Book Reviews

- G.J. Abbink, J.M. Schoffeleers, *Missie en Ontwikkeling in Oost-Afrika. Een ontmoeting van culturen*, Nijmegen-Baarn: Katholiek Studiecentrum - Ambo, 1983, 167 pp., H. Obdeijn (eds.)
- Gary Brana-Shute, Barry B. Levine, Benjy Lopez: *A picaresque tale of emigration and return*. Basic Books, 1980. 240 pages, bibliography, no index.
- Victoria M. Clara van Groenendael, Günter Spitzing, *Das indonesische Schattenspiel Bali - Java - Lombok*, Köln: Dumont, 1981, 236 pages, photographs, illustrations, map, tables, glossary, bibliography, index. Dumont-Taschenbücher 110.
- Dirk van Dusseldorp, B. Galjart, *Participation of the poor in development. Contributions to a seminar*. 325 pp. Leiden development studies 2, Institute of cultural and social studies, University of Leiden, Leiden 1982., D. Buys (eds.)
- C. van Dijk, R. de Bruin, *Islam en nationalisme in door Japan bezet Indonesië: 1942-1945*, s-Gravenhage: Staatsuitgeverij, 1982. Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie, Cahiers over Nederland en de Tweede Wereldoorlog, nr. 3.
- R. Hagesteijn, H.B. Sarkar, *Literary heritage of Southeast Asia*. Calcutta, Firma KLM Private Limited, 265 pages.
- M. Hekker, S. Price, *Afro-American arts of the Suriname rain forest*. University of California Press, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 1981. 237 pp. Maps, Ill., R. Price (eds.)
- M. Hekker, S.R. Siregar, *Adat, Islam and Christianity in a Batak Homeland*. Athens, Ohio 1981. Papers in International studies, Southeast Asia series no. 57, Ohio University. 108 pp.
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BOEKBESPREKINGEN

J. M. Schoffeleers, H. Obdeijn, e.a., *Missie en Ontwikkeling in Oost-Afrika. Een ontmoeting van culturen*, Nijmegen-Baarn: Katholiek Studiecentrum - Ambo, 1983, 167 pp.

G. J. ABBINK

Gedurende de laatste jaren heeft het verschijnsel missie/zending niet de aandacht van antropologen gekregen die het verdient. Recentelijk is wel, naar aanleiding van het artikel van Stipe (1980), een discussie van de grond gekomen in *Current Anthropology*, maar van een meer systematische aandacht voor het proces van penetratie en voor de effecten van de georganiseerde missie en zending, gebaseerd op vergelijkend-historisch onderzoek en veldwerk is, vooral in Nederland, nog maar weinig sprake. Mogelijk ligt dit aan de vanzelfsprekende aanvaarding die missie en zending in ons land ten deel viel, bepaald door Christelijke waarden en de idee dat de Christelijke invloed uiteindelijk altijd meer goede dan kwalijke effecten had, alsook door bewondering en respect voor de zendings- en missiemotivatie van degenen die naar de verre en onbekende streken vertrokken (zie bv. Roes 1969). De Christelijke geloofsverbreding en het pastorale, educatieve en medische werk in het kielzog daarvan, werd, zoniet als heilzaam, dan toch als zondermeer een onvermijdelijke vorm van cultuurcontact gezien.

Het is de verdienste van de Werkgroep "Missie en Zending" aan de K.U. Nijmegen, welke personen uit verschillende vakgebieden bijeen heeft gebracht, het onderwerp wat meer in de belangstelling te brengen met de onderhavige bundel. Hopelijk zet hij lezers aan om zelf ook aandacht te wijden aan het onderwerp (bv. door studie van archieven van kerken en congregaties). Deze bundel beperkt zich vooralsnog tot de missie.

In het Woord Vooraf worden meteen al enige van de juiste vragen gesteld (p.9): "Met welk doel en met welk recht hebben de missionarissen uit de westerse wereld zich naar vreemde culturen begeven? Wat hebben ze daar teweeggebracht? Welke gestalte van christendom vertegenwoordig(d)en zij en kan dat christendom hetzelfde blijven wanneer het naar een andere cultuur wordt overgeplant? Welke bijdragen kunnen de westerse waarden en verworvenheden leveren aan het welzijn van volken in ontwikkeling?" Deze op zich boeiende vragen, die men als de probleemstelling van het boek kan zien, worden in de bundel echter maar zeer ten dele beantwoord; sommige zelfs helemaal niet. Met name de eerste vraag, die naar de legitimiteit van de missie (we laten nu gemakshalve de zending buiten beschouwing, hoewel de meeste argumenten ook hiervoor gelden) en haar vermeende eigen, positieve rol in het proces van "ontwikkeling", wordt slechts zeer summier aangeduid. Voor veel hedendaagse lezers (zowel degenen die

sympathiek staan tegenover missie als degenen die haar afwijzen) is dit een van de kernvragen in het centrum van elke discussie. Hoewel met het verwerpen van (neo)kolonialisme en imperialisme vaak ook het missionair christendom de deur werd gewezen, is er nog geen reden om aan te nemen dat missie en zending definitief op hun retour zijn. Men hoeft maar te kijken naar de activiteiten van het omstreden Summer Institute of Linguistics (zie Hvalkof en Aaby 1981) of naar de rol die de katholieke missie speelt bij de handhaving van een medische en educatieve infrastructuur in Afrika. Niettemin zal de kwestie van de legitimiteit en de maatschappelijke effecten van missie en zending vooral door antropologen in toenemende mate aan de orde worden gesteld.

De negen artikelen in de bundel beslaan een breed terrein. Schoffeleers opent met een summier betoog over ontwikkeling, interpretatie en eigen karakter van het Afrikaans christendom; de historicus Obdeijn behandelt een fase uit de geschiedenis van de Witte Paters in Buganda (met name hun politieke en sociaal-economische ambities); Schoenaker en Trouwborst schrijven over de etnografie van missie en zending met betrekking tot het Godsbegrip in Tanzania en Burundi. Vragen van meer politieke en economische aard komen aan de orde in de bijdragen van De Wolf (over de sociaal-economische aspecten van de invloed van de katholieke missie), Doornbos (over dekolonisatie en kerkstructuur; met een relaas over de verloedering van een missieparochie) en Van Bergen (over de relatie kerk en staat in Tanzania). In het artikel van Dierick (pp.120-150), dat de neerslag is van een discussie gevoerd op de studiedag van de werkgroep, komen de dilemma's die werden opgeroepen door de confrontatie van westers christendom met Afrikaanse traditionele religies en culturen, op treffende wijze aan bod. De auteur weet, op basis van de voorafgegangene artikelen en de gevoerde discussie, duidelijk te maken dat geen van de problemen tussen beide partners in de "ontmoeting" (een historisch gezien wat eufemistische benaming) is opgelost: het recht om te missioneren komt steeds meer ter discussie omdat de gemitioneerden mondiger worden; het christendom kan nooit in haar westerse vorm worden "overgeplant", maar moet vaak verregaande verandering ondergaan (een proces dat nog steeds niet is afgesloten; zie de artikelen van Schoffeleers en Heijke); de erfenis van de relatie missie en kolonialisme is nog een beladen probleem (zie de artikelen van Doornbos en De Wolf); vaak is niet goed uit te maken of de attractie van de missie primair te danken is aan de geloofsbondschap of aan de "zijdelingse" missiemiddelen (onderwijs, medische zorg, e.d.).

Een interessant aspect van de confrontatie christendom - Afrikaanse traditionele religie komt aan de orde in het artikel van Schoenaker en Trouwborst, dat als probleemstelling heeft of, en in hoeverre, belangrijke culturele en religieuze concepten transcultureel "te vertalen" zijn — de missionarissen hebben bijv. steeds geprobeerd een Godsbeeld te vinden, dan wel in te voeren in de traditionele religies. Dit blijkt zelden zonder problemen te gaan en soms vrijwel onmogelijk. Het pleit voor iemand als pater Rodegem, die het Rundi begrip *Imana*, door andere

geestelijken als *God* vertaald, in zijn dictionaire een veel wijder veld van betekenissen toekent en aldus minder "hineininterpretiert" (p.35). Hij doet daarmee recht aan de complexiteit van de Rundi religieuze voorstellingen. Hiermee worden kanttekeningen geplaatst bij het bestaan van een "natuurlijk Godsbegrip" (het is verder ook bekend dat niet alle Afrikaanse volken een "Opperwezen" kennen — een voorbeeld: de Nyakyusa).

