think is an improvement on the well-known Durkheimian opposition of sacred-profane. The editors also correct Durkheim's view that rituals create corporate groups or a common culture. They point out that rituals in modern societies only lead to a temporary solidarity between individuals: a ceremony can mark the conjunction of some persons with different values and positions during a short period of time.

Finally, I would like to raise a few points of criticism. A minor point is that five dimensions of ritual outcomes are distinguished — (1) explicit purpose, (2) explicit symbols and messages, (3) implicit statements, (4) social relationships affected, (5) axioms as ritual is culture versus chaos — of which the fourth (social relationships affected) is out of place. While the other dimensions relate to analyses in the field of cognition and communication, this one is related to the effects these levels of communication may have on the participants.

Another point is the difference which is made between secular and religious rituals. Religious rituals are defined through reference to all-embracing, explicit ultimate universals, while secular rituals are characterized by implicit meanings and vague associations. This overlooks the fact that many religious ceremonies in primitive societies equally lack this reference to explicit universals.

A much more fundamental problem is the looseness of the concept of ritual. The abandonment of the religious aspect of ritual results in a category of phenomena very broadly and loosely defined by certain kinds

of ritual-like formalities. Goody (pp. 25-36) points out the problems and dangers of this kind of general concept: if secular ceremonies are merely "formal behaviors in the non-technological realm", how can one distinguish ceremonies from all other formal events? No satisfactory answer is given to this question, although further progress in the analysis of ritual may depend on it.

R. Needham, *Symbolic Classification*. Goodyear Publishing Company Inc. Santa Monica, California. 1979. 78 pp.

A. DE RUIJTER

This is the first book in "The Goodyear Perspectives in Anthropology Series", a new series intended to meet the particular needs of students by providing clear and concise introductory texts on topics of theoretical relevance.

Needham's study fully answers the goals of this series. It is lucidly written and the topics are arranged in logical order. Each new chapter elaborates on certain aspects of symbolic classification dealt with in the previous chapters.

After stating the double necessity of symbolism (to mark what is socially important and to induce people to conform in recognizing the values by which they should live), Needham quickly goes through a few examples of systems of classification in chapter 1. He ends this chapter with the summing-up of the twofold task of anthropology in this field: (1) to bring out in each case what in fact the indigenous criteria are by which things are defined and classified, and (2) to see whether principles can be discovered which are not recognized by the people concerned but which seem nevertheless to exert some constraint on the form and content of their symbolic classifications (p. 15).

In chapter 2 Needham concerns himself with the question of why people construct symbolic classifications. He gives three main reasons:

- (1) Classification is needed to think about and to act upon phenomena (this does not mean that *symbolic* classification is necessary, however, but only that categorization is essential).
- (2) Symbolic classification is an expression of man's urge to speculate in metaphysical terms: classification can encapsulate a philosophy.
- (3) Symbolic classification reinforces particularly jural categories, i.e. those that regulate rights and duties.

Next (chapter 3) Needham considers the question of why a particular society has a specific form of classification. He rejects two evolutionary theories: Durkheim's and Mauss's theory of the social origin of logical categories and Hocart's theory (presented in *Kings and Councillors*) positing a connection between jural categories and symbolic classification. I wonder, however, why Needham considers only these two different, but at the same time complementary theories. He does not refer to a really alternative one like Lévi-Strauss's view of innate

principles of thought. Attention to Lévi-Strauss's theory would have given him a starting-point for a discussion of the connection between individual psychology and the study of collective representations, an issue Needham mentions in the last chapter.

In chapter 4 an alternative approach to the understanding of symbolic classifications is given: the concentration on relations which appear to serve as constants. Needham gives three such constants: opposition (see Herz's study of left-right symbolism), transition (see Van Gennep's study of *rites de passage*) and prestations (symbolic exchanges).

In addition to relational constants, it is possible to isolate certain regular types of transformation to which categories can be subjected. Three of these are mentioned in chapter 5: (1) inversion (e.g. transvestism), (2) disruption (the deliberate flouting of the norms of right conduct), (3) nullification (the withdrawal or neglect of the symbolic attributes of the subject so that for the time being this possesses no social status at all). In this context Needham criticizes the idea that boundaries are intrinsically dangerous. His conclusion is that it may well be that the human imagination has some intrinsic propensity to mark boundaries by means of anomalies, but that there is no good argument or clear evidence that either the conceptual appreciation of boundaries or the psychic response to them is a constant in symbolic classification, let alone that the common term is danger (p. 47).

This analysis of relational constants and types of transformation gives rise to a plea for structural analysis in chapter 6. In this chapter Needham gives as an example the Purum system of asymmetrie alliance.

In the last chapter certain problems are posed. Here Needham points to the conditions of congruence between social categories and symbolic classifications, i.e. what corresponds to what and in what circumstances, and touches on the question of whether symbolic classification tends towards complexity. He also gives attention to the connection between individual psychology and the study of collective representations. The question arises whether the universal incidence of classification by binary opposition is a natural proclivity of the human mind. A related circumstance in this context is the fact that symbolic classification manifests two unconscious and restrictive tendencies — formal economy (a great complex of ideology and social action is managed symbolically by means of a parsimonious system of categories) and empirical correspondence (certain symbolic resources are regularly drawn upon, e.g. right/left, masculine/feminine, blood/bones, sun/moon) — which contrast markedly with the equally typical features of proliferation and arbitrariness. Needham rightly remarks that these contrary tendencies pose great problems for a universal kind of depth psychology in a comparative ethnographical setting (p. 62). Next Needham points to the possibility that the principle of symbolic classification may be distinct from the traditional way of defining a class in western philosophy (the monothetic classification by using the common possession of at least one feature by all the members of a given class as the criterion).

He mentions polythetic classification, referring to Vygotsky's remarks concerning chain complex classification and Wittgenstein's notion of family resemblances. Perhaps this polythetic way of classification explains the lack of hierarchy in most systems of symbolic classification: instead of a fixed order of generality one sees a 'classificatory current' in which various connections are made by analogy according to the perspectives in which they are viewed (p. 67). Finally, Needham explores the question of why different societies resort to symbolic classification in different degrees in the running of their affairs. Interesting here is Needham's reference to Peacock's distinction between a classificatory and an instrumental world view.

Ramseyer, Urs, *The Art and Culture of Bali*. Oxford 1977: Oxford University Press. 265 pp., 405 ill.

