Book Reviews

- Clara Brakel, I. Madé Bandem, Kaja and Kelod: Balinese dance in transition, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur 1981, 191 pp., 8 figs., 62 plates., Frederik Eugene DeBoer (eds.)
 - A. Duff-Cooper, Ingela Gerdin, The unknown Balinese. Land, labour and inequality in Lombok, Gothenburg studies in social anthropology 4. Gothenburg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1982.
 - C. van Dijk, Benedict Anderson, Interpreting Indonesian politics: thirteen contributions to the debate, Ithaca, New York, 1982. Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, Interim reports series (Publication no. 62)., Audrey Kahin (eds.)
 - C. van Dijk, A.P.E. Korver, Sarekat Islam 1912-1916; Opkomst, bloei en structuur van Indonesië's eerste massabeweging. Amsterdam, 1982.
 - M. Hekker, E.E. Graves, The Minangkabau response to Dutch colonial rule in the nineteenth century, New York 1981. Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, Monograph series No. 60, 147 p.
 - M. Hekker, J.F. Warren, The Sulu Zone, 1768-1898. The dynamics of external trade, slavery and ethnicity in the transformation of a Southeast Asian maritime state. Singapore University Press, Singapore 1981. xix + 390 pp.
 - Peter Kloos, Elisabeth Locher-Scholten, Ethiek in fragmenten. Vijf studies over koloniaal denken en doen van Nederlanders in de Indonesische Archipel 1877-1942. Utrecht, HES Publishers, 1981, 224 pp.
 - Peter J. M. Nas, H.A. Breuning, Het voormalige Batavia. Een Hollandse stedestichting in de tropen anno 1619. Utrecht, 1981, 163 p.
 - Harry A. Poeze, Improving access to Indonesian collections in the Netherlands; Contributions to a survey of Dutch Library and documentation activities in the field of Indonesian studies, Intercontinenta no. 2, Leiden, 1981, 78 pp.
 - Harry A. Poeze, H.B. Donkersloot, Bibliografie van de Nederlandse buitenlandse politiek; Nederland - Indonesië 1942-1980. Geannoteerde systematische bibliografie. Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1982, 100 pp.
 - Leontine E. Visser, Roy Ellen, Environment, subsistence and system. The ecology of small-scale social formations, Cambridge, C.U.P. themes in the Social Science Series, 1982. vii-xvi, 324 pp.
- In: Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 139 (1983), no: 2/3, Leiden, 366-384

BOEKBESPREKINGEN

I Madé Bandem and Frederik Eugene deBoer, *Kaja and Kelod: Balinese Dance in Transition*, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur 1981, 191 pp., 8 figs., 62 plates. Price £ 40.00.

CLARA BRAKEL

A deeply rooted cultural prejudice has long prohibited Western European scholars from paying serious attention to manifestations of dancing, both in their own and in other societies. It is therefore a highly praiseworthy initiative of the authors, one a Balinese performing artist who wrote a Ph.D. dissertation on *Wayang Wong* in contemporary Bali for the Wesleyan University in 1980, the other a Professor of Theatre and Dance at the same university, to have co-operated in presenting what could be called a "handbook of contemporary Balinese dance", or, as they put it in the preface, "an overview of the Balinese dance today, with background information and some conceptual apparatus helpful to understanding the subject".

The authors show both great affinity for and dedication to their subject, with which they are apparently acquainted intimately and from personal experience; moreover, they have chosen to present the highly complex and overwhelming variety of dance forms on the island within a clearly arranged framework of categories ranging from *kaja* to *kelod*, in connection with the place of performance and therefore with the (ritual) status of each in Balinese society. The book was written for "a general audience", non-participants in Balinese society who have come into contact with its dance and theatrical forms either on a non-Balinese stage or on a visit to the island, and who wish to understand more of what they see. The authors therefore give a short general introduction to each genre, in which they provide a characterization of the various forms of dance and/or theatre which they judge to belong within that genre, spiced with anecdotes and legends, and sometimes with descriptions of the origins and socio-religious significance of the performances. These introductions to the respective genres are followed by a more elaborate description of one or two specific representative types of performance, in which the course of events, their meaning in a larger context and the personal impressions of the authors are interwoven into an evocative and at the same time instructive account.

The information on the context and history of the various genres is not excessive; it is relevant, and often provides interesting insights into the different functions and the interrelatedness of the various dance forms. A good example of this method are the sections on "*joged dances*", in which the impressions of 19th century Dutch scholars, quoted in translation, offer a vivid commentary on how these persons

experienced what were essentially the same dance forms as may be seen today a century ago, in a different context.

The arrangement of the material, so inevitable for its presentation in the form of a book, is based upon what the authors describe as "an old Balinese system of directional orientation, the *kaja* to *kelod* axis". That this axis is the structuring principle for spatial arrangements in Bali, determining the place where temples are constructed and where performances are staged, is pointed out in the introduction to each chapter, as we move along in a steady descent from dances in the ritual context of temple ceremonies addressed to the "high gods", down to those staged at the lowly and haunted spots at crossroads and graveyards, where people dance to placate the threatening spirits of death and the underworld. We can still follow the authors where they associate the direction of *kaja* with the dwelling-places of the gods on the mountains (*Sivaloka*) and that of *kelod* with the sea, or "the habitation for demons and devils". Unfortunately, however, they are crossing the borderline between different value systems when they associate *kaja* with "the sacred, the divine, the good" and *kelod* with "the demonic, the chthonic, the evil". For, in contrast with the eternal aloofness of the mountain peaks and the vast expanses of the waters of the oceans surrounding the island, the Balinese gods tend to display rather capricious behaviour towards human beings, and not infrequently assume demonic forms, thereby changing from protectors into destroyers!

The structuring principle of the *kaja-kelod* axis, indicating the course of the water from wells or mountain lakes towards the sea, in Balinese thinking is associated with ritual purity and therefore with the structuring of social space (Hobart 1978:7). It is neither on a line with the north-south axis, nor with the sacred-secular one, nor necessarily with such moral qualities as good and evil. Moreover, another equally important spatial axis, the East-West line, which is fixed by the course of the sun through the sky, has been kept completely out of consideration.