Eveneens indicatief voor de problemen die het absolutisme van het christendom in Afrika met zich meebrengt is de materie die J. Heijke behandelt in zijn uitstekende artikel. Het is een poging om één der voornaamste dilemma's van het christendom in Afrika te beschouwen, nl. hoe de dogmatische Rooms-Katholieke huwelijksopvattingen te rijmen met de Afrikaanse culturele attitudes en socio-economische context, waarin het "leviraat" en de polygamie nog belangrijk zijn (doch niet zozeer vanwege sexuele motieven). De Kerk blijft beide onvoorwaardelijk afwijzen ten gunste van het monogame huwelijk in westerse zin en ontkent hardnekkig de relevantie van culturele verschillen én de noodzaak van discussie hierover (p.89). Zo kan het gebeuren dat een weduwe, die traditioneel verplichtingen heeft tegenover de familiegroep van de man en door de Kerk wordt aangezet om te hertrouwen (in plaats van voorlopig onder de verantwoordelijkheid van een broer van de overleden man, die optreedt als plaatsvervanger, te blijven) dan door de bevolking als echtbrekerster wordt gezien en de Kerk als propageerster van echtscheiding (p.80). Ook moet mij, als niet-katholiek, van het hart dat anomalieën als die genoemd op p.134 (waar Dierick het geval aanhaalt van een ongehuwde verpleegster met drie kinderen die wél tot de sacramenten wordt toegelaten, terwijl een vrouw die de tweede of derde vrouw van een man is, wordt afgewezen) op mij een even onbegrijpelijke en schrijnende indruk maken als op de Afrikanen. Op grond van dit soort onopgeloste dilemma's is te voorspellen dat het christendom nog een zeer lange weg te gaan heeft in Afrika en wellicht onherkenbaar moet veranderen alvorens een bevredigende levensvisie te bieden aan de Afrikanen of in de toekomst van waarde te zijn bij het proces van ontwikkeling. Zoals verschillende auteurs in deze bundel suggereren, zal het normatieve absolutisme van het christendom daarvoor een flinke veer moeten laten. Ook Dierick roept op tot dialoog en samenwerking alsmede tot sociaal-politieke profilering van de boodschap van de Kerk en eindigt met de woorden: "Bij dit alles zal de totstandkoming van een eigen Afrikaanse identiteit voorop moeten staan. Wanneer die identiteit door de buitenlanders wordt gefrustreerd is voor hen de tijd van vertrek aangebroken" (p. 149-150). Die tijd kan wel eens dichterbij zijn dan men denkt.

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Barry B. Levine, *Benjy Lopez: A Picaresque Tale of Emigration and Return*. Basic Books, 1980. 240 pages, bibliography, no index.

ISBN 0-465-00653-1. \$12.95 hardback.

GARY BRANA-SHUTE

Barry Levine has written a stupendous book that only a sociologist/anthropologist, willing and unafraid to let a little humanism and common sense creep into his study, could write. This book is much; it is a sociological life history of a defiant underdog who knows when to hustle, defer, slow down, and speed up; it is an indictment of colonialism and all the cultural and psychological ambiguity that follows in its wake; and, without once sounding inflated, it portrays the sad absurdity of racial and ethnic prejudice. Both Benjy and Professor Levine know that the international picaro on his shuttle from hustle to hustle, and taking the world around him at less than face value, has a number of "adaptive strategies" at his disposal. Benjy is a very appealing though far from saintly hero whose escapades are brilliantly, graphically, and absorbingly portrayed by Dr. Levine. Benjy, with his worldly ability to comprehend and rationalize, plus his cunning, guile and intelligence, knows that the "system is upstairs" and that "Hey, I can deal with it!"

Thus, Levine confronts head-on the literature that portrays the recent migrant (in this case, a Puerto Rican) as passive victim in a system that at once directs and consumes him. Levine, in a well documented scholarly introduction and later in his richly textured descriptive chapters, shows us that there are positive alternatives. Footnotes and explicitly scholarly citations disappear after the introduction and the author relies on descriptive ethnography and narrative. This, however, does not detract from the book's scholarly worth, as it is considerably more than a yarn spun by an interesting interpreter of an exciting personality. In fact, the contribution of the book exceeds that of more pretentious tomes. Levine has organized his data and the categories in which he presents them to speak theory while providing us with a lively tale. Raw descriptive data are nothing more than journalistic chronicle, while relentless theory can be no more than the cerebral spinnings of visionaries. The art of the sociological craft is to combine data and theory, one reinforcing and illuminating the other. Levine has done it. Indeed, one could argue that the book is profound,

for it goes deeper than the facile statistics, one-dimensional questionnaires, and sterile interviews that often pretend to explain human behavior. In this book we are taken deep into Benjy Lopez, to the level where one lives continuously with contradictions: no "yesses" or "no's", purely "good" or purely "bad" here.

Finally, the book serves to advance Puerto Rican and Caribbean studies by offering an alternative methodology to the ones preferred by prior sociologists and anthropologists. Simply because one likes the work of Barry Levine does not by definition mean that one dislikes the work of Sidney Mintz, Helen Safa and Oscar Lewis. Let us be as eclectic as Benjy! Levine's testimonial form of literature; his willingness to walk with Benjy on the "wild side"; and his insistence that Puerto Ricans or Neoricans are not defeated, hopeless individuals who lack spirit, have led us beyond the more popular stereotypes perpetuated by conventional methodologies.

The book is conveniently written. After the introduction, one is introduced to Benjy, who was born in 1922 to a large agricultural family. His father was a foreman on a sugarcane plantation. Benjy began his odyssey early and made the complete transition from *jibaro* to urban shantytown dweller, to migrant in New York City, and back to reside in Puerto Rico by his mid-forties. Benjy's reflections concern a good deal more than personal views into man's life, but, through his shrewd eyes, we view world affairs and the intentions of "leaders" in the system — from army sergeants to Presidents — and are carried from the interior of Puerto Rico to the sidewalks of New York, with stops in post-war Europe along the way. Many readers will not admire Benjy's lifestyle and morality. This is a legitimate reaction for any reader; it is also not the point. Levine should be applauded for his successful attempt to give a different picture of Puerto Rican life.

Intellectually, the book fits into a larger tradition. Descriptive ethnography and testimonial literature have been with us since the inception of the Chicago School of Sociology; a group that spent a good deal of their time "on the wild side" and in so doing produced a great body of literature. The "streetcorner" ethnographies of the late 1960's and early 1970's, exemplified by Liebow's superb *Tally's Corner*, show us just how far values can stretch and just exactly what "adaptation to marginality" involves. Levine is in on this and all the more remarkably has done it for the Caribbean and on an issue — international migration — that is deeply affecting the societies of the North Atlantic and Third World alike.

Benjy Lopez is a very human document about a very human being.

Günter Spitzing, *Das indonesische Schattenspiel Bali - Java - Lombok*, Köln: DuMont, 1981, 236 pages, photographs, illustrations, map, tables, glossary, bibliography, index. DuMont-Taschenbücher 110.

VICTORIA M. CLARA VAN GROENENDAEL

This book on the *wayang kulit* genre of the Indonesian shadow theatre is one of many books on this subject that have recently been published by experts as well as by laymen in both Europe and America. Also in Indonesia itself quite a lot has been published on the *wayang* since Independence. This material comprises not only textbooks for a new generation of puppeteers (*dalang*), but also books and articles on the origin of the *wayang*, its history and development, and its philosophy and mystical or hidden meaning, while there has also been some hot debating on the subject, especially in reaction to the wish of the government to use this traditional theatrical form as a medium to propagate its development programmes. Clearly the general interest in this cultural, artistic phenomenon is very great at the moment, and, so it seems to me, is growing steadily.

In this plethora of publications this little book by Spitzing must be regarded as an introduction by an interested layman for the general public. It presents a very general description of the shadow theatre of Bali, (Central) Java and Lombok, together with 115 black-and-white and 18 colour photographs, most of them of puppets, and a few of puppeteers, the equipment, some musical instruments and performances.

The book is divided into five parts. The first of these, a general introduction, deals with the meaning of the shadow play, the shadow and its properties, different kinds of puppet play in Indonesia, and the development of the shadow play from an ancestral cult to a mythical cult play (*mythischen Kultspiel*).

Then, in successive parts, the shadow theatres of Bali, Java (especially Surakarta and Yogyakarta) and Lombok are described, while the last part deals with the question of the probable country or countries of origin, the development of this theatrical form within Indonesia, and its influence on the different kinds of shadow play outside Indonesia. Added to this are a schematic comparison of the puppets of Bali, Java and Lombok, a glossary of, according to the author, the most important concepts and names, and a schematic survey of the titles and bynames of some *wayang* characters.

The book concludes with two genealogies, a table of characters of the Pandawa cycle, and one of the 'divine apes' from the Arjuna-Sasra-Bau and the Rama cycle.

In his description the author has, for the sake of comparison, striven after some sort of parallelism. For instance the respective parts on Bali, Java and Lombok each open with a special introduction on the shadow theatre of that particular area, after which then are described its practices and techniques (for Bali and Java), its themes (for Bali, Java and Lombok), and the puppets used (for Bali, Java

and Lombok). The part on Bali is followed by two more chapters, one concerning the manufacture of the puppets and one on a special set of puppets, the *wayang tapis*. This latter is a set that was especially made for the son of a famous puppeteer from Bangli to practise with. It is made of coconut-tree bark. For Java a chapter on the aesthetic effects of the shadow puppets is added.

That the author is most intimately acquainted with the shadow theatre of Bali is evident from the fact that it serves as point of reference for his description of the shadow plays of Java and Lombok. His descriptions of the Balinese *wayang* are based mainly on performances the author has witnessed himself, as are his descriptions of the *wayang* of Lombok. For his description of the shadow plays of Java, however, he has based himself to a large extent on the works of the late Ir. Sri Mulyono, a Javanese *wayang* theorist and *dalang* and a specialist on the *wayang* of Central Java, and of James Brandon, an American professor of dramatic arts.

