Book Reviews

- M.A. van Bakel, H. Esen-Baur, Untersuchungen über den vogelmann-kult auf der Osterinsel, 1983, Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 399 pp.
- Leen Boer, Bronislaw Malinowski, Malinowski in Mexico. The economics of a Mexican market system, edited and with an introduction by Susan Drucker-Brown, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982 (International Library of Anthropology), Julio de la Fuente (eds.)
- A.P. Borsboom, Betty Meehan, Shell bed to shell midden, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, 1982.
- H.J.M. Claessen, Peter Geschiere, Village communities and the state. Changing relations among the Maka of Southeastern Cameroon since the colonial conquest. Monographs of the African Studies Centre, Leiden. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. 1982. 512 pp. Appendices, index, bibliography, etc.
- H.J.M. Claessen, Jukka Siikala, Cult and conflict in tropical Polynesia; A study of traditional religion, Christianity and Nativistic movements, Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1982, 308 pp. Maps, figs., bibliography.
- H.J.M. Claessen, Alain Testart, Les Chasseurs-Cueilleurs ou l'Origine des Inégalités, Mémoires de la Société d'Ethnographie 26, Paris 1982. 254 pp., maps, bibliography and figures.
- Walter Dostal, Frederik Barth, Sohar - Culture and society in an Omani town. Baltimore - London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983, 264 pp., ill.
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BOEKBESPREKINGEN

Untersuchungen über den Vogelmann-kult auf der Osterinsel, 1983, H. Esen-Baur, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 399 pp.

M. A. VAN BAKEL

It is always a joy to read a good book. The book under discussion is indeed a case in point. It is a fine specimen of specialized scholarly craftsmanship, and can be recommended to everyone – specialists as well as interested laymen – who wants to know about the Orongo settlement and the birdman cult of Easter Island. It presents a good overview, as well as an informed discussion from an archaeological viewpoint, of the state of the relevant research up to the present. Both the literature on Easter Island and, more especially, archaeological methods and theories receive detailed treatment. Even two recent archaeological dating-methods – ‘die Flechtendatierung’ for micro-organisms on stone and the albumen analysis of paint – are described and partly used.

However, before proceeding to say something about the conclusions in this work, I have to get a most uneasy load off my mind – it is most regrettable that important parts of such an otherwise excellent work are presented in such poor form. Especially the maps and reproductions of images (e.g. pp. 20, 64, 69, 174-201) are virtually useless to the interested reader. Of course a cheap edition, as the writer herself states, is a most honorable way of stimulating scientific interest and research. But the sacrifice of important aspects of the quality of the work to my mind is unnecessary, or even unforgivable.

The conclusions in the book are based on the best available evidence. Even so, I have my doubts about some of them. For the sake of brevity I shall only illustrate my point with two examples. The first concerns the age and character of the birdman cult. As the relationship between the Makemake cult, sun worship, initiation and the birdman cult is not clear (e.g. pp. 366-369), we are surely justified in assuming that in what Esen-Baur regards as a complex of rites in which no, or at least no perceptible, changes occurred (in the 600 years of the presumed existence of the birdman cult), there has been a great deal of change. The birdman, who may originally have constituted just a minor feature of the Makemake cult, could have been borrowed from the indigenous people by secondary settlers, and in course of time have become the overarching characteristic of the cult as a whole. The more likely hypothesis in that case would be one of devolution, in conformity with the demonstrable devolution of the society as a whole, rather than one of a fully fledged phenomenon right from the beginning.

The second concerns the origin of the second wave of settlers who came here around 1300 A.D. I agree with Esen-Baur's argumentation in favour of an eastern Polynesian origin. But over against Esen-Baur's suggestion of Rangivavae as a possible place of origin, I would suggest

Mangareva as a more likely one, not only on account of its extensive mythology about Hotu Motua (Anua Motua) as a settler of Easter Island around 1300 A.D. (e.g. Buck 1938, Caillot 1910, Janeau 1935, Laval 1938 and Massainoff 1931), but also in view of its many other correspondences with Easter Island culture (e.g. Emory 1939, especially from an archaeological viewpoint).

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Bronislaw Malinowski and Julio de la Fuente, *Malinowski in Mexico. The Economics of a Mexican Market System*, edited and with an introduction by Susan Drucker-Brown, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982 (International Library of Anthropology).

LEEN BOER

Malinowski in Mexico is a remarkable book. Until recently it was practically unknown outside Mexico that Malinowski had done fieldwork in Mexico in the years immediately preceding his death in 1942. The publication of this "historical document", as Susan Drucker-Brown calls it, certainly forms a welcome contribution to the history of anthropology.

The Economics of a Mexican Market System is the unfinished report of a research project started in June 1940 in the Valley of Oaxaca by Bronislaw Malinowski, his wife, Valetta Swan, and a young Mexican anthropologist, Julio de la Fuente. The research report remained unfinished because the project came to a premature end with Malinowski's death. This report was intended to give an illustration of the procedures of fieldwork. The definitive study of the market system of the Valley of Oaxaca has never been completed.

The text was first published in Spanish in Mexico in 1957. It was the first work by Malinowski to be available in Spanish to Mexican students. Neither author revised the text before publication.

The text presented in *Malinowski in Mexico* is based on Malinowski's English typescript and on De la Fuente's comments on this. The latter have been incorporated into the text to make for a kind of dialogue. De la Fuente's undisguised corrections of Malinowski's statements accentuate the unfinished character of the text. A question that may arise on reading a work like this is whether the posthumous publication of unfinished and unrevised texts is likely to be detrimental to the professional image of the author. It certainly is not so in this case.

Malinowski's text and De la Fuente's comments are preceded by a very readable introduction written by Susan Drucker-Brown. She not only relates the history of the research project in the Valley of Oaxaca, but also gives information on the research done on the market system since the pioneering work of Malinowski, Swan and De la Fuente.

The key question in *The Economics of a Mexican Market System* is: "What is the function of the numerous small markets scattered throughout the Valley of Oaxaca?". The Valley and its market system are considered as a definite geographical and economic unit, though connections with the outside world are certainly not ignored. The market system is described as comprising different categories of markets. The most important of these, and the central one, is the market in the capital, Oaxaca. Besides, depending on size, volume of transactions and relative importance within the system, main regional markets, secondary district markets, important minor markets, minor markets, and special markets are distinguished.

The single thread that runs through the report is that of the key economic importance of the market system for the livelihood of the peasant. The market is the peasant's source of purchasing power. The fact is emphasized that the primary object of the peasant in going to the market is to do business, and not, for example, to amuse himself. The essential importance of the market for the peasantry is indicated by the finding that the majority of peasant households produce enough to be able to part with a sufficient quantity of the goods produced by them to supply themselves with a weekly income. At the market this weekly surplus is converted into purchasing power which is used to satisfy the household's current needs.