DANKER H. SCHAAREMAN

De lezer van het boek van Dr. Ramseyer, dat gelijktijdig ook in het Duits en Frans verschenen is, moet er primair op bedacht zijn, dat het voor "a wider audience" (p. 10) bestemd is; het is een boek voor de geïnteresseerde leek, niet voor de vakspecialist. De schrijver wil met zijn 'boek de kunst van Bali beschrijven "in its many-faceted historical, social and cultural context in such a way as to allow the reader's perspective to approach the Balinese point of view as closely as possible" (p. 10). Wanneer men het laatste gedeelte van deze zin weglaat, dan is de schrijver erin geslaagd de Balische kunst in haar verband voor te stellen; wetenschappelijke nauwkeurigheid trad daarbij ten gunste van algemene begrijpelijkheid voor de niet-gespecialiseerde lezer op de achtergrond. Ik meen echter, dat Dr. Ramseyer teveel gewild heeft: hij probeerde 'de' Balische kunst in haar geheel te begrijpen en te beschrijven, maar helaas zijn vereenvoudiging, oppervlakkigheid en generalisatie er vaak de gevolgen van. Het zou naar mijn mening zinvoller geweest zijn daar te beginnen, waar R. Goris en P. L. Dronkers in hun *Bali; Atlas Kebudayaan* (Amsterdam 1953) zijn opgehouden. De schrijver verdrinkt (te) vaak in details, die voor de leek dan toch onbegrijpelijk blijven, terwijl ze voor de vakman onvolledig zijn. Toegegeven, het is uiterst moeilijk een middenweg te vinden tussen een boek, dat de grote lijnen in een algemeen begrijpelijke taal weergeeft zonder al te zeer aan de oppervlakte te blijven, en een boek, dat dermate specialistisch geschreven is, dat het slechts voor een kleine groep lezers toegankelijk en begrijpelijk is. Het hier te bespreken boek behandelt zo ongeveer alles: archeologie, geschiedenis, godsdienst — van de "Natuur-religion" tot aan het Mahāyāna-Buddhisme toe —, de sociaal-kulturele structuur, de beeldende kunsten, de schilderkunst, muziek enz., zodat het niet te verwonderen is, dat bepaalde gedeelten van het boek een weinig overtuigende indruk achterlaten.

Het boek bestaat uit vier delen: een inleidend hoofdstuk, een uitvoeriger deel over de geschiedkundige achtergronden, een nog uitvoeriger gedeelte over ritueel en kunst, en een kort hoofdstuk over veranderingen en continuïteit in de Balische kuituur. Het appendix bevat een korte bibliografie, noten bij de afzonderlijke tekstgedeelten, een lijst met tentoonstellings- en museumgidsen, grammofoonplaten en films, een kaart van Bali, een korte opmerking over de uitspraak en schrijfwijze van de Balische woorden (die echter nogal eens fout gespeld worden), enkele demografische en economische gegevens, een index en een verklarende woordenlijst. De afzonderlijke gedeelten zijn rijk geïllustreerd met foto's (ten dele in kleur); de vormgeving van de platen is niet ideaal, terwijl de kwaliteit van de kleurenfoto's beslist beter had kunnen zijn, gelet op de prijs van het boek. Het feit dat — voor zover ik weet — voor het eerst een tamelijk groot aantal foto's van voorwerpen uit het Bali-museum in Dènpasar afgedrukt werden, verdient speciale vermelding.

Het probleem van de schrijfwijze van Balische woorden is ook aan Dr. Ramseyer niet voorbij gegaan. De schrijver volgt naar zijn zeggen in zijn transkriptie de Balische schrifttekens; het probleem is hier echter, dat ook het Balische systeem geenszins uniform en onproblematisch is, wat ten dele ervan afhankelijk is of een Skt.-woord als zodanig herkend wordt of niet. Een woord als bijv. *batara* vindt men in de literatuur gespeld als *batara*, *bhatara*, *bhaṭṭāra*, *bhaṭQra*, *baṭara*, en dat zijn zeker niet alle varianten. Op Bali zelf is vooral de spelling *batara* gebruikelijk, maar ook, afhankelijk van de 'graad van opleiding', *bhaṭṭāra* of *bhaṭāra*. Naar mijn mening zou men een aan het Skt. aangepaste spelling moeten kiezen (dus *bhaṭṭāra*), of een eenvoudig-Balische (dus *batara*), waarbij dan tussen /b/ en /bh/ e.a. geen verschil wordt gemaakt. Een derde mogelijkheid is een schrijfwijze, die zich naar de context van de (Balische) schrijver of spreker richt.

Een belangrijk deel van het inleidende hoofdstuk (p. 13-6) is besteed aan uitspraken van enkele Baliërs over kunst en kunstenaars. Het is zeker juist, de 'native point of view' op te nemen, maar het is jammer, dat slechts uitspraken van 'adellijke' en 'ontwikkelde' Baliërs, die bovendien iets met kunst te maken hebben en de Bahasa beheersen, opgenomen zijn. Hoe moet men zulke uitspraken opvatten, waar toch het Balisch geen woord voor 'kunst' kent, zoals de schrijver zelf ook zegt? Hoe kan men een rijstboer uit midden Bali over 'kunst' ondervragen? Ik zie niet helemaal in, hoe dergelijke uitspraken als de 'rode lijn' van dit boek beschouwd moeten worden, waarin de 'folk art', de 'kunst' van de overgrote meerderheid van de 'niet-adellijke', 'niet-ontwikkelde' bevolking behandeld wordt.