The descriptions in the book are all very short and the tables are not always illuminating. See, for instance, the table on pages 54 to 58, where two not mutually exclusive categories have been set off against each other.

Clearly the best feature of the book are its photographs. Its main value lies in the description and photographs of the complete *wayang tapis* set on pages 111-120. It is therefore to be regretted that the photographs of this particular set are so small that neither these puppets nor the material of which the set is made can be seen clearly.

B. Galjart and D. Buys (Eds.), *Participation of the poor in development. Contributions to a seminar*. 325 pp. Leiden development studies 2, Institute of Cultural and Social Studies, University of Leiden, Leiden 1982.

DIRK VAN DUSSELDORP

This book contains twelve papers that were presented at a seminar in 1981 and are the result of a research project on "access and participation", partly funded by the Dutch Agency for International cooperation.

Dieke Buys wrote papers on the basic concepts of access and participation, on the participation process, and on traditional and modern organizations. Shadid, Prins and Nas presented papers with a theoretical approach with regard to access and participation. Boer attempted a systematization of local contexts (village types) and of the consequences of each type for participatory development projects. Grijpstra discussed the role of instructing and supervising agencies with regard to group cooperation, and Padron compared the respective limitations and possibilities of private development associations and governmental agencies. Galjart indicated the role in exchange and pooling that higher-level associations of participatory groups may fulfil. All these contributions are of a general theoretical and comparative

nature, and are mainly based on literature research and short field visits.

There are also three articles describing some actual experiences with participatory development projects. Verhagen has described in detail how in Sri Lanka and Thailand small farmers were involved in the research for planning projects. Galjart analysed the performance of an alternative development project in Columbia, and Vroonhoven described the experiences with development and participation in Tanzania.

Finally, van Geffen gives a post facto contribution in the thirteenth article on problems relating to the discussion of the problematics of participation.

The scope of this review leaves room for only some general remarks. Nearly all the articles are focused on problems that one encounters when small farmers have to be involved in participatory projects. Regrettably there is no material allowing comparisons with the way larger farmers participate, cooperate or have access to resources in the development process. Several authors indicate that there is seldom spontaneous participation and cooperation on the part of small farmers if they are not approached with coherent arguments, but what are the reasons for this phenomenon?

Though the contributions are mainly the result of one and the same research project, the book is rather loosely structured and has a considerable overlap on several subjects. It should be noted also that, though it is mentioned several times that "participation" is a rather vague concept, no clear attempt is made at the beginning to indicate the various types of participation that are discussed by the authors. This sometimes confuses the reader unnecessarily. The descriptions of the three case studies of Verhagen, Galjart and Vroonhoven are interesting. It is unfortunate that these case studies give no idea as to the costs in terms of time and money of the personnel needed to run participatory projects.

The book would have been more valuable if the observations made in the theoretical and comparative articles had been related to the findings of the case studies in an editorial article at the end of the book. Such an article could also have described some of the results of the research project, which are now only accessible in a Dutch-language publication by the same institute.

What is said in the general articles and the case studies makes it clear that the future of participatory projects is not a very bright one, unless it is possible to find a great number of highly qualified persons prepared to behave like "saints or idiots" (p.201).

For those well versed in the literature on participation this volume does not provide spectacular new insights. For those just entering this field, the book gives an interesting overview of some of the aspects and problems of participatory development projects. Especially the references after each article are valuable indicators for further literature research in this field.

R. de Bruin, *Islam en nationalisme in door Japan bezet Indonesië: 1942-1945*, 's-Gravenhage: Staatsuitgeverij, 1982. Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie, Cahiers over Nederland en de Tweede Wereldoorlog, nr. 3.

C. VAN DIJK

In dit boek wordt in iets meer dan honderd bladzijden een beeld geschetst van de invloed die het Japanse bestuur in Indonesië heeft gehad op de verhouding tussen Moslims en nationalisten. Indachtig de regionale verschillen worden drie gebieden met elkaar vergeleken: Atjeh, Java, en een aantal door de marine bestuurde eilanden (Borneo, Celebes en de Zuid-Molukken). Op zichzelf is dit een aardige en instructieve opzet. Het resultaat is helaas een vrij oppervlakkig verhaal — hier en daar niet geheel juist — dat de lezer soms op een verkeerd spoor brengt.

De auteur had zichzelf en zijn lezers een goede dienst bewezen als hij in een inleidend hoofdstuk de ontwikkelingen op een rij had gezet die zich sinds het eind van de vorige eeuw binnen de Islam hebben voorgedaan en een aantal begrippen duidelijk had gedefinieerd. De grootste tekortkoming van het boek in dit verband is dat de auteur geneigd is om wat hij voortdurend de 'orthodoxe Moslims' noemt als een ongedifferentieerde groep te beschouwen, die, krijgt men de indruk, iedereen omvat die de nadruk op de Islam en op het naleven van zijn regels wil leggen. Wat vroeger 'fanatiek' werd genoemd heet nu bij De Bruin orthodox. Dat er binnen de Islam verschillende stromingen zijn wordt genegeerd. Zo kan het gebeuren dat de Japanner Oemar Faishal, die uit de beschrijving naar voren komt als een representant van de modernistische stroming binnen de Islam, wordt afgeschilderd als een 'lastig heer' (p. 55). Zijn grootste fout schijnt zo te zien te zijn geweest dat hij vond dat in de moskee het Indonesisch of de streektaal en niet het Arabisch gebruikt moest worden, een wens die door de auteur als strijdig wordt beschouwd met de 'algemene moslimorthodoxie' (p. 60).

Een tweede tekortkoming van het boek is dat orthodoxe Moslims en nationalisten te veel als elkaar uitsluitende groepen worden behandeld. De nuances die in een analyse moeten worden ingebouwd omdat uiteraard vele Moslims ook nationalisten waren, en vele nationalisten ook Moslims, ontbreken. De sympathie van de auteur ligt overigens duidelijk bij de nationalisten, of liever, zijn antipathie ligt bij de orthodoxe Moslims. Een aantal malen stelt hij een Islamitische staat tegenover een moderne staat, dit onderscheid op pagina 98 verduidelijkend met 'een moderne, want geseculariseerde, staat'. De wijze waarop de auteur orthodoxe Moslims en nationalisten van elkaar onderscheidt leidt een aantal keren tot een foute weergave van de werkelijkheid. Zo wordt op pagina 45 en 96 gesuggereerd dat de Atjehse ulama's er niet aan dachten om zich bij de Republiek aan te sluiten. Niets is echter minder waar. Van begin af aan hebben ze de Republiek van harte gesteund. Dat het later, in de vijftiger jaren, tot problemen kwam is een andere zaak.

Verwarrend wordt het als het verschil tussen de Pantjasila en het Jakarta Handvest wordt uitgelegd. Hier wordt over het hoofd gezien dat het verzet tegen de bepaling dat Moslims in Indonesië zich aan de Islamitische wet dienen te houden (d.i. het belangrijkste punt waarop het Jakarta Handvest van de Pantjasila afwijkt) niet slechts kwam van, zoals de auteur stelt, mensen die een moslimstaat wilden, maar juist ook van Moslims die deze bepaling te ver vonden gaan. Bovendien staat het de auteur niet duidelijk voor ogen wat het Jakarta Handvest inhoudt, zoals uit het volgende citaat overduidelijk blijkt: 'De *Pantjasila* vormde de preambule van de Indonesische constitutie, die verder 53 artikelen telde. Deze grondwet is bekend geworden als het *Djakarta-charter*, niet te verwarren met de grondwet van de Republiek Indonesia van 17 augustus 1945' (p. 93).

H. B. Sarkar, *Literary Heritage of Southeast Asia*. Calcutta, Firma KLM Private Limited, 265 pages.

R. HAGESTEIJN

In the Introduction the author gives his reasons for writing this book, viz.: "There are doubtless some admirable scholarly monographs on the ancient and medieval literature of some individual countries of Southeast Asia and the adjoining island world, such as Burma, Kambuja (Cambodia) or Java and Bali, but the literature on this region as a whole has not been brought, to the best of my information, within the compass of a single volume in any European language. The aim of the present work is to remove this desideratum as far as possible."

The theoretical viewpoints of the author on Southeast Asian state formation are outdated. He speaks of the "colonization" of Southeast Asia by superior Indian settlers, who encounter people "fixed at various levels of neolithic culture". He suggests that state formation in Southeast Asia is induced by Indian interference. He speaks of Southeast Asian settlements like "miniature-Indias" (p.2), without paying attention to indigenous aspects. This representation would have been taken for granted in the fifties and sixties, but nowadays every scholar on Early Southeast Asia recognizes that its early state formation was primarily an indigenous affair, in which Indian cultural concepts were only used to top off internal developments.

