Book Reviews

- Franz von Benda-Beckmann, M.B. Hooker, Native law in Sabah and Sarawak, Malayan law journal PTE., Singapore, 1980, xii, 91 pp.
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BOEKBESPREKINGEN

M. B. Hooker, *Native Law in Sabah and Sarawak*, Malayan Law Journal PTE., Singapore, 1980. xii, 91 pp. Price S \$ 15.—.

FRANZ VON BENDA-BECKMANN

In his preface, Hooker himself aptly characterizes the readership and the function of his book as follows: "This small book is a summary of the administration of native law in the states of Sabah and Sarawak in Malaysia. Its main function is to explain the legal administration in as concise form as possible; however, I trust that the executive and legal branches of the respective state services will bear in mind that the adats are part of the wider cultural heritage of each state and must be treated as such. In a period of rapid social, economic and political change the indigenous culture is even the more valuable in providing a certainty of identity" (p. iii). Within the limited frame indicated, Hooker has done an admirable job. His summary is concise and yet detailed. Chapter 1 gives an overview of the history of native law administration in Sabah and Sarawak, followed by a chapter on native law in statute. In both states, the legislation defines who a "native" is in terms of the official legal system, while it is further concerned mainly with land, native rice cultivation (in Sabah a system of forced rice cultivation), the regulation of inheritance, and guardianship (Sarawak). The next part (chapter 3), concerning native law in administrative codes, will be of particular interest to the student of colonial legal systems, as in Sabah and Sarawak, unlike in other (former) colonies, a large part of the substantive native law has been stated in codes drawn up by administrative officials. These codes describe in quite some detail the customs of various tribes, in particular listing the scales of fines/compensations for breaches of native custom as well as other payments involved in legally relevant actions and transactions. The status of these native law codes has never been established explicitly by the courts. From their use in court cases it appears that they are certainly persuasive but not binding on the courts. Hooker draws attention to the fact that the main sphere of the codes' operation is in administrative offices and the villages, where they certainly draw boundaries in legal discussions and define issues (p. 39).

The last two chapters are devoted to the courts. Chapter 4 describes and annotates the legislation prescribing the structure of the native courts as created by the colonial administration. Briefly stated, native courts have jurisdiction in cases in which both parties are natives and where the matter at issue involves a breach of native law and custom. In Sabah, and until 1975 also in Sarawak, the jurisdiction additionally extends to cases in which only one party is a native if these involve a breach of custom in respect of religion, matrimony or sexual morality. Chapter 5 gives a summary account of the interpretation of native law

legislation and substantive native law in the High Court. The book ends with a concluding section on the future of native law, in which Hooker briefly sets out his ideas on how the existing corpus of native law should "be related to the new demands of the times", i.e., . . . that the native inhabitants of both states are Malaysian citizens residing in a country whose avowed aims include economic and social development (p. 81).

This conclusion strengthens the impression which many readers will already have formed before reaching it. The book views native law through the patronizing eyes and with the blinkers of the colonial legal profession. The "legal history" of Sabah begins in 1881, when North Borneo came under the administration of the British North Borneo Company. The history remains colonial. Though Hooker is probably correct in assuming that most of his readers will be aware of the fact that Sabah and Sarawak are part of the independent state of Malaysia, this fact might at least have been mentioned in the chapters tracing the history of native law. The inference probably drawn by the reader, that this fact was completely irrelevant for the position of native law, may or may not be correct; whatever the case, it would have been worth a few sentences. Unlike Hooker's other works, this book is wholly atheoretical. It lacks all attempt to analyse native law in the pluralistic legal context or to place it in a wider comparative framework, as well as all concern with anthropological or sociological analysis. The reader is confronted only with Hooker's belief that native law will have to be changed in order to facilitate economic and social development. Speaking of native law here, Hooker never explicitly refers to the law as applied by the population itself, nor is any evidence put forward to demonstrate that and why this law should be adverse to (what?) social and economic development. His comments primarily concern colonial native law as transformed into statutes, administrative codes and case law. It may well be true that *these* "laws we described . . . envisage a static native population whose agricultural needs and social characteristics are not subject to much change. As such they cannot be regarded as fully satisfactory" (p. 81). Hooker proposes standardization and modernization in the form of a general native law code to be administered by the present court system (82), for "the increasing formalism of Native law adjudication has made it necessary to settle the form and content of native law" (p. 21). It is somewhat optimistically assumed that more codification would somehow improve the formalistic nature of the courts' native law application.

I wonder whether these suggestions will help the executive and legal branches of the state services "bear in mind that the adats are part of the wider cultural heritage", as Hooker stated himself to hope in his preface. And I seriously doubt whether this new step towards alienation from their own law will help the peoples of Sabah and Sarawak to find or to keep the "certainty of identity" so valued by Hooker. For looking at developments in other ex-colonial countries, we find mainly negative evidence in this respect.

Joel S. Kahn, *Minangkabau Social Formations: Indonesian Peasants and the World Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1980, xvi, 228 pp., 29 tables, 3 figs., 3 maps, glossary, index. Price £ 15.

FRANZ VON BENDA-BECKMANN

The Minangkabau of West Sumatra, well known for their matrilineal organization and high rate of voluntary migration, have been studied by a large number of anthropologists over the past 20 years. The nature and history of the Minangkabau economy, however, has until very recently remained a largely neglected field of study. Kahn's *Minangkabau Social Formations* constitutes a valuable contribution to the filling of this lacuna by giving an interpretation of Minangkabau socio-economic history along with a very interesting and readable description of the contemporary economic organization of one Minangkabau village, Sungai Puar, where he did field research between 1970 and 1972. After an introduction to Minangkabau and a general ethnography of the village, famous for centuries for its blacksmiths' industry (chapters 1 and 2), the two important sectors of the village economy, subsistence farming and petty commodity production (blacksmithing), are described in a detailed account using a large number of statistical data. The relation between these two sectors is analysed in a separate chapter, concluding the first, ethnographic part of Kahn's book.

The main thrust of the book, however, is theoretical. The contemporary ethnography and the economic history of Minangkabau are structured by and analysed in terms of a theoretical model which Kahn develops on the basis of an Althusserian neo-Marxist interpretation, stressing the structural and historical character of Marxist theory. The contemporary economic organization, with its predominance of petty commodity production, and that of the period preceding it are analysed as specific responses to particular historical conjunctures. After carefully outlining his theoretical assumptions about the existence and reproduction of a structure of petty commodity production (chapter 7), Kahn points out the concrete historical conditions for its emergence and reproduction (chapter 9) as well as its possible future transformations in Minangkabau (chapter 10).

Kahn's reconstruction of the social and economic organization in the 19th century and his analysis of the impact of Dutch colonial rule (chapter 8) in my view is the weakest part of the book. According to Kahn, the Minangkabau social formation was "traditionalized" and its neo-traditional elite "feudalized" as a consequence of the Dutch mercantilistic policy culminating, since 1847, in the system of forced cultivation and delivery of coffee. One is struck here by the ease with which comparative inferences from Java — where conditions were quite different — and theoretical deductions are transformed into historical fact. For by no means is it clear that, as Kahn suggests (p. 180), the system of forced cultivation led to an intensification of communal rights of possession and increased rates of redistribution of land, preventing any social and economic differentiation based upon

access to land. An at least equally strong case could be made for a very different interpretation, namely that the communal character of rights in land was weakened and that differentiation in land holding increased as the neo-traditional elite converted the economic and political power which it derived from its association with the colonial state into land; and that this, while not resulting in a surplus production of rice due to the Dutch policy of keeping rice production to the subsistence level, determined the allocation of labour, allowing richer lineages to have their subsistence needs provided for by share-cropping labour whilst being able to invest their own labour into the more profitable production of commodities. Unfortunately, the relation between the sectors of the Minangkabau economy, so convincingly analysed for the contemporary economic organization of Sungai Puar, for the past is overshadowed by too schematic assumptions, and one regrets that Kahn's interpretation is not supported by a concrete diachronic study of the Sungai Puar economy.

Kahn criticizes quite convincingly previous interpretations of socio-economic change in Minangkabau, which perceived/predicted the dissolution of the traditional tribal society and the emergence of a commercialized peasantry as a transitional step towards rural capitalism (Schrieke) when in the beginning of the century the system of forced cultivation was abandoned, a tax system was introduced, and Minangkabau was opened to private capital and the import of consumer goods. Kahn, by contrast, shows that petty commodity production rather than capitalist relations of production became the predominant economic form in the 20th century as a reaction to the increasing incorporation of the Minangkabau economy into the world market economy. The empirical basis for his own analysis, however, seems a bit narrow. Petty commodity production may be less predominant in other villages. In villages with surplus rice production, for example, capitalistic relations of agricultural production may be much more advanced than in Sungai Puar, which can only provide about 20% of the subsistence needs of its inhabitants. Besides, the change in the 20th century would appear to be much less dramatic — and all the more plausible — than both Kahn and the authors he criticizes suggest if he would have allowed for more differentiation in property relations already in the 19th century.

The book is most stimulating where Kahn, in his conclusions (chapter 10), develops on a more general level his concept of a (the Minangkabau) neo-colonial social formation and defends its theoretical implications in a critical dialogue with theorists of neo-Marxist economic anthropology and underdevelopment (Amin, Frank, Laclau, Meillassoux, Rey, Emmanuel). In the Minangkabau neo-colonial social formation, capitalist and non-capitalist relations of production co-exist in the framework of the world market economy. Though Minangkabau peasants are closely integrated in the world economy by being directly assimilated into a single exchange network, the distinctive character of their local productive relations has been maintained. Peripheral economic forms consequently are characterized as “non-” or “pre-capitalist”

in Kahn's theoretical scheme. Taking 20th-century Minangkabau as empirical evidence for this modified dualistic concept, Kahn argues that neither are pre-capitalist relations of production necessary to capitalism, nor can they be explained by their role within the reproductive circuit of capitalism or any single postulated 'need' generated by the capitalistic mode of production which dominates the world economy (p. 208). In Kahn's structuralist interpretation, the creation of the world market is a precondition for, but not (as functionalist explanations would have it) the cause of all the different forms of commodity production within it.

Minangkabau Social Formations is a challenging book, to be recommended to Minangkabau specialists, students of Southeast Asian peasant societies, and general theorists alike for its valuable ethnography, its original historical interpretation and general theoretical propositions. It will certainly provoke discussion of, and stimulate new research into, questions which Minangkabau specialists, with their bias for "classical" anthropological topics, have largely failed to look into.

Jean Lydall and Ivo Strecker, *The Hamar of Southern Ethiopia*: I, *Work Journal*, XX + 289 pp.; II, *Baldambe Explains*, X + 231 pp.; III, *Conversations in Dambaiti*, XXII + 273 pp.; Klaus Renner Verlag, Hohenschäftlarn, am Sonnenhang 8, German Federal Republic.

W. F. L. BUSCHKENS

Deze publicaties, Arbeiten aus dem Institut für Völkerkunde der Universität zu Göttingen, Band 12, 13 und 14, overladen, met in totaal LII en 793 pagina's, de argeloze lezer met een grote hoeveelheid vrijwel ongeordend materiaal over het volk der Hamar, dat volgens het slecht getekende kaartje in deel I (pag. XIX) in het gebied ten NW van Lake Stephanie en ten NO van Lake Rudolf woont. Omdat de auteurs in geen van de drie publicaties basisgegevens verstrekken over de door hun bestudeerde groep, heb ik na enig zoeken de Hamar binnen de multi-ethnische Ethiopische samenleving kunnen traceren als een volkje dat behoort tot de "Southern Sub-family" van de volken die een Omotische taal spreken (cf. de kaart 'Ethiopia, distribution of mother-tongues' in *Language in Ethiopia*, edited by M. L. Bender et al., London, Oxford University Press, 1976).