Onderwerp van het tweede deel (p. 25-89) is de geschiedenis van Bali. Eigenlijk is dit gedeelte een poging de ontwikkeling van de Balische kunst in het licht van de historische gebeurtenissen weer te geven, een poging die zonder meer niet anders dan speculatief blijven moet. In drie gedeelten worden de voorgeschiedenis, de hindu-balische kunst — hier wordt op de Voorindische en Javaanse invloeden en de balinisatie

ervan ingegaan — en de tijd van Majapahit met de daarop volgende ontwikkelingen op Bali besproken. Natuurlijk kan men bezwaar maken tegen deze indeling, maar dit deel geeft toch een kort overzicht van de geschiedenis van Bali (en Java). Het is hoofdzakelijk een samenvatting van de (meest oudere) literatuur — vermelding en opgave van de bronnen zijn vaak onvolledig of ontbreken — en het brengt uiteindelijk weinig of geen nieuwe inzichten. De onbekendheid van de schrijver met de (vooral nieuwere) literatuur uit zich o.a. in het overnemen van verouderde uitdrukkingen ("prae-nāgari script", p. 37, in plaats van het minder vage en tegenwoordig gebruikelijke 'vroeg-nāgari schrift') en verder in de weergave van schijnbaar algemeen-geldige uitspraken en beweringen, waarvan de juistheid tegenwoordig toch omstreden is of in twijfel getrokken wordt. Zo vraag ik mij af, of zonder meer gezegd kan worden, dat sporen van het Tantrisme in het geloof aan heksen voortleven, zoals de schrijver op blz. 38 meent; geloof in heksen is niet noodzakelijk met het Tantrisme verbonden. Aan de ene kant is dit deel wetenschappelijk onvoldoende, aan de andere kant zijn bepaalde gedeelten voor de leek onbegrijpelijk; zo heet het bijv. op blz. 38: "Mahendradatta, who called herself Gunapriyadharmapatni af ter her marriage, [...]"; dergelijke uitspraken zijn voor de leek zinloos, wanneer de betekenis van deze namen niet nader wordt besproken. Naast deze misschien wat onbeduidende kritiekpunten moet er toch op enkele onnauwkeurigheden van ernstiger aard worden gewezen. Sinds de achtste eeuw A.D. treffen we op Bali elementen van het Mahāyāna-Buddhisme met tantrische aspecten aan (p. 38); op dezelfde pagina worden deze na 989 A.D. in het leven geroepen. Op p. 58 wordt beweerd, dat het Mahābhārata twee tot driehonderd jaar na het Rāmāyana, dat in de negende of tiende eeuw A.D. geschreven zou zijn, ontstond. Van de achttien boeken van het Mahābhārata zijn niet acht, maar ten minste negen *parva's* overgeleverd (p. 58). Het Bharatayuddha behandelt weliswaar de epische kern van het Mahābhārata, maar het is niet het achttiende boek ervan, dat immers Svargarohanaparva heet. *Mangidung* betekent zanger of dichter (van *kidungs*), niet *angidung* (p. 59), wat 'zingen' betekent. De *pēnasar* in de wayang of de garribuh e.d. zijn, geloof ik, beslist meer als clowneske vertalerfiguren; het is de vraag of zij hun bestaansrecht alleen aan deze (neven-)functie te danken hebben. Bij de vermelding van de Panji-verhalen (p. 58) meent Dr. Ramseyer, dat deze de tijd "of the last Hindu-Javanese dynasty in East Java" (= Majapahit?) weergeven. Maar dit is één van de hypothesen en geen van allen hebben tot nog toe aan zekerheid gewonnen. Nu gaat het Dr. Ramseyer niet zozeer om dergelijke details, maar vooral om het ontstaan van een 'volkskunst', om de verspreiding van de hofcultuur in de dorpen en om de bronnen waaruit de kunstenaars hun inspiratie putten. Maar hoe nu precies een dergelijke verbreiding plaats gevonden heeft, daaromtrent kan men slechts gissen; Dr. Ramseyer lijkt een mogelijke hypothese als een vaststaand feit te beschouwen.

Het derde deel ("Ritual and Art", p. 93-235) mag het best geslaagde

deel genoemd worden. In het eerste gedeelte ("Elements of the Hindu-Balinese Religion") wijst de schrijver op het complexe karakter van deze godsdienst: "nature and ancestor worship, a dualistic world view, Mahāyāna-Buddhism, orthodox Siwaism, demonic practices of Tantric sects and Javanized Hinduism from Majapahit" [sic] (p. 93); hij zet het ruimtelijk-kosmologische oriënteringssysteem van de Baliërs uiteen, het systeem van de Nawasanga, de goden en hun verschijningsvormen. Hij laat zien hoezeer het associatieve denken der Baliërs ontwikkeld is en dat het bewustzijn, het weten om¹ de noodzakelijke verhoudingen tussen 'goed' en 'kwaad', om het één-zijn van de mikro- en makro-kosmos, zijn stempel drukt op het leven van de Baliërs en het vormt.

Het tweede en derde gedeelte is aan het tempelsysteem en de kunst der offeranden gewijd. De schrijver bespreekt de verschillende soorten tempels (dorps-, familie-, landbouw-, distrikts- en staatstempels), de opzet en indeling van het tempelterrein, evenals de gebouwen en hun functies. Tenslotte wordt nog het kalendersysteem uiteen gezet, waarnaar de talrijke rituelen uitgevoerd worden, verder de offeranden, hun zin en doel, het materiaal en hun vervaardiging. Echter worden in dit laatste gedeelte voornamelijk de kunstvollere, kleurrijke offers, die meestal door vrouwen gemaakt worden, besproken; de door mannen bereide 'vlesoffers', voor het dorp als geheel belangrijker, komen hier wat te kort.

Het vierde gedeelte ("Ritual Art in Action") is — afgezien van de vermelding van de rijstbouwrituelen en het rituele rijststampen — een illustratie van de vijf verschillende ritueeltypen, het *pañca-yajña*. Zoals bekend, zijn dit de rituelen voor de goden en de vergoddelijkte voorouders, de 'rites de passage', de rituelen voor de overledenen, de boosaardige machten en voor de verschillende Balische priesters; op de laatste wordt niet verder ingegaan. Talrijke andere aspecten van de Balische godsdienst worden niet besproken: het ritueel van de *padanda* komt evenmin ter sprake als de verschillende soorten wijwater, van zo centraal belang in alle rituelen. Belangrijk in dit verband is de opmerking van de schrijver, dat in elk soort ritueel altijd ook elementen van het *bhūtayajña* (de rituelen voor de kwade machten) aanwezig zullen zijn (en natuurlijk ook omgekeerd!). In verband met de laatstgenoemde **rituelen** wordt speciale aandacht besteed aan de eeuwige strijd tussen 'slecht' en 'goed', tussen Rangda en Barong.

Het laatste gedeelte is aan dans, drama en muziek gewijd. Dr. Ramseyer deelt de talrijke dramatische en muzikale vormen in drie groepen in en sluit zich daarmee bij "Balinese attempts at classification" (p. 193) aan — hij noemt in dit verband de Javaan Moerdowo.