The second part of the book, a summary of Indianized literature in Southeast Asia, seems in itself useful, especially for beginning readers on the subject. However, the fact that the literature of Laos is dealt with in half a page makes the reader suspicious (p.170). Besides, the author suggests with his discussion that Indian elements are dominant in Early Southeast Asian culture. It is regrettable that he does not pay more attention to indigenous elements in the literature, which often reveal more about the particular culture than the standardized Sanskrit and Pali elements. The discussion of Winstedt's analysis of the merging

of Malay folk-stories with Indianized literature and the same developments in Indonesian literature are meagre exceptions (pp.171-240). It is obvious that the author is looking for similarities in Early Southeast Asian literature, while in my opinion the differences are also significant.

An important question seems to me to be why Sarkar does not make a more detailed comparison between the variants in the different SEA adaptations of Indianized literature, instead of summing up titles. It is common knowledge that Indian concepts and literature were not simply copied from India, but were adjusted and transformed according to indigenous needs. It would have been interesting to see an analysis of the similarities and — more important — the differences in these transformations. Looking at early Southeast Asian developments with Indian concepts as parameters does not help to clarify the socio-political developments. But if one insists on giving an India-biased picture of Early Southeast Asia, one should at least give it as many nuances as possible.

S. and R. Price, *Afro-American Arts of the Suriname Rain Forest*. University of California Press, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 1981. 237 pp. Maps, Ill.

M. HEKKER

Considering the regrettable absence thus far of a reliable survey of Maroon art, we may count ourselves lucky that the above book of Sally and Richard Price, experts on Maroon society and history, has now appeared. Up until now, the scant literature has been of dubious quality or narrow scope, covering only wood-carving. *Afro-American Arts of the Suriname Rain Forest* not only is a reliable outline but also covers the entire range of Maroon art. The book appeared in conjunction with an exhibition organized in 1980 by the Museum of Cultural History of the University of California, Los Angeles. It is based on extensive fieldwork by the authors over a number of successive years, research in several museums of non-western art, and a critical reading of the extant literature.

The authors here combine two approaches to the study of art which in their view have not as yet been widely accepted by experts of non-western art. First, they attempt to interpret art and aesthetics from an ethnographic or inside perspective, rather than allowing the art objects to speak for themselves. Second, they are concerned to describe the development of the aesthetic ideas and artistic forms in question in time, or in other words, they attempt to trace the outlines of a Maroon art history. They want to dispel the misconception that small and non-literate societies are relatively static and not liable to change.

After a brief discussion of the social history of the Maroons and the position of art and aesthetics in their society, the authors proceed to a

description of the several art forms. They deal in four chapters with personal adornment, wood-carving, calabash decorations and performing arts. As far as personal adornment is concerned, most attention is given to clothing, and especially to decorative sewing patterns. In the chapter on wood-carving the authors describe the most divergent objects, such as paddles, combs, stools, canoes and door-frames. Of decorative sewing patterns as well as of wood-carving motifs the authors present a large number of samples. They discern several successive styles in the art historical development from the first half of the nineteenth century onward. Next follows a rather brief description of decorated calabashes and an overview of performing arts, that is to say, dance, music and verbal arts. In all their descriptions Sally and Richard Price do indeed pay a lot of attention to the Maroon conception of art and aesthetics and give a careful description of the art historical development with reference not only to long-term styles but also to temporary fads and fashions.

In the two final chapters the authors definitively settle with two widespread misconceptions concerning Maroon art. First, they deal with the general overestimation of meaning and iconography in decorative patterns, especially in wood-carving. Too often have descriptive names of decorative patterns been taken to refer to some hidden symbolic meaning or explanation, while on the whole iconography or naturalistic representation has in fact only a very limited importance. The myth of pervasive Maroon symbolism is no more than the "Emperor's New Clothes", as the authors put it. Second, they settle with the overestimation or misinterpretation of African influences, which in most cases is based on a very superficial comparison between isolated and individual objects of African and Maroon art. Maroon art is not just an African art in the Americas. Though deriving from African roots, it shows a unique, independent creative development from the beginning of the nineteenth century onward. Therefore the history of Maroon art can rather be characterized by the phrase "continuity-in-change".

The book is well documented and abundantly illustrated. The authors deal with the whole range of Maroon art and with a number of divergent themes in the scope of a rather short book. They have, however, escaped the inherent danger of superficiality by refraining from all attempts to present an exhaustive, encyclopaedic kind of catalogue, but by dealing instead with the several topics systematically. To my mind they have in this way succeeded in presenting a systematic overview of Maroon art and art history. Nevertheless, despite its thoroughness, the book is less extensive in scope than it pretends to be. Most of the attention has been given to clothing and wood-carving, on the basis of which the authors have also reconstructed the art historical development. The chapters on performing arts and calabash decorations are rather modest in conception. More important, the argument is focused for the greater part on the Saramaka Maroons. This is not surprising, of course, since Sally and Richard Price did do their fieldwork among this group of Maroons. Every now and then they

refer to other Maroon groups and mention regional differences, but I am not altogether sure in how far they have really avoided the danger of over-generalizing too much the situation among the Saramaka, which nevertheless constitutes the basis for their argument.

Concluding, it must nonetheless be said that the authors have for the greater part carried out their intentions: They do present an inside perspective on Maroon art and describe its historical development, and they do once and for all settle with some widespread misconceptions concerning symbolism and African influences. However, most importantly, they have succeeded in covering the whole range of Maroon art in a systematic and above all reliable way.

S. R. Siregar, *Adat, Islam and Christianity in a Batak Homeland*. Athens, Ohio 1981. Papers in International Studies, Southeast Asia Series No. 57, Ohio University. 108 pp.

M. HEKKER

The starting point of this book is the thesis that Indonesian culture is an "undeniable hybrid" (p. 1). Indonesia always has been a sort of "cultural sink" (p. 1) for all kinds of outside influences which have been fairly smoothly incorporated into local society. The result in many cases has been a complex synthesis between local culture and imported foreign patterns, so to speak, between *adat* world and outside symbolic systems, in such a way that a new and at least workable and coherent whole came into being. Siregar sets out to examine this synthesis in the case of the Sipirok Batak of South Tapanuli, an Islamized society comprising a small Christian minority. Her aim is to investigate in some ethnographical detail the mechanics of syncretization between local *adat* and the world religions. Her book is based for the larger part on a number of Batak texts collected during fieldwork in the years 1974-1977, which she provides with her own comments.

Before coming to the core of her argument, Siregar very briefly describes the Sipirok Batak homeland culture, restricting herself to the traditional political structure and the kinship system. In the chapter on folk views of *adat* she presents a text selected from a Batak *adat* handbook dating from 1969, from which she cites the part dealing with this indigenous political structure and kinship system. Siregar observes that the texts on *adat* have already been redacted in the light of Islam and Christianity. In addition, *adat* seems rather more to refer to the social world, whereas the spirit world is ruled by the said two religions. *Adat* nowadays is considered by the Batak as being largely secular and only related to their own society, contrary to Islam and Christianity.

The chapter on *adat* and Christianity starts with a short outline of the history of the Protestant missions in South Tapanuli. Next follows

a brief enumeration of *adat* ceremonies and Christian ceremonies attended to by Christian families. It appears that in many cases *adat* elements and Christian elements are combined together in these ceremonies. The remaining part of the chapter consists of an extensive quotation from a Batak text; this time a tape-recorded account by an informant about a Batak *datu*-minister of around 1920 who, despite his Protestant Christian creed, retained large portions of the older spirit world.

In the final chapter the author deals with the relationship between *adat* and Islam. First she presents a quotation from a Batak novel dating from c. 1930 which shows the going together of *adat* and Islam. The second part of this chapter contains a number of opening phrases of ritual speeches in *adat* ceremonies, which are full of Arabic phrases from Islamic prayers and texts. The book ends with a brief conclusion in which the author summarizes some of her findings.

So much for the contents of the book. Unfortunately, in my opinion, it displays two major, mutually related weaknesses, both of them on the plane of methodology. The first weakness is that of the analysis. Siregar's thesis about a flexible synthesis between *adat* and world religions apparently for her has the character of an axiom which hardly needs any further discussion or elaboration. Even more seriously, although she says she intends to investigate the mechanics of syncretization, her actual analysis goes no further than stressing the central statement.

The second weakness lies in the presentation of the ethnographical data. Although Siregar indeed supplies these, the Batak texts are cited as if they were as though they speak for themselves, which, of course, texts hardly ever do. A solid argument about the relationship between texts and social reality as well as sufficient data on the specific context of each text are lacking, so that a reliable judgement of their value and representativeness is hard to make. In addition, it is impossible for the reader to verify to what extent the texts are mutually comparable, which is the more serious a shortcoming since Siregar uses different kinds of texts for the respective subtopics dealt with in her book. These ethnographical data generally seem to be too scrappy and too arbitrarily chosen.

All in all, the nett result is that Siregar's argument remains suspended in a vacuum. As a result of some sort of circular mode of reasoning it leaves the central thesis a shallow observation, only illustrated by randomly chosen examples. In this form I am afraid the book is too much of a sketchy introduction to the subject, instead of the concise monograph the author apparently wanted it to be. This certainly is a pity, because I am convinced that Siregar possesses a lot of valuable and original ethnographical material. It is therefore to be hoped that this book will be followed by a sequel, in which Siregar will have the opportunity to deal more exhaustively and systematically with this subject, which certainly deserves all our attention.