Deel I is een gedetailleerd dagboek van het veldwerk dat de auteurs in 1970-'74 hebben verricht, in deel II wordt door Baldambe, een man uit de groep der Hamar, een "indigenous model or representation of his society" gegeven, terwijl in deel III (dat alleen door Ivo Strecker werd samengesteld) een weergave wordt gegeven van met informanten gevoerde gesprekken.

De enige zin die deze wat wonderlijke wijze van presenteren van veldwerkgegevens kan hebben, is m.i. hooguit van didactische aard. De drie delen vormen tezamen niet onverdienstelijk lesmateriaal om in colleges over antropologisch veldwerk aan studenten mee te demonstreren wat een dagboek inhoudt en hoe verslagen van met informanten gevoerde gesprekken er kunnen uitzien.

Het is te hopen dat de auteurs hun materiaal t.z.t. zullen systematiseren en omwerken tot een voor de lezer meer toegankelijke beschrijving van het volk der Hamar.

Joan Leopold, *Culture in comparative evolutionary perspective: E. B. Tylor and the making of Primitive Culture*, Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1980, Beiträge zur Kultur-anthropologie. 183 pp. Ills. Notes. App.

HENRI J. M. CLAESSEN

In this book — published with financial support from the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation — Joan Leopold presents an introduction to the work of Edward B. Tylor, one of the founding fathers of anthropology. Though the title of the book suggests a concentration only on Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, in fact equal attention is given to his *Researches into the Early History of Mankind* (1865), while in many cases also his *Anahuac or Mexico and the Mexicans, Ancient and Modern* (1861) is drawn into the discussion.

After a short overview of the history of the writing of the books, Leopold selects five themes from Tylor's work for further discussion: the development or evolution theory, the explanation of cultural similarities, the concept of "survivals", the comparative method, and the concept of culture. In a thorough analysis of the contemporary scientific literature she traces Tylor's possible, or probable, sources for each theme. This makes the book no easy reading. The author tries to compress her extensive knowledge of 18th and 19th century anthropological, historical, linguistic, biological and philosophical literature into a number of short chapters, rendering account of her sources in 547 complex footnotes, which cover pages 125-178 of the book. The various scientific traditions are divided in a kind of intellectual shorthand into categories which she labels "Humboldtians", "Bunsenians", "German Historians", "Philosophers", etc. (1980:10 ff.) — a division which, no doubt, will have its merits for specialists. For the layman-reader, however, the advantages of this strategy are but limited. How is he to remember after some pages that Maine or McLennan were classified as "German Historians", or that Waitz and Gerland belonged to the "Humboldtians"?

Apart from this somewhat confusing aspect of the book, it has much

that deserves praise. On the one hand Leopold demonstrates that many of Tylor's ideas can be traced back to contemporaries, on the other she indicates how Tylor often developed these ideas further, and brought them together in one grand synthesis, his *Primitive Culture* (1871).

An interesting point is that Leopold's thorough study of Tylor's sources reveals that he was influenced neither by his American counterpart Morgan, nor by his German contemporaries Marx and Engels. It is even doubtful whether he was familiar with their works at all.

It is not clear why Leopold has opted for the awkward, outdated method of concealing the titles of books in footnotes (were the many 19th century books she read contagious?) and refrained from giving an alphabetical list of references at the end. Besides, in a book of such complex contents an Index is indispensable. As Leopold is preparing a more comprehensive work on Tylor, it is to be hoped that she will follow a more modern method in these respects there.

Jean-Claude Muller, *Le Roi Bouc Emissaire; Pouvoir et Rituel chez les Rukuba du Nigéria Central*, Quebec: Serge Fleury, 1980. 494 pp. Ills., Annexes, Bibl.

HENRI J. M. CLAESSEN

This is an important book. The Canadian anthropologist Muller, who did extensive field work among the Rukuba (Plateau State, Central Nigeria) during the years 1964-1967, and visited them for shorter periods in 1968 and 1971-1972, describes in great detail the socio-political system of this chiefdom. After a discussion of the relatively short memory of the past here, he describes the distribution of the villages over the country and the relations between these villages. It appears that the older, or founder, villages have a certain ritual and political dominance over the younger ones, which are for the greater part the products of fission.

The principal focus of the book is the analysis of the close relationship between the marriage system, with its preferential and secondary wives, the complex ritual cycle, by which the various villages are linked together, and the political ideology, which finds its highest expression in the office of the village chief. The village chief should be considered as the key to the complex, elaborate ideological system of the Rukuba. His position in many respects resembles that of the "divine king" (in the Frazerian sense) found in many parts of Africa — with one big difference: the Rukuba chief is not a king, but a *chief*. Muller points out that Frazer's theory of ritual kingkilling has been too easily discarded by the British structural functionalists, without any attempt to look for the ideas behind the superficial

phenomenon. The ritual killing of the king, or as was more often the case, of a substitute, played a prominent role in many African cultures (cf. Claessen 1981), and this feature was also found among the sacral chiefs of the Rukuba.

In explanation, Muller points to the fact that in Rukuba ideology the chief (just like the kings) is supposed to maintain the entire social order (p. 244ff.), a task in which he is supported by the numerous rituals. Though clan heads and elders as well are expected to contribute towards this goal, it is ultimately the village chief — and he alone — who is responsible.

To enable him to shoulder this responsibility the chief is endowed with mystical powers, transferred to him during his inauguration (p. 156ff.). This inauguration is a traumatic experience, during which the candidate symbolically dies and is reborn. He has to eat some of the remains of his deceased predecessor and part of a child killed especially for the purpose (p. 159). This act of cannibalism makes the chief at the same time the bearer of mystical powers and a transgressor of the customs of his people. Following Makarius (1970) and Girard (1972), Muller treats this ambivalence as the main characteristic of the chief. From this moment on the chief will be able to fulfil the double function of benefactor and scapegoat. As long as all goes well it is thanks to the beneficial powers of the chief, and when things go wrong the Rukuba have an excuse at hand for disposing of the bad chief who has violated important customs (p. 161). The chief will not be killed in such a case. He will be forced to vacate his lofty position and take refuge with his mother's brother.

The scapegoat motif is the "Leitmotiv" of the whole of the long and very detailed book. With regard to all aspects of Rukuba culture Muller is able to demonstrate how things fit together in relation to this central theme, the essence of an all-embracing ideology. To give one example: Muller gives a very careful analysis of the role of the "remuneration" of the village chief, which is paid in kind. This produce is stored in the sacral granary, in which is stored also the produce from the chief's own fields — for he has to till the soil like every other Rukuba. Now in case of prosperity the village chief will be able to use the abundant contents of this store-house for himself and his guests. In case of a bad harvest, however, the chief is expected to help his people with the food so stored. Thus the chief does not receive "tribute" or "tax" but a "salary" for his magical services, and when he has not fulfilled his obligations well, he has to "pay" for this himself (p. 259ff.; p. 469). When things go worse, the chief may be dismissed, and, as the scapegoat of his society, thus take the misfortune with him.

Throughout the book Muller arranges his wealth of data in such a way as to be fully in accordance with the ideological model of Rukuba society. There seems to be only one factor that escapes the ideological dominance to some extent: preponderating demographic factors. Several cases are adduced in which a given solution is found to be at variance with the expected ideological one (p. 327, 348, 368,

395), and in each of which the demographical factor seems to have tipped the scale.

The intriguing problem of the origin of the concept of divine ruler/scapegoat is not discussed in this book; but then this falls somewhat outside its scope. Nevertheless, in view of the importance of the concept in Rukuba culture, a discussion of the problem would not have been out of place.

Another question that arises is whether a scholar with a different focus could have arranged the data in a different way, making the Rukuba more materialistic for instance. Muller's careful analyses and the many detailed cases he presents give us no reason to expect a totally different picture, however.

Le Roi Bouc Emissaire is an important book not only for the reasons stated above, but also because of the fact that it presents a detailed, coherent analysis of a functioning African chiefdom. It is a most valuable contribution on a hitherto fairly unknown subject.

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Politics in leadership; a comparative perspective, William A. Shack and Percy S. Cohen (eds.), Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979. 296 pp. Bibl. Indexes.

HENRI J. M. CLAESSEN

The volume *Politics in Leadership* contains essays in honour of Professor Isaac Schapera by some of the latter's former colleagues and students of the London School of Economics. Schapera may feel honoured indeed by this volume, for it contains a collection of interesting and often important papers on the subject to which he himself has made so many contributions (see his bibliography, pp. 267-277).

In the first part of the volume, *The Politics of Office*, I. M. Lewis describes the drastic changes in Somalian political leadership since President Barre's assumption, after the coup of 1969, of a kind of "Kim Il-Sung position". G. I. Jones gives a survey of changes in leadership in Eastern Nigeria since the Colonial period, in which there comes to the fore a striking resemblance between the pre-colonial political structure here and some Melanesian tribal structures which asks for a detailed comparison. Hugh Ashton describes the changes

in the political structure of the AmaNdebele in Rhodesia between 1860 and 1974, thus covering a rather turbulent period of growing African political consciousness.

The second part, *Property, Legitimation and Authority*, consists of an article by Jean de la Fontaine on the relationship between territory and political system — an important theme in Schapera's own work — and a chapter by Simon Roberts and John Comaroff on two inheritance disputes in a Kgatla chiefdom.

In the third part, *Sacred and Secular Leadership*, Raymond Firth analyses the interesting problem of the persistence of attribution of sacredness to men who no longer perform any sacred roles. This chapter contains not only data on Tikopia, but also a lengthy discussion of the concept of *tapu*. William Shack contributes a chapter on the background of the sacred chiefs of the Gurage in which he points out that these chiefs traditionally had only symbolical power, the colonization by the Ethiopians, however, considerably influencing their position.

The last part, *Problems of Scale*, opens with a lengthy review by Ernest Gellner of L. E. Kubbel's *Songaiskaia Dershava* [The Songhai Empire] (Moscow 1974), one of the most outstanding works on West African history by a Soviet scholar. In my opinion this chapter is one of the most important of the whole volume, for Gellner does not restrict himself to a mere review of Kubbel's book, but more generally discusses the problems posed by Marxist theory in the study of (African) history. H. S. Morris describes the vicissitudes of the Sarawak aristocracy since the beginning of the 19th century at length. James Woodburn, finally, gives an interesting description of the political life of the Hadza, a group of hunters and gatherers of North Tanzania.

Varied though the contents of the volume may be, the red thread connecting the different chapters is that they all take Schapera's publications, most often his *Government and Politics in Tribal Society* (1956), as point of departure, elaborating or correcting his views and thereby contributing to our knowledge and understanding of politics and leadership, while at the same time honouring a great scholar.

Bailey W. Diffie & George D. Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire, 1415-1580. Europe and the world in the age of expansion*, Volume I. University of Minnesota Press, Oxford University Press, 1977. XXX and 533 pages, ill., maps.

P. VAN EMST

Evidently the aim of the authors has been to write a standard work,

and as far as I can judge they have succeeded. In all likelihood no other work — at least in one volume — as thorough and as readable as this will appear for years to come. Of course some trifling critical remarks can be made, and of course not every historian will agree with the authors in every respect, but no-one can dispute that a vast store of knowledge lies behind every page of the book under consideration.

Even the most casual reader, however, will find an omission in the title. The work is about the Portuguese empire in Africa and more especially in Asia. America is dealt with in only a few lines. On the other hand, the authors make it very clear that their work is about the exploits of the Portuguese overseas; as Winius says (p. XXI), "... I wish to caution readers that I have written a history of Portuguese power in Asia, not a history of Asia at the time of the Portuguese expansion or even a full-scale history of Portuguese Asia". Hence it is a straight piece of colonial history, be this term fashionable or not.