De drie categorieën zijn de volgende:

- strikt ritueel gebonden vormen (*wali*);
- vormen, die als aanvulling in een ritueel kader opgevoerd worden (*babali*);
- seculaire vormen, die ook buiten het ritueel of zonder dat er een religieuze aanleiding bestaat opgevoerd kunnen worden (*tontonan*).

Deze indeling vind ik — tenminste met betrekking tot *wali* en *babali* — niet overtuigend, temeer daar om linguïstische redenen *wali* en *(ba)bali* geen scherp van elkaar gescheiden begrippen zijn. Bovendien bestaan er verschillende *pujawali*, vereringsfeesten, die in de door Dr. Ramseyer *babali* genoemde categorie thuis horen. Eerder lijkt mij een indeling aan de hand van de begrippen *odalan*, *aci*, *usaba*, *caru* e.d. zinvoller, een indeling dus, die door de aard van het ritueel bepaald wordt; maar ook hier zijn generalisaties ontoelaatbaar.

Vervolgens geeft de schrijver voorbeelden bij elk van deze groepen; hij bespreekt de rol van de muziek en dans in de rituelen in Tenganan, een traditioneel dorp in Oost Bali, het rituele poppenspel (*wayang lëmah*), en de kunstzinnige *lëgong-dans*. Telkens worden ook het instrumentarium, de opleiding van de musici en dansers en de aanleidingen voor de opvoeringen besproken; met betrekking tot de *wayang* en de *lëgong* geeft de schrijver samenvattingen van enkele verhalen.

In het laatste deel van het boek (p. 239-43) worden de veranderingen in de Balische samenleving — gezien de belangrijkheid van het thema — te kort en vluchtig besproken; daarnaast gaat Dr. Ramseyer in op de vernieuwingen op het gebied van de kunst (nieuwe dans- en muziekvormen, nieuwe methoden en richtingen in de schilderkunst enz.). Vervolgens wijst de auteur erop, dat de aanwezigheid van euro-amerikaanse kunstenaars op Bali en hun werken, het toerisme, de kunsthandel — om hier slechts enkele buitenlandse invloeden te noemen — geen breuk met de eigen kulturele waarden betekend hebben en betekenen, maar eerder een integratie van aansprekende elementen, een verdere ontwikkeling van de eigen cultuur tot gevolg hebben. Volgens de schrijver hebben de verscheidene kulturele instanties op Bali — zoals o.a. de KOKAR en ASTI (konservatorium resp. dans-akademie) — voor wat betreft deze ontwikkelingen een belangrijke taak; zij zouden meehelpen een op de traditie voortbouwende ontwikkeling van de Balische kuituur te bevorderen en te sturen. Het is alleen de vraag, of een dergelijke opvatting ten aanzien van de huidige gebeurtenissen op Bali niet enigszins optimistisch of zelfs utopisch is: een tendens tot unificatie, tot afzwakking van de plaatselijke (kunst)stijlen en van de lokale adat is onmiskenbaar, niet in de laatste plaats ten gevolge van de zienderogen slechter wordende economische toestand.

Over het geheel genomen is dit boek, ondanks zijn tekortkomingen, waard gelezen te worden. Men krijgt de indruk, dat een misschien wat al te 'paradijselijk' beeld van Bali geschilderd wordt — ondanks enkele waarschuwende opmerkingen van de schrijver. De belangrijkste aspecten van de Balische *kuituur* komen toch duidelijk naar voren; wat betreft de 'volkskunst' (de Duitse titel van het boek is 'Kultur und Volkskunst'), hier ligt het accent zonder twijfel meer op 'kunst' dan op 'volk'.

E. Schwimmer (ed), *The Yearbook of Symbolic Anthropology*, London: G. Hurst and Co., 1978; pp. 230.

ANTHONY SHELTON

To delineate the subject matter of anthropological discourse into separate sub-disciplines is ultimately to encourage the emergence of narrowly defined currents of thought which claim autonomy and validity by asserting their unique position to analyse only a particular level of social 'reality' which they themselves define; an artificial and imperious cutting up of the experience of ethnographic observation into western categories convenient to the professionalisation of the discipline is thus achieved. At first one might greet this new publishing venture with mixed feelings; however, these are somewhat dissipated when one reads contributions which attest to a wider interest outside that of the realm of the symbolic (or else we have an inflation of the definition of the symbolic). Their concerns with such things as the interpretation of metaphor, oral tradition, and dance illustrate an interest in the wider field of semiology and the nature and structure of communicative media. Other contributors explore important theoretical considerations relevant to the practice of anthropology more generally. Wagner's paper is concerned with the problem of interpretation and the danger of restructuring a specific, unique, and creative cultural ensemble to conform to the model employed by the ethnographer. Southwold discusses problems of definition in anthropology, suggesting there to be a certain theoretical naivety in the reluctance of anthropologists to give serious attention to a problem, which, as he sees it, sets grave epistemological obstacles to the discipline achieving scientific status.

Most of the contributors to the first section of the Handbook, while pursuing their individual lines of approach, nevertheless reveal a common ancestry from Lévi-Strauss; a fitting testament which marks the difference of Quebec's cultural life from that of the bland empiricism and behaviourism which characterize much of the social sciences in the north of the American continent.

Arcand's paper, going by the intriguing and compulsive title 'Making Love is Like Eating Honey or Sweet Fruit. It Causes Cavities', at once allures us to think of the work of Lévi-Strauss, and represents a modest avowal of the utility of structuralism in interpreting and understanding the collusion of the conceptual **fields** of sex and physiology with that of culinary practice and belief in generating a particular semantic referent.

The second paper by Pierre Crepeau suggests some general propositions on the nature and conditions of oral transmission from a detailed analysis of the form and content of a particular Rwandan proverb over a period of time. Again his approach owes much to structuralist epistemology.

Kongas Maranda presents an engaging article in which, after a careful analytic study of a Lau myth, she proposes a definition of oral literature revealing both the characteristics of a classical Malinowskian

charter and as further constituting "a commentary on culture". She demonstrates that Lau myth acts as an ideology of legitimisation, and further reveals a detailed commentary on positive and negative relations of exchange which are realized in actual social and economic transactions.