It seems that in an attempt to present a neat picture of a complicated subject, essentially different qualities have been lumped together under a single heading. It is small wonder, therefore, that the classification of the dance forms does not always seem to be justified: why has not Barong Kedingkling, for instance, which was designed to drive out illness and which used to start in the inner court of the Pura Dalem, been classed with other dances performed with the same aim and in a similar place? Why have Tari Tani and Sendratari, recent creations that may be staged at any location and outside the ritual context, been grouped together with older, indigenous Balinese dance forms such as Legong and Topeng Panca, which are still usually presented within the context of a temple festival?

The problems of classification may be caused partly also by the combination of the *kaja-kelod* concept with a second classificatory principle borrowed from the late I. G. B. Sugriwa, that of *wali-bebali-bali-bali*, translated as sacred-ceremonial-secular. A similar, but

dualistic, principle was used by Spies and Goris in their 1937 survey of the dance and theatre in Bali, for which, however, they felt the need to excuse themselves in the opening lines by stating that "Our Western principles of classification can never be applied with complete rigour; there will always be phenomena left which do not fit into the categories introduced by us" (Spies and Goris 1937:205).

Had the authors been more aware of the pitfalls of classificatory thinking, they might have avoided the mistake of equating different pairs of opposites such as *manis(alus)*-*keras(kasar)* with good-evil and understood the independent operation of such principles to be the cause of the creation of an infinite variety of forms and features in art and society. As long ago as 1938 de Zoete and Spies explained this quite clearly in their discussion of typology and stock scenes as found in the Balinese dramatic dance (pp.33-37). The same authors also made a very specific statement about the function of the dance in Balinese society where they stated in the introduction to their description of "ceremonial dances" that: "We shall have to emphasize again and again... the fact that all dancing in Bali is religious in the sense that it is connected with the temple and organic in the life of the village, which is inseparable from temple rites; for all dancing in Bali is an offering, and acceptable at a feast for whatever purpose it may be celebrated" (de Zoete and Spies 1938:46).

Throughout the book points of scholarly interest are mentioned without further discussion. So one wonders whether Rassers' "division of the tribe into rival subgroups" really fits the situation in the village of Trunyan. Since the theories of this author are described in note 5, page 27, as "fascinating, yet erratic", their application to Balinese society would need at least some explanation.

Surprising, too, is the fact that many articles and books that are relevant to the subject have not been mentioned either in quotations or in the bibliography. To cite but a few examples: the dance of the *berutuk* was excellently described by Spies in 1933, with explanatory notes by Goris, a detailed map of the temple site, and unique photographs of the masks, statues and golden animal figures used during the ceremony; and the masks kept in Blahbatuh as heirlooms of the Jelantik family, "which are now regarded as too sacred to photograph" (p.51), were both described and photographed in an article by Noosten of 1941. It is true that the book is not meant primarily for a scholarly audience; even so, the works of such eminent scholars as Goris and Hooykaas, treating so many aspects of Balinese culture and thinking, could have been better represented in the bibliography.

A final remark should be made on the rather strange inconsistency in the indication of vowel sounds. Why are the words *gedé* or *balé* written with an accent on the final vowel, whereas a word like *dewa*, containing the same vowel in the first syllable, lacks such an indication of its pronunciation? To the majority of the readers, who will not be familiar with the pronunciation of Balinese words, the sound of such words as *pendet*, *seledet* or *pengecet* will remain a complete

mystery. And, while talking about spelling: why has the title of the Panji romance Wangbang Wideya been consistently misspelt as Wangbang Wedeya?

In conclusion I wish to emphasize that, in spite of its relatively limited scope, this new survey of the Balinese dance is a beautiful book which many lovers of Indonesian art forms will read with great pleasure, not in the last place because of its marvellous illustrations. Both its clarity of arrangement and freshness of presentation should prove stimulating not only to those privileged enough to be able to attend performances of the Balinese living arts, but also to scholars engaged in the comparison and analysis of theatrical forms throughout Indonesia, especially those of Java and Bali.

REFERENCES:

Hobart, M.

- 1978 'The path of the soul: the legitimacy of nature in Balinese conceptions of space', in: G. B. Milner (ed.), *Natural symbols in South East Asia*, London.

Noosten, H. H.

- 1941 'De historische maskers van poera Fanataran Topèng te Blahbatoe (Bali)', *Djawa* 21, pp. 1-28.

Spies, W.

- 1933 'Das grosse Fest im Dorfe Trunjan (Insel Bali)', *T.B.G.* LXXIII, pp. 220-257.

Spies, W., and R. Goris

- 1937 'Overzicht van dans en tooneel in Bali', *Djawa* 17, pp. 205-230.

de Zoete, B., and W. Spies

- 1938 *Dance and Drama in Bali*, London.

Ingela Gerdin, *The Unknown Balinese. Land, Labour and Inequality in Lombok*, Gothenburg Studies in Social Anthropology 4. Gothenburg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1982.

A. DUFF-COOPER

The literature about the Balinese, which begins (at least) with Ptolemy, is well-known to be enormous. Very little has been written about the 50,000 or so Balinese who live on Lombok, to the east of Bali, however. There is also a paucity of detailed material about such aspects of Balinese life as changes which have occurred in agricultural practices over the years since the beginning of Dutch rule and the coming of Independence, and "the conditions" under which work is done, according to the author of *The Unknown Balinese*. This book attempts to fill these gaps in our knowledge of the Balinese and to describe the "socio-economic" dimensions of the hierarchy which pervades Balinese thought and the Balinese way of life.

The book is based upon two periods of fieldwork undertaken

between 1972 and 1976 and totalling 22 months. It consists of nine chapters, eight of which are more or less theoretical, and one of which — Chapter 6 — is more solidly factual. The book contains fifteen plates which complement the text well. The bibliography is unremarkable, although it will perhaps be thought a little slim by professional readers. There is no index. The English used in the book is often either irritating or hard to understand or just wrong; proof-reading has often been sloppy.

The Balinese in Karang Sari (and in other villages in the area where Dr. Gerdin carried out her fieldwork) remember her with pleasure and with affection for her assiduous attempts to live as far as possible as they do, but in the event the empirical content of this report will probably strike readers as rather thin. In Chapter 6, however, where particular cases are described, *The Unknown Balinese* contains factual material which is relevant and well-ordered. It is a question, though, whether this material and the other rather sparse data given in other chapters can support the conclusions to which the author comes.