Although this publication is primarily to be regarded as a contribution to the history of anthropology, its contents, interestingly enough, allow of the observation that a number of problems identified by Malinowski and De la Fuente still have not been solved satisfactorily more than forty years later. An example is the problem indicated by Malinowski and De la Fuente at the end, namely that of the determination in economic terms of production and transactions in non-monetary sectors of the economy.

Betty Meehan, *Shell bed to shell midden*, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra 1982.

A. P. BORSBOOM

Anthropological studies of traditional Australian Aboriginal societies have mainly focused on subjects like mythology and ritual, social structure and kinship systems. Much less attention has been paid to Aboriginal ecology, and this lacuna is one of the main motives behind Dr. Meehan's detailed investigation of the role of shellfish in the total subsistence ecology of the Anbarra Aborigines, whose traditional lands are located in northern Arnhem Land and encompass the coastal plains of the Blyth River estuary. The rather unique opportunity of carrying out research into the subsistence ecology of a traditional Aboriginal society – which almost everyone believed to be impossible 200 years after the European colonization of Australia – presented itself again in the early 1970's.

At that time the Anbarra, together with other Arnhem Land Aboriginal communities, abandoned settlement life and returned to their own lands – a move which became generally known as the "outstation movement". The aim of this movement was to diminish the effects of European domination at the settlements and mission stations and to revive the traditional life-style, values and customs, which in these remote parts of Australia had always remained stronger than elsewhere. Some Aboriginal groups succeeded in this effort better than others, the Anbarra being one of the communities which managed to live quite independently from European influence in the 70's.

Dr. Meehan, who was already well-known to the Anbarra from previous fieldwork in the nearby government settlement of Maningrida, received permission to live with the Anbarra for a continuous twelve-month period, in which she witnessed an almost fully functioning traditional hunting and gathering society. Although various aspects of European civilization had been integrated into the Anbarra life-style, their social structure, religion and subsistence strategy were largely still traditional. The results of Meehan's intensive research have been laid down in this book, which focuses on the role of shellfish in the economy of these coastal people and, in a broader sense, on the role of women in the foraging activities of an Aboriginal society. After two introductory chapters on the antiquity of shellfishing and new approaches in this field (chapter 1), and the history and present-day situation of the people concerned (chapter 2), Meehan gives a general description of the activities of the Anbarra during the year of her fieldwork and of her own position during that period (chapters 4 and 5). The next chapter contains an interesting comparison between the Linnaean classification of the various shellfish and that of the Anbarra, after which the author sets out to investigate patterns of predation, the collection and preparation of shellfish, ritual hunting performances in connection with shellfish, and the role of shellfish in the total diet (chapters 6-10). In the final chapter Meehan places her ethnographical data from that particular year in a wider temporal context, mainly in relation to the findings of archaeological research in this field.

In summary, the book presents a wealth of well-ordered quantitative data and gives a good insight into the foraging activities of (mainly) Aboriginal women through one whole year. However, the often extremely detailed information on shells, weights, calories, etc., makes reading at times a difficult exercise – and a concluding paragraph at the end of some chapters would have helped the not-so-specialized reader to understand the implications of the many data presented more fully. At the end of the book, Meehan assesses the results of her work mainly in relation to archaeological findings, and here, as an anthropologist reading a basically anthropological work, one is left with the feeling that these important ethnographical data have not been fully exploited in relation to anthropological developments.

Notwithstanding these few critical points, the book is an important scholarly work which provides a fine example of the possibilities (and hardships) of participant observation and adds basic knowledge to an often neglected aspect of Aboriginal life.

Peter Geschiere, *Village Communities and the State. Changing Relations among the Maka of Southeastern Cameroon since the Colonial Conquest*. Monographs of the African Studies Centre, Leiden. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. 1982. 512 pp. Appendices, Index, Bibliography, etc.

H. J. M. CLAESSEN

This is an important book, but – the author needs a lot of words to convey his message. Peter Geschiere, Senior Lecturer in the Department of Anthropology of the University of Amsterdam, went to Cameroon to study the Maka, a Bantu-speaking group in the jungle, in the early seventies. He concentrated on the significance of historical changes since 1900 for the present relations of authority within Maka villages. This approach explains the volume of the book: the Maka have had a rather troubled history. They were confronted first with German colonizers who engaged in bloody wars to subdue them, and later with the French – an equally unpleasant, though less bloody, confrontation. Since 1960 the Maka have been citizens of the independent state of Cameroon.

The western conquest deeply influenced Maka society. In the pre-colonial period small patrilineal groups formed their own villages. Among these villages there were no clear patterns of authority. Generally elders exercised some influence, but levelling tendencies were strong. The colonial situation confronted the Maka with completely new kinds of authority. Colonial officers tried to interfere with their way of life in order to meet the demands of a colonial economy. The first problem they had to cope with was that of shortage of manpower, and the second how to stimulate the African cultivators to produce surpluses. To reach their goals, heavy pressure was exercised and the white admi-

nistration – the German as well as the French – acted with authoritarian ruthlessness. Maka culture, however, proved very resistant to change. The traditional kinship system, the role of the elders, and the old levelling mechanisms lived on, frustrating many of the – sometimes well-intended – colonial measures. The Maka are equally difficult to govern within the context of the modern state of Cameroon.

Geschiere tries to explain the complex situation following a Marxist line of analysis. This done – in the scope of 350 pages of text, 70 pages of appendices, and 65 pages of notes, no less! – Geschiere presents his personal views. These are based partly on those of French Marxist anthropologists such as Rey and Meillassoux, though carrying their approach further. In Geschiere's view it is the specific articulation of the traditional domestic mode of production with the capitalist one that has given developments in the Maka area their specific direction. In the confrontation between these two modes of production the old one did not disappear, but was deeply influenced by the capitalist one. The process was a reciprocal one: the capitalist mode of production underwent the influence of the older one.

Geschiere demonstrates that the development of the state here is not just a consequence of the existing class struggle – as is claimed by some Marxist authors he discusses. Rather, the state, once it had come into existence, was the dominant agent in the promotion of capitalist dominance – and thus the class struggle.

Geschiere's book is important for its painstaking description and analysis of the Maka over a period of more than seventy years. Moreover, he places the developments in a wide theoretical frame. Thus his work is a most valuable contribution to a more sophisticated Marxist anthropology.

Jukka Siikala, *Cult and Conflict in Tropical Polynesia; A Study of Traditional Religion, Christianity and Nativistic Movements*, Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1982, 308 pp. Maps, figs., bibliography.

H. J. M. CLAESSEN

It must be stated at the very outset that this book is a most welcome addition to our knowledge of traditional Polynesia. The central focus is on the confrontation between Christianity and traditional religion, which in several instances gave rise to nativistic movements. The actual scope of the book is much wider, however. In the first 50 pages Siikala discusses the concept of nativism, and defines the phenomenon as a religious-social mass movement occurring among indigenous populations as a result of colonialism (1982:33). He then discusses various possible explanations and concludes that – not very surprisingly – conflict lies at the root of most such movements (1982:51).