John Leroy reveals something of the nature of metaphor as it is used in the *rupale* cycle of songs which accompany exchange ceremonies involving the slaughter of pigs among the Kewa of Papua New Guinea. The songs themselves, Leroy argues, show the Kewa re-thinking a destructive and predatory act into a reproductive and fertile one by employing an analogy with the planting of a garden and sexual intercourse. Both sexes transform the negative aspect into a positive one by the employment of metaphor, but while men sing about planting gardens, women emphasize sexual themes by an analogy with the consumption of pork.

Shuichinagata's paper, although not falling into the analytic tradition of the other contributions in this section, gives a short discussion on Hopi traditional ideology and its incorporation of certain foreign political ideological fragments as a means of better juxtaposing the Hopi way of life to that of the encroaching modernism represented by affluent America. Unfortunately we are not given a full account of the syncretist ideology, which is only represented from the point of view of one individual (albeit that of its founder), whom the author only met on a few rare occasions. We are also denied knowledge of the context of the ideology in Hopi society, and no analysis is offered of the significance of its semantics or symbolic content.

Finally, Tanner offers a reinterpretation of scapulimancy among the Montagnais-Naskapi eskimos. Rejecting any single cognitive, ecological, or sociological approach, he proposes incorporating all these to refer to different levels of the problem of interpreting divination.

Apart from the final two papers, the authors all adhere to a loosely defined epistemology of structuralism derived from Lévi-Strauss, even though their suppositions and treatment of the subject are not always in 'the classical idiom he has espoused. Notably, Lévi-Strauss' preoccupation with comparative analysis as a means of uncovering universal structures inherent in the human mind has been abandoned in favour of specific contextual analysis of cultural logic and the configurations of articulated ideological thought.

"After Structuralism", the title of the second section of the Handbook (should it be followed by a question mark?), opens with the long awaited paper by Ardener inaugurating the post-structuralist period. With the exception of one of the papers, a pessimism pervades all the works, sometimes dangerously stretching the bounds of credibility. The self-proclaimed exponents of the "new anthropology", like W. Hiems, first sketch the outlines of their epistemological position, which seem to fade into a shadow before elusively disappearing like a ghost after her jubilant celebration of the victorious phoenix rising majestically from the pyre of structuralism.

Rodney Crook (also in this volume) writes "Behind the myth of demythologised man lurks truly alienated man" (1978: 34) and further goes on to suggest a proposition which underlies much of contemporary thought and might appropriately explain something of the style of these latter contributions written on the supposed occasion of the exhaustion of structuralism:

"There is of course an ultimate absurdity in the continuous questioning and reinterpretation of our activities. However, it is from the management of this tension generated by the continuing attempt to do so that intellectual awareness develops. The avoidance of such tension through the premature adoption of observer categories tells us perhaps more of the moral or indeed cultural bankruptcy of modern society, than about the object of scrutiny — manhimself" (1978: 31).

Hence, we have an almost exhaustion of the utility of language, with the only provision that if we cannot articulate our thought we may still encircle it by the use of various linguistic denominations. At once the "new anthropology" appears as a response to a general intellectual fatigue and long-drawn-out crisis, and as an attempt to understand and transcend it.

From the collection of papers brought together in section two it at once becomes evident that the use of the term "post-structuralist", while being a logical historical truism, does not denote a simple linear development in the history of anthropological thought, but reveals a complexity and multi-directedness which firmly and incontestably refutes any suggestion of anything like the emergence of one new and dominating discursive formation. Maybe the peculiar logic of the post-structuralist terminology should not be phrased in terms of linear historical movement. While it is possible to glean insights into the problems which confront the methodological pre-suppositions of contemporary anthropological discourse, and in some of the papers even read clear expositions of what form an anthropology might assume after digesting and transcending certain aspects of its dominant epistemology, it remains debatable whether any such emergent trend could call itself post-structural. While agreeing with Crick that we should expect any successive approach to structuralism to have fully evaluated and integrated the insights of Lévi-Strauss into its own methods, it seems that in the example of British anthropology alone, what we have is the fragmentation of any mainstream paradigm and the emergence of a pastiche of approaches which, while existing simultaneously, cannot all be termed "post-structural". The problem immediately manifests itself in Hastrup's paper when she compares Ardener's post-structuralism to the structural marxism of Godelier and Friedman, arguing that Ardener's concern with the "semantics of a system as seen from within" is complementary to Friedman's interest in the structure of society.

Each, so Hastrup argues, is concerned with a different domain;

Ardener with the world structure as a model for the conception of society, and Friedman with the structural model of the society itself. Hastrup goes further to demonstrate the place of Bateson and Wilden in contributing to the outline of some as yet emergent orientation. One of the problems associated with Ardener's position, as well as that of his former student, who looks for a synthetic model, is the methodological presuppositions, which despite much talk of the futility of crude idealist/materialist dichotomies and the necessity of transcending them, nevertheless fail to arrive at a convincing demonstration of praxis acceptable to a Marxist scholar. The same sentence was passed on Lévi-Strauss, who for lesser reasons than those of the "post-structuralists" was denied the Marxian space he laid claim to because of his preoccupation with the study of the superstructure and what finally became unashamedly the substitution of essence for material structure and process. Only recently has he paid particular attention to his critics' accusations of idealism, maybe as a result of the rise of the neo-Marxists, and construed a sketch of a model which places structuralism in relation to a material and ecological context. The previously partial articulations, the unwritten presuppositions and dimensions of his method are only now attaining a soft focus which is working to widen the space of his classical discourses and promising itself to transcend its previous epistemological barriers inherent not so much in the methodology as in the selective demonstrations of its competence. The works of Friedman and Godelier still have much more in common with that of Lévi-Strauss than the so-called post-structuralists, who tell us they have ingested structuralism and in the company of other scholars conspire to promote a discourse of transcendence blessed by the logic of historical necessity. Where might fit the exponents of other approaches to the study of the subject matter of anthropology in this "closed circle" which Hastrup has drawn? No mention by name is given to any other contemporary British interest; transactionalism, more orthodox marxist approaches, biosocial anthropology, or Oxford structuralism, are all seemingly relegated as being prior and equally inferior to the new anthropological consciousness; yet the exponents of some of these approaches have refined many of their propositions and presuppositions and incorporated relevant insights from neighbouring disciplines and many could put a case for themselves individually to be the legitimate successors to the classical structuralist legacy. At least one of the contributors to this latter section, modest and unpretentious in her exposition, undaunted by the polemic of her colleagues, pursues an ethnographic problem drawing inspiration from both structuralist and materialist traditions.