The thesis is, that through certain processes commoditisation (a word which the author justly remarks is cumbersome but which is one of the "key" words in the book) has taken place, so that land has become private property and so that most of the agricultural labour is performed by landless day-labourers, rather than by people with, as it were, more traditional relations to the holders of rights in land, as used to be the case. Gerdin does not make it entirely clear what she thinks the Balinese mean by "private property": she writes that land ("rights in land" would express the matter better) now vests in individuals, but at other places it is households which either "have" or "own" lands. This confusion is compounded by Table 3, which lists some figures for *per capita* ownership of rice fields, but one wonders just what the figures in the table represent and whether they truly reflect rights in land which may vest in a Balinese on Lombok.

It is not clear, either, how these people see themselves: on page 43 we are given one definition of what "to be Balinese means", and on page 44 the author asserts that there are two major factors — different from what is said on the previous page — which define a Balinese on Lombok. These are religious affiliation and hypothetical common ancestry. This, however, is a very impoverished view of the matter: the Balinese on Lombok define themselves at this broad level by an entire way of life (*dharmā*), which is opposed to the different but always inferior ways of life of other peoples. Gerdin's factors are as arbitrary as it would be to say that the Balinese on Lombok are defined by the way they tie their sarongs or style their hair.

Gerdin's approach concentrates upon inequality, on the differences between those who are favoured and those who are not. Those who are favoured (our author informs us) are property owners who, because of their wealth and because of the contacts and the prestige which accompany it, are able to partake fully of the Balinese way of life; those who are not favoured are landless labourers who because of

their poverty cannot participate fully in the Balinese way of life. This, however, does not take account of the many ways in which a Balinese may be favoured; wealth, it is true, is one indication that one is favoured by the gods, but why, it may reasonably be asked, restrict analysis to this alone?

The *triwangsa*, "noblemen" — actually the three senior statuses of the Balinese *warna* —, the author argues, have been displaced as landowners by commoners who, acting "rationally" in the face of changed market conditions by explicitly looking for and maximising profit, now comprise an incipient economic and cultural elite. This displacement, hastened on by the introduction of high-yielding varieties of rice, has been accompanied by growth in the number of landless day-labourers. These are the culturally dispossessed, at it were, who must compete for the diminishing amount of work to be had in the rice fields and who must undertake work which is often little respected to make ends meet.

Economic rationality is illustrated by the case of Pak Carik, who became one of the wealthiest villagers in Karang Sari by acting "rationally" in the face of market conditions. He is, however, criticised for his attitudes to profit making and to the disposal of these profits by fellow villagers: not to put too fine a point on it, he is *demit*, mean and stingy. (Gerdin is too polite in calling him thrifty.) He is loath to help others (unless he stands to gain himself) and he is miserly in his use of wealth he has amassed in honouring the gods and the other mystical beings as he should. Other people, however — described in the section of Chapter 6 called "Striking a Balance: Some Further Cases" —, manage both to make profits and to act in the ways in which a Balinese should act. These cases show that the rich do not necessarily participate more fully in Balinese life than the poor and that market experience and what Gerdin calls "morals" *can* be reconciled. (Gerdin thinks the two are contradictory.) The "rational" behaviour of such as Pak Carik, by contrast, is neither admired by the Balinese nor is it common among the Balinese on Lombok. If Gerdin thinks otherwise, then she really should provide more evidence to support the view than just one case and scattered ethnographical and statistical data (notoriously unreliable in Indonesia).

Gerdin takes the view that "folk models" — an unfortunate expression, which means basically what people say about what they do, which is the very stuff of social anthropology — cannot be "equalled" (sc. reconciled?) with what the author seems to consider a more scientific approach, which is supposed to describe what actually happens. Were she to pay more attention to "folk models", however, Gerdin would have found that there is some reason to question the automatic equation of hierarchy and social inequality. Work being done on this theme suggests that social inequality is no part of the Balinese system of hierarchy called the *warna*. She might have been a little more precise in her use of *triwangsa* to designate those who are supposed to have been displaced as landowners, and a little less enthusiastic in likening the Balinese on Lombok to the Merina,

who, according to Bloch, discount labour in the agricultural process: the Balinese know perfectly well that they have to work very hard in the fields to secure a worthwhile harvest, but "labour" includes much, such as the making and the giving of offerings, which we might not include under the term. She might also have stopped to wonder whether the people who are not in economically strong circumstances (which is harder to identify than it might seem) see themselves as being culturally dispossessed or deprived. (They may do so, but need not do so, for Balinese ideology takes into account the disparity between rich and poor, so that, for instance, the meanest offering is as acceptable as the most elaborate.)

Separation between landowners and the landless is taken to be a mark of the socio-economic inequalities which are increasing in present-day Lombok. Had Gerdin taken perhaps a little more account of indigenous ideology, however, she would have seen that no class of Balinese can exist without the others and that this is manifested in *all* aspects of Balinese life — including personal relations between the landed (the employer) and the landless (the employee), which, in my experience, bear little, if any, resemblance to those described by the author.

By isolating agriculture and wealth and by assuming that the Balinese equate power with political and economic relations, Gerdin has sketched a picture which is as unfamiliar to this reviewer (who lived close to where Dr. Gerdin lived on Lombok and for about as long) as it would be to the people whose life she is writing about. The author of *The Unknown Balinese* has done little more, indeed, than substitute one "model" (hers) for another (that of the Balinese). It must be said, moreover, that in many respects, and precisely because it takes so little account of Balinese ideas, hers is the more problematical. Unfortunately, therefore, the unknown Balinese remain almost as unknown as they did before the publication of this book.

Benedict Anderson and Audrey Kahin (eds), *Interpreting Indonesian politics: thirteen contributions to de debate*, Ithaca, New York, 1982. Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, Interim Reports Series (Publication no. 62). Price: US\$ 9.00

C. VAN DDK

The initiative of the Cornell Modern Indonesia Project to bring together in one volume a number of interesting articles on Indonesian politics and on the different frameworks of interpretation by Western scholars is a commendable one. The more so because some of the contributions were difficult of access as they had only been circulated in mimeographed form. Other articles have been published earlier, for instance in *Indonesia*. Apart from *Democracy in Indonesia*, Harry J. Benda's "classic" review of *The decline of constitutional democracy in Indonesia* by Herbert Feith, and the latter's reply, all the articles

were written after the New Order had firmly established itself, although of course they also deal with earlier periods. These articles are: 'The Birth of the Idea of Bali', by James A. Boon; 'History and Social Structure in the Study of Contemporary Indonesia', by David Levine; 'The Study of Indonesian Politics: A Survey and an Apologia', by Herbert Feith; 'Class, Social Cleavage and Indonesian Communism', by Rex Mortimer; 'Perspective and Method in American Research on Indonesia', by Benedict O'Gorman Anderson; 'The Beamtenstaat in Indonesia', by Ruth T. McVey; 'Ideology and Social Structure in Indonesia', by Joel S. Kahn; 'Indonesia's New Order as a Bureaucratic Polity, a Neopatrimonial Regime or a Bureaucratic Authoritarian Regime: What Difference Does It Make?', by Dwight Y. King; 'Indonesia Since 1945 — Problems of Interpretation', by Jamie Mackie; 'Culture, Politics, and Economy in the Political History of the New Order', by Richard Robison; and 'Orders of Meaning: Understanding Political Change in a Fishing Community in Indonesia', by Donald K. Emmerson.