The bias — positive or sometimes negative — that nearly every historian has towards his subject is not completely absent in this book, either. The grandeur of Portugal in the 15th and 16th centuries obviously appeals to the authors, and their approach sometimes has a slightly romantic tinge, even with respect to the less savoury qualities of the conquerors. Evidence of this attitude is found, for example, where Winius talks about the exploits of the Portuguese in Ethiopia, saying (p. 359), "The Portuguese conquistadores made far better thieves — and also far better saints — than we". Although the judgement of the Portuguese is not always positive, when Diffie, talking about the wars in Morocco, characterizes the situation as "... a school for cutthroats ..." (p. 212), this does not prevent him from showing slight admiration for the tough soldiers. In any case, in his opinion the very existence of these tough boys and their mentality is one of the clues for an understanding of the Portuguese expansion in general. But then, reading a historical account written entirely *sine ira et studio* would be very tedious indeed.

Throughout the period of Portuguese expansion the relation to the Roman Catholic Church, and especially to the Holy See, was very important. Sometimes it is not even very clear whether the Vatican made use of the rulers in Portugal or whether the Portuguese manipulated the Church. For this quite a lot of evidence is provided in the book, e.g. by the story of the Treaty of Tordesilhas (and the evasions of it, if necessary); the *padroado*, giving Portugal a de facto monopoly of the spreading of the faith — and political and military power — in Asia, which was confirmed by several popes; the dual status of the King of Portugal as bearer of the crown but also as Grão-Mestre of the Ordem de Christo. In this connection a little more space might have been devoted to the discussion of the conquista espiritual, for which an abundance of sources is available.

Some, but not much, attention is given to the demographic aspects of Portuguese expansion. The authors do not skip the problems in connection with the necessary human resources, but deal with them rather summarily. Yet this aspect is interesting enough. The expansion

of Portugal started when the black death was only just receding from Western Europe. In some areas the population had halved in the course of the 14th century, and there is no reason to suppose that Portugal fared better than, say, France. Moreover, Portugal not only erected forts and trade-posts with relatively few occupants in Africa and Asia, but from the very beginning founded real colonies (Cabo Verde, Açores, Madeira). These have always been relatively small in number in Asia, although in some places the *casados* grew to form quite numerous groups. Actually, migration from Portugal has never come to an end. Up till the present day Portuguese have been going to Hawaii, Brazil, the U.S.A., or coming as migrant labourers to the industrialized European countries. There never has been a shortage of people in Portugal, it seems (cf. J. J. Gonçalves, *Portugueses dispersos pelo mundo*, Lisboa, 1972).

In the last chapter Winius gives a clear account of the feudal and/or capitalist background of Portuguese expansion. The problems he discusses here are not new, for already in 1881 A. Herculano published his *Da existência ou não existência do feudalismo em Portugal* (a work which is not mentioned in the very extensive bibliography).

The last lines (or shall I say "stanzas") of the work are in true Portuguese style. They speak of the (past) "glory and credit due to Portugal" and of the conquistadores, "... not of the world, nor of the world's wealth, but of the world's isolation".

The Poison Tree; Selected Writings of Rumphius on the Natural History of the Indies, edited and translated by E. M. Beekman, the University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst.

H. J. DE GRAAF

Dit boek is het eerste ener serie letterkundige werken, geschreven door Nederlanders of daarmee gelijkgestellten, over het leven in de vroegere kolonie Nederlandsch Oost-Indië, thans Republiek Indonesia, m.a.w. over de periode, die wij thans soms als "Tempo doeloe" plegen aan te duiden.

Deze serie vertalingen zal in het geheel 12 delen tellen.

Het eerste deel is nu verschenen en bevat fragmenten uit het werk van de grote natuurvorser Georg Everard Rumpf, gewoonlijk bekend onder zijn verlatijnste naam Rumphius, een geheel Nederlander geworden Duitser. De gekozen fragmenten zijn uit het *Herbarium Amboinense* (Het Amboinsche Kruidboek) en *D'Amboinsche Rariteitkamer*, welke beide werken pas na Rumphius' overlijden in 1702 het licht zagen. De enigszins wonderlijke titel is ontleend aan een der hoofdstukken van het *Herbarium*. Behalve het bekende portret van

Rumphius zijn ook enige fraaie afbeeldingen der besproken planten opgenomen.

De keuze der hoofdstukken is verricht door Dr. E. M. Beekman, "a poet novelist, professor of the Germanic Languages at the University of Massachusetts", tevens "general Editor of the Series", die ook voor de vertaling zorgde. Tevens leverde hij een korte inleiding over de betekenis van Nederland als koloniale mogendheid.

Wij zijn zeer benieuwd naar de volgende delen, welke, gelijk het thans aangebodene, stellig door hun smaakvolle vorm en prettige leesbaarheid in de Angelsaksische Wereld en zelfs daar buiten een groot publiek zullen trekken, en bij de lezers ongetwijfeld belangstelling wekken voor ons koloniaal verleden, en wel op een aangenamer wijze, dan sommige onzer oerdegelijke koloniale geschriften plegen te doen.

In deze twaalfdelige "library of the Indies", waarvan er jaarlijks twee zullen verschijnen, zullen na het thans besprokene, achtereenvolgens het licht zien: *Mirror of the Indies* by R. Nieuwenhuys, zo mede diens *Faded Portraits; Max Havelaar* by Multatuli (E. Douwes Dekker); *Jan Compagnie* by Arthur van Schendel; *Guna Guna* by Maurits (P. A. Daams); *The Hidden Force* by L. Couperus; *The Islands* by A. Aalberts; *A Miscellany*; *The Advisor* by H. J. Friedericy; *The Last House in the World* by Beb Vuyk; *The Country of Origin* by E. du Perron.

Ongetwijfeld zal de lezer achter de Engelse titels dezer vertalingen gemakkelijk die der Nederlandse originelen kunnen ontdekken.

W. Lundström-Burghoorn, *Minahasa civilization; A tradition of change*, Göteborg 1981. Sw. Cr. 80,—. Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, Gothenburg Studies in Social Anthropology, 2.

M. HEKKER

This study is the result of fieldwork in Minahasa, the north-eastern-most part of Sulawesi, Indonesia. During the years 1974 and 1975 the author spent one year in this area doing research in two villages. The aim of her investigations was to arrive at a description and analysis of "different modes of social relationship generally current in rural Minahasa, in particular the *mapalus*, formal organizations for mutual assistance" (p. 8). Although originally intending to make a comparison between the two villages, Lundström combined the data of both to arrive at an integrated overview of Minahasan civilization.

Minahasa has had a long history of contact with the Dutch that goes back to the seventeenth century. Especially since the nineteenth century it has been exposed to strong western, in particular Dutch, influences and was therefore known as the "Twelfth Province" of Holland. Lund-

ström tries to account for the change in Minahasan society which is connected with the acceptance of these western influences.

For analytical purposes she distinguishes in her description of the social structure between two aspects, or rather angles of view. First, a communicative aspect, "how people recognize each other" (p. 4), by which she means kinship and locality. Second, an instrumental aspect, "what people get done jointly" (p. 4), by which she means the associations, or *mapalus*.

The first half of the book is devoted to kinship and locality. Minahasan society is composed of several social units of different levels which, however, are mutually related. The largest units are the four language groups, which at the same time constitute territorial units. These language groups embrace several *walak*, i.e., clans or groups of villages made up of a central village and some satellites. Below the village level there is the *turunan*, or cognatic descent group of a few families of living kin. The smallest unit is the "hearth group", consisting of a man and his wife and children.

In the second half of her book the author deals with the associations. People get together in these organizations to work the fields, build a house or arrange a funeral on a reciprocal basis. Lundström refrains from a detailed enumeration and description of all the existing *mapalus*. After an evaluation of the typologies of associations in the anthropological literature, she restricts herself to defining some general characteristics of the *mapalu*. Some aspects, in particular the various systems of credit extension, she deals with at greater length.

According to Lundström, kinship and locality in rural Minahasa constitute a highly ramified system through which in the end the entire population is internally related. The main function of the association is a demarcating one, "(to crystallize) in the continuum of commitments . . . discrete entities for specific operational purposes" (p. 180).

Besides this description of the social structure, Lundström deals with the changes due to western influence. Her conclusion is that "Minahasan tradition is one of change" (p. 232). "The Minahasans have always been eager to accept elements from foreign traditions. . . . Change and flux is the normal expectation in the Minahasa" (p. 232). Even so, a striking continuity is perceptible. The second conclusion of the book is that Minahasan tradition is "complex and contradictory" (p. 232). The reason for this must be sought in the existence of two universes, one "talked-of world" of "principles, ideas and plans" and "one of action . . . expressed in ritual and pragmatic acts and interaction" (p. 232).

Although presented as a description of the social structure, the author offers much other ethnographical information and sets out to account for change as well. Actually, the book is an ethnography, focused on social structure and provided with a historical dimension. This multi-angle approach demands a certain ability of the reader to make his way through the ethnographical descriptions and at the same time keep in touch with the author's line of reasoning and arrive eventually at the same interpretations and conclusions as her. In fact,

the statements about the "tradition of change" and the "complex and contradictory" character of Minahasan society appear somewhat general, and would perhaps deserve more thorough analysis before any definite conclusions are drawn.

However, as an ethnography the book fills an obvious gap in our current knowledge of this part of Indonesia. At the same time the author tries to deal with the difficult problem of continuity and change, so that this study may provide a starting-point for continued research on Minahasa.

Soebagijo I. N., (1981), *Jagat Wartawan Indonesia*, P. T. Gunung Agung, Jakarta. 635 + XVI pp. plus photographs, Rp. 6,750 (c. \$US 12.00).

DAVID T. HILL

There can be no doubt that the print media have played a crucial role in the developing nationalist movement in Indonesia. As Soebagijo I. N. claims in his introduction to *Jagat Wartawan Indonesia* (The Indonesian Journalists' World), "the national press constituted an invulnerable tool for the national struggle. Every leader of a nationalist (and religious) movement during the colonial period used the mass media as a means of communicating their concepts and philosophy to their followers." (p. VIII)

But for students and researchers the value and importance of an understanding of the Indonesian press does not end with the nationalist movement. Almost all branches of scholarship draw some source material from the print media. For many scholars some understanding of the background and development of the press, the personalities involved in it, and the general ideological constellations represented by the various organs of the press, is vital. Such factors influence the slant of the material contained in the individual organs and thus need to be considered when this material is used for research purposes.

Given the important role that individual journalists and editors have played during the development of the press in Indonesia a resource book which contains separate entries on 111 leading Indonesian journalists would appear to be a useful aid to those consulting the press for research purposes. When you bear in mind also that many figures active in journalism have also made major contributions in other fields in Indonesia, such a publication would be of interest to even more readers. Information on people like Abdul Muis (the author of the classic Indonesian novel, *Salah Asuhan*), Adam Malik (currently Vice-President), Usmar Ismail (one of the leading pioneer film-makers) and Douwes-Dekker (later known as Setiabudhi, a founder of the *Indische Partij*, one of Indonesia's first nationalist parties) would be of interest to a wide cross-section of readers, not specifically concerned with the world of journalism.

Soebagijo's *Jagat Wartawan Indonesia* promises a lot. Appearing at first glance impressive by virtue of its size and long list of individual journalists covered, unfortunately it turns out to be rather superficial, patchy in details provided, and lacking the quality of an academic study. It resembles more a compilation of recollections of the past, gleaned from the reminiscences of the people involved, and embellished by the author's rich personal experiences in the world of journalism.

Soebagijo is certainly well placed to compile such a volume, having worked since 1958 as head of the library and documentation section of *Antara* (the semi-official Indonesian news agency) in Jakarta. His personal acquaintance with the people he discusses is clear and this gives the book its chatty flavour.