After reading some of the papers in this latter section one cannot be but a little uneasy as to what purpose ethnographic work might have, if it can be a valid means of understanding an alien culture at all. The realm of experience seems always to have been divorced from that of a "refined sensibility", but such a problematic is forever being posed for anthropology. Despite the supposed difficulties involved, even,

according to some authors, the impossibility of attaining valid knowledge of remote and distant cultural milieus, anthropologists continue to produce some excellent monographs, promote social understanding, and refine the theoretical apparatus of which they are the heirs.

M. A. Chlenov, *Naselenie Molukkskix Ostrovov* [The Population of the Moluccas], Moscow 1976, 285 pp.

H. STEINHAUER

From being a centre around which world-politics were once concentrated, the Moluccas have become one of the more backward provinces of Indonesia, with regard not only to population figures or economic perspectives, but also to scientific interest in ethnography, history, culture and languages. Ohlenov's study on the population of the Moluccas is therefore most welcome.

The author attempts to provide a "classification of the Moluccan peoples based on the cumulative effect of linguistic, economic, ecological, historical and religious factors" (p. 7), rather than describing the material cultures, social organizations, local religious systems, or the process of integration into the Indonesian Republic. He spent two years in the area (1963-1965), mostly in Ambon, and shorter periods in South Buru and Honitetu (Western Ceram).

The author apparently worked with informants from all over the Moluccas, as well as using written sources to which he consistently refers. However, one would have liked him to have been just as explicit about his personal observations: one sometimes finds oneself wondering whether certain information still applies as the relevant publication is one of those which are "hopelessly out of date" (p. 6). This is the case, for example, where he states, referring to sources from 1855, 1865 and 1890, that on the Kei Islands there are villages of descendants of the original inhabitants of the Banda Archipelago — depopulated in the 17th century by the Dutch — who still speak Old Bandarese (p. 78).

The first chapter of the book (The Land) provides a description of the geology, flora, fauna and climate of the Moluccas. The author stresses the differences between the coastal and central regions of the larger islands. He shatters the widespread illusion that mutual influencing and common contacts with the outside world reduced the local cultures to a curious mixture of mostly foreign elements: such influencing and contacts existed only between a small number of good harbours and trade centres, even from the early Middle Ages, whereas large areas in the neighbourhood of such centres have remained untouched by any foreign influences up until this century.

In the second chapter (Economy) the author underlines the differences between West Indonesia and the Moluccas, the sago economy of the latter linking the Moluccas to Oceania rather than to the large rice-

growing Indonesian Island in the west. Root and tuber economies are found in those areas where sago-palms do not grow, such as in the mountainous areas of the larger islands and in the Tanimbar and Kei Archipelagos.

The South-Western Moluccas are closer to Lesser Sunda islands such as Alor, Flores and Timor in their economy with their cattle-breeding (the Kisar area!) and maize-growing. As Ohlenov sees it, the root and tuber economy is distributed in a kind of complementary relationship to the sago economy, as roots and tubers often provide additional food for the producers of sago, while mountain people are eager to obtain the latter, and the two types of economy are easily interchangeable in the case of a change of environment. Since sago-palms are not actually cultivated, natural circumstances highly influence the life-rhythm and habits of the various Moluccan peoples.

The relatively small amount of labour which is required for the production of sago and the consequently large amount of leisure time may have been important factors in the rise of spice-growing for export and of the various trade centres.

It is in these centres, and because of them, that the most radical changes in the culture and population of the Moluccas took place. In the third chapter (History) their origin, development and influence are described.

All the major centres (Ternate, Tidore, Ambon and Banda), as well as most of their minor ones (Larat, Dobo, Tual, Geser), are small islands, none of them far from some larger island. These smaller islands were easily accessible and simple to defend, while disputes about land rights with local populations were probably less frequent than would have been the case with settlements on the mainland. Most of the people in the centres were foreigners who brought, among other things, Islam and Christianity. In reaction to their influence, the inhabitants of the more isolated areas in the course of time often adopted religions other than that of the nearest trade centre, such as Christianity in most of Halmahera and the Aru archipelago as opposed to Islam in Tidore, Ternate and Dobo, and Islam on most of Ceram and in the inner areas of Ambon as opposed to Christianity around the Bay of Ambon.

The author discusses at some length the *patasiwa* and *patalima* societies on which he has written a special study. (M. A. Chlenov, 'Chisllovaja simbolika i tajnye sojuzy na Molukkskix ostrovax' [Numeral Symbolism and Secret Societies in the Moluccas], *Mifologija i verovanija narodov Vostočnoj i Juznoj Azii* [Mythology and Religions of the Peoples of East and South Asia], Moscow 1974.)

Not much is known about large-scale massacres in the Moluccas of real or alleged communists in 1965 and 1966. It is strange that Chlenov, as a Soviet author, does not mention the possibility. Neither does he mention the political prisoners on the island of Buru, about 10,000 in 1970, and at least not less in 1976, most of them Javanese. According to his figures, however, Buru in 1971 had only 23,034 inhabitants, consisting of a Buru majority and Kayeli and Ambelau minorities.

The fourth chapter (Languages and Peoples) is based on a meticulous study of the existing sources, which for the majority of the Moluccan languages are very poor, and on a considerable amount of new material collected by the author himself and by S. F. Chlenova. They compiled wordlists (of about 500 words) and collected approximately 35 sentences and some paradigmatic material of the following hitherto uninvestigated languages/dialects: Damar-Batumerah (on Damar), Serua (on Serua), Nila (on Nila), Teun (on Teun), Tepa (on Babar), Tarangan (on Aru, 3 lists), Tulehu (on Ambon), Sanahu (on the western shore of the Bay of Elpaputih, West Ceram), Dawloor (on Dawra and Dawloor, east of Babar), Aboru (on Haruku), and Iha-Ceram (on the east coast of Hoamoal). Similar material has been collected, in addition to existing data, for the following languages/dialects: Roma-Kisar, Leti, Moa, Sermata, Selaru, Jamdena, Larat (or Fordata), Kei, Gorom, Manusela, Amahei, Taluti, Nusalaut, Saparua, Hitu (or Hila), Kamarian, Wemale, Alune, Tifu, Sanana, and East-Makian (or Makian-dalam). Some of the existing material has been (better) localized and conspicuous errors and inconsistencies have been ironed out. The author arrives at a classification of Moluccan languages with the aid of the formula