A. P. E. Korver, *Sarekat Islam 1912-1916; Opkomst, bloei en structuur van Indonesia's eerste massabeweging*. Amsterdam, 1982.

C. VANDIJK

In dit proefschrift wordt een gedetailleerd beeld gegeven van de Sarekat Islam en haar activiteiten in de eerste jaren van haar bestaan. De auteur baseert zich voornamelijk op Nederlands bronnenmateriaal en op overzichten van de Indonesische pers zoals die in het *Koloniaal Tijdschrift* zijn opgenomen. Desondanks is hij er toch in geslaagd om de Sarekat Islam als het ware van binnenuit te beschrijven. Uiterst informatief zijn de stukken waar hij bijvoorbeeld het verzet binnen de Sarekat Islam behandelt tegen de bevoorrechte positie van de Europeanen en hogere priyayi met alle vormen van eerbetoon die de bevolking daarbij in acht moest nemen. Hetzelfde geldt voor de beschrijving van wat genoemd wordt "het streven naar opheffing en het wegnemen van grieven", waarin de economische activiteiten van de Sarekat Islam worden behandeld en de hulp die lokale en nationale leiders boden daar waar de bevolking door de poverheid of particulieren onrechtvaardig werd behandeld of te zwaar belast. Ook de schets van de leiders en leden van de partij is de moeite waard, zij het dan dat hun "sociale kenmerken" soms wat summier worden behandeld; maar over dit onderwerp zijn waarschijnlijk weinig aanvullende gegevens te vinden.

De gekozen benadering — de beperking van het onderwerp en van het geraadpleegde materiaal — heeft echter ook zijn zwakke zijden. Ter rechtvaardiging van de keuze van zijn onderwerp en de tijdsgrenzen noemt de auteur de Sarekat Islam de "opmerkelijkste Indonesische beweging voor de Tweede Wereldoorlog" en de tijd tussen 1912 en 1916 de "belangwekkendste periode uit de geschiedenis van

de Sarekat Islam". De eerste constatering is uiteraard een kwestie van smaak, iemand anders zou misschien een andere keuze hebben gemaakt. De tweede opmerking is iets minder gebonden aan persoonlijke voorkeuren en is voor discussie vatbaar. Na 1916 deden zich in de Sarekat Islam zulke interessante ontwikkelingen voor als de activiteiten van de zogeheten Sarekat Islam afdeling B in 1919, de conflicten met en de uiteindelijke uitstoting van de ISDV/PKI-leden, en verschillende ideologische discussies binnen de partij die bijvoorbeeld hebben geleid tot de oprichting van de Nahdatul Ulama.

Wat meer aandacht voor deze ontwikkelingen en de literatuur hierover had een aantal door de auteur behandelde onderwerpen meer reliëf kunnen geven en hem voor een aantal onzorgvuldige formuleringen kunnen behoeden. Dit geldt met name voor die delen waar hij de reformistisch Islamitische achtergrond van de Sarekat Islam behandelt en waar hij de door de Sarekat Islam geïnspireerde lokale opstootjes beschrijft en ze in verband brengt met het millenarisme en nativisme. Nu blijft de behandeling van de millenaristische aspecten te veel hangen bij verschijnselen als de verering van een leider en het gebruik van amuletten, waarvan men zich kan afvragen of ze wel een wezenlijk onderdeel van het millenarisme zijn.

Eenzelfde vage uitwerking van een begrip zien we als de auteur de godsdienstige achtergrond van de Sarekat Islam behandelt. Afgezien van het storende veelvuldige gebruik van de woorden Mohammedaans en Mohammedanen, blijkt de auteur zich te weinig rekenschap te hebben gegeven van de bijzondere kenmerken van het reformisme. De lezer blijft hierdoor in het ongewisse wat het reformisme binnen de Sarekat Islam inhield. Een deel van de als illustratie van het reformistische karakter genoemde voorbeelden zegt hierover op zich zelf weinig, te meer daar de auteur de neiging heeft dit af te zetten tegen wat in zijn ogen conservatief is. Een opmerking op biz. 68 dat het reformisme ook blijkt uit het in de statuten genoemde "streven naar het wegnemen van verkeerde ibegrippen omtrent de islam" helpt de lezer niet verder als niet wordt uitgelegd wat deze verkeerde begrippen zijn. Nu krijgt men de indruk dat de belangrijkste kenmerken van het reformisme zijn verdraagzaamheid en wat men misschien kan noemen de overname van een "westerse levensstijl". Hier stuit men echter op de moeilijkheid dat als de auteur wil aangeven dat er ook nog "conservatief-islamitische elementen" binnen de Sarekat Islam zichtbaar zijn hij voorbeelden geeft die, zoals de tegenwoordige ontwikkelingen ook laten zien, niet een ontkenning zijn van het reformisme, maar meer een uiting van het streven zich aan de Islamitische wet te houden. Dit geldt voor de op bladzijde 57 genoemde kritiek op "een huwelijk tussen de dochter van een regent en een Europees officier vanwege het feit dat deze geen Islamiet was", wat wordt verbonden met overwaardering van het eigene en superioriteitsgevoel ten aanzien van andere bevolkingsgroepen, en niet met het feit dat het Islamitische huwelijksrecht een huwelijk van een niet-Islamitische man met een Islamitische vrouw verbiedt. Ook het op bladzijde 70 genoemde verzet om geld op een bankrekening te storten

wegens "het Mohammedaanse renteverbod" lijkt me, mede gezien de nu weer oplevende discussies over een Islamitisch bankwezen, geen voorbeeld van "Islamitisch conservatisme" binnen de Sarekat Islam dat afwijkt van haar algemeen reformistische karakter.