It appears, however, that nativistic movements occurred in only a limited number of cases and this finding requires a comparison of positive and negative cases to find an explanation for the variation. To

achieve this aim the author places the encounter between Christianity and traditional religions in a detailed ethno-historical context. His positive cases are: Tahiti (Mamaia movement), Samoa (Siovili movement), and Bellona and the Renell Islands, where fierce battles were fought between "heathen" and "Christian" factions. As negative cases he selects Tonga, Mangaia, and Tikopia. All these cases have a more or less similar ecological background, while the foreign influence they have in common is predominantly British (1982:56 ff.). Whether these criteria for selection are convincing is a matter of opinion.

Before setting out to describe the selected cases in detail, Siikala presents an overview of Polynesian culture in general. He points out that the role of religion differed greatly in West and East Polynesia. Here he overlooks the equally important differences in the political economy of the two regions.

The elaborate ethno-historical description of the selected island cultures constitutes the most important part of the book. Regional, and especially local, specialists will no doubt be able to find minor flaws in the presentation, but the overall impression is that Siikala has done a thorough job. He has created balanced, coherent descriptions of the various island cultures, basing himself on a wide variety of sources. Against this background, comments on points of detail seem less relevant.

There are, however, some aspects of the book that seem to me less felicitous, viz., Siikala's selection of Goldman's far from advanced evolutionary approach as the leading paradigm for his analyses. This obliges him to describe the socio-political systems in such static terms as "traditional", "open", and "stratified". It would be better to interpret Goldman's model as a typology rather than as an evolutionary sequence (on the problem of typology versus process, see Claessen and Van de Velde 1985). Fortunately, however, Siikala presents historical events in Polynesia in such detail that the evolutionary processes can still be traced. A second general comment concerns the author's concentration mainly on religious aspects. This leads him to underplay the requirements of political anthropology. Nowhere in the book is a definition given of what he conceives of as a chief, a paramount chief, or a ruler. Differences between chiefdoms and early states hardly receive any attention – though they are not without importance in the context of his analyses.

A final comment must be (though this may be prompted by highly personal prejudice) that it is surprising to find such an impossible, obsolete reference system used in a book of such high quality.

- 1985 Claessen, H. J. M., and P. van de Velde
 'The evolution of socio-political organization', in: *Development and Decline*, ed.
 by H. J. M. Claessen, M. E. Smith and P. van de Velde. Hadley: Bergin and
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Alain Testart, *Les Chasseurs-Cueilleurs ou l'Origine des Inégalités*, Mémoires de la Société d'Ethnographie 26, Paris 1982. 254 pp., maps, bibliography and figures.

H. J. M. CLAESSEN

In this book the French anthropologist Testart discusses the role of food storage among hunters-gatherers. In his opinion food storage makes possible many developments that are not found among hunters-gatherers who do not store food in great quantities, such as sedentari-ness, the production of a wide variety of material goods, and the development of techniques such as pottery-making. In addition, the preparation of food for storage, the coresidence of larger groups of people, and the development of wealth make for the emergence of social inequality and more complex forms of leadership.

Testart bases his thesis on an analysis of the three main areas where this mode of existence is found: the northwestern coast of North America, southeastern Siberia, and California. A comparison of these areas shows that the emergence of the type of culture in question is conditioned by the seasonal nature of the main source of food. This implies a busy summer, during which the food must be caught or collected and preparations for its storage must take place (drying, cutting, etc.). The winter is usually rather quiet: there is only a limited amount of hunting or gathering, and the daily meals are prepared from the available stock.

After having thus put forward his thesis, Testart sets out to find out whether this mode of existence is also found elsewhere. With the help of data from ethnography and archaeology he pinpoints several more cases, among them the Warao of the Orinoco, the Calusa of Florida (only known from historical records), and, possibly, the prehistorical peoples of South Siberia and Europe. His most interesting example is perhaps that of the Natufians of Palestine, who drew their livelihood not from agriculture (as is often assumed), but from the gathering of wild grains.

As the main condition for the existence of this type of culture is seasonal variation, it follows that neither the tropics nor the arctic zones are suited to it. The Warao should be considered an exception. In this connection Testart points to several Papuan groups who have sago as their staple food and in many respects are similar to the groups under discussion, except that their food is not gathered seasonally. Then Testart points out that apparently fish is better suited to storage than meat: neither the historical bison hunters of the Prairies, nor their prehistorical European colleagues evolved a sedentary pattern of life. This latter suggestion does not seem to be entirely correct, however, in view of the many caves in western Europe containing signs of continuous habitation over long periods. As Testart does not discuss palaeolithic Europe in detail, this may have escaped his attention.

In chapter 6 Testart discusses the consequences of his findings for our perception of the past. Cultural traits which were traditionally considered as being neolithic are found already among hunters-gatherers of the mesolithic period. They, too, were sedentary, had complex forms of socio-political organization, and possessed a wide variety of techniques.

Testart displays an extensive knowledge of anthropology and archaeology in his well-written and well-composed book. To a Dutchman it is gratifying to find several Dutch anthropologists mentioned in the bibliography (such as Van Amelsvoort, Gerbrands, Held, Kouwenhoven, Van der Leeden, Oosterwal, Pouwer, Verschuieren). In view of this, it is surprising – to say the least – to find no reference to Nieboer's *Slavery as an industrial system* (1910), which explains how slavery was a consequence of the life-style of the North-West Coast Indians. Nieboer's views would have been useful to Testart in strengthening his argument about the development of inequality and social stratification. They might also have induced him to pay more attention to the role of women in these cultures. The position of women in the preparation of food stocks – as is indicated by Nieboer – is crucial: the necessary work is done either by women or by slaves.

As Testart gives much attention to the phenomenon of reciprocity, Mauss's *Essai sur le don* should also have been included in his bibliography. And, where so much stress is laid on material factors, some reference to the works of Marvin Harris would have been appropriate.

Be that as it may, Testart has produced a most valuable study on a subject that is of great interest to anthropologists and archaeologists alike. It is only to be hoped that the language in which it is written will not prevent a wide public from reading it.

Frederik Barth, *Sohar – Culture and Society in an Omani Town*, Baltimore – London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983, 264 pp., ill.

WALTER DOSTAL

The subject of this book is life in a Southern Arabian town, which justifies the expectation that it may contribute to the closing of some serious gaps in our knowledge of the ethnology of the Arabian Peninsula – the more so since the author has made a valuable contribution to the anthropology of Iran. He defines the aims of the book, which is conceived as a monograph, as follows: "... to give a portrait of life and society in the town of Sohar in Oman, and to give an analysis of cultural pluralism in the town and how it is maintained" (p. VIII). In accordance with these aims the author has divided his book into four parts. The first part is entitled 'The Community Described – First Approximations', the second discusses 'The Categories of Cultural Diversity Within Sohar', the third is devoted to the theme of 'Daily Life and how it Shapes Society', and, finally, the fourth part concerns 'The Reproduction of Cultural Diversity'. I wish to concentrate on two questions: the theoretical basis underlying the proposed analysis, and the value of the ethnographic data presented.