This approach is interesting, since the anecdotes about the journalists make entertaining reading and break up material which, handled in other ways, might have become a list of dates and events. However, some of the chapters lack adequate coherency or consistent development of the information provided. Anecdotes are mixed randomly with facts, without being rounded out into something more than a mere collage of images. Obviously much of the detail of the lives of many of the older characters must have been lost or would certainly be very difficult to uncover. Soebagijo cast his net very broadly in dealing with so many people. The result is a book which lacks the academic quality of a classic reference work, but is nevertheless worth dipping into.

The printing and binding of the publication are good, which is especially important since thick paperback books have a proclivity to split and fall apart! The text is broken up by blocks of photographs illustrating something of the history of the press and its journalist organizations in Indonesia, and there are photos of almost all of the journalists covered in the text. It is unfortunate that a printing error has resulted in page 285 being bound out of sequence.

There is evidence too that the book was compiled too hastily, with inadequate editing and checking of details. The entry on Enggak Bahau'ddin (pp. 457-459) is an example. On page 459, Soebagijo says that Enggak died in 1977. However Atmakusumah, a friend and colleague of Enggak's, wrote an article in *Tempo* magazine on 11 September 1976 describing Enggak's funeral some days previously. On the same page we read that *Indonesia Raya*, the paper for which Enggak worked, had its publication permit (*Surat Izin Terbit*) withdrawn finally in 1972. This date is demonstrably incorrect, since *Indonesia Raya* continued to be published until 1974, when it, along with a number of other papers, was banned following the *Malari* demonstrations triggered off by the visit of the Japanese Prime Minister in January. Lack of clarity in expression may be the cause of some other apparent inconsistencies within this entry on Enggak Bahau'ddin regarding the number of times he was jailed as a journalist.

Nowhere could I find a specific explanation of what criteria Soebagijo used in selecting journalists for inclusion. It is implied that journalists had to be either dead or over about 60 years of age to be

considered. There also appears to be a political bias, since most of the journalists mentioned are generally regarded as either "nationalists" or "non-communists", though this criterion is nowhere stated explicitly and some left-wing figures are included. It is unfortunate that major figures such as Mochtar Lubis (perhaps one of Indonesia's best known journalists and editors) and Rosihan Anwar (another leading figure) were omitted. Yet B. M. Diah, a rival editor, often compared to these two men, only six years their senior, appears.

Despite these criticisms, *Jagat Wartawan Indonesia* is a useful book for those interested in the press in Indonesia. It represents an encouraging attempt to systematize and examine the personalities involved and, in some cases, to record their own recollections of history before they die. Soebagijo's efforts at collecting and compiling this information should be given due credit.

As the author notes in his introduction, the task of conducting more substantial research falls upon the continuing generation of journalists, to whom he directs this book. He wants to instil in them the same fiery nationalist zeal which motivated the pioneers of the press in Indonesia to use that medium to rouse the people. That idealism and spirit seems patently lacking today in the Indonesian Journalists' World, where blatant government pressures for "self-censorship" and a so-called "free but responsible press" in reality mean a gagged and shackled media.

H. J. de Graaf, *Wonderlijke verhalen uit de Indische historie*, 's-Gravenhage, Moesson 1981. 173 pp. Ills.

F. G. P. JAQUET

De Graaf is een van de eerste Nederlandse historici geweest (zo niet de eerste) die heeft gepleit voor het gebruik van Indonesische bronnen naast de Europese ter bestudering van de geschiedenis van Indonesië. Ook dit werk — bestaande uit 33 reeds eerder in *Tong-Tong* verschenen artikelen — getuigt van een kennis en belezenheid waar menig koloniaal historicus jaloers op kan zijn. Wonderlijke verhalen noemt de auteur zijn boek, en terecht. De Graaf probeert in een zeer uiteenlopend aantal onderwerpen zoals de "senènan", het "steekspel" dat landsarchivarissen uitvoerden waarvan Du Perron getuige was, herinneringen aan Poerbatjaraka, de "Blanda Items", "Barongan St-Nicolaas" de achterkant van de geschiedenis te vangen, de petites histoires, de mannetjes uit het verleden.

De auteur wil bovendien aantonen hoe snel kennis over culturele manifestaties verloren dreigt te gaan, niet alleen in Indonesië maar ook in Nederland. Hij schrijft hierover in een parlendo-stijl als reactie op het "gortdroge" geschrijf van de meeste van zijn vakgenoten, met als gevolg de eigenaardigheden van het gesprek zoals plotselinge invallen, uitweidingen, terzijdes, gemoedelijkheden en versprekingen. Waarde-

vol vind ik de persoonlijke herinneringen die De Graaf in zijn artikelen inlast. Opvallend (of wonderlijk?) is de neiging van de auteur om vele Indonesië-onderzoekers te noemen behalve zichzelf. Kennelijk had De Graaf zoveel plezier in het lezen van andermans teksten en de verwerking ervan in eigen artikelen, dat hij vergat dat hijzelf ook het een en ander presteerde op het gebied van de Indonesische geschiedenis.

J. Landwehr, *De Nederlander uit en thuis; spiegel van het dagelijks leven uit bijzondere zeventiende-eeuwse boeken*. Alphen aan den Rijn, Sijthoff, 1981. 200 pp. Ills.

F. G. P. JAQUET

In maart 1981 presenteerde John Landwehr in het museum Meermanno Westreenianum in Den Haag het eerste exemplaar van zijn boek aan de commissaris van de Koningin van Zuid-Holland. In zijn toespraak zette de auteur uiteen dat hij met zijn boek in de allereerste plaats een algemeen publiek wilde informeren over het dagelijkse leven in de 17de eeuw op grond van geselecteerde teksten en illustraties. Hij kwam daarbij tot de conclusie dat de problemen van vroeger en nu in wezen niet zo erg zijn veranderd. Jammer dat Landwehr een en ander slechts zeer summier verantwoordt in zijn ten geleide.

Het boek bevat teksten over zeer gevarieerde onderwerpen zoals reizen, spoken, sociale zorg, babyverzorging, toerisme, de Nederlandse koloniën, biologie, geneeskunde, stadsverlichting en natuurlijk ook boekdruk- en tekentechniek. Elk van de 80 teksten wordt afgesloten met een collatie waarin de bibliografische gegevens zijn te vinden. Het geheel is rijk geïllustreerd. Helaas zijn sommige tekeningen vanwege het oorspronkelijke formaat verkleind afgedrukt. Wie echter de oorspronkelijke gravures kent zal moeten toegeven dat ze met grote zorg in dit boek zijn gereproduceerd. Het boek wordt afgesloten met een woordenlijst en een index.

Een aardig boek over vaak zeldzame en kostbare geschriften bestemd voor een breed publiek. En wat de VOC betreft: klimaat, insecten en de behoefte aan pakpapier (p. 126) maakten dat de drukwerken uit die periode al spoedig zeldzaam werden. Hoeveel is er sindsdien veranderd?

Michael G. Peletz, *Social history and evolution in the interrelationship of Adat and Islam in Rembau, Negeri Sembilan*, Research Notes and Discussions Paper No. 27, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore 1981. 59 Pages; price Singapore \$ 9.50.

P. E. DE JOSSELIN DE JONG

This latest publication of the very active Institute in Singapore offers a useful survey of the social and economic history of Rembau, in many respects the most prominent *luak* (province) of the West Malaysian state of Neg(e)ri Sembilan, from the 18th century onwards. The titles of its chapters will indicate its scope: The mythical past and pre-colonial history; *Adat*, Islam and the traditional social order; The nature and consequence of British colonialism; Economic change in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; Islamic nationalism and reform; The contemporary social order; Cultural rationalization and ritual change.

The 18th and early 19th centuries are described as a period of hardship and impermanent settlement, due to the "ravages of warfare" and the confiscation of the villagers' surplus production "by whimsical or tyrannical rulers" (p.14). Here, a non-historian wonders whether too much power for extortion is not being attributed to the "fluorescence" (*sic*) of a "class of self-interested royalty" (11).

The analysis of the "nature and consequences of British colonialism" is more convincing. On the one hand, "the British codified and, it could be said, reified various aspects of the previously flexible system of *adat*" (28) — an issue which had its counterpart in the Netherlands Indies. This process, however, was accompanied by another which worked in a different direction: "during the colonial period, Islamic administrative bodies and religious hierarchies became increasingly standardized, centralized, and cohesive" (30) — the office of *Kathi* was established in Rembau in 1889, and the State's Department of Islamic Religion and the office of *Mufti* in 1950.

Chapter IV gives a well documented summary of economic change from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards, with stress laid on two developments: the increased production of cash crops with the concomitant expansion of the commercial sector, going hand in hand with great fragmentation of the "traditional" clan rice lands, due to population growth, while "the total acreage of these clan lands has remained fairly constant in size over the past sixty years" (35). In addition, the well-known *merantau* of the Sumatran Minangkabau is echoed by "an exodus of alarming proportions on the part of village youth . . . to Kuala Lumpur and other major urban centres" (43).

Finally, the author notes that various un-Islamic rituals are coming to an end, such as the *berpuar* complex, which involves a "much enjoyed" mock battle (46,47) — which, parenthetically, would be well worth comparing with the Minangkabau *parang adat* and the firework potlatch, so well described in Muhammad Radjab's autobiography.

These tendencies in conjunction are interpreted, plausibly, as leading to a diminution of the contrast between *adat* and Islam (48-52).

A curious feature of the booklet is the author's attitude towards this relation between Islam and what is designated by the blanket term *adat*, and in particular his violent objection to the present reviewer's article 'Islam versus adat in Negeri Sembilan' (*Bijdragen* 116:158 ff.).

What is curious is that he adopts two conflicting positions. In the first place, he is convinced, as he is entitled to be, that Rembau villagers "perceive no incongruities in the intersect of *adat* and Islam", i.e. adhere "to the view that *adat* and Islam are generally compatible and mutually reinforcing" (3). On this score, he reacts to my article, which describes an open conflict between the two in 1951, which was so bitter that it became known as the "Rembau war", by saying that I was "focusing very selectively on particular features of *adat* and Islam (for example, property and inheritance)" (17). To this the reply is, of course, that it was not de Josselin de Jong who "focused" on these features, but that these were the issues at stake in the 1951 conflict, because in that year the *Barisan Ugama* of the Rembau branch of a major political party began its "movement for altering *pesaka*" (i.e. ancestral property; *BKI* 116-1:166).

On the other hand, despite his disapproval of my description of an actual conflict, Mr. Peletz is honest enough to refer several times to situations which are clearly in contrast to his "harmony model": "... Malays throughout Negeri Sembilan have long been aware of certain areas wherein *adat* and Islam prescribe divergent, even conflicting action" (19); "Successive waves of Islamic theologians ... have also sponsored numerous efforts toward encouraging villagers' acceptance of the position that various *adat* provisions are ... against the teachings of Islam" (41); "Many of the villagers who have questioned or sought to break with the established *adat* order ... have justified their attitudes and actions by invoking precepts ... associated with Islamic sources" (45).

In sum, this serviceable historical overview of cultural change in Rembau could well have done without the introduction of a spurious controversy.

Anthony Reid and David Marr (eds.), *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia*, Heinemann Educational Books for Asian Studies Association of Australia, Singapore 1979. 436 pp. Bibliographical Appendix, Index, 3 maps.

P. E. DE JOSSELIN DE JONG

Having recently reviewed a volume of South East Asian studies by a group of American anthropologists which was unsatisfactory (this journal, 137-4), it is a pleasure to report on the expert and stimulating

papers, originally presented at a colloquium in Canberra in 1976, and now published in book form.

Of the twenty-two contributors, eighteen were based in Australia or South East Asian countries. Ten of the chapters deal with Indonesia, three with Malaysia, two each with the Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam, and one with Cambodia. As the title indicates, the common theme is "ethno-history" in the true sense of the word: a society's history as perceived by the members of that society, not necessarily professional historians. As a study of cognition, *Perceptions of the Past* is also of interest to anthropologists, and the present review will discuss the volume from that angle. This appears to be in accordance with one of the aims of the colloquium, as Wang Gungwu says in his introduction that "historians must be more attentive towards the anthropologists, linguists and archaeologists . . ." (p. 5).