Op een iets ander vlak ligt de misvatting van de auteur dat Ngabehi een persoonsnaam is en niet een onderdeel van de titel Pangeran Ngabehi, de oudste zoon van de Susuhunan.

Tenslotte nog een woord over de spelling. Dat geografische termen en namen van organisaties volgens de nieuwste spelling worden geschreven is nog wel aanvaardbaar. Ook kan men zelfs nog twisten over het gebruik van de nieuwste spelling voor persoonsnamen. Om echter ook de titels van voor de oorlog in het Indonesisch verschenen bladen zoals Kaoem Moeda en Pantjaran Warta in de nieuwste spelling te schrijven gaat te ver.

E. E. Graves, *The Minangkabau response to Dutch colonial rule in the nineteenth century*, New York 1981. Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, Monograph series No. 60, \$7.50. x + 147 p.

M. HEKKER

This book is a revised edition of Dr. Graves' 1971 dissertation. The aim of her investigation was to give an analysis of the indigenous reaction to Dutch colonial rule in Minangkabau, whereby she has restricted herself to the developments in the nineteenth century, the period in which the Dutch regime was being established in Sumatra. Her research is based for the most part on written sources, supplemented with data from interviews conducted in the course of field work in 1967.

In the first two chapters Graves presents a concise description of Minangkabau society. Two aspects stand out most clearly. The first is the rotation of the function of chief (*penghulu suku*) of the matrilineage (*suku*) among the lineage branches (*kaum*). The second aspect is the tradition of *merantau*, whereby men leave their home village in search of their fortune elsewhere.

The next four chapters are devoted to a description of the establishment and development of the Dutch regime. Politically, the Dutch colonial system aimed at government by indirect rule through the lineage chiefs. The relevant functions were conferred permanently upon certain families which were incorporated into a newly created administrative hierarchy. In the economic sphere, coffee cultivation was stimulated. Or rather, the Dutch tried to impose a monopoly of coffee by assuming control of production and distribution. The third aspect of Dutch rule, which Graves pays most attention to, is the organization of education, which improved greatly during the nineteenth century.

Graves' conclusion is that as a consequence of the supposed indirect

rule of the Dutch the "natural rotation of upper class positions" (p. vii) came to an end and the upward mobility of middle level families was blocked. However, these middle level families then discovered the possibilities offered by education, which gave access to positions in the bureaucracy, the administrative hierarchy, and the coffee growing industry. The system of *merantau* made for considerable mobility, while a tradition of pooling of resources among families assured jobs to other members of the family who followed later. In fact, the middle level families entered the civil service "in the spirit of the entrepreneur who must first identify the name of the game and then play it to the greatest personal advantage" (p. 144). Finally, Graves demonstrates in a case study of the village of Kota Gedang how this system worked in reality.

In short, Graves considers the Minangkabau response to Dutch colonial rule to consist in the upward mobility of middle level families outside the indigenous social system in the Dutch bureaucracy. As a result of the choice of her subject, focusing on the indigenous history of Minangkabau, she had to cope with a serious problem of data collecting. She solved this problem by using a combination of written, for the greater part Dutch, sources and interviews in several villages. But although she herself mentions the problem of "lack of data" (p. 129), with which she was confronted, she could perhaps have been more explicit about how she arrived at the interpretations and the final analysis presented by her, especially as far as these are based on interviews. Moreover, the Minangkabau social system, in particular the rotation of the headmanship and the pooling among families, would have deserved somewhat more detailed discussion.

However, Graves' dissertation indicates the possibilities and the limitations of non-western historical research. Faced with the problem of insufficient data the book nevertheless represents a serious and scrupulous study of the consequences of Dutch administration in Indonesia at the regional level, in particular the consequences of the so-called "indirect rule" policy.

J. F. Warren, *The Sulu Zone, 1768-1898. The dynamics of external trade, slavery and ethnicity in the transformation of a Southeast Asian maritime state*. Singapore University Press, Singapore 1981. xix + 390 pp.

M. HEKKER

This book about the Sulu archipelago in the 19th century may be viewed in the light of the current shift in non-western historiography from the colonial point of view to what is called the indigenous perspective. Warren aims at a thorough reconsideration of the traditional picture of maritime states in insular Southeast Asia such as Aceh, Johore and, in this case, Sulu. The Eurocentric "trade and empire" perspective has done no justice to their separate history and

has neglected the true character of commerce and power in these maritime communities. A revision is necessary of the so-called "decay theory", which explains Malay piracy as being but a revenge reaction to the monopolistic trade practices of the European powers.

Warren sets out to give a description of the maritime state of Sulu from the indigenous perspective. He offers a historical reconstruction of society and commerce in the Sulu zone and describes how this maritime frontier region responded to western expansion. Secondly, he analyses the relationship between trade and piracy, or, properly speaking, slave raiding. His investigations are based upon thorough research of primary sources in archives in the United States, England, Spain, The Netherlands, Indonesia and The Philippines. He has further made use of the published results of anthropological fieldwork among populations of this area in order better to assess the value and reliability of the European historical sources. Testimonies of fugitive slaves have proved of considerable importance, according to Warren, to get an insider's view of slave raids and of slavery in Sulu.

In the first part of the book the author describes the patterns of trade in the Sulu zone between 1768 and 1898. The Sulu sultanate of the Taosug people was strategically situated at the crossroads of the trade routes between China, Indonesia and The Philippines. The opening of China to western trade at the end of the 18th century provided the impulse for a vigorous expansion of commerce in this area. The Taosug exploited at the same time their strategic position and their commercial contacts within the zone, and succeeded in monopolizing this trade in the course of the 19th century. Warren painstakingly describes the network of trade evolving around the Sulu sultanate as the centre of redistribution.

The economic expansion entailed a growing need for additional manpower, mainly for the procurement of commodities. This problem was solved by means of slave labour. The supply of slaves was farmed out by the Taosug to the neighbouring Iranun and Balangingi Samal, who occupied a kind of client position vis-à-vis the Taosug. These people organized the frequent long-distance slave raids through the whole of insular Southeast Asia and ensured a constant supply of slaves. In part II of the book the author describes the organization and the patterns of raiding and the system of the slave market. In part III, finally, he describes slavery as an institution whereby a large number of ethnically foreign people were integrated into Taosug society.