Wazir-Jahan Begum Karim, *Ma' Betisék Concepts of Living Things*, 1981. New Jersey: Athlone Press. London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology no. 54. xv, 270 pp., 3 maps, 6 figs., 11 tables. Price (hard covers) £16,—.

P. E. DE JOSSELIN DE JONG

After the early years of this century, which saw the publications by Schebesta and by Skeat and Blagden, interest in the Orang Asli or aboriginals of Malaysia declined. A marked revival of Orang Asli studies is now apparent, for instance in the recent book on the Ma' Betisék, also known as Mah Meri, by Roland Werner (reviewed in this journal, vol. 137-1:177), and in Dr. Karim's article on them in the same issue. As that article summarizes the main line of thought of the book now under review, a survey of the latter's contents can be brief.

After two introductory chapters, the third presents the theme of the whole book. The Ma' Betisék have two ideas about their relationship to plants and animals which might appear to be incompatible with each other. The first is *tulah*, "curse": plants and animals have been cursed by the Ma' Betisék ancestors to become food for humans. The other notion is *kemali'* (cp. Malay *pemali'*), "forbidden, taboo": the killing of plants and animals by humans is *kemali'* and brings misfortune, because all forms of life, plant, animal, and human, are essentially similar. How these beliefs function in everyday life is dealt with in chapters 5 (*tulah* beliefs in relationship to cultivation, hunting, fishing and gathering) and 6 (*kemali'* beliefs in the context of illnesses and shamanistic cures).

The *tulah* concept, which accentuates the difference between humans and the rest of the living world, dominates harvest rituals, for example, where one group of dancers, unmasked, wear their best attire and "are physically contrasted with the masked dancers, who not only look grotesque but also behave in an animal-like manner" (p. 190). In the shamanistic seance to dispel sickness and misfortune, the shaman is first possessed by spirit-guides, in consonance with the *kemali'* concept which signifies the unity of all living things. In this phase, the shaman performs a slow, graceful dance. Later, "the animal spirit-guides lose their human qualities and become animals again" (194). The dancing shaman "changes his movements into that of a tiger": *kemali'* gives way to *tulah*.

Dr. Karim thus concentrates on the important problem of what actually happens when people hold contradictory beliefs. This situation is not unusual, and is probably of universal occurrence, but has seldom been investigated. A merit of Dr. Karim is that she addresses herself to this problem in a most enlightening manner. In addition, the reader will find that the book is of *implicit* interest for several matters not raised by the author. A few of these may be mentioned.

Until fairly recently, the natural environment and the Ma' Betisék's relationship to it were not unlike those of the South American Indians studied by Lévi-Strauss. The central problem of the myths analysed in

Mythologiques is: why do we humans prepare our food, while they, the animals, do not? The *tulah* and *kemali*' concepts try to answer the question: why do "we" eat "them"? Phrased in these simplest terms, one might say that the New World myths are concerned with the culture — nature opposition, but the South East Asian myths with the opposition: human versus non-human. As critics of Lévi-Strauss have occasionally suggested that the second opposition would be the better model for interpreting the South American myths, it is worth noting that Karim's book provides evidence (if it were still required) of the futility of this criticism. Ricefields are surrounded by strings and poles as an effective form of protection against birds. This "also has the effect of separating the physical domain of humans from that of animals" (107); certainly — and it can be said to demarcate the man-made, i.e. cultural, domain.

More remarkable is the fact that there is practically no correspondence between Karim's book and Roland Werner's, mentioned above. His *Mah-Meri of Malaysia: Art and Culture* (1974) is primarily a collection of 460 illustrations of masks, representing spirits, with explanations added. Although Karim includes the book in her bibliography, and also discusses dances where "young boys wear facial masks to represent some of the spirits" (115), there are, as far as I can see, only two references to Werner's study in the text (213, 214). When we have two recent studies of a society with about 1300 members (Werner 1974:9), this lack of contact between the two is a pity; the more so, as the myths summarized by Werner show only minimal accordance with the *tulah* and *kemali*' concepts analyzed by Karim — although one myth, for instance, tells of a human who curses a fish spirit (Werner 1974:326). A detailed comparison of the Karim and Werner monographs is obviously necessary.

When reviewing *Mah-Meri* we raised the question of Malay influences, so it is not surprising that Karim's data give rise to the same question. "Things which are odd are good while things which are even are bad" (172). Is there only a fortuitous resemblance to the Islamic saying "Allah is odd [because he is One], he loves the odd"? Spirits "see things in a reversed form from humans" (185) — a notion also prevalent in cultures which belong to the Indonesian Field of Anthropological Study (see Schärer, *Ngaju Religion*, and others). One sees the question which arises here, but cannot even attempt to answer it.

These remarks may serve to indicate how many topics are dealt with, hinted at, or implicit in Karim's book. We must conclude with a few more critical remarks. When the author describes the meaning of Ma' Betisék concepts (such as *tulah*) in her own words, one would have liked her to state explicitly whether her interpretations are based on her observation of behaviour, on answers to specific questions, or on the myths, spells and charms given in the Appendices.¹ This applies particularly to the first half of Chapter 4, "Ma' Betisék Myths". It is the author who gives her representation and arrangement of the ideas expressed by the myths; there is only the slightest connection

between the myth texts in the Appendices (208-260) and this expository chapter (67-101), until we reach p. 84. The manner of presentation adopted in *Mythologiques* would have been appropriate here, but Karim explicitly rejects this example: "the number of myths of individual plants and animals is too large for any kind of structural analysis to be undertaken" (67). I am afraid this remark, and some specific criticisms of Lévi-Strauss's work (5, 198, 199), are based on a misunderstanding.

NOTE

1 On p. 39, however, we are referred to the wording of spells.

Paul Alexander, *Sri Lanka Fishermen. Rural Capitalism and Peasant Society*. Canberra, Australian National University Monographs No. 7, 1982, 328 pp.

PETER KLOOS

Although there has been for several years a growing interest in maritime anthropology (the anthropology of maritime, often fishing, communities), the number of comprehensive monographs is still extremely low compared with the attention given to the anthropology of peasant communities. For this reason alone Alexander's account of a fishing community on the southern coast of Sri Lanka is most welcome. But there is much more to it than that. When Alexander arrived in the village of Gahavälle (a pseudonym), he found here a fisherman economy that seemed highly irrational: the beach seine fishermen availed themselves of about 100 nets, where about 20 would have been sufficient. Consequently, the nets, each costing the average household's annual income, were used only about 7 times a year.

Alexander's detailed analysis shows that the present situation is the outcome of a process that has changed a more or less subsistence oriented economy into a market dominated economy. He is careful to avoid the notion of an innocent peasant community that has been roughly overtaken by a capitalist type of society. Although it is colonial society that changed the parameters, it was the local entrepreneurs who saw the new opportunities. They originally formed a landed elite. Then, in the course of the second World War and afterwards, others formed an elite of rural capitalists (*mudalali*) who dominated the fishermen. It is this new elite that is responsible for the high number of nets. In this analysis of changing relations of production, based on a wealth of quantitative data on incomes, shares in nets, catches, sales of shares and catches, faction membership, etc., Alexander describes the history of Gahavälle in terms of the technological peculiarities of fishing, population pressure, internal and external political strategies — many of them of a violent nature —, faction strife, and class formation. At the time of his field work there were wealthy, middle and poor peasants. The most significant development was among the

middle class of peasant. Although some of them still had an opportunity to become rich, the odds were against them. Alexander ends his analysis proper with the ominous remark: "The relevant question in Gahavälle is not whether middle peasants will lose control over beachseining, but when" (p. 254).

Alexander's source of inspiration is Marxian literature. In his hands Marxian concepts do not become sterile frameworks into which empirical facts are forced, but powerful means of explaining what happened to fishermen in Sri Lanka, who made their own history under conditions not of their own choosing. For this reason the book is much more than a very welcome contribution to the scanty literature on fisherman communities, or another addition to the literature on Sri Lankan communities.

James Brow, *Vedda Villages of Anuradhapura. The Historical Anthropology of a Community in Sri Lanka*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, Publications on Asia of the School of International Studies No. 33, 1978, 268 pp.

PETER KLOOS

The Veddas are a famous people in the history of anthropology. Most attention has been paid to the so-called "Wild Veddas", who as migratory hunters and gatherers lived in the jungles east of the last Sinhalese royal capital, Kandy. Less well known is the fact that the Veddas, who in earlier times seem to have been spread over most parts of the country, form a sizeable group in the Anuradhapura District (about 6,600, distributed over 46 villages). In daily life these Veddas can hardly be distinguished from their Sinhalese neighbours, although as a rule they live in villages with poorer access to water, which means that they are more dependent on shifting cultivation.