For reasons of space I shall have to confine my notes to somewhat less than a half of all the chapters, but I shall try to draw together some connecting themes by way of conclusion.

James J. Fox's chapter on 'The structure of Rotinese historical narratives' could have borne the title of the whole volume. Fox first gives us the historical events, *in casu* the changing relationships between the ruler of Termanu and the V.O.C., and then the Rotinese narrative of these events, in which the ruler's actions conform to the Rotinese ideal of cleverness: the Ruler as Trickster.

Shelly Errington's 'Comments on style in the meanings of the past' begins with a problem of language rather than style: Malay verbs do not show tense, while English verbs do. The result is that an English speaker, translating a *hikayat*, for example, makes "judgments about temporal relationships between events . . . for which there was simply no evidence in the text" (p. 28). This feature of the language has its parallel in the style: instead of a (diachronic) narrative, we find a succession of (synchronic) "images" (30). These observations are not new, but they are here developed, and applied to specific texts, in a most enlightening manner.

In a volume of collected essays, each reader will have his own preference; mine is for S. Supomo's 'The image of Majapahit in later Javanese and Indonesian writing'. Although the *Babad Tanah Jawi* presents Mataram as the heir to Majapahit's greatness, this greatness, during the "golden age" of Hayam Wuruk, is conspicuous by its absence from the *Babad's* account. The second paradox is that although Malay texts, viz. the *Sejarah Melayu* and the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, always present Majapahit as the enemy, they give "a more colourful and expansive picture of it, . . . reminiscent of that given by Prapanca" (179).

Passing on to our own century, "it is more than a coincidence" that the founding of Budi Utomo followed soon after the publication of the *Pararaton* and the first instalment of Kern's *Nagarakrtagama* studies: a link between emerging Javanese nationalism and "a brighter picture of Majapahit" suggests itself (180). Later, C. C. Berg's contrary view that the "myth of a Great Majapahit" is "a priestly statement, an

elaborate optative" led Slametmuljana and others to come to the defence of Majapahit as a predecessor of the newly born Republic. Supomo interprets the latest swing of the pendulum, viz. Resink's and Soedjatmoko's rallying to the defence of Berg's position, by suggesting that the more an Indonesian unity becomes a reality, the less need there will be for symbols of unity such as the image of a Great Majapahit. Supomo's paper is a demonstration of the contemporary relevance of historical research.

There is a close link between the subject-matter of this chapter and of two that follow it: Ann Kumar's 'Javanese historiography in and of the colonial period', and Benedict O'G. Anderson's 'A time of darkness and a time of light'. Ann Kumar deals principally with a historical text on the Muslim community in Banyuwangi, written by a certain Purwasastra in 1843 (i.e. the Leiden Cod.Or. 4087). The writer of this *babad* gives a balanced picture of Dutch organization and policy (of which he approves) and personal behaviour (of which he disapproves: 196, 197). In contrast to e.g. the *Babad Balambangan*, Purwasastra's account is "on the whole accurate" (200), which leads to the highly pertinent question, what factors tended to produce "this sort of 'history' rather than another". One conclusion which follows from this investigation is that, in view of the very divergent uses of historical material among the small sample of *babad* here discussed, "we should be aware of talking about a Javanese 'mind' or 'world-view' independent of the particular reality confronted by each Javanese author" (203, 204).

In discussing the *Kenang-kenangan* of Soetomo, one of the founders of Budi Utomo, Anderson also stresses the variety in outlook among a fairly small group of contemporaries — and, by implication, warns against hasty generalization. In Soetomo's reminiscences "one might expect a conventional contrast of traditional and modern, old and new. But the story proceeds in an unexpected way", as Soetomo makes clear that certain controversial measures taken by his grandfather as *lurah* were "actually a reform" (230).

One of the commendable features of the volume as a whole is the linkage between the several chapters, as we have seen. Another instance of this is Anthony Reid's 'The nationalist quest for an Indonesian past', which discusses the same topics as Supomo and Anderson, but from a different angle and by using other material. Within Budi Utomo, Dr. Radjiman wanted to work primarily for the revival of *Javanese* culture, while Tjipto Mangoenkoesoemo advocated "Indisch" nationalism, basing this, however, by reference to "European rather than Indonesian history". One of the not strictly political factors which promoted the transition from Javanese to Indonesian nationalism was the publication of the first volume of Fruin-Mees' *Geschiedenis van Java* in 1919, with "its listing of the 'conquests' of Majapahit according to the *Nagarakrtagama*" (228). Finally the cosmopolitan, the Marxist, and the Islamic views are contrasted with the two types of nationalism already discussed.

The Indonesian Marxist outlook is exemplified by D. N. Aidit's

Masyarakat Indonesia dan Revolusi Indonesia of 1957, with which Ruth McVey deals in 'The enchantment of the revolution'. In order to strengthen the PKI's position, Aidit had to stress the national aspects of the Indonesian revolutionary movement, and to play down the international aspects (351) and the class struggle (356): proletariat and national bourgeoisie, communist and nationalist movements, go hand in hand.

Concluding this survey of a few selected chapters with the only one on twentieth-century Malaysia, Khoo Kay Kim's perceptive 'Local historians and the writing of Malaysian history in the twentieth century', one is struck by the almost total lack of contact between Malaysian and Indonesian historians in the pre-war and early post-war years. One is made to realize once more how greatly the main intellectual currents diverged between the two nations which a Malayan popular song called *sebangsa, seagama*.

If we pass from specific to more general comments on the volume as a whole, the main thing to note, as remarked above, is that the volume is a whole. Certain topics, texts and personalities recur, although individual authors' opinions of them may differ. A. H. Johns, for instance, dismisses publications by Muhammad Yamin and Slamet Muljono as "incongruities and absurdities" (67), while Supomo deals with both Yamin's and Slametmuljana's works at greater length, as exemplifying the tendency to exalt Majapahit (183, 185), and Deliar Noer's article 'Yamin and Hamka' described their "two routes to an Indonesian identity" as running via "the Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms" (255) and via Islam, respectively.

We already saw that Anderson and Ann Kumar are more in agreement with each other. Their subjects, Soetomo and Purwasastra, are both appreciative of certain aspects of Dutch rule and influence in Indonesia, thus correcting certain stereotyped opinions about Indonesian-Dutch relations and anachronistic value judgments.

Value judgments, now not of the present-day reader but of the Indonesian historian, play an important part in Leonard Andaya's 'A village perception of Arung Palakka and the Makassar war of 1666-1669'. When the VOC under Speelman waged the "Makassar War" against Goa, its ally was the Bugis Arung Palakka. This led to many Bugis forsaking Goa and joining their countryman, which was a decisive factor in the defeat of Goa-Makassar. Now a "Makassar village tale" about the war describes Arung Palakka sympathetically, and Andaya undertakes to explain "why this is possible" (365). This reminds us of Purwasastra, "noticeably pro-Dutch" (196) in spite of his thorough dislike of certain Dutch characteristics, and, even more, of the double paradox noted by Supomo (see my note, above, on p. 179).

In the latter case we notice the cross-cultural parallel between a Bugis and a Javanese text. There are several such cases, for a feature of this book, of equal importance for anthropologists and historians, is the

attention it pays to Indonesia as a "Field of Ethnological Study", although the term itself is never used.

Several of the contributors discuss comparable phenomena in two or more cultures of the area, thus explicitly or implicitly considering them as variants on a common pattern. We have already seen how Supomo compares Javanese and Malay texts' attitudes to Majapahit (177, 179), thus exemplifying the editor's statement that the participants in the Canberra symposium "have been constantly aware of the advantages of approaching Southeast Asia as a whole" (vii). To quote one more example, Fox lists several types of Rotinese tales, "all of which have common variants throughout the Indonesian world" (15).

It goes without saying that the reader can also often use data in this volume for intra-Indonesian comparative purposes when the writer does not do so. For example, Andaya quotes the Makassar village tale about the Makassar War, which ended in the city's capture by Speelman and Arung Palakka: "They were splendid, these warriors of Goa! They were like fighting cocks . . . (etc.)", and adds the comment that the war "is therefore seen not as a humiliating defeat", but as honour salvaged from a tragic situation by valour (375, 376). This immediately brings the Malay Annals to one's mind — the *hikayat Melayu dibawa oleh orang dari Goa*. On the more popular level, the fact that this same folk tale could equate a crown prince of Goa with a famous Bugis leader (370) makes it more credible that, in Malaya, the leader of the Minangkabau people of Negri Sembilan could be given the name, Malewar, of the Bugis invader, as I have argued elsewhere (BKI 131:277-308).

An anthropologist's comments on a volume of historical essays may, I hope, conclude with a few notes on the book's relevance for a topic which is being intensively studied in the Netherlands: political myths and legitimacy beliefs.

A structure which is common in the Indonesian Field of Ethnological Study, namely that the ruler, or his dynasty, holds the political authority, but that wisdom is the possession of the people or a minister, has its variant in Roti, where "a titled figure of commoner status" has ritual authority, as opposed to political power, and acts as arbiter and authority on the history of the domain (11, 17).

It has been remarked that in several other respects the ruler's powers are also curtailed. Supomo remarks that in the Malay Annals and the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* the splendour of Majapahit is attributed to Gajah Mada rather than to the ruler himself (177, 178), and that in the *Babad Tanah Jawi* king Brawijaya is described as suffering from venereal disease (176) — a theme which has its immediate counterparts in Malay, Minangkabau, and Acehnese oral and literary texts.

In a more favourable light, the ruler is often presented — explicitly in law-books, implicitly in legends and histories — as the embodiment of order. This was also done by the Bugis and Makassar court chronicles (360).

Even minor biographical details can be relevant for the study of

themes in political myths; for instance, Soetomo (1888-1938) "was jealous of his younger brother, whom he felt was favoured by his parents" (234). Javanese friends tell me that in their parental family the elder brother indeed had to defer (*ngalah*) to the younger. It is of significance that the relationship between ruler and commoners is frequently depicted not only as one of political power vis-à-vis spiritual authority or wisdom, but also as the relationship between descendants of a (mythical) younger vis-à-vis elder brother.

One can agree with Khoo Kay Kim that early Malay historiography should not be "dismissed as mere collections of myths and legends" (299); but, given the interpenetration of history and myth, one can add that it should not be dismissed either, even if it were "mere" myth and legend.

J. Bastin and P. Rohatgi, *Prints of Southeast Asia in the India Office Library - The East India Company in Malaysia and Indonesia 1786-1824*, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1979, XIII + 228 pp. including 98 pls., frontispiece in colour, £ 25.

J. E. VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW

As a result of the important historical role of the British in India, it is nowadays often forgotten that their earliest contacts with Asia were with Indonesia. It is therefore opportune that the book under review should focus attention on a period of close relations between the English East India Company and Southeast Asia. The authors have purposely added two dates to the title of their attractive book, for 1786 — the year in which Penang was occupied — marks the beginning of British expansion in Malaysia, and 1824, when the Treaty of London between England and Holland was signed, marks the end of a period of close contact between the East India Company and Indonesia, culminating in the British occupation of Java between 1811 and 1816.

The book is divided into three chapters preceded by an authoritative introduction on the subject (pp.XVII-XXIII). In the first chapter, devoted to "Prince of Wales Island and Malacca", seventeen plates depict views of Penang, while the remaining six illustrate Malacca and the Straits. In the second chapter, entitled "Sumatra including Fort Marlborough", eight of the twenty-two plates are rare views of Fort Marlborough, Bencoolen, the Company's main foothold in Indonesia and Malaysia until the founding of Penang in 1786. Roughly half the plates in this chapter were engraved by Joseph Stadler, who, though German by birth, became one of London's best-known aquatinters of the day. The last and by far the longest chapter, containing fifty-three plates, deals with "Java and its Dependencies" and illustrates a great variety of subjects such as Indo-Javanese monuments, various types of Javanese dress, as well as views and landscapes like those

in the two preceding chapters.