At the end of the 19th century, the Sulu sultanate was obliged to give in to external pressures. On the one hand, the growing Spanish influence, culminating in the conquest of Sulu, and on the other hand the inflow of Straits Chinese immigrants who took over commerce put an end to the trading monopoly of the Taosug as well as to the slave raids.

In his conclusion Warren stresses the dynamic character of non-western societies, which has too long been neglected by many historians. His description of the Sulu zone shows up the limitations of

the traditional-, static and a-historical conception of non-western maritime states. Moreover, the case of the Balangingi Samal, a heterogeneous population group which came into being as a result of the slave raids, illustrates the flexibility and relativity of ethnic identity.

The book is devoted for the greater part to a detailed description of the patterns of trade and of slave raiding which evolved around Sulu. The description of slavery as an institution will offer hardly any new insights from an anthropological point of view, but does furnish factual evidence illustrating the Taosug case. Generally speaking, the book is not likely to offer anthropologists striking new conceptions of and ideas about non-western society. More important is its contribution in the historiographical field. The value of this book lies first and foremost in its very detailed and well documented historical reconstruction, based on extensive research in primary sources. Warren does away with the outdated colonial perspective and does due justice to the historical development of a non-western society in its own right. The result is a vivid account of the development of a South-east Asian maritime state, which owed its expansion to western influence and, a century later again, had to give in to western supremacy.

Elisabeth Locher-Scholten, *Ethiek in fragmenten. Vijf studies over koloniaal denken en doen van Nederlanders in de Indonesische Archipel 1877-1942*. Utrecht, HES Publishers, 1981, 224 pp.

PETER KLOOS

Dit proefschrift bestaat uit vijf artikelen, waarvan vier reeds eerder zijn gepubliceerd (één daarvan, over Mr. P. Brooshooft, in de *Bijdragen* in 1976). Het oudste van de vier artikelen, over het tijdschrift *De Stuw*, dateert van 1971. De twee resterende, over het tijdschrift *Kritiek en Opbouw* en dat over de Gouverneur Generaal Van Limburg Stirum, dateren van 1976, resp. 1980. Toegevoegd is een algemene beschouwing, 'De ethische politiek, een verguisd beeld' (dit is een misleidende titel: een *gepreciseerd* beeld ware correcter geweest).

De vijf stukken handelen alle over de zgn. 'ethische politiek' in Indonesië, in de periode einde 19e eeuw - begin tweede wereldoorlog. De vier specifieke hoofdstukken kunnen beschouwd worden als vier case studies. Hoewel daarmee niet de gehele periode bestreken wordt is de keus een strategische. Het eerste stuk over Brooshooft gaat over de auctor intellectualis van de term (hoewel de schrijfster in haar slot-hoofdstuk laat zien hoezeer het 'ethische' aan het einde van de 19e eeuw in de Nederlandse lucht hing). Dan volgt de bestuursperiode van Van Limburg Stirum (1916-1921) — van belang omdat daarin de eerste wereldoorlog valt. De periode 1930-1934 wordt bestreken door het tijdschrift *De Stuw*, dat gevuld werd door progressieve hoogleraren en topambtenaren in Batavia. Het Bandoengse, links georiënteerde,

tijdschrift *Kritiek 'en Opbouw*, dat kort v66r de tweede wereldoorlog en gedurende enige tijd erna verscheen, sluit de rij (1938-1942, de naoorlogse periode wordt buiten beschouwing gelaten).

Vooraf in het slothoofdstuk laat Locher-Scholten zien dat 'ethische politiek' een van die vlottende begrippen is, waarvan de betekenis in de loop der jaren verandert, in samenhang met veranderende politiek-economische omstandigheden. Zij onderscheidt een viertal aspecten van wat als ethische politiek bekend stond, en bundelt die in een ruime definitie, die als het ware de buitengrens van het verschijnsel markeert.

De vier in de tijd elkaar opvolgende case studies tonen een fascinerend beeld van de ontwikkeling van dit verschijnsel. Dat daarbij de aandacht vooral ligt op de in de kolonie ontwikkelde denkbeelden is op zichzelf te rechtvaardigen, maar toch jammer: zeker bij een politiek figuur als Van Limburg Stirum werden de denkbeelden en daden medebepaald door de tegenspelers in Nederland, waarvan alleen maar af en toe blijkt welke hun standpunten wel zijn. Voor de opbouw van het betoog ernstiger is het dat de algemene beschouwing, die speciaal voor de dissertatie is geschreven, inzichten oplevert die uiteraard niet meer in de al lang voltooide en gepubliceerde artikelen konden worden verwerkt. Het denkbeeld dat de ethische politiek gezien kan worden als de reactie van een klein en internationaal zwak land, dat desondanks in het bezit van omvangrijke kolonien is en dus maar beter een 'model-kolonisator' kan zijn om geen aanstoot te geven (p. 197), zou ik graag in de verschillende perioden die bestreken zijn nader uitgewerkt hebben willen zien. Maar deze onvree neemt mijn waardering voor het geleverde niet weg.

Het voormalige Batavia. Een Hollandse stedestichting in de tropen anno 1619, Ir. H. A. Breuning b.i., G.J.B., Utrecht, 1981, 163 p., 38 afb. en 1 plattegrond.

PETER J. M. NAS

Deze herdruk van de uitgave van 1954 maakt het voor de geïnteresseerden in de stedenbouw en architectuur mogelijk een historische schets van Batavia in eigen bezit te verkrijgen. Het boekje is voornamelijk geïnspireerd door de morfologische ontwikkeling van de stad en behandelt naast vestiging, aanleg en opbouw eveneens de ontwikkeling in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw. Bijzondere aandacht wordt geschonken aan het kasteel, het koningsplein en de meubilering en indehting van de woningen. Ook het leven in de stad wordt echter beschreven. Menig lezer die Batavia of Jakarta heeft gekend zal veel genoeg aan dit boekje kunnen beleven, terwijl het eveneens aanknopingspunten biedt voor hen die van plan zijn Jakarta te bezoeken.

Improving Access to Indonesian Collections in The Netherlands; Contributions to a Survey of Dutch Library and Documentation Activities in the Field of Indonesian Studies, Intercontinenta no. 2, Leiden, 1981, 78 pp.