Brow's book about these Anuradhapura Veddas is somewhat uneven in quality. It begins with an extremely interesting chapter in which the ways in which the Veddas have been perceived ever since their existence has been known are described. This chapter concentrates largely on the Veddas of Vedda Country. It is a fascinating illustration of how the image of a given people and their culture is determined by the interests and pre-conceptions of those creating it. The author then moves on to the Veddas in the North Central Province, concentrating on the biggest Vedda village, Kukuleva (552 inhabitants at the time of Brow's field work in 1968-1970). He describes the historical development of the district, land categories and kin groups, and occupations. Although there is a good quantity of very interesting ethnographic data, a central argument is lacking in these chapters, which makes for rather undirected reading. The quality of the first chapters is regained in chapters 5, 6 and 7, in which Brow describes the patterns of migration and marriage in an area called Willachchiya, northwest of the ancient Sinhalese capital of Anuradhapura, in which

the number of Vedda villages rapidly grew. His analysis of centrifugal and centripetal forces is highly illuminating. Most of the Willachchiya villages are small, so that in chapter 7 the ideas are extended to the larger villages, among them Kukuleva. In these villages, distributed among Sinhalese settlements, the rapidly growing Vedda population had to be contained within the existing villages. There is as a result an incipient class structure in these larger villages.

In a final chapter Brow discusses certain problems of Dravidian terminology and its relation, or rather non-relation, to descent.

Although Brow himself is modest in his claims, I wish to draw attention to one aspect of his monograph that is to be regarded as a distinct advance on earlier work. Most monographs on rural Sri Lanka deal with only one village (this can even be said of Yalman's *Under the Bo tree*, which is comparative only in certain respects). Yet rural villages are in no way isolated, and Brow draws the consequence: although a good deal of his field work was carried out in Kukuleva, his analysis is extended to the whole of the Vedda *variga*, or endogamous caste group. To my mind it is this point of view that enables him to study the dynamics of village structure in a much more refined way than others have done before him.

Manda Cesara, *Reflections of a woman anthropologist: no hiding place*. London: Academic Press, 1982, 232 pp., £ 10.80.

PETER KLOOS

Since the mid-sixties field work in anthropology has been less self-evident than it used to be. Following the lead of pioneers like Malinowski and Mead, anthropologists used occasionally to talk about the "personal equation", but only in a conspiratorial way. For the rest they acted as if theirs was an epistemology without a knowing subject, to use Popper's felicitous phrase. Since the sixties this conspiracy has been broken, however. An early forerunner like Laura Bohannan (E. Smith Bowen), in *Return to Laughter* (1954), chose fiction as a vehicle for writing about her field experiences in West Africa. Later field workers became more and more frank about their work. 1970 saw Spindler's *Being an Anthropologist*, Golde's *Women in the Field*, Briggs' *Never in Anger*, and Freilich's *Marginal Natives* published. Anthropological field work had become a problem. Two roads are currently being trodden with a view to solving this problem. One approach is to try and make the techniques of field research explicit in a truly positivistic way, often in the light of sociological examples. The other is to squarely face the fact that in field work more than in any other kind of research the field worker has to be regarded as part of the object. Briggs' *Never in Anger* represents an ethnography based on the second alternative. Cesara's book belongs to the same category, though it is not a monographic account of the

African people among whom she worked: it is an autobiographical account of a field worker in search of an existential theory of field work. Cesara is a pseudonym. The author also uses fictitious names for the people and the country where she carried out her research (is it due to carelessness or intention that she provides the reader with an easy clue to the discovery of her true identity?). Born in Germany during the war, Cesara later went to Canada, where she became an anthropologist and married a colleague. She went to Africa without her husband to do field work — to discover that she was confronted not only with a different culture, but also with her own past in various cultures. Most of the space in the book is taken up by quotations from letters (to her mother, her husband, and her supervisor) and diaries, which show her speculating about the matrilineal 'Lenda', about herself, and about how both relate to the world and to each other. At the end of the book she formulates the outlines of an existential theory of understanding that is partly based on the ideas of Sartre and Heidegger. Her experiences among the Lenda for her meant a paradigmatic change — and also divorce.

There are so far about fifty accounts of field work written by the field workers themselves. Many of them are rather dull and highly empirical narratives, occasionally sprinkled with personal philosophies of a kind that anthropologists often find hard to resist. Cesara's account is different: it is one of the few in which a deliberate effort is made to cast personal experiences into a more general philosophy. For that reason it is to my mind one of the most thought-provoking studies belonging to this relatively recent genre in anthropology.

Adam Kuper, *Anthropology and Anthropologists. The Modern British School*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983. 228 pp.

PETER KLOOS

The first edition of this book, bearing the title *Anthropologists and Anthropology, The British School 1922-1972*, for reasons unknown to me was never reviewed in *Bijdragen*. Since its publication in 1973 it has deservedly been widely referred to in anthropological literature. For this reason a full review of the book at this stage is rather too late to be of any use. However, I do wish to draw attention here to the fact that the second edition is a revised one. Although the first chapters have remained almost the same, in the latter part of the book there are some quite important revisions, e.g. with regard to the ideas of Evans-Pritchard on the Nuer (and in line with Kuper's critical views on the concept of lineage). Chapter 8 of the 1973 edition, bearing the succinct title '1972', has given way to an entirely new chapter, bearing the apt title 'The lean years 1972-1982'. This chapter, as well as a few remarks on methodological problems in British anthropology

in chapter 9, represent a substantial improvement on the first edition, which tended rather to fizzle out. Finally, there is an Appendix, compiled by Roeloff Kappers, containing useful information about regional and theoretical concerns of present-day British-based social anthropologists.

Brian Swann (editor), *Smoothing the Ground. Essays on Native American Oral Literature*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, xix + 364 pp. Price \$ 24.95.

ROB DE RIDDER

According to the editor, a Professor of English, one of the main aims of this book is to make it possible for teachers to include Native American, that is, North American, stories and poems in their courses on American Literature. Until now American literature has usually been the white man's literature and has certainly not been taken to include native poems and songs. This way this collection of essays is an introduction to Native North American Literature or the analysis of myths and other native texts for non-specialists.

After an introduction by Swann, the book opens with two general articles. Lincoln gives an overview of the different "tribes" and their literary heritage. Roemer points out that we usually miss a context for these literary products. They often come to us as independent texts, written down in the 19th and early 20th century, without much comment on the circumstances in which they were recited.

In 'The Question of Translation and Literary Criticism', Dennis Tedlock pleads for literal translations of texts. Native oral texts have to be considered as poems, and must be translated as such. Huntsman wants the translator to write in good English, and to retain the "spirit of the original". The use of literary criticism is described by Bierhorst, and Gingerich outlines the history of literary criticism of Nahuatl texts. Karl Kroeber stresses the importance of Roman Jakobson in this field.

The part 'Focus on Stories' contains examples of analyses. Dell Hymes has re-translated the Chinook myth 'Gitskux and His Older Brother' and introduced a new typography of the original language. 'The Vagina Dentata Motif in Nahuatl and Pueblo Mythic Narratives: A Comparative Study', by Carr and Gingerich, turns out to be no comparison at all, but rather a description of this motif in two different cultures. The same motif in Hopi myths is treated by Malotki. Zolbrod presents a translation of an important Navajo creation myth ('The Navaho Origin Legend'), and Buller describes Coyote, the trickster in Comanche myths.

The articles under the heading 'Native American Culture and the Dominant Culture' all focus on the main aim of this book, with the authors describing the relations between (white) collectors of native texts and their informants. 'Reasoning Together' contains a

discussion between Brumble, the author of an article criticizing, among others, A. L. and Theodora Kroeber for their method of collecting stories and other sacred materials, and Karl Kroeber, the son of the criticized authors.

This book may be of importance for American students of English Literature, and to all students of social anthropology. Specialists are confronted (again) with the question asked Tedlock by a Zuni informant: "When I tell these stories do you picture it, or do you just write it down?"

V. A. Tjurin (ed.), *Regional'naja i Istoričeskaja Adaptacija Kul'tur v Jugo-vostočnoj Azii* [Regional and Historical Adaptation of Cultures in Southeast Asia], Moscow 1982, Moscovian Branch of the Geographical Society of the USSR (MFGO), 127 pp.

H. STEINHAUER

The publication under review is a collection of articles written on the basis of the "Malayo-Indonesian lectures" regularly held at the MFGO since 1977. As the majority of the contributions fall outside the range of my own scholarly activity, I will only mention their subjects briefly.

In the first article, 'Čamskij jazyk i problema indokitajskogo jazykovogo sojuza' [The Cham language and the problem of the Indo-chinese *Sprachbund*] (pp. 3-24), N. F. Alieva argues that the millennia-long collisions between and coexistence of languages of quite different families in SE Asia have given rise to multilateral influences and shared innovations, resulting in a SE Asian *Sprachbund*. She bases herself on comparisons of Cham and Chamic languages — which on lexical grounds are clearly Austronesian — with other languages in the area that belong to different families, enumerating a series of common typological features in the field of phonology, morphology, vocabulary and syntax. She acknowledges that each of these features has been dealt with earlier in the existing literature. Their combined discussion is new, however. New also is the extension of the comparison to Thai languages. No data are presented in this article, but a forthcoming publication dealing with the subject in more detail is announced, namely N. F. Alieva & Buj Kxan' Txe, *Jazyk Čam (Provincii Txuanxaj). Materialy sovместnoj sovetsko-vjetnamskoj lingvističeskoj ekspedicii v SRV, 1979 g.* [The Cham Language (of Thuanhay province). Materials of the joint Soviet-Vietnamese linguistic expedition in the SRV, 1979].