To those familiar with this fine period of English engraving, dominated by the aquatint technique, it will hardly come as a surprise that no less than thirty-nine of the illustrations in this book are reproductions of work by Thomas and William Daniell, who took pride of place among their contemporaries. Some of their pictures, such as the charming scene of an Indonesian village (pl.57), show that they fell in love with Java during their short stays in the island, for they describe one of their pictures in the following words: "This view is taken from a delightful spot in the island of Java, which is characterized by its exquisitely soft romantic beauty".¹ Plates 49-53 clearly reveal, as the authors of the book rightly remark, the keen interest which the Daniells took in the variety of Indonesian ships, the elegant shapes of which obviously fascinated them.

Plates 83-85 show representations of Indo-Javanese temples, based on drawings made by H. C. Cornelius, as the Daniells themselves never went into the interior. During the British occupation of Java (1811-1816) Cornelius became one of Raffles' assistants, but it should be noted that when he made the drawings used by the Daniells for plates 83 and 84, he was surveying Indo-Javanese temples at the request of Nicolaus Engelhard, Governor of Java's Northeast coast for the Dutch East India Company from 1801-1808. Engelhard had seen Cañdi Sèwu and various other monuments in 1802, when he paid an official state visit to the native courts in the interior. In 1805 he sent Cornelius to build the fort at Klatèn. Engelhard used this opportunity and his own powerful position to further his personal antiquarian interests by instructing Cornelius to make at the same time surveys of the main temples at Prambanan. This was done between 1805 and 1807.² The drawings used by the Daniells for plates 83 and 84 depict two monuments both described as "Chandi". They can be identified as one of the 240 shrines surrounding Cañdi Sèwu in the valley of Prambanan³ and Cañdi Srikandi on the Dieng Plateau.⁴ The drawing for the latter, however, was not made in c. 1807 but in the autumn of 1814, when Raffles sent Cornelius to the Dieng in order to survey the temples there for the first time.⁵ To say that Cornelius "restored" the monuments surveyed by him (pp.168,170 and 203) is perhaps an overstatement, for he merely confined himself to clearing the buildings of shrubs and undergrowth so that measurements could be taken for his surveys. Even this cleaning was often done quite summarily, as is obvious from the fact that he depicted and described the roof of Cañdi Srikandi (pl.85) as having "eene pyramidaale gedaante",⁶ which is what he believed, for had he cleaned the building properly, he would have seen that this is not the actual shape of the roof.

Perhaps the finest aquatints of all are the superb views of Penang (pls.8-17) made by William Daniell after the watercolours of the talented engineer-artist Captain Robert Smith. The enchanting view of Strawberry Hill, Prince of Wales Island, figures in colour as the frontispiece to the book.

The authors have taken great pains to document each reproduction.

We are given the names of the artist and engraver of each print, the place of publication, the date, watermark, medium and source, as well as the engraved title. Moreover, interesting explanatory notes are added to each item. The plates are followed by extremely useful lists of artists and engravers (pp.199-216) as well as of authors, in which many little-known details are given. The book ends with a select bibliography and an index. All those frequenting that great centre of learning which passes under the modest name of the India Office Library and Records will be extremely happy that the authors dedicated their book to the memory of the late Stanley Sutton, who did so much for that institution — and thus indirectly for us all — during his long and fruitful tenure as Librarian and Director. His many friends still mourn him deeply.

NOTES

- 1 T. and W. Daniell, *A picturesque Voyage to India; by the Way of China*, London, 1810, facing pl.19.
- 2 N. J. Krom, *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst*, 's-Gravenhage, 1923, vol.I, pp.5,444.
- 3 A. J. Bernet Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art*, Amsterdam, 1959, pl.124. For pl.83 (as well as other illustrations in the present work) see J. Bastin and B. Brommer, *Nineteenth Century Prints and Illustrated Books of Indonesia with particular Reference to the Print Collection of the Tropen Museum, Amsterdam*, Utrecht, 1979, fig.26 and p.301.
- 4 Krom, *op.cit.*, vol.III, pl.3; J. Fontein, R. Soekmono and S. Suleiman, *Ancient Indonesian Art of the Central and Eastern Javanese Periods*, New York, 1971, fig.1 on p.18.
- 5 N. J. Krom, 'De eerste Opname van het Dieng-Plateau. Handschrift van H. C. Cornelius', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol.75, 1919, pp.384-437.
- 6 Krom, *op.cit.*, 1919, p.429.

Victor T. King (Ed.), *Essays on Borneo Society*, Hull Monographs on South-East Asia 7, Oxford University Press, 1978, 256 pp.

ANKE NIEHOF

This volume, which is dedicated to the memory of the late professor Mervyn Jaspán, appears to be the outcome of a project which was intended to produce five thematic volumes — on social systems, economics, politics, religion, and development problems — about upland (interior) peoples of South-East Asia. The death of Prof. Jaspán prevented the realization of this ambitious endeavour. Instead, Victor King undertook to edit and publish a volume on Borneo societies, among other reasons because the bulk of the already assembled papers for the initial project was about Borneo.

Besides the introduction by King, the volume contains nine articles on the following ethnic groups: the coastal Melanau (Morris), the

Selako Dayak (Schneider), the Kenyah (Whittier), the Lun Dayeh (Crain), the Rungus Dusun (Appell), the Bajau Laut (Sather), the Maloh (King), the Kayan (Rousseau), and the Ma'anyan of Paju Epat (Hudson & Hudson). Geographically, the selected articles provide a balanced coverage of Borneo's main political divisions: Sabah, Sarawak, and Kalimantan (Indonesia).

The rich collection of material for this volume has permitted the discussion of topics which are important for Borneo as a whole (e.g. the applicability of the term Dayak, the problems of classifying Borneo peoples) and has led to a consideration of issues of wider scope and relevance (e.g. descent groups in bilateral kinship, the causes of social stratification). What King set out to accomplish in collecting and comparing these essays on Borneo, namely "a controlled comparison of certain socio-cultural aspects" or a "selective comparison of certain social forms generated by particular organizational principles as variations on a single theme", in effect amounts to a field-of-ethnological-study approach. This approach, which was initially formulated by J. P. B. De Josselin de Jong in 1935, was taken up again by P. E. De Josselin de Jong and James J. Fox to form the theoretical basis for a volume of studies on Eastern Indonesia.¹ According to the original definition, for an area and culture to be taken as a field of ethnological study they should be "sufficiently homogeneous and unique to form a separate object of ethnological study, and ... at the same time ... reveal sufficient local shades of difference to make internal comparative research worth while".²

A field of ethnological study is characterized by a set of distinctive elements that form its "structural core". Assuming the equation of King's Borneo as an area of "controlled comparison" with a field of ethnological study to be justified, it should be possible to define King's "particular organizational principles" in terms of a "structural core". In selecting the key organizational themes of the posited "Bornean type of society", King confronts Leach's features of a "Bornean type of pattern of organization"³ with the empirical findings of the studies under discussion. The themes that emerge are subsumed under the following headings: bilateral kinship and the kindred; the household; descent and house-owning groups; long-house, village and river-based grouping; rank. However, in order to transform these themes into the structural core of Borneo as a field of ethnological study more is needed than "posing a number of problems ... and offering few, if any, solutions", as the author himself admits doing. Even if a reinterpretation of the concept of structural core allows for greater emphasis on variability (Fox 1980:330-333) instead of closed categories, still its nature and degree need to be specified.

For instance, the role of the ecology in Bornean society and the nature of the bilateral kinship system are two themes on which the conclusions reached (or rather, the lack of conclusions) are incommensurate with the amount of attention they are given. The ecological factor runs like a (partly hidden) thread through all the themes, but rarely are specified ecological conditions related to specific aspects of

social organization. This is all the more surprising since the delimitation of the initial project was based on an ecological criterion. Now, for instance, the only comment on a deviant situation prevailing among the Bajau Laut is a rather vague reference to its being "a fishing economy".

As regards the subject of bilateral kinship, the same kind of arguments can be put forward. While only two years previously the societies of Borneo were used as a field for explorations in the theory of cognatic social structure⁴, in the present volume King warns against overmuch emphasis on cognatic or bilateral kinship — including the concept of the kindred — in the delineation of a positively defined type of society. Other organizational principles (e.g. rank) may turn out to have greater significance than kinship. Justified though this observation may be, it raises the (unposed) question of the conditions under which (cognatic) kinship is the dominant organizational principle and those in which it is not.

A final shortcoming of the present volume — and one which is generously admitted by the editor himself — is its predominantly synchronic character. The discussion about the relationship between environment and social stratification, for example, would be more fruitful if there were an analysis of the available historical sources to add a diachronic perspective.

The criticism that too few answers are put forward does not imply that too many questions are asked. On the contrary, the questions posed by the ethnological data presented and formulated by the editor are rich in content and possess wide applicability. Many of the descriptions and discussions in the book are of general anthropological interest and may form a source of inspiration for students of South-East Asia.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 See P. E. De Josselin de Jong, 'The concept of the field of ethnological study', and James J. Fox, 'Models and metaphors: comparative research in Eastern Indonesia', in: James J. Fox (Ed.), *The Flow of Life: Comparative Research in Eastern Indonesia*, Harvard University Press 1980, pp.317-334.
- 2 J. P. B. De Josselin de Jong, 'The Malay archipelago as a field of ethnological study', in: P. E. De Josselin de Jong (Ed.), *Structural Anthropology in The Netherlands*, K.I.T.L.V. Translation Series 17, Nijhoff, The Hague 1977, pp. 167-168.
- 3 E. R. Leach, *Social science research in Sarawak*, London 1950.
- 4 G. N. Appell (Ed.), *The Societies of Borneo: Explorations in the Theory of Cognatic Social Structure*, Special publication of the American Anthropological Association no.6, Washington 1976.

Renato Rosaldo, *Ilongot Headhunting 1883-1974, a study in society and history*.

Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1980. 313 pp., maps, photographs and diagrams. Chronological and general index.

C. H. M. NOOY-PALM

Het onderwerp van dit boek blijkt uit de titel. Renato Rosaldo, associate professor in de culturele antropologie en verbonden aan Stanford University, heeft (tesamen met zijn vrouw) bij de Ilongot naar dit snellen onderzoek verricht gedurende de perioden 1967-1969 en 1974.

De culturele context is door de auteur summier weergegeven. De Ilongot wonen op Luzon, Filippijnen. Hun sociale organisatie kenmerkt zich door een geringe mate van structuur. Het verwantschapssysteem is "ambilineal" of "cognatic". De genealogische diepte is gering. Wat het levensonderhoud betreft: rijst en bataten worden verbouwd op brandakkers, jacht, visvangst en verzamelen zijn belangrijk.