$$K = \frac{4a + a'}{J + 3A} \quad (A = \text{the number of compared words of two wordlists,}$$

a = the total number of cognates, a' = the number of identical cognates, i.e. without phonetic or phonemic (?) differences; if $K > 1.40$ the wordlists in question represent subdialects of the same dialect, if $1.20 < K < 1.40$ the lists represent two dialects of the same language, if $K < 1.20$ the lists represent two languages, if $1.10 < K < 2.0$ the languages belong to one subgroup, if $0.90 < K < 1.10$ to one group, if $0.80 < K < 0.90$ to one macro-group, if $0.50 < K < 0.80$ to one subfamily, if $0.20 < K < 0.50$ to one family). However, given the highly variable and often poor quality of the orthographic systems of most sources, it seems difficult to me to decide which forms are phonetically or phonemically identical. It is to be regretted, therefore, that only conclusions are given in the book. The material itself has been left out. Hopefully it will be published in Chlenov's forthcoming 'Lingvističeskie Zarietki (K probleme klassifikacii nekotoryx jazykov Vostočnoj Indonezii)' [Linguistic Notes (On the Problem of the Classification of some East-Indonesian Languages)], to be published in *Areal'nye, tipologičeskie i genetičeskie svjazi jazykov Azii*, [Areal, typological and genetic links between Asian Languages].

The book ends with a list of languages arranged per subgroup (with the inclusion of non-Austronesian languages, quoted from Salzner) — a detailed map would have been welcome — and a number of other appendices: a table of the Moluccan peoples and their home areas, numbers, types of economy and culture, religions and languages, a table of the administrative subdivisions of the province, stating the administrative centres, number of inhabitants and ethnic groups living in the area, a glossary of foreign words occurring in the text, three name indexes, and a bibliography. The latter comprises 237 titles (many in Dutch,

English, German, Russian, Indonesian, one in Spanish and one in Letinese), all of which are quoted or discussed in the text. Two other books, W. Ruinen, *Overzicht van de literatuur betreffende de Molukken I (1550-1921)*, Amsterdam 1928, and A. G. Tutein Nolthenius, *Overzicht van de Literatuur betreffende de Molukken (exclusief Nieuw-Guinea) II (1922-1933)*, Amsterdam, are not mentioned, but contain only a few extra titles pertaining to Chlenov's subject. In any case, his book is an excellent survey of what is known so far of the Moluccan peoples, and, moreover, full of interesting observations and new material. It is clearly written and to be recommended for anyone who is interested in the Moluccas.

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P. VAN DE VELDE

This volume reports on the research initiated foy the late Richard Leakey in the region east of Lake Turkana (formerly Lake Rudolf) in the north of Kenya. The area is one of a small number of places where the preservation conditions of proto^hhuman remains were favourable (as in the Omo Valley, Olduvai Gorge, and the Hadar Region). Many preliminary reports have appeared; the present book is an attempt to bring together the basic data in a form that is more readily accessible.

The book consists of two parts: a first one containing descriptions, and a second one comprising illustrations. The descriptions provide the necessary background, the history of research (by R. E. Leakey), stratigraphy (I. G. Findlater), palaeontology (J. M. Harris) and archaeology (G. LI. Isaac & J. W. K. Harris) of the early ancestors being assigned a chapter each. The main part of the book, the illustrations, provides a fully illustrated catalogue of the finds (by R. E. Leakey, M. G. Leakey, and A. K. Behrensmeyer): 129 specimens discovered up to 1974, together with the context of every individual hominid find.

Being a layman reader, the present reviewer is in no position to make a substantial contribution to the discussion of these finds. Yet I would like to congratulate the editors on this book, which is one of the very few on the subject that I have seen Which is not unreadable because of the mlultitude of its statistical formulas; it makes good reading throughout. As the measurements of the skeletal remains have been

compiled into tables, professional palaeo-anthropologists should also find something to their taste, if only because of the relatively large number of individuals represented.

It is to be hoped that the next volumes in this series will be equally attractive.

P. A. Stott (ed.), *Nature and Man in South East Asia*, 1978, S.O.A.S., London, 183 pp., %, phot, subject index.

LEONTINE E. VISSER

This reader happens to be the first-born of a twin, of which the second-born, *Natural Symbols in South East Asia*, has been reviewed for *Bijdragen* by P. E. de Josselin de Jong. As P. A. Stott puts it in his introduction, the S.O.A.S.-papers are offered as a contribution to cultural ecology and concentrate on two questions: "How do we perceive?" and "How do we name and classify?" The "we" in this context refers mostly to mainland S.E. Asian peoples, with some exceptions as to Eastern Indonesia and Western nature conservationists and development workers.

There are two parts, one on "Environmental Perception" and the other on "Environment and Language". The first part seems less coherent on the theoretical level, ranging from geographers' accounts of migration as a cultural and ecological factor in socio-economic development (R. Ng) and of the growing differences of interest between farmers who are dependent on a single irrigation system (H. Demaine) to the contribution of the zoologist A. G. Marshall who reviews several problems involved in the conservation of tropical forest. He offers the suggestion — rare for natural scientists from the West — that our ideas about the need for conservation of tropical forests may be rather ethnocentric. "From the time of their arrival in Malaysia the rural people have had to struggle with the forest...", so that "to appreciate the necessity of conserving some undisturbed forest is clearly a major step" (p. 28). On the other hand, Stott, in his interesting first contribution, points to the cognitive need for the existence of "forests of mind", which has also been indicated by D. Lombard (1974) for the Javanese situation, where forests hardly exist any longer as vegetation. The author further mentions the possibility of the co-existence of different taxonomic systems within one community, as does Ellen in a later paper.

The anthropologically interesting paper by Miss C. Mounge on fertility patterns in N. Thailand seems slightly out of place here, since it deals with culture much more than nature (I assume that this is not due to the misconception of the equation woman: nature as opposed to man: culture).

The second part of the reader is more homogeneous both on the geographical and on the ethnolinguistic level. It comprises a very stimulating article by Mrs. J. M. Jacob on the use of plants, animals,

minerals, food products and terms of measurement as mentioned in the 7th-14th century Khmer inscriptions at Angkor. From these we learn that areca and betel were already "basic necessities of Cambodian daily life, being not only 'the source of a pleasant creature comfort and an excellent gift but also a necessary preliminary to the arrangement of a marriage and, most important of all, a proper offering to the gods'" (p. 113). Since the same holds true for 20th-century Eastern Indonesia, this may be another indication of Southeast Asia as a whole having to be comprehended as one "field of ethnological study" (see de Josselin de Jong in his review of *Natural Symbols*).