HARRY A. POEZE

The compilers of this book are the members of the Contactgroep Documentatie Indonesië (or Indonesia Documentation Group, which abbreviates its name to CDI). This group, which was formed in 1977, unites within itself some thirty librarians and documentalists whose activities are focused on Indonesia. The latter report on current library and documentation developments at regular meetings aimed at furthering mutual contact and stimulating coordination among activities spread over various institutions and projects. The book, containing 24 contributions in all, represents a summary of a series of talks and discussions held at previous such CDI meetings.

Although there is mention in the introduction of only a "preliminary survey", the volume nevertheless affords an instructive insight into the work of the institutions discussed, which are wholly or partially concentrated on Indonesia. It is encouraging to see that there is an increasing number of projects aimed at making the huge "colonial" collection of materials present in The Netherlands more accessible, as well as registering recent publications from and on Indonesia and research projects centered on Indonesia.

As may be expected from documentalists, the contributions to the volume are grouped around specific themes in a number of chapters. For the general reader the chapter on 'Libraries and Collections in The Netherlands' is of special interest. It offers a survey of the nature and extent of the collections of Indonesian materials in the Leiden University Library, the Royal Tropical Institute in Amsterdam, and the KITLV in Leiden.

There is a tendency for both Dutch and foreign researchers to turn first and foremost to the KITLV (besides the General State Archives in The Hague) for their research materials. This Institute, which is focused specifically on Indonesia and has the necessary specialized staff, is not obliged to divide its attention between a large variety of activities. Nevertheless, the KITLV collection is far from complete as far as "colonial" monographs and periodicals are concerned, and most probably not even the largest in The Netherlands.

The description by Gerard J. Telkamp and Irene Farjon of the Leiden University Library collection, where an enormous collection of pre-war Indonesian materials is kept "hidden" among its other holdings, is most informative. This library's collection of periodicals is much larger than that of the KITLV. The transfer in 1963 of some 80,000 volumes deriving from the former Ministry of Overseas Territories provided a welcome complement to these collections. Of these, approximately 800 metres still remain to be integrated into the collections of the library as a whole. Because most of the titles concerned appear to be duplicate ones, this is not as serious as it seems.

But it does indicate the difficulties in giving the necessary attention to an Indonesian collection of this kind under the combined pressures of staff shortage, an excessive work load, and lack of specialized expertise in big, general scientific libraries.

In a sense the same is true of the Royal Tropical Institute, which has shifted its almost exclusively Indonesian interest of before the war to the Third World as a whole. After a number of years of minimal interest in the colonial material, fortunately the Institute is now giving attention to its own unique collection again. A great deal of information on the Institute's various collections and the way in which they are being made accessible to the public is given in a most illuminating article by Marlene van Doorn. There are additionally articles on the Institute's collections of maps and photographs by members of its staff.

One would like to see all this useful information in the possession of every scholar, whether Dutch or foreign, intending to do serious and exhaustive research. The lists of printed catalogues and surveys of the relevant collections accompanying the various articles are also most valuable in this respect. Of course the survey is not complete. So it is to be regretted that it lacks an article on the Indonesian collection of the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam, for instance. Nor does it give any attention to archive collections. This shortcoming is expected to be eliminated in a possible sequel to the volume. In this respect a distressing gap will also be filled by the two volumes in the series 'Sources of the History of Asia and Oceania in the Netherlands' (of which vol. I, *Sources up to 1796*, compiled by M. P. H. Roessingh, has already appeared, and vol. II, dealing with the period 1796-1949, by F. G. P. Jaquet, is due to appear in 1983).

The remaining chapters of the volume are of less immediate relevance to the general reader, although they are certainly interesting. They do; however, constitute "prescribed reading" for librarians and documentalists occupying themselves with Indonesia. These chapters cover such topics as: acquisitions policy, microfiche projects, documentation projects (with outlines of the documentation problems encountered in connection with the specific character of the material in some of these projects), the cataloguing of Indonesian material (with the specially adapted thesaurus construction), and the registration of current Indonesian studies in The Netherlands.

The articles are written in a clear and concise style. As will be obvious from the above, it is my hope that this book will be read by many and that the CD I will follow up this first of its publications with at least several others.

The book may be ordered at the Centre for the History of European Expansion, P.O. Box 9515, 2300 RA Leiden, at the price of Dv fl.-14.75.

H. B. Donkersloot, *Bibliografie van de Nederlandse buitenlandse politiek; Nederland — Indonesië 1942-1980*. Geannoteerde systematische bibliografie. Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1982, 100 pp.

HARRY A. POEZE

Deze bibliografie bedoelt een volledige opsomming te geven van boeken, brochures en openbare rapporten met betrekking tot de politieke relatie Nederland-Indonesië. Tijdschriftartikelen zijn opgenomen voor zover vermeld in de opgenomen apart verschenen publikaties. In enkele regels wordt de inhoud omschreven van de betreffende titel. De literatuur is naar onderwerp ingedeeld. Zeven hoofdstukken (algemene werken, Tweede Wereldoorlog, onafhankelijkheidsstrijd, Nieuw-Guinea, de periode 1963-1980, het Zuidmolukse vraagstuk en de positie der Indo-Europeanen) zijn verder onderverdeeld in rubrieken. In totaal worden 1742 titels gerangschikt.

Een bibliografie van een zodanige uitgebreide opzet ontbreekt en zou dan ook zeer met vreugde moeten worden begroet, ware het niet dat aan deze bibliografie zoveel tekortkomingen kleven dat lezing ervan onder het nodige voorbehoud moet geschieden. De bibliografie is afgesloten in januari 1981. Door financiële perikelen kon hij pas in november 1982 verschijnen. De samensteller heeft zijn boek niet bijgewerkt, waardoor het, helaas, een groot aantal recente, belangwekkende publikaties niet vermeldt.

De bibliografie bevat publikaties in het Nederlands, Engels, Frans en Duits. Een belangrijk gemis vormt de literatuur in de Indonesische taal, die ontoegankelijk was voor de samensteller. Het verbaast dan toch enkele Indonesischtalige publikaties tegen te komen. Inconsequent is de samensteller ook bij het opnemen van vertaalde werken. Boeken van Dahm, Weiss en Cindy Adams zijn onder de Nederlandse uitgave vermeld; het origineel is niet opgenomen. Van het boek van Mossman alleen dan weer de Engelse uitgave, met voorbijgaan aan de Nederlandse vertaling.

De pretentie van volledigheid wordt bij lange na niet waargemaakt. Een flink aantal brochures (vooral uit de periode 1945-1950), Nederlandse scripties en Amerikaanse proefschriften ontbreken. Datzelfde geldt voor tijdschriftartikelen, waarnaar, naar het schijnt, slechts in een aantal bladen systematisch is gezocht. Als voorbeeld van onvolledigheid kan hier worden genoemd de lijst van titels van Nederlandse militaire gedenkboeken en korpsgeschiedenissen over de periode 1945-1950. Donkersloot noemt er een vijftiental. Een opsomming van 63 titels staat in het niet in dit boek vermelde H. Salleveldt, *Het woordenboek van Jan Soldaat in Indonesië*, Alphen aan den Rijn, 1980. Ook is onduidelijk volgens welk criterium de rubriek "Herinneringen" over de periode 1945-1950 is samengesteld. Er worden hierin enkele boeken van een romankarakter vermeld. Is dat de bedoeling? Zo ja, dan is de opsomming zeer incompleet; zo nee, is de selectie onzorgvuldig.

Dezelfde onzorgvuldigheid geldt voor de opsomming van collecties van archiefstukken. Deze is zo incompleet dat hij vrijwel waardeloos is. Kritiek is ook nodig op de vaak slordige titelbeschrijving. De selectie van het hoofdwoord (opgenomen in de index) maakt soms een wille-

keurige indruk; Indonesische namen zijn een aantal keren fout gealfabetiseerd.

De rubricering van titels is natuurlijk een dankbaar en gewillig onderwerp van kritiek. Ik wil daarover de samensteller niet hard vallen, hoe vaak ook zijn rubricering tot verbazing aanleiding gaf. Het is echter niet te verdedigen, bijvoorbeeld, van een boek van D. van der Meulen dat onder een andere titel werd herdrukt de eerste druk in een andere rubriek dan de herdruk te plaatsen en over het hoofd te zien dat van een herdruk sprake was.

Het zal duidelijk zijn dat naar mijn oordeel de samensteller zich vertild heeft aan zijn project, onvoldoende inzicht had in de omvang en vindplaatsen van het materiaal en zijn stof slordig en onzorgvuldig heeft verwerkt of laten verwerken. Het is te hopen dat er nog eens een goede bibliografie zal verschijnen over dit onderwerp (of een deel ervan) waarin dan ook de onontbeerlijke Indonesische literatuur wordt gerangschikt. En dat daarbij een inleiding wordt geschreven die als gids kan dienen in de massa van titels.

Bij gebrek aan een alternatief heeft deze bibliografie waarde omdat hij natuurlijk een groot aantal titels verschaft. Maar de pretenties worden op geen enkele wijze waargemaakt.

Het boek is te bestellen bij het Seminarium voor Volkenrecht, Grimborgwal 10, 1012 GA Amsterdam en kost 13 gulden.

Roy Ellen, *Environment, Subsistence and System. The Ecology of Small-Scale Social Formations*, Cambridge, C.U.P. Themes in the Social Sciences Series, 1982. vii-xvi, 324 pp. ISBN 0 521 28703 0.

LEONTINE E. VISSER

If we consider the *fons et origo* of cultural and social anthropology to lie in the relationship between nature and culture, then ecological analyses are as old as anthropology itself. Yet ecology has not always been conceptualized as such within the domain of the study of *Homo sapiens*, as a result of which a hotch-potch of concepts — often borrowed incorrectly — and methods has been used by social scientists in order to describe and to develop hypotheses about man's interaction with his environment.

It is the great merit of Ellen's book that the various models which have been evolved over the last hundred-odd years are critically reviewed. The author, a British anthropologist of the younger generation, has concentrated upon the main theoretical elements of each model in order to show to what extent they have contributed to the scientific process and to give a critical account of their applicability.

The subject of the book is the ecology of human subsistence, which is viewed as a field that only partially contributes to a more general anthropology. Ellen does not consider human ecology as an autonomous discipline, except in the limited sense of providing an understanding of the dynamics of specific human populations in their ecological context. This position is already clear from the subtitle, "The ecology of small-scale social formations", and is a direct consequence of Ellen's own interests and fieldwork in a swidden society of Seram, as well

as of the work of others such as Conklin, D. R. Harris, Rappaport, and Vayda.

The book is divided into two more or less merging parts, in accordance with the two interrelated aims of the author, the first being the "salvage of contradictory and otherwise singularly inadequate theoretical styles in the analysis of human environmental relations", the second, "to show the ways in which particular techniques and concepts can be used to advantage in the analysis of human subsistence" (p. 274). It is important to note that Ellen regards methodology as being distinguished from theory, whether one agrees with this or not.

The first part of this exercise has resulted in a lucid review of the various ecological models. The second part is successful in showing how difficult it is to apply concepts from the science of biology in anthropological models and how careful we must be about drawing simple conclusions. The main value of the application of ecological concepts, according to the author, is in the study of the relationships between human and non-human sets of information, its practical implication being the need for greater accuracy and quantitative specificity in fieldwork methods.

I will not comment on each separate chapter, but will only indicate one of the most interesting points raised. In chapter four, "Human ecology and the biological model", the problem of defining the boundaries of an ecosystem is discussed. To various authors, ecosystems have become the new analytical and comparative spatial units, rather than culture areas, which approach remains open to discussion also according to Ellen (p. 78). The boundaries are drawn on the basis of often arbitrary quantification and of the use of techniques which the anthropologist working alone in the field is unable to deploy (viz. the critical remarks on Rappaport). The problem of the definition of boundaries is taken up again in chapter eight, "Systems and their regulation", but which might equally appropriately be entitled "Rappaport and beyond". The appraisal and criticism of Rappaport's study on the Tsembaga ecological system constitutes the subject matter of the second part of the book.

The human environment is defined mainly in terms of biological concepts, but cognition is not totally overlooked. Ethnological analyses (Bulmer, Conklin, Van Leynseele) are considered relevant in providing us with an indication as to what ecological relations are important. Ellen explicitly views the cognitive aspects of environment in terms of their relevance to ecological analysis in general, and much less from the perspective of the cultural responses of and possible social consequences for a particular group of people. Ethnoscience has been too holistic (cf. p. 225)?

A last remark concerns the style. Frequent references to ethnographic and biological literature make the book very readable indeed, notwithstanding the vast quantity of data and diagrams and a certain compactness of style. It can therefore be recommended to everyone interested in the interrelationship between man and his environment and the way in which anthropology deals with this.