De auteur legt er de nadruk op dat hij zijn onderwerp benadert vanuit een historisch perspectief. Hij keert zich tegen bepaalde scholen, zoals b.v. de American School of Culture and Personality, dat uitgaat van een culturele homogeniteit en een culturele continuïteit. In het bijzonder trekt hij van leer tegen het door deze school gelanceerde opvoedingspatroon ("child training practices"), dat volgens hem leidt tot de illusie van de "timeless primitive". De theorieën van Claude Lévi-Strauss vinden evenmin genade in zijn ogen, want ook de Franse antropoloog spreekt van "primitive or 'cold' societies . . . that, unlike their opposites, the 'hot' ones, deny the effects of time on their fundamental structures" (Rosaldo:2, 6). In part I, 'The Past made Present', wordt uiteengezet hoe belangrijk de geschiedenis voor de Ilongot is, ook al omvat deze geschiedenis, zoals Rosaldo hem presenteert, een periode van minder dan een eeuw (1883-1974). Het jaar 1883 is als uitgangspunt genomen: de Ilongot deelden Rosaldo een verhaal mede, dat in de loop van de tijd een mythisch karakter had gekregen. Enige jaren vóór 1883 was een vrouw onthoofd, Madiya, die kort voor haar gewelddadige dood een vloek had uitgesproken over haar belagers: deze zouden sterven aan een besmettelijke ziekte. In 1883 en 1889 braken de pokken uit onder de Ilongot, waardoor deze stam gedecimeerd werd. De historische draad werd doorgetrokken met behulp van de etnografische notities van William Jones, de eerste blanke die de Ilongot uitvoerig beschreven heeft (*The Diary of William Jones*, Typescript, Chicago Field Museum of Natural History, 1907-1909). Jones was een voormalige cowboy met een romantische benadering van de Ilongot. Rosaldo heeft wel waardering voor het werk van Jones, maar legt er de nadruk op, dat bij hemzelf deze romantische benadering ontbreekt daar deze overeenkomt met de "fiction of the untouched primitive". De ironie wil, dat Jones in 1909 door de Ilongot werd vermoord. Rosaldo neemt de historische draad op, waar Jones hem heeft beëindigd. Dit geschiedde door middel van interviews. Na de periode Jones, tot 1970, werd het koppensnellen met verschillende

intensiviteit bedreven. Het waren vaak factoren van buitenaf, die de graad van intensiviteit bepaalden: "Social forces located in the world system (most notably, the depression and World War II) shaped the pace, direction and timing of local-level population movements and headhunting activity". Uiteraard gaat de auteur uitvoerig in op de motieven van het snellen. De oorzaak hiervan kan gelegen zijn in een belediging of een onrecht van verschillende aard. Na het nemen van wraak door één of meer koppen te snellen, volgt een verzoening die bezegeld wordt door het sluiten van een verbond tussen de beide partijen (*běrtan*); hierna volgen huwelijken tussen de leden van deze *běrtan*, die voordien dus in een conflictverhouding tot elkaar stonden (er kunnen ook meer dan twee *běrtan* in zo'n conflict gewikkeld zijn). Het verbond betekent niet, dat alles in pais en vree geregeld is; tussen de huwelijkspartners kan wrijving ontstaan. Dit kan opnieuw aanleiding geven tot sneltochten. Het hier geschetste proces kan een spanne tijds omvatten (een jaar of vijftientig). Sociale veranderingen en politieke onrust in en buiten het eigen territorium kunnen de spanning aanwakken en meewerken tot een verhoogde koppen-snellersactiviteit. Het snellen heeft in de cultuur van de Ilongot een dubbele functie: aan de ene kant wakkert het het antagonisme tussen de *běrtan* aan, aan de andere kant is het een bindende factor, door de huwelijken die na verzoening gesloten worden. Al met al een beeld, dat afwijkt van dat wat veelal in de klassieke en hedendaagse antropologie in verband met het koppensnellen opgeld doet, nl. dat uit de dood het leven voortkomt, dat de gesnelde kop van betekenis is voor de voorspoedige groei van het gewas, doordat er van de kop kracht uitgaat. Wat dit laatste betreft, ook bij deze Philippijnse stam is het koppensnellen geassocieerd met kracht.

In rituele zin beschouwen de Ilongot het snellen als een bevrijding van een last, waardoor oudere mannen weer flink en krachtig worden, en jonge mannen nog flinker. Voor de jonge mannen geldt, dat het deelnemen aan een sneltocht een rite de passage is. "Youth is the time of beauty, ordeals and stress . . . They (the young men) are called the 'quick ones', for they are energetic, light of step, and free to travel widely and often." De jongemannen gaan op sneltocht (maar altijd onder leiding van een oudere en meer ervaren man); "taking a head is a prelude to marriage", al mag het niet zo gesteld worden dat het een verplichting is een kop te snellen vóór men in het huwelijk treedt. Rosaldo wijst er op, dat dit een wijdverbreide misvatting van antropologen en leken is, die zich met de culturen van de Philippijnse stammen bezighouden (hetzelfde beeld komen wij tegen in oudere reizen volkenkundige beschrijvingen van andere Zuidoost-Aziatische stammen).

De historische benadering van de auteur blijkt uit het raadplegen van literatuur en archieven; de geschiedenis van de Ilongot wordt bepaald door verhalen over trektochten, huwelijken, raids, veten, sneltochten en verzoeningen, druk van buiten (Japanse bezetting, activiteiten van de Huks, de komst van zendelingen en kolonisten). Het is jammer, dat de cultuur van de Ilongot niet wat meer genealogische

diepgang bezit, daar men dan de beschikking zou hebben over sneltochten (en de motieven daarvoor) van vóór 1881.

Behalve de historische aanpak door hemzelf naar voren gebracht, zou men Rosaldo's benadering misschien het beste kunnen kenschetsen als de "einfühlende Methode". Hij probeert de betekenis van het koppensnellen van binnenuit te benaderen, daarbij een uitvoerig beeld gevende van de mensen, die in het geheel een rol spelen. Hierbij wordt rekening gehouden met de visie van de Ilongot, zodat het cognitieve aspect ook in die zin benadrukt wordt.

Tenslotte dienen nog de foto's vermeld te worden; deze zijn zowel uitstekende portretstudies als zeer geslaagde close-ups van het dagelijkse leven.

The Household, Women and Agricultural Development,
 Proceedings of a symposium organized by the Department
 of Home Economics, Agricultural University, Wageningen,
 edited by Clio Presvelou and Saskia Spijkers-Zwart.
 Miscellaneous Papers 17 (1980), Landbouwhogeschool
 Wageningen, The Netherlands.

ELS POSTEL-COSTER

The articles collected in this pleasingly presented volume can be distinguished into two main categories: the more theoretical ones dealing with concepts and presenting general views, and the case studies, all situated in Africa, as illustrations of the general issues of the conference. The aims of the theoretical exercise are to provide a conceptual framework for future activities of the Department of Home Economics, in particular to look at "the concept of household as the basic unit for development programmes", and to identify future research areas.

Unfortunately, the conceptual framework as it emerges from this collection of articles is theoretically weak and may lead to unsatisfactory results if put to practical use.

The definition of household given by Spijkers and Presvelou (pp. 3 and 71) is neither exclusive nor exhaustive. It is based on a somewhat outdated functionalistic approach that leaves little scope for the study of change, conflicts or unequal power relations. The underlying assumption seems to be that the household is a smoothly functioning entity which "decides" things and "aspires to" a certain standard of living (p. 72). Little attention is given on the one hand to relations between members of the household, who may have very different interests and access to resources, and on the other hand to political and economic macrostructures which determine the margins of development, also at the household level.

Although Presvelou states in her Conclusions (p.129) that as development proceeded, the position of rural women in Africa deteriorated, the

theory built around the concept of household does not provide any tool for assessing women's position in it, let alone for changing this for the better.

The main policy purpose behind the symposium seems to be "the effective use of all human resources", including women, in the process of development (p. 4). The question of who will use whom to whose benefit is naïvely left aside. Such a policy will obviously be fatal to those who have least access to power, and may lead in particular to further exploitation of rural women.

Strikingly, those authors who do focus on women, such as E. Boserup in two articles, hardly touch on the concept of household, and vice versa. G. Thomas, trying to reconcile the purpose of the Symposium with the interests of third world women (who were not represented at the conference), rightly doubts the use of emphasizing the household as the basic unit for development programmes.

The three case studies contain interesting information, but do not all seem equally relevant to the central issues. Den Ouden's study on the household in Cameroon is based on careful field work but tells us little about rural women. All except one of the many cases he describes concern men and their views of changing society. Konter's article is viricentric to such an extent that even the section on "the position of women in the development from a subsistence economy towards a market economy" (pp. 23 and 24) is formulated in terms of decreasing dependence of *men* on women. His concepts of direct and indirect authority, the latter of which is said to be the prerogative of women, are in need of clarification.

Venema's case study is the one most pertinent to the issues of the symposium, but it is rather confusing, perhaps partly as a result of a deficient English translation. He repeatedly refers to Wolof women as "cultivating a proper farm" (27 ff) from which they derive an income. Now Wolof women, according to other writings by the same author, do not have farms, let alone "proper farms", whatever may be meant by that (a confusion with French *propre*, "own"?). What they have is the usufruct of a plot of land assigned to them by the male head of the household for a limited period, which is something quite different.

His conclusion, eagerly taken over by Van Lier, that "the position of women has not deteriorated in all fields by recent economic development in Africa or elsewhere" (p. 115), is not very convincing. Among other reasons, because it is based on the *norm* that men are responsible for the staple food and for some other needs of the family, without a check on *actual behaviour*. In view of the fact that in Senegal 23% of the adult women are left to be their own and their family's breadwinners, one might suspect that a discrepancy between norm and actual behaviour occurs.

A final remark concerns the future of the Wageningen Department of Home Economics. The impression one gets from the Symposium is that it is to a great extent working in isolation. The need for more research is stressed over and over again, while little or no reference

is made to the flood of literature dealing with the subjects discussed which has appeared since the early seventies. Some of the articles even reflect a complete ignorance in this field.

If students of domestic science would keep less aloof from the wide field of women's studies, certainly both sides could benefit. Domestic science studies could focus, for instance, on the world-wide division of labour and responsibilities between men and women, and on household members' participation in decision-making (cf. the contribution by I. Janelid from FAO in the volume under review). In this way valuable support could also be given to agricultural experts and extension workers, who are evidently in need of new methods to replace their traditional bias in favour of the male head of the agricultural household.

Claudine Salmon, Denys Lombard, *Les Chinois de Jakarta; Temples et vie collective* [The Chinese of Jakarta; Temples and Communal Life], Etudes insulindiennes - Archipel 1, Association Archipel, Paris, 1980 (deuxième impression), lxxviii + 358 pp., English, French, Chinese texts, illustrations.

G. J. VAN REENEN

This book is the result of a detailed study of Chinese temples in Jakarta, of their rituals and their functioning, and of their architecture and iconography. The authors felt that in this way it would be possible to obtain information which would be hard to derive from other sources. The authors do not mention any reasons for the latter problem, but probably there are three:

— since 1965, or even earlier, there has hardly been any research on the Chinese in Indonesia. As far as I know there is only one recent publication which is based not on existing, often old, literature, but on the present situation of the Chinese in Indonesia (L. Suryadinata, *Pribumi Indonesians; The Chinese Minority and China*, Singapore, 1978);

— the difficult political position of the Chinese in Indonesia, which makes them very reluctant to give information to strangers on their Chinese way of life. Only religion seems to be a neutral enough subject for the Chinese to talk about;

— a representative picture of the Chinese community of Jakarta is difficult to obtain because of the enormous diversity of the Chinese community. This diversity becomes partly apparent by studying the Chinese through religion.

Since the events of 1965 the authors have noted many changes in the Chinese community of Jakarta. All kinds of Chinese cultural expressions have been prohibited, resulting in the disappearance of Chinese texts and characters from Chinese temples and a change of

names of these temples into Sanskrit-sounding names. Besides, many Chinese have been converted to Christianity. In spite of this pressure on Chinese cultural expressions, the authors believe the temples still to be the focus of the community life of the Chinese, even for those converted to Christianity. By studying Chinese temples much of the collective life of the Chinese might be revealed.

The book consists of two parts. The first part comprises a general survey (in both English and French) of Chinese temples in historical perspective, starting from the seventeenth century. In this part the authors describe the religious and social functions of the temples and the differences between different kinds of temples. It appears that some temples are genuine religious centres, open to everyone, while others are private foundations belonging to certain groups, for example name groups, groups of merchants, or craftsmen's guilds. This latter kind of temple has a strong social function. It is important to note that in general there exist no ties between the various temple associations. The temple can be considered as the centre of a particular community having its own divinities and sub-cultural expressions. The second part (written only in French) consists of 72 descriptions of individual temples, in which the specific characteristics and the former and present functions of these temples are described. These can be considered illustrative of the enormous diversity of the Chinese community of Jakarta.