1. No anthropologist who wishes to analyse and describe an urban society in its complex totality can avoid the necessity to choose a suitable

theoretical framework. The task of discerning such a framework in the present work proves, however, to be extremely difficult, since the author has scattered his theoretical considerations throughout various chapters (pp. 7, 9, 15, 81-93, 97, 99, 105, 112, 131, and 244), rather than presenting them as a unified whole. I shall therefore attempt to summarize these considerations. In order to gain an understanding of Barth's theoretical framework one should bear in mind the three main problems with which he states himself to be concerned, viz.: "How do we conceive of the boundaries of 'a culture', its extent in time and place? What are the necessary relations of the similarity and/or interdependence between individuals who share/partake in a common culture? And what do we suppose to be the structure of a culture; that is, how can we best conceive of its parts, and the kinds of interrelations which obtain between them?" (p. 191).

The starting-point for his reflections is provided by a concept of culture which he describes as "ideational". Based on this ideational concept he sees culture as "a set of ideas behind such behavior which, together with other factors, shape the events of behavior and cause patterns" (p. 191). At this point it is necessary to clarify what he understands by "ideational". Barth says: "But saying something is ideational clearly leaves open a wide range of senses, as Keesing (1974) proceeds to illustrate", and then continues: "I understand the 'ideas' of culture to be both thought and enacted" (p. 191). Culture thus appears for Barth to be a composition of ideas; on what basic notion his use of the word "ideational" rests remains beyond our comprehension. In a philosophical sense this term would refer to the ideational abstraction of phenomenology (Husserl). The "other factors" represent a further obscurity in his cultural concept, since in addition to "physical factors", relating to resources and environment, he also lists strategic factors and contextual factors, which directly relate to behaviour and roles respectively. Now, an urban society is complex; this fact would lead one to the logical assumption that Barth sees this complexity as a co-existent multiplicity of cultures. He confuses the reader, however, by employing the terms 'cultural traditions' and 'cultural streams' as synonyms for culture. Precisely this latter term seems to be constitutive for his theoretical framework. He defines 'cultural streams' as the sum of the relevant syndromes of a 'cultural feature'. He thus attempts to explain how an individual in an urban society participates in a plurality of 'cultural streams'. The advantage of this concept of 'cultural streams' is that it enables the author to dispense with the much too strongly categorizing term 'sub-culture' in his analysis of Sohar. The obscurities in Barth's theoretical exposition unfortunately render it impervious to a critical examination. The inconsistencies, probably resulting from the form of the presentation, are enormously irritating: on p. 10 the author rejects the consideration of historical contexts, which does not, however, prevent him from presenting summaries of historical processes (pp. 13, 20, 86, 208); on p. 10 he employs Redfield's term 'great tradition', only to establish on p. 88 that Redfield's concept is useless for an understanding of Sohar society.

2. We must now consider the quality of the data Barth furnishes. This is the point at which the reviewer's real dilemma begins, since the ethnographic data spread throughout the 21 chapters are of such a surprising superficiality as to create a general impression of insufficiency. Firstly, the book displays a surprising lack of bibliographical information. Even when one disregards this fact, one is nevertheless amazed by the lack of familiarity with the relevant historical, sociological and anthropological literature. On p. 5 he characterizes Sohar as a classical example of a traditional Islamic town without referring to the present state of discussion concerning this problem; the author similarly fails to explain what he understands by a traditional Islamic town. The importance of Sohar as a port is briefly discussed on p. 14; he could have availed himself of the extensive material to be found in J. C. Wilkinson ('Suhar (Sohar) in the Early Islamic Period: The Written Evidence', *South Asian Archaeology* 1977, IUO, Seminario dei Studi Asiatici, S.M. VI, Vol. 1, Naples 1979).

The author would also have been well advised to have consulted J. C. Wilkinson (*Water and Tribal Settlement in South-East Arabia*, 1977 p. 173f.) concerning the description of the administration and the political constitution in chapter 3; the same is true of his interpretation of the Arabian-Omanian system of descent; his remarks on the Bedouin in chapters 8 and 19, furthermore, could have been rendered more precise by reference to F. Scholz (*Beduinen im Zeichen der Erdöls*, 1981). If he had even consulted the works listed in his bibliography, e.g. Lorimer, he could have avoided minor errors in tribal names (p. 69: Duru' instead of Dru'; p. 184: Al Bu Mahayr instead of Al Bumher). The author would surely also have interpreted the Zudgalis' claim to descent from the Azd as a manifestation of 'structural amnesia' if he had taken the above-mentioned authors (Wilkinson, Lorimer) into account. Even if one disregards such weaknesses, Barth's book is still open to the criticism that it fails to meet our expectation that it would provide background information which would increase the anthropologist's understanding. For example, the summary of various court cases in note form, including the decisions reached, remains obscure. In chapter 9 precise information concerning the division of labour between the sexes is lacking, even though this information is necessary for the reader to form an opinion on the relationship between men and women in the household. Similar information concerning property relationships is absent in chapter 12; the description of the organization of the commercial world must remain unsatisfactory. One is completely flabbergasted by his description of behavioural patterns or of the market. They could be from the pen of a passing tourist! It is impossible for me to deal with all the shortcomings in the available space. I wish to comment briefly on one point only, namely the importance which Barth attaches to the term 'gender culture'. Even if one is completely ready to accept original interpretations, one must nevertheless state that the emphasis on this phenomenon is likely to distort our picture of Omanian society. Even if we assume in Barth's favour that the book under discussion represents an initial summary of his material, and if we shelve our weighty but perhaps too obvious objection that this work is neither an ethnographic study nor a monograph, then we are still left with the conclusion that

seldom have Barth's arguments been so superficial, or his data so scanty.

All in all, the book under review cannot be described as a significant contribution to Arabian anthropology, a fact which I greatly regret.

G. J. Kruyer, *Bevrijdingswetenschap. Een partijdige visie op de Derde Wereld* [Emancipatory science. A partisan view of the Third World], Meppel: Boom, 1983.

BENNO GALJART

The world is changing faster than sociologists can think (if the reader is willing to grant that they do think). Only a few years ago this book would have been considered very progressive. Now it reads like a recently discovered essay by the young Rousseau.

This is not because the author wants his work to contribute to the cause of the poor in the Third World. He wishes also to do science, to collect data painstakingly and to reason logically. My criticism should concern the data and the reasoning. It is obvious, however – the author repeatedly makes the statement himself – that his values impel him to interpret phenomena in a certain way, to distrust certain concepts.