In the second article of the volume, 'Nekotorye aspekty otnošenij obščiny i gosudarstva na Jave (1 tys. n.è.)' [Some aspects of the relations between the community and state in Java (first millennium AD)] (pp. 25-33), S. V. Kullanda concludes that the village community (*wanua/wanwa/banua/banwa*) was the "structuring element of Old-Javanese society. It was on the village community that the first state

organizations were based, and therefore a strong bond was preserved between the people as members of a village community and the state" (pp. 28-29).

In the third contribution, 'Vlast' i titul monarxa v Singasari i rannem Madžapaxite (k analizu sanskritskix i javanskix determinativov)' [Power and title of the monarch in Singasari and early Majapahit (towards an analysis of Sanskrit and Javanese terms)] (pp. 33-51), G. G. Bandilenko discusses mainly the titles *maharaja*, *bhatara* and *prabhu* in their historical development (comparing the three major historical periods of Mataram, Kediri and Singasari-Majapahit). Besides, there are shorter digressions on the terms *ratu*, *haji*, *raka* and *bre*, while some others (such as *natha*, *nrpati*, *nripa*, *rajendra* and *raja*) are mentioned in passing. The first appearance, relative frequency and applicability of the three main terms in the different historical periods are linked with (hypothetical) phases in the development of the monarchy. The author makes some interesting observations on the linguistic contexts in which the various titles occur (in terms of Sanskritized sacral formulas or more Javanese narrative prose).

In the next article, 'O pereosmyslenii literaturnyx sjužetov v balijskoj tradicionnoj živopisi' [On the reinterpretation of literary subjects in traditional Balinese painting] (pp. 51-65), O. P. Dešpande discusses two Balinese paintings from the Hermitage in Leningrad. Following Stutterheim, the author compares the reliefs of the Central Javanese Prambanan complex with the five centuries later ones of Panataran in East Java. The latter concentrate on the episode of Hanuman on Lanka, while the Prambanan reliefs depict the entire Rama story; moreover, in the Panataran reliefs Hanuman is markedly distinguished as an individual, while in those of Prambanan he is merely one of the other monkeys. These Hanuman-centric aspects are also evident in Balinese art, which for that matter can be seen as a clear continuation of East Javanese Hinduistic culture. The first painting discussed depicts the scene from the 22nd *sarga*, in which Kumbakarna with Sugriwa in his arms is attacked by the monkey army, among which the white Hanuman stands out in East Javanese style. This scene can be interpreted as representing the Balinese dualistic notion of the balance between diametrically opposed forces, which would explain its popularity in Balinese art. The second painting, "Siti's ordeal by fire", from the 24th *sarga*, does not reveal any East Javanese traits, but might be a direct illustration of the extinct Balinese custom of widow burning as described by R. Friederich (cf. R. Friederich, *The civilization and culture of Bali*, Calcutta 1959).

In the next article, 'Islam i malajskie vošebno-avantjurnye povesti ("Povest' ob Indraputre" kak sufijskaja allegorija)' [Islam and Malay stories of enchantment and adventure ("The story of Indraputra" as a Sufi allegory)] (pp. 65-92), V. I. Braginskij convincingly shows that the Hikayat Indraputra can be interpreted as a Sufi allegory, not only because of the many concrete Sufi symbols, but also in view of the major components and general development of the story, which shows clear parallels with the approximately contemporary anonymous Sufi

allegory *Ilm an-nisa*. The author is careful enough to present his conclusions as hypotheses, because of the extremely complex interlacement of symbols and the often quicksand-like character of their contexts. He deplors the absence of a critical edition of the text. Fortunately, such an edition will now soon be available (Ety Rujati Mulyadi, *Hikayat Indraputra*, Bibliotheca Indonesica XXIII).

The sixth article, entitled 'O tak nazyvaemoj kitajsko-indonezijskoj literature' [On so-called Chinese-Indonesian literature] (pp. 92-117), is a survey of Malay-language literature written by Chinese in colonial Indonesia. The author, V. V. Sikorskij, quotes 19th-century sources which describe the Chinese in Indonesia as one of the most acculturated Chinese communities outside China. From the end of last century onwards, however, this tendency to acculturate has been counteracted by a new, more open Chinese policy, which up to 1882 had been on the defensive against outside (= modernizing) influences, including those from overseas Chinese. Complete acculturation was also prevented by Dutch colonial law, according to which "blood" rather than "soil" was decisive for one's nationality. Finally, socio-economic developments — the "Indonesian" Chinese belonged basically to the bourgeoisie — and the influence of newly arrived Chinese acted against further acculturation. These historical developments are reflected in the literature investigated, in which a "prenationalist" period is followed by a "nationalist" one around the turn of the century. In the former period Chinese-Indonesian literature followed the established Malay traditions of the *syair* and *pantun*. In the second period, however, the characteristic genre was that of moralistic adventure novels. The major part of the article is constituted by a typology of these novels, in which the roles and the mutual relations between Chinese and non-Chinese provide one of the parameters. The author points to the importance of Lie Kim Hok's normative grammar, which is based on "Low" Malay (*Melajoe Betawi*, Batavia 1884, 21891), for the Chinese authors of the second period. Their language is said to have gradually merged with the developing Indonesian literary language. After the second world war Chinese-Indonesian literature ceased to exist. However, on the point of content there can be seen a continuation in the novels of recent "pop" authors such as Marga T., Veronika H., Myra W., Leo T., La Rose and others.

The rather shallow seventh contribution, 'K voprosu o termine "tenevoj teatr"' [On the question of the term "shadow theatre"], fills pages 117-122. Its author, I. P. Solomonik, says himself to prefer the term "silhouette theatre".

The volume closes with a short discussion by B. B. Parnikel' (Parnickel) and Ju. Sirk, entitled 'Vtoroj malajsko-indonezijskij kollokvium' [The second Malay-Indonesian Colloquium] (pp. 122-127), of N. Phillips and Kh. Anwar (eds.), 'Papers on Indonesian Languages and Literatures'.

The very poor quality of the printing of the book reviewed here is reflected in its price: only 65 copecks.

Oe. H. Kapita, *Kamus Sumba/Kambera-Indonesia*, Panitia Penerbit Naskah Kebudayaan Daerah Sumba, Dewan Penata Layanan Gereja Sumba, Waingapu, 1982, X + 296 pp.

J. L. SWELLENGREBEL

Mr. Kapita is one of those who from his youth has been interested in the culture and language of his native region, and has sought information about it from older people well acquainted with it. Having finished his course at the Junior Teachers' College, he became assistant to the linguistic missionary Dr. L. Onvlee in 1929. They have been working together up till the present moment, with only two intervals, communicating orally or by correspondence.

In order to get an overall impression of the vocabulary of the East Sumbanese Kambera dialect (spoken in and around the chief town, Waingapu), they attempted to determine what words were theoretically possible according to the Kambera sound and word formation systems, and what words were actually formed and used. This has resulted in several wordlists, on which both the Kambera-Indonesian Dictionary under review here and Onvlee's Kambera-Dutch Dictionary (to appear soon) are based.

The dictionary (using a spelling system that is in conformity with the Indonesian orthography of 1972) contains about 7200 headwords with their Indonesian translation. Their uses and shades of meaning are not, however, illustrated by examples. This would have made the book too bulky, while examples are not essential for its Sumbanese users to improve their command of the national language. Immediately after the headword follow(s) its equivalent(s) in one or more other Sumbanese dialects, viz. (1-3) Mangili, Karera and Tabundung, in East Sumba, (4) Lewa (Central Sumba), (5,6) Mamboru and Anakalang (border area between East and West Sumba), (7) Laura (west of Mamboru), (8) Wanokaka (west of Anakalang), (9,10) Wewewa and Kodi, in the western part of West Sumba. (Something similar has been done by Onvlee who, however, quotes equivalents more often, but in fewer different dialects, namely: nos. 1, 4, 5, 6, 9 and 10.) This increases the usefulness of the book and, moreover, makes available interesting material for students of Indonesian comparative linguistics.

The author deserves our gratitude for having made available these Sumbanese data in the Indonesian language. Thus he has now done for the Sumbanese language what he had previously accomplished for its literature and culture.¹

A final word should be said about a peculiarity of the book which may prove problematic for the reader. The Kambera language possesses four prenasalized consonants: *mb*, *nd*, *ngg*, and *nj*, which represent simple, non-compound sounds, but are spelled with two or three characters. These characters, which can occur in the word in initial or medial position, have their own, separate place in the alphabet. Thus, for instance, words beginning with *mb* are found in the section MB, not in section M between *mayumba* and *meda*. The other prenasalized consonants are treated similarly. However, words with

initial *ny* do not have a section of their own, but have their place in section N between *nitu* and *nobaku* — apparently as a consequence of the fact that previously *nj* was used for what now is written *ny*.

NOTE

- 1 In *Sumba di dalam jangkauan jaman* (1976) and *Masyarakat Sumba dan adat istiadatnya* (1976) respectively.

Michael Cooman msf, *Evangelisatie en Kultuurverandering. Onderzoek naar de verhouding tussen evangelisatie en de socio-kulturele veranderingen in de adat van de Dajaks van Oost-Kalimantan (bisdom Samarinda) Indonesië*, Steyler-Verlag, St. Augustin, 1980. Studia Instituti Missiologici Societatis Verbi Divini, nr. 28, 340 pp., 1 afb., 3 kaartjes.

J. L. SWELLENGREBEL

De auteur van dit proefschrift werkt sinds eind 1964 als missionaris in Oost-Kalimantan. Tot 1970 kon hij, als pastoor in het binnenland en inwonend bij een onderwijzer, een studie maken van de Dajakse adat en samenleving. Zo heeft hij zich, zoals uit het boek blijkt, goed leren inleven in het doen en denken van de mensen onder wie hij werkt.

Het gaat de schrijver in deze studie vooral om de vraag: "Hoe ligt de verhouding tussen de adat, met inbegrip van de cultuurveranderingen, die ze heeft ondergaan, en de verkondiging? Onder adat te verstaan de totaliteit van de plaatselijke cultuur" (p.12). Het onderzoek beperkt zich hoofdzakelijk tot de stammen langs de Mahakam en die ten zuiden daarvan, welke tot het distrikt Kutai behoren. Toen daar de missionering begon, in 1907, stond de Dajakse cultuur al op de drempel van de nieuwe tijd, ten gevolge van maatregelen van het koloniale bestuur, die het religieuze denken en de sociale structuur aantastten.

Na een overzicht van de cultuurcontacten vóór 1900 bespreekt de schrijver in hoofdstuk II enkele trekken van de adat, o.a. aan de hand van gegevens ontleend aan mythe en cultus. Hij wijst ook op het belang van de genealogische verbanden, maar gaat niet in op de vormen daarvan. Het derde hoofdstuk handelt vrij uitvoerig over de geschiedenis van de evangelisatie in Oost-Kalimantan, het vierde over de ontmoeting tussen de kerk en de Dajakse adat. De beschouwingen die de schrijver over die ontmoeting geeft staan in het teken van het streven naar "een kerk . . ., die thuis is in de eigen omgeving en die een eigen uitdrukking is van het . . . heilswerk van God" en naar "een wijze van kerk-zijn, die ingepast is in de kontekst van hun eigen religieuze, culturele en politieke omgeving" (p.284).

Ter typering van de denkwijze van de schrijver iets omtrent zijn beschouwingen over het huwelijk. Een huwelijkssluiting volgens Dajakse

adat is niet een zaak van één moment maar van een proces van betrekkelijk lange duur. De ouders hebben daarbij, ook als het initiatief bij de jongelui ligt, een beslissende stem; pas als hun duidelijk blijkt dat er serieuze plannen voor een huwelijk zijn en zij hun goedkeuring hebben gegeven, mag het jonge paar ergens buiten eigen woning enkele keren geslachtsgemeenschap hebben. Kort daarna volgt familie-beraad handelende o.a. over de te geven bruidsgift. Is dat beraad naar wens verlopen, dan trekt de jongen bij de ouders van het meisje in en begint hun geregeld samenleven, dat geoorloofd is in de ogen van familie en ruimere gemeenschap. Maar het huwelijk geldt pas als gewettigd, wanneer er officieel aangifte van is gedaan aan de dorps-oudsten en dezen het hebben erkend. Een voor de Christen-Dajaks zinvolle huwelijksluiting behoort in de lijn te zijn van de vormen van het adat-huwelijk, meent de schrijver, en de missie zou daarom de vrijheid moeten hebben die in de eerste Christelijke eeuwen in Europa bestond; toen t.a.v. het huwelijk de kerk kon "uitgaan van de veronderstelling, dat het huwelijk van de gedoopten werd voltrokken overeenkomstig de gebruiken van de niet-gedoopten" (p.197). Maar dat is in latere eeuwen, en tot op heden, helaas, onmogelijk gemaakt door de nog steeds geldende eis dat een huwelijksluiting zich overal moet conformeren aan de normen van het kerkelijk recht.

Het laatste hoofdstuk ten slotte stelt dat de Dajakse culturen niet meer kunnen voortbestaan als vanouds; nu de Dajaks deel gaan uitmaken van de nationale Indonesische cultuur. Maar die zullen zij toch op Dajakse wijze beleven. In die ontwikkeling moet de missionaris, wil hij kunnen meedenken, kennis dragen van de oude Dajakse adat. — Daarbij kan dit boek hem een goede hulp zijn.

John W. Burton, *God's Ants. A Study of Atuat Religion*, Studia Instituti Anthropos 37, Anthropos Institute, St. Augustin, West Germany, 1981.

Sj. M. ZANEN

Burton's recent publications (1977-1981) form valuable contributions to Nilotic studies. Most of them are based on field work in post-civil war Southern Sudan, in 1976/77, among the Atuat, a small Nilotic-speaking tribe living on the west bank of the Nile in Lakes Province, South of the Western Nuer, and surrounded by Dinka, Mandari and Yur groups. The Atuat are linguistically most closely related to the Nuer. *God's Ants* concentrates on Atuat religion and can be considered as forming a complement to Evans Pritchard's study of Nuer religion (1956) and Lienhardt's study of Dinka religion (1961). This study does not pretend to present a new anthropological theory of religion, but neither can it be labelled functionalistic, structuralistic or materialistic, etc. "Its substance is concerned with belief, expectation and intention" (p. 16), "to reveal the way in which their notions of God are reflected

in the daily experience" (p. 13). The author holds that God the creator constantly makes the *end* of survival an experiential reality, while the Atuat themselves, in their world view, merely control the *means* of survival. In this connection the Atuat compare themselves to diligent but ignorant black ants. With this central concern in mind, the study does not conclude with "meaning" or "classification", but with "individual psychic and physical experience", "individual experience of the moral community", etc. In its most informative chapters (III, IV, V) a distinction is drawn between "passive" experiences in situations where God is seen to relate directly to man, and situations in which man communicates with God through powers labelled "active" agents. Sacrifices are likewise distinguished into those addressed to God directly or through the mediation of certain powers. These powers can be divided into Powers of the Sky ("productive" in nature) and Earthly Powers ("destructive"). The author convincingly demonstrates how both are experienced and handled through the medium of different ritual agents. His information was collected mainly through participant observation. His analysis is illustrated with translated and commentated texts of Atuat songs. It is regrettable for other anthropologists, linguists and the Atuat themselves that these texts have not been reproduced in the original Atuat language as well. This is a serious shortcoming, as the translation of Nilotic songs is a science in itself, as the author himself admits (p. 15). The reader should have been given an opportunity of comparing the translations with the originals (the same applies to F. M. Deng, 1972, among others).

Running like a red thread through *God's Ants* is the distinction in religious and moral notions between the village and the cattle camp, which is lacking in other works on Nilotic religions. This is indeed a crucial distinction. On the basis of it an even more elaborate cosmological and sociological model can (in my view) be derived from the material presented. I hope to be able to show this for the Bor Dinka shortly.

There are a few critical remarks to be made about *God's Ants*. One of them concerns the author's comparison of the Atuat religious experience with that of the Nuer and Dinka by reference to their respective social-territorial systems. Unfortunately, however, no distinction has been made between the Eastern and Western Nuer and the Eastern and Western Dinka. What the author does is compare the Atuat with the Eastern Nuer and the Western Dinka. This kind of approach does not justify the making of generalizations, as in some respects the Eastern Dinka, for example, resemble the Nuer more closely than they resemble the Western Dinka (especially as regards the priesthood). Further, the author connects the degree of individual versus collective religious experience (sin, sacrifice, notions of mortality) with factors such as settlement density, type of co-residence and type of priesthood (p. 127-131). The argumentation is difficult to follow, it lacks internal logic, and adduces insufficient consistent evidence from all over Nilotic Sudan to justify the general conclusion that "demographic features of

Atuot and Nuer societies are inconsistent with (centralized) priesthood, while the Dinka model is evidenced in an even more ritualized and centralized form among the more densely settled Shilluk through the institution of the *reth* or 'divine king' (p. 131). The South Eastern Dinka, for example, do not fit into Burton's paradigm at all, as they are very densely settled but totally lack a centralized priesthood or chiefhood of the Western Dinka type. However, this criticism is not absolute.

The material presented in this book testifies to thorough and serious research. It is to be regretted that the author is not more explicit about the Atuot social organization. Hopefully he will participate some day in the recently started debate on the Nuer 'segmentary lineage system' (Verdon 1982; Kuper 1982).

The following publications which may be of interest to readers of *Bijdragen* have also been received:

Amersfoort, J. M. M. van, en H. B. Entzinger (red.)

1982 *Immigrant en Samenleving*, Deventer: van Loghum Slaterus 144 pag. f 24,50. [Boekaflevering, 57e jaargang, *Mens en Maatschappij*, driemaandelijks tijdschrift voor sociale wetenschappen.]

Benedict, Ruth

1983 *Race and racism*, London, etc.: Routledge & Kegan Paul. XII + 192 pp. £ 3.95. [First published in 1942.]

Knaud, J. M.

1983 *Wajang Poerwa*, Lelystad: Educatieve Uitgeverij [AO reeks no. 1976]. 16 pag. f 2,50 (inclusief verzendkosten).