E. H. F. Simmonds gives many examples of names of plants and animals from written documents from 13th-century Thailand which show up the differences between the Thai nomenclatural structure and Western scientific nomenclature. The second contribution by the geographer Stott likewise deals with terminology, and aims at filling in the gap in our knowledge of folk classifications of vegetation formations, e.g. forest types. The relationship between the four Thai terms he mentions remains unclear, however. Finally, an ethnozoological paper is presented by R. F. Ellen. This anthropologist tackles the problem of whether what is held to be a naturally restricted fauna is reflected in ethnozoological inventories, e.g. those of the Nuaulu people on the island of Ceram (E. Indonesia). The relations between locally existing vertebrate species and their classification are discussed with subtlety, resulting in a critical evaluation of the Berlin, Breedlove and Raven paper (1966). A biologically restricted fauna is, indeed, reflected in ethnozoological inventories, although this is not due to a simple equivalence of species and folk taxa.

The format is handy, the reading easy, but I cannot help noting a few printing errors: *Zusammenhang* (p. 34, 3rd paragraph), *seem* (p. 54, 2nd par.), and the discrepancy between 'the references to Geertz' article (1967) on pp. 60 and 66.

I have discussed the individual contributions at some length because I feel it worthwhile to show the width of the range of topics that can be covered under the umbrella of this kind of title. Obviously for practical reasons, though regrettably from the social-scientific point of view, the papers dealing with the more cognitive aspects have had to be published in another volume. I therefore recommend the reader not to separate the S.O.A.S. twins.

Toen en thans: De sociale wetenschappen in de jaren dertig en nu. Onder redactie van F. Bovenkerk, H. J. M. Claessen, B. van Heerikhuizen, A. J. F. Köbben, N. Wilterdink. 1978 Ambo, Baarn.

J. J. DE WOLF

This book contains the proceedings of a conference organized by the Dutch Association of Anthropologists and Sociologists at the occasion

of its fortieth anniversary in 1976. The central theme of the conference was social science in the nineteen thirties and at present. As could be expected, social science was defined primarily as sociology and cultural anthropology (or ethnology) by the participants. Most essays give a historical analysis of the situation in the thirties, with occasional references to the present. The final address, by Köbben, president of the association, is the only contribution to be mainly devoted to the position and influence of sociology and anthropology in the seventies. He shows himself to be an able apologist, but fails as a historiographer when he casts himself in the pioneer role of the first Dutch anthropologist to do field work in Africa after the second world war. In fact, he was preceded by A. H. J. Prins and J. H. Scherer, both of whom studied anthropology at Utrecht.

For reasons of space I can consider only those historical essays which deal specifically with Dutch ethnology and colonial studies between the two world wars, which will be of special interest to the readers of this journal.

Locher gives a fascinating account of the context and early development of the Leiden school of anthropology. His reminiscences are of vital interest for a well-rounded picture of the history of this influential school, and more specifically of the role of J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong in those years. I do not think that such a clear account of his relation to other anthropologists abroad, such as Durkheim, Preuss, Thurnwald, Radcliffe Brown, Malinowski, Lowie and Linten, can be found anywhere else. An assessment of their influence is bound to remain somewhat subjective, however. It is a pity, therefore, that no other representative of the Leiden school was present to give his view on these and other matters, affirming, rejecting or supplementing Locher's account.

Meerum Terwogt adds some remarks on the ethnology of the nineteen thirties at Amsterdam. In his opinion this was characterized by empiricism, evolutionism, and a critical attitude towards the ideas of Wilhelm Schmidt and Lévy-Bruhl. Whereas Locher concludes that the relation between Leiden and Amsterdam was bad, Meerum Terwogt maintains that no relation existed at all. Although Köbben and Van Heerikhuizen mention this phenomenon in their introduction, there is no serious attempt to explain the total lack of communication. Their suggestion that the existence of two separate schools of thought parallels the differentiation of the sociology of those years is not acceptable. Each sociological variety was linked closely with a specific religious persuasion or world view, but such a tie was conspicuously absent in the case of ethnology as it had become established at Amsterdam and Leiden.

Kloos examines the value of Steinmetz for present-day cultural anthropology. He concludes that reading Steinmetz today is a fruitless exercise, as no inspiration can be gained from his theoretical ideas and as the facts on which his generalisations were based have been superseded by new research. On the other hand, Kloos argues that Steinmetz' ideas on functionalism and inter-cultural comparisons and his emphasis on empirically established facts have become part and parcel of normal

scientific practice, at least for those anthropologists who were trained at Amsterdam. Perhaps one might add that the lack of a clearly defined theoretical focus remains characteristic of many of these graduates. This could explain the tremendous variety of theoretical perspectives among them, which are sometimes adopted simultaneously in an eclectic way and at other times tried out and discarded in rapid succession.

Feddema and Van den Muijzenberg give an account of the origin of the alternative training courses for colonial civil servants and lawyers which were established at Utrecht in 1925 to counteract the supposedly nefarious influences of Leiden on the morale of the Dutch rulers of Indonesia. It was feared that this might eventually lead to a more independent and autonomous colony, with deleterious effects for Dutch overseas economic interests. The enterprises concerned were persuaded to fund a new faculty at Utrecht and the government of the day was happy to give its blessing and recognize the academic degrees conferred by this faculty.

Although this history was already known in outline, the secrecy, if not duplicity, which is revealed by the analysis of those of the confidential documents which the authors were able to inspect, confirms the worst suspicions of the opponents of the "sugar and oil faculty". It may be true that the direct influence of this faculty was not damaging for the development of Dutch colonial studies, as the authors assert, indirectly the consequences were far from negligible. The major protagonist of the faculty, Gerretson, certainly succeeded in acquiring academic prestige through his appointment as professor, and he did his utmost to prevent Dutch politicians and public opinion from recognizing the inevitability of granting independence to Indonesia on terms acceptable to the Indonesians themselves after the second world war. The failure to do so led to increasingly bad relations which had serious consequences for the future of Indonesian studies in Holland in the fifties and sixties.