The author's point of departure is that poverty in the Third World is a scandal. After an introductory chapter on poverty and the culture patterns of the poor, the differences between normal science and emancipatory science are spelled out. Then follow seven chapters in which an ideal-typical description is given of the capitalist national and international systems; at the national level, the total system is subdivided into economic, social, political and cultural subsystems. After a chapter on exploitation – the most important poverty explaining factor – there follow chapters on the struggle for liberation which the author deems necessary, and on the development strategy that should be followed if poverty is to be combated. The author is sceptical about the chances of success of a capitalist strategy and more hopeful about a socialist strategy.

The text is now descriptive, now normative; occasionally a jump is made from the one to the other several times on the same page. My main objection is that the author's view is ahistorical and much too superficial. Concepts are loosely defined, or not at all. This is the case already with the concept of poverty, which is most often equated with powerlessness, being a party to unequal exchange, being exploited. The same vagueness characterizes the use of concepts such as proletariat or exploitation. In spite of the use of a materialist conceptual scheme, the author's position is voluntarist-idealist: it is all a question of consciousness, not of level of development (p. 185). Also, there are numerous places in the text where the author either contradicts an earlier statement or surrounds it with hedges: things can also be quite different. This is true, for instance, with regard to the importance of internal factors for explaining stagnation: necessary (p. 171), and a propaganda ruse (p. 57); or with regard to his

advice to developing countries to delink (p. 215), after which a role for multinationals is envisaged (p. 20, 315); circumstances in the Third World are very diverse (p. 183), yet the author rejects a perspective limited to countries and prefers to start from the structural position of all the Third World poor (p. 45). A world war is being waged.

The book is ahistorical because no phases of development are distinguished. Dependency and exploitation are what characterizes all Third World countries. If growth does occur, it is all to the benefit of the rich minority. A two-page analysis of the recent economic history of a country like Brazil is based on *Time*, *Intermediair* (a Dutch popular science weekly) and a – also Dutch – book of 1967 by an irate priest. A one-page treatise on revolution and party (pp. 204-5) contains remarks on the struggles in France, China, Vietnam, Ghana, Iran and Nicaragua. Theory should not be intricate or learned because the poor should be able to understand it (p. 172). Yet the oppressed are rarely able to set the revolutionary process in motion, and need the help of intellectuals (p. 204).

For the learned readership of this journal, the book has little to offer apart from its quality as a document of these trying times. Scientifically, the analysis is unsatisfactory; the partisan view leads to myopia. Instead of being an analysis of how, in the course of time, in some countries poverty and powerlessness, and in others only poverty, have been forced back, or of what effects mobilisation has had in the past, this book is a call for immediate action. Questions which I cannot answer are first, whether such a call, if based not on knowledge but on assumptions, will be effective, and second, whether or not the end result of malinformed action will be functional for the poor. My doubts on both points may be caused by my own myopia.

Christine Okali, *Cocoa and Kinship in Ghana: The Matrilineal Akan of Ghana*. London: Kegan Paul International (in association with the International African Institute), 1983. 179 pp., tables, index. Prijs: £ 9.95 (paperback).

SJAAK VAN DER GEEST

Een populair Highlife-lied in het Ghana van vele jaren geleden bevatte de volgende twee regels:

“Wat je ook wilt doen in deze wereld,
je doet het met cacao . . .”

Het zijn regels die meer dan eens geciteerd zijn door sociale wetenschappers, omdat ze zo treffend de – toenmalige – “almacht” van de cacao uitdrukken. Zo werd cacao gezien als het breekijzer waarmee de solide matriline van de Akan uit haar voegen gelicht werd of zou worden. Dat was de mening van onder andere Busia in zijn studie over de veranderende positie van de chieft in Asante.

Christine Okali tracht in het hier besproken boek duidelijk te maken

dat het nog zo'n vaart niet loopt met de "desintegratie" van het matrilineaire verwantschaps- en samenwerkingssysteem. Het ondernemerschap dat Akan boeren (mannen en in mindere mate ook vrouwen) ten toon spreiden bij de aanleg en het onderhoud van cacaoplantages leidt beslist niet altijd tot de eenzijdige exploitatie van het kerngezin. In vele gevallen blijven de cacaoboeren ook een beroep doen op matrilineaire verwanten. Dat komt door de verschillende soorten van belangen ("multiple interests") die zij in deze ondernemingen gestoken hebben.

Twee andere, belangrijke, bevindingen van de auteur dienen hier nog vermeld te worden. De indruk dat migranten de voorhoede van sociale verandering uitmaken is gezichtsbedrog. Het meer vóórkomen van het kerngezin bij hen is slechts het – voorbijgaande – gevolg van hun mobiliteit. Verder konstateert de auteur dat vrouwen aanvankelijk vaak in zekere mate afhankelijk zijn van hun cacao-verbouwende echtgenoot, en slechts op latere leeftijd eigen cacao-land verwerven.

Het onderzoek voor deze studie is uitgevoerd tussen 1971 en 1974. Plaats van onderzoek waren twee dorpen, één waar al geruime tijd cacao verbouwd werd en één waar dat pas recentelijk het geval was. Aandacht wordt besteed aan o.a. eigendomsrechten en samenwerkingsverbanden. Het gepresenteerde materiaal bestaat uit kwantitatieve gegevens, "cases" ontleend aan het onderzoek, en rechtszaken.

Met een overvloed aan, soms zeer gedetailleerde, gegevens, tracht de auteur de lezer ervan te overtuigen dat het proces van verandering niet zo eenduidig verloopt als sommigen wel beweren. Met enig sarcasme moet ik konstateren dat ze daar zeker in geslaagd is. Haar betoog bestaat uit een lange aaneenrijging van vaak uiterst minuscule informatie, bestaande uit commentaar op de niet minder dan 65 tabellen en een groot aantal "cases". De lezer wordt er duizelig van en verliest de draad. Deze recensent moet eerlijk bekennen dat hij het niet op heeft kunnen brengen het hele "betoog" te blijven volgen. Het is de taak van een auteur de lezer wegwijs te maken in de veelheid van gegevens door een visie te ontwikkelen en de lezer zo welsprekend mogelijk van zijn gelijk te overtuigen. Daar is in deze studie geen sprake van.

Een ander punt waar ik me over verwonder, is dat de gebruikte literatuur stopt bij 1975. Ik vermoed dat dit boek een gedrukte uitgave is van haar thesis uit 1976. Maar waarom niet de moeite genomen naderhand verschenen publikaties in het betoog te betrekken? Uiterst relevante ethnografische studies van o.a. Asante, Bartle, Beckman, Bukh, Church, Goody, Oppong blijven daardoor onbesproken. Ook de vele belangrijke feministisch-antropologische publikaties komen in het verhaal niet voor. Het lijkt of de tijd tien jaar stil is blijven staan, maar dat is zelfs voor Ghana niet het geval. Helaas, zou ik bijna zeggen.

Tardits, Claude (ed), *Contribution de la recherche ethnologique à l'histoire des civilisations du Cameroun/The Contribution of Ethnological Research to the History of Cameroun cultures*. Paris, CNRS, 1981, 2 Tomes, 597 pp.

SERGE GENEST

In 1973, about 50 participants gathered at a seminar organized by Claude Tardits in Paris. The main objective of this meeting was to produce a first synthesis of the history of the Camerounian populations. This was not an easy task if one thinks of the 120 or so ethnic groups which live within the borders of the State of Cameroun.

In order to put their work together, linguists, archaeologists, historians and anthropologists – all specialists of Camerounian populations – were invited to participate in these workshops. Of the 44 communications included in the two volumes, there are three by archaeologists and three by linguists, all of which develop their argumentation on more general lines; all the others focus on a specific ethnic group, though reference may be made to neighbouring populations in one case or the other.

To facilitate discussion, Cameroun was divided into four regions: North and Central (vol. I), West and South (vol. II). Twelve articles deal with the northern part of the country, nine with the West, five with the South and only three with the central region. Nine of the texts are written in English and 35 in French. Finally, these volumes being the proceedings of a conference, the editor has chosen to retain as much as possible of the discussion which took place by publishing the papers, the regional and thematic synthesis presented by designated participants, and the summaries of the debates which followed.

Each contributor was asked to give information on pre-colonial history, with special emphasis on migrations and inter-ethnic contacts – in other words, anything and everything which might lead to a better understanding of the present-day regional and local ethnic configurations. The other dimensions under investigation were pre-colonial trade and economy and the diffusion of maize and manioc.

Because of the information available to each of the authors, these topics were not given the same weight throughout the communications. Actually, most of the contributions deal with population movements in pre-colonial history. Local and regional trade and the diffusion of maize and manioc are omitted in some papers.

Since these books address themselves primarily to researchers directly interested in Camerounian ethnography, and because of the profusion of ethnographic details presented in these papers, it seems to be impossible and irrelevant to offer a systematic review here.

From a more general point of view, the idea of having specialists from different academic disciplines, all concerned with the same region, put their knowledge together is a much needed exercise, especially in the case of African ethnography and history. This makes these volumes a must for anyone beginning a study of Camerounian "cultures".

Looking at the methodological dimension, that which emerged from this seminar stands as one example of the way in which a better know-

ledge of a region can be acquired. By confronting linguistic and archaeological material with oral traditions, by showing how some of the problems of historical reconstruction can be handled, as well as the limitations which everybody faces, these two volumes do more than give regional or ethnographic information. They show the direction which needs to be followed.

Unfortunately, as so often happens, it took eight years for these proceedings to be published. Even though there are plenty of reasons explaining this situation, this is too long a delay, particularly when one thinks of the information on the same subjects which has accumulated during this period and which is not contained in this publication.

I will conclude this review by pointing to two slight shortcomings. First, there are many misprints and spelling errors which could have been avoided by more careful proof-reading. Second, the few pages of discussion following each synthesis of the main questions raised by the relevant papers do not add very much to what precedes. In other words, their usefulness is questionable.

Sally Price, *Co-wives and Calabashes*, Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 1984, 224 p., ill.

SILVIA W. DE GROOT

Sally Price's *Co-wives and Calabashes* has earned the author the 1982 Hamilton Prize. The book has now been published in the University of Michigan Press's 'Women and Culture Series', which concentrates on the status, role and achievements of women, in the past and present.

The author is an anthropologist who, with her husband Richard, has done extensive research among the Saramakas, a Maroon community of about 20,000 people living along the upper reaches of the Surinam River, which flows through the country of the same name. The Saramakas have lived in this region since their escape from the slave plantations 280 years ago. They gained freedom after carrying on a guerilla against the plantation owners in 1762, a century before the general abolition of slavery in 1863. The Prices are the authors, singly or jointly, of a number of excellent publications on the sociology and history of the Saramakas.

The book's alliterative title represents a *pars pro toto*. The place and role of co-wives, as well as the use and decoration of calabashes, are placed in the context of the community's social structure. In this way, Price provides the reader with a balanced and sound insight into the many facets of the life of the Saramakan community: the position of women in general; the stereotyping of the roles of wives, co-wives, and their husbands; the meaning and form of gift-giving and receiving (of which calabashes constitute part); the artistic, emotional and rational importance of the exchange of gifts; the techniques for decorating calabashes; the significance of reciprocity in the exchange of gifts and services; the artistic importance and evaluation of other types of gifts

and services, such as embroidery, singing, dancing and cookery.

Saramakan society is matrilineal. This does not imply an added importance of the position of women. But it does mean that the female family line ensures women material, psychological and religious protection. Co-habitation with her husband, within his matrilineal family, imposes many restrictions on a Saramakan woman. Although the husband is supposed to share his favours equally among his wives, the battle for his attention, favours and gifts, and particularly for the goods he procures from 'the city', can be a fierce one.

In principle, it is easy for a woman to pack up her belongings and leave her husband, and this in fact happens frequently. But if she does so she becomes isolated. Her chances of remarriage are much slighter than those of the man. She will have to repay services (even from her family) with return services. This becomes more and more difficult as she grows older. What is striking is the ambiguous position in which she finds herself.

On the one hand, she enjoys the protection and security of her own matrilineal family circle. On the other, she is faced with the uncertainty of her position as wife or co-wife of a man who not only is often away from home for long periods, but also belongs to a different, equally close, family. She is continually occupied in preserving and strengthening her status as wife. Her services and gifts in many ways are determined by her vulnerability. The evaluation, usually an under-evaluation, of women's artistic achievements – calabash decorating, embroidery, cookery and singing – and the over-evaluation of those of the men are an expression of this. Sally Price shows us, although not explicitly, that women find expression for their dilemma in songs and derive strength from their singing.

Sally Price has a thorough knowledge of anthropology in general and of Saramakan women in particular. She is also endowed with a keen social and psychological perception and a fluent, lively, yet compact, style of writing. Her book is indeed a worthy and valuable contribution to our knowledge of the role and the position of women.

Gene R. Garthwaite, *Khans and Shahs. A documentary analysis of the Bakhtiary in Iran*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983. 213 pp.

N. O. KIELSTRA

The fragmentary nature and sometimes chaotic condition of archival sources prevent historians of the Middle East from making the detailed socio-historical analyses that have become customary in the historiography of western societies of the past few centuries. The historian of the Middle East cannot hope to be exhaustive – he can at best hope to find some new and useful documentary evidence. Access to documents in the possession of relatives of former Bakhtiary paramount tribal leaders has enabled Garthwaite to sketch a useful outline of the history

of tribal leadership in the Bakhtiary confederacy.

Evidence from before the 18th century is almost non-existent, while the 18th-century material remains fragmentary. The material on the 19th century is extensive enough, however, to provide a more detailed picture of the complex and delicate balance of power between the Bakhtiary leaders, the Persian monarchic government and its various factions, Arab and Qashqa'i tribal leaders and, later, the British. It also shows the strategies in forming marriage alliances and establishing patronage relations, by which tribal leaders attempted to impose and consolidate their supremacy within the tribal organization itself. Bakhtiary history since the First World War has only been summarized in a few pages, though both written documentation and oral evidence should be more abundant for this period.

Garthwaite gives some attention to the pastoral and agricultural base of the tribal economy, but his study largely retains the character of a view from the top. The documentary evidence would probably not have allowed of a more detailed analysis of tribal politics at the lower levels. The study would have gained in theoretical interest, however, if Garthwaite had related his material to the ongoing debate on the nature of tribal organization. The practical relevance of the segmentary lineage model of tribal organization, which has been taken for granted by Garthwaite, has been called into question, and relations between tribesmen and the state were more complex than would seem here. For the great *Khans* the tribal society may increasingly have constituted a social periphery which was just useful as a stepping-stone for their social ascent to the circles of the national elite. For the ordinary tribesmen, on the other hand, the great *Khans* were more and more a peripheral phenomenon, who were of some use as mediators in their contacts with the outside world, but at the same time something of a nuisance because of their financial demands.

As it is, the book is the history more of the rise and fall of a particular aristocratic family than of a tribal confederacy. Such histories of leading families constitute, however, an indispensable, and so far all too rare, source for 19th-century Iranian history.

Jeff Opland, *Xhosa Oral Poetry*. Aspects of a black South African tradition, Cambridge Studies in Oral and Literate Culture 7, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, London, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne, Sydney, 1983, XII + 303 pp.

G. L. KOSTER

Opland's book presents a general statement about the traditional eulogistic oral poetry of the *izibongo* genre that is still current among the Xhosa-speaking peoples of South Africa. This poetry, as Opland shows, consists basically in the manipulation in constantly varying ways of more or less formulaic commemorative praises and ceremonial names replete

with animal imagery, on the pattern of a flexible scheme of traditional topics. These praises and ceremonial names allude to physical and moral characteristics and events connected with the themes that the genre admits: the selfboasts of the tribesman; praise of his ancestors, his fellow-tribesmen or his castle; praise of the clan; praise – as well as censure – of the chief and of significant events in connection with the chieftdom. Matching this broad spectrum of themes there is a wide variety of practitioners who come from all walks of life and who may be active as well as passive bearers of the tradition. Perhaps the best known figure is that of the *imbongi*, the man who walks before the great chief on state occasions. Rather than to the chief, his allegiance is to the principles that the chieftainship stands for, so that he is not a mere toady: not being a retainer, he is free to censure as well as praise if the interests of the polity in his view demand it. Through the power of his poetry he creates the identity of the chief he has attached himself to, establishes and preserves the moral norms of the chieftdom, incites warriors in battle, soothes and pacifies inflamed emotions, and preserves the memory of worthy and exemplary qualities and deeds, as well as of important events in the past. As Opland happily characterizes him, he is the ecstatic spokesman of the ideal polis, who unites in his person the qualities of a cheer leader, a custodian of lore, a mediator, a prophet and a literary virtuoso.

A study of a poetic tradition that is so intimately interwoven with social and political life obviously cannot stop short at a purely text-oriented approach, and it is therefore only proper that Opland should not only examine the structural features of *izibongo* but also amply account for aspects of its performance, and its social context and function, necessarily drawing on a wide variety of disciplines such as anthropology, folklore, sociology, comparative literature, etc.

The first four chapters of his book, although testifying to sound scholarship and extensive research, severely tax the patience of the reader. To underpin his thesis that *izibongo* is practised by a wide variety of poets and that it broaches a broad spectrum of themes, Opland in the first chapter gives an exhaustive review, in an inductive fashion and chronological order, of all the available documentary evidence concerning the practice of *izibongo*. This is followed in the second chapter by a systematic treatment of the same data. Frequent unnecessary repetitions inevitably result in and make for very boring reading. In the third chapter he examines the *imbongi*'s training as a poet, his relation to his chief and his function in the community, subsequently, in the fourth chapter, presenting four case studies of practising individual *imbongi* in the first half of the nineteenth century. Here again there is much repetition of already familiar data and an unfortunate fieldworker's fondness for quoting interviews at too great a length.

The tenacious reader who has persevered as far as the fifth chapter, 'Eulogy and Ritual', there finally sees his patience rewarded. In it Opland tries to define *izibongo* as a literary genre in respect of its function and structure. *Izibongo*, Opland stresses, is a performative utterance, an illocutionary act (Austin), that is attributed effective power. He then carefully describes its function and role within the

system of Xhosa beliefs and rituals in connection with ancestor worship, chieftainship and cattle. Defining it structurally as a series of variations on allusive commemorative phrases on the pattern of a flexible scheme of topics, he sets it off against (*pace* Ruth Finnegan, among others African) epic narrative and compares it with a multitude of eulogistic poetic traditions from all over black Africa, with Cretan laments for the dead, and with the models for eulogy prescribed by ancient Greek and Roman rhetorics for the *protogymnasmata* (school exercises in orations on set themes). Interesting though it is, the profusion of comparative material here rather draws the attention away from the central issues, while it does little to contribute to a sharper methodological focus. Thus the concept of genre as a historically and culturally determined system of communicative norms is allowed to happily rub shoulders with the notion of 'genre' as a convenient tag for classification and the idea of a universal eulogy or epic 'genre'. René Etiemble's dictum that '*comparaison n'est pas raison*' sometimes has a point, it seems.

In the sixth chapter Opland examines certain features of *izibongo* in the light of Albert B. Lord's theory of oral-formulaic composition using formulae and themes (i.e. recurrent literary situations or type-scenes) and Walter J. Ong's theory concerning the features that are characteristic of all verbal communication in societies dominated by a primary-oral noetics. Lord's tenets that the singer is bound to the use of repeated phrases and that literacy causes the oral poet to lose his ability to improvise is rejected with respect to *izibongo*. Of the two models, Ong's paradigm for primary-oral features is found by Opland to be the more congenial to this particular tradition. In the seventh chapter the effect of the introduction of print on the practice of *izibongo* is discussed and ample evidence is provided to show that the advent of writing, literacy and printing did not in itself entail the death of this oral tradition. In the eighth chapter the change in the tradition is examined. In Opland's view this is more the product of political and economic factors than of mass education and literacy, as theorists of oral literature tend to assert. Scattered through the sixth and eighth chapters the reader will find further data concerning the conventional features of the *izibongo* genre, which would have been better treated together, in their mutual relation and hierarchy, than in the piecemeal checklist-like fashion adopted by Opland. At the close of the book some fascinating examples of *izibongo* in social and political action are given, which make one wish that more space had been devoted to this subject.

In conclusion it may be said that, in spite of some conspicuous weaknesses of presentation and methodology, Opland's book displays an impressive grasp of a very complicated field. Perhaps its greatest merit is that it succeeds in giving us a clear impression of an experience that does not come natural to us any longer in our world of deeply ingrained literacy and printing. The book is highly relevant, not only for the Xhosa-specialist, but for every anthropologist, historian or student of literature who is working on an area in which primary orality still prevails.

Interest and Emotion: Essays on the Study of Family and Kinship, Edited by Hans Medick and David Warren Sabean, Cambridge University Press, 1984.

ADAM KUPER

This collection of essays has two central themes, one substantive and the other methodological. The substantive theme is summed up most clearly by one of the contributors, Andrew Strathern:

In certain kinds of society emotions both centre on land as a focus of interest and are expressed in terms of land as a type of material property. Often, the strength of such emotions may be shown only at times of crisis or transition, particularly where inheritance is at issue. Inheritance usually turns on a single crucial relationship, such as that of father/eldest son.

In short, the editors wish to combine a Marxist view of the domination of property relations with an 'anthropological' sense of the emotionally charged framework of kinship relations within which the micro-processes of inheritance, dowry-payments, maintenance arrangements and so forth occur.

The methodological theme of the book is that this sort of exercise is best carried out by anthropologically sophisticated historians, or historically-aware anthropologists. Readers of Balzac will no doubt object. Clearly, the great European novelists have analyzed this matrix of property and emotion more powerfully than any historian or anthropologist, but the social scientist might respond that he is working methodically, with help of comparisons and replications, towards the statement of general principles.

In practice, this book is rather a disappointment. The anthropologists seem not to be interested in historical processes of any depth, and the historians show little methodological sophistication in kinship analysis. Several of the historical contributions are no more than suggestive descriptions of very specific processes – the most extreme case being Roger Sablonier's essay on the Aragonese royal family around 1300. The most successful essays suggest the potential interest of comparing the dynamics of family relationships – I would note especially Gutman on Afro-American kinship, Collomp on family tensions in seventeenth and eighteenth century Haute Provence, and Sider on Newfoundland. However, a more sophisticated analytical framework is required if one is to progress beyond the rather obvious observation that (say) brothers who are in competition for shares in a farm will be likely to quarrel.

There have been attempts at generalization, at least in the European field, most notably by Goody and Laslett, but these are not systematically discussed by the authors. Nor is the field of comparison clear. Most of the essays are by historians, and concern France and Germany, but the collection includes contributions by anthropologists in Greece, New Guinea and Morocco. The very different kinds of kinship system included must surely have a crucial influence on variations in family relationships, but these issues are not discussed. Nor, finally, do the authors touch upon the various psychological theories available which purport to explain the dynamics of family relationships in Europe and America.

Peter Kloos, *Antropologie als wetenschap*. Coutinho, Muidenberg 1984 (204 p.).

C. A. VAN PEURSEN

In vele wetenschappen is duidelijk geworden dat men van de eigen wetenschap een soort röntgenfoto moet maken, structuur en methode onderkennen, wil men zulk een wetenschap goed kunnen onderwijzen en vernieuwen. Het gaat daarbij om meer dan alleen methode en technieken aan te leren: niet slechts de instrumenten, maar ook de hand die wetenschap hanteert – of niet in een beeld: de vooronderstellingen – moet men in het zicht krijgen. Zo speelt de laatste jaren de wetenschapsleer en wetenschapsfilosofie een steeds belangrijker rol binnen de wetenschap zelf: de wetenschap beziet haar veld van onderzoek, maar krijgt ook zichzelf in het zicht. In de meest uiteenlopende wetenschappelijke opleidingen, van medicijnen tot taalwetenschap, van theologie tot geologie, van sociale tot technische wetenschappen wordt tegenwoordig iets aan wetenschapsleer gedaan. Er bestaat binnen het Nederlands taalgebied thans een tamelijk groot aantal van goede, wijsgerige inleidingen in de wetenschapsleer. Een aanvulling bij deze literatuur is echter nodig en wel boeken die daarna duidelijk de brug slaan tot die specifieke wetenschap die beoefend wordt. Er zijn enkele werken op dit gebied van de bijzondere wetenschapsleer gepubliceerd, o.a. op dat der psychologie en der biologie, maar er bestaan nog vele leemten. Eén daarvan is thans gevuld door bovenstaande publicatie.

Kloos heeft zijn boek eenvoudig opgezet: een breed overzicht van de centrale problemen binnen een wetenschap: theorie en feiten, begripsvorming, verklaren en voorspellen; ook van randvragen: rol van metafysica, ideologie, waardesystemen, sociologische en psychologische aspecten; tenslotte ook korte schetsen van de belangrijkste representanten en hun opvattingen: Popper, Lakatos, Kuhn, Feyerabend. Tevens, en dat is het belangrijkste, worden steeds voorbeelden gegeven uit de culturele antropologie, verbindingen gelegd met de hoofdstromingen daarin, waarbij vooral Barnes, Evans-Pritchard, Lévi-Strauss, Malinowski, Merton, Radcliffe-Brown naar voren komen. Niet treft men aan de meer fenomenologisch-hermeneutische stroming (Husserl, Gadamer, Schuetz, Berger) en de meer pragmatisch georiënteerde denkers (C. S. Peirce, J. Dewey, Kaplan, de latere Habermas). Maar dat hangt samen met de opzet: geen overzicht van stromingen, wel van probleemgebieden, al werkt het indirect wel eens door, zoals zal blijken.

Het boek is helder, didactisch goed en in alle beknoptheid zeer verantwoord geschreven: onmisbaar voor elke student in de culturele antropologie. Het tekent een aantal spanningen in de c.a., die niet eenzijdig opgelost, maar als kenmerken voor de c.a. als "wetenschap in wording" (p. 186) gezien worden. Deze zijn onder meer: die tussen subjectiviteit ("de begrippen . . . van menselijke makelij . . ." p. 73; ". . . feiten . . . menselijke constructies . . . noodzakelijkerwijs subjectief" p. 77) en objectiviteit (" . . . er zijn wel degelijk wetmatigheden . . . die zich onttrekken aan het inzicht . . . van de betrokkenen" p. 117), het bepaald zijn van de wetenschap door de eigen cultuur (" . . . nooit helemaal losmaken van . . . eigen socioculturele achtergrond . . . geen

algemeen geldige theorie . . ." p. 39) en de interculturele geldigheid ("het universele verschijnsel mens . . ." p. 119; ". . . een gemeenschap-pelijke basis . . ." p. 187).

Boeiend is hoe de stromingen op het terrein van de algemene wetenschapsleer (falsificatiebeginsel van Popper, paradigma van Kuhn en andere vooral ten aanzien van de natuurwetenschappen ontwikkelde opvattingen) overtuigend bruikbaar gemaakt worden voor de c.a. (p. 139 e.v.). Dat leidt er zelfs toe dat er vandaaruit criteria opgesteld worden voor de wetenschappelijkheid van een