Salmon and Lombard have presented a very important study. It is one of the first publications on the Chinese since 1965 that is based on fieldwork in Jakarta. There are, however, a number of omissions and shortcomings in this study of the Chinese minority. Firstly, the title of the book suggests that it contains a discussion of the Chinese community of Jakarta. In actual fact it is a historical survey rather than a sociological analysis of the present Chinese community of Jakarta. Secondly, the authors are wrong in assuming that the temples are the focal point of the Chinese community. This only holds true for Chinese related in some way or another to temple associations. According to my own observations, the poorer members of these associations are only marginal members, who often feel discontented about their position in the association. Such feelings often lead to, for example, conversion to Christianity. In other words, many temples are the focus of community life only for rich Chinese. Only these rich Chinese can afford to make the considerable financial contributions necessary to maintain the temples. This very circumstance excludes poorer Chinese from real participation in the temple associations.

Besides, it is wrong to suggest, as the authors do in the preface of their book, that the temples are the focal point of community life also for Chinese Christians. In fact, one of the most important reasons why many Chinese have become converted to Christianity (or Islam) has been that they no longer wished to have anything to do with traditional Chinese beliefs. Nowadays there are quite a number of Christian communities consisting entirely of Chinese (the Gereja Kristen Indonesia, = Christian Church of Indonesia, and the Penta-

costa Church in downtown Jakarta, for example), as well as Moslem communities comprising only Chinese (united in the Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia = Association of Moslem Chinese in Indonesia). For these groups of Chinese the church or the mosque is the focal point of community life. Finally, it is in my opinion a shortcoming to leave out of discussion the position of the Chinese in Indonesian society since 1965. The events in and after 1965 have been a very important cause of many present changes in the Chinese community, often resulting in a changed attitude towards traditional Chinese culture.

In conclusion, this study would seem to me to be of more value to the historian than to the sociologist or political scientist interested in the present position of the Chinese in Jakarta or, more generally, in Indonesia. For the latter this study may serve as a basis provided that other Chinese religious communities besides those of the temples are taken in account. This procedure perhaps represents the only possibility of obtaining a representative picture of the Chinese community of Jakarta.

Gera van der Weijden, *Indonesische Reisrituale*. Ethnologisches Seminar der Universität und Museum für Völkerkunde, Basel 1981. Serie: Basler Beiträge zur Ethnologie, band 20. 249 pagina's. Kaarten.

SJOUKJE RIENKS

Rijst neemt als basisvoedsel een belangrijke plaats in heel Zuid-Oost Azië in. Gera van der Weijden beschrijft in haar boek de met de verbouw van rijst gepaard gaande rituelen. Hierbij heeft ze de Indonesische archipel als regio genomen met uitzondering van Irian Jaya.

In het dorp Asak op Bali, waar zij in 1972/73 onderzoek gedaan heeft, maakte ze een feest mee voor de rijstogst. Terug in Europa besloot ze "... Ernterituele anderer indonesischen Inseln zum Vergleich heranzuziehen, mit der Absicht, zu einem besseren Verständnis des Asakschen Ernterituals zu gelangen" (pag. 9). Maar volgens haar stonden de oogstrituelen niet los van de rituelen, die met de hele rijstbouwcyclus samenhangen. Daarom moesten deze rituelen volgens haar ook in haar vergelijkende studie betrokken worden. Om vast te kunnen stellen welke rituelen typisch voor de rijstbouw zijn en welke niet, schenkt ze daarnaast aandacht aan die rituelen, die betrekking hebben op andere voedselgewassen (b.v. knolgewassen) in gebieden waar de bevolking niet uitsluitend rijst verbouwt. Daarbij zijn de mythen gevoegd, die handelen over het ontstaan en/of de oorsprong van rijst. Hoewel ze er geen mythologische studie van heeft willen maken, geeft ze in hoofdstuk XIV de verspreiding van de verschillende mythen-motieven aan.

Om al deze doelstellingen in een boek van 230 pagina's tekst te

verwezenlijken is geen geringe opgave. Het boek is dan ook een encyclopaedie-achtig werk geworden, waarin enorm veel literatuur verwerkt is, voornamelijk uit de laatste helft van de negentiende en de eerste helft van de twintigste eeuw. Het is een naslagwerk voor diegenen, die iets willen weten over rijstrituelen en mythen in een bepaald gebied van Indonesië.

De rijstrituelen worden echter los van de culturele context beschreven en daardoor blijft een interpretatie van de rituelen geheel achterwege. Een ander punt is, dat ze nauwelijks verschil maakt tussen bevolkingsgroepen, die zeer recent overgegaan zijn op de rijstbouw door invloed van buitenaf en groepen waar de rijstbouw al eeuwenlang een rol heeft gespeeld. Neem b.v. de Kubu's (pag. 27). Oorspronkelijk waren deze mensen jagers en verzamelaars. Degenen die zich vestigden hebben de rijstbouw overgenomen van de kust-Maleiers, evenals de daarbij behorende rituelen (volgens LeBar). Mijns inziens is het weinig zinvol om al deze groepen bij een vergelijkende studie te betrekken, omdat dit alleen maar verwarring schept.

In haar slotbeschouwing, hoofdstuk XV, geeft ze kort aan, welke invloeden volgens haar verantwoordelijk zijn voor de verschillen die er zijn tussen rijstrituelen en welke elementen van de rituelen specifiek zijn voor de rijstbouw. Deze laatsten vormen de overeenkomstige elementen.

Ten eerste is er de invloed van het cultiveringingssysteem op de rituelen. De cultiveringssystemen die het meest toegepast worden zijn de rijstbouw op "swiddens" en de verbouw op de zogenaamde natte velden met een irrigatie-systeem. Bij dit laatste systeem speelt de buffel een grote rol. Voor de verbouw van rijst op "swiddens" komt ze tot een bepaald "ritueel skelet" (pag. 219): "Vor dem Roden werden die Erdgeister, manchmal auch die Baum- oder Waldgeister, mit einem Opfer versöhnt. Mit Säen angefangen wird an einem speziellen Ort des Feldes, meist im Zentrum um einen Stab oder Pfahl. Bevor mit Ernten begonnen werden kann, werden die zuerst gesäten Reispflanzen entweder festgebunden und dann zuletzt geerntet oder bereits am Anfang zuerst gepflückt oder geschnitten. Alle Reisrituale haben dieses Skelett als Grundlage. Es wurde bereits gezeigt, dass ein abweichendes Kultivierungssystem (die Bewässerung der Felder) auch auf der Hand liegende... Abweichungen im Ritual mit sich bringt". Andere invloeden, die de verschillen in rituelen kunnen verklaren zijn — volgens haar — de invloed van het verwantschapssysteem, de socio-politieke organisatie en de religie (Hindoeïsme en Boedisme, de Islam en het Christendom). Deze invloeden geeft ze heel summier aan.

Tenslotte geeft ze aan welke elementen van de rituelen specifiek zijn voor de rijstbouw en welke niet. Hierbij komt ze b.v. tot de conclusie dat de offerpaal, die in het midden van het veld geplaatst wordt en waarbij begonnen wordt met het zaaien van de rijst, niet specifiek bij de rijstbouw hoort. Ook bij knolgewassen gebeurt dit. Wat wel typisch is voor de rijstbouw, is — volgens haar — het concept van een "mobile Reisseele". Door de aanwezigheid van zo'n "rijstziel" brengt de oogst meer op en krijgt de rijst meer voedingswaarde

(pag. 230). Het begrip van de rijstziel zou zijn geconcipieerd om de bijzondere eigenschappen van de rijstplant in vergelijking met de voedingsgewassen die bekend waren voor de introductie van de rijst te verklaren. Deze eigenschappen zijn: rijst heeft een hogere opbrengst per hectare, heeft een grotere voedingswaarde en is veel vatbaarder voor invloeden uit de omgeving die tot misoogsten kunnen leiden. Op deze interpretatie valt wel enige kritiek te leveren. Het is niet waar dat rijst een hogere opbrengst per hectare heeft. Knolgewassen leveren meer op. Om een voorbeeld te geven: in Indonesië levert een hectare gemiddeld 2440 kg rijst per jaar op, terwijl een gewas als cassave gemiddeld 9,6 ton per hectare opbrengt (vergelijk tabel 3.2 en 4.3 ten Have). Rijst heeft inderdaad een hogere voedingswaarde, maar de verbouw van rijst vergt meer arbeid dan die van knolgewassen. De arbeid die bij de verbouw van andere gewassen dan rijst gespaard wordt kan aangewend worden om het voedselpakket aan te vullen. Wel is rijst enorm gevoelig voor schadelijke invloeden. Om deze schadelijke invloeden tegen te gaan kan men zich voorstellen, dat men tot het concept van de rijstziel kwam om rijst vatbaar te maken voor rituele beïnvloeding.

Het boek heeft zeker waarde als naslagwerk en is als literatuurstudie zeer gedegen, maar door het verwaarlozen van de etnografische context blijft de diepere betekenis van afzonderlijke rituelen in de lucht hangen. Dat geldt met name voor het uitgangspunt van de auteur. Haar studie maakt namelijk niet duidelijk hoe het Asakse ritueel nu beter verklaard kan worden. De vele vragen, die het werk oproept, zijn echter stimulerend voor verder onderzoek.

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Wendy James, *'Kwanim pa; the making of the Uduk people. An Ethnographic Study of Survival in the Sudan-Ethiopian Borderlands.*

J. J. DE WOLF

The Uduk, or 'Kwanim Pa, as they call themselves, are a group of about 10,000 people who live in the extreme south-east of the Northern Sudan, quite near the well known Nuer. Towards the end of the nineteenth century they were threatened with extinction by a number of local chiefdoms of Arabic origin. Many Uduk became agricultural "serfs" attached to one sheikh or another. Their communities consisted mainly of men, as women were sold as slaves and concubines. Others took refuge with sheikhs living some distance away who had not taken part in the raiding of Uduk country. Finally, there were some who

managed to defend themselves to some extent inside stockades into which they retreated. The river valleys where the Uduk had been living were quite emptied as a result of these disturbances. Only after several years were the Uduk able to return, when in 1904 the Sudan Government imposed its peace in the area. According to the author this turbulent period in their past has become a central point of reference for Uduk concepts which are crucial to their social and political organization. She applies this interpretation to the economy, the kinship system and the territorial alignments of the Uduk, as well as to a series of rites, *Gurunya*, designed to save vulnerable children from death. The author even claims that these rites can be seen as a dramatic play upon Uduk historical self-knowledge.

The author argues convincingly that the Uduk had always recognized the matrilineal principle in their ideas about the biological basis of kinship, but that this had been of little practical or political relevance. However, faced with political defeat and threatened by social extermination, it became a central concept of jural significance for them, on the basis of which Uduk society could be reconstructed. Some of the factors responsible for this emergence of matrilineality were political disturbance and the flight of refugees resulting in the formation of "matri-focal" groups, the loss of women, the breakdown of a marriage system based on direct exchange, and the rejection of bride-wealth transactions as a possible alternative to this exchange. This reviewer believes that the Uduk case is of considerable comparative interest and could throw new light, for example, on the origins of Caribbean Maroon societies.

Although the author presents her study as an ethnography, this does not mean that her work is not informed with theoretical considerations. On the contrary, her monograph can be considered as a fine example of the Oxford tradition of social anthropology inspired by Evans Pritchard in its emphasis on a sympathetic treatment of standardized patterns of behaviour and associated values. Problems of description concern the adequate translation of native concepts, and explanation is in terms of a moral community which attempts to find meaning in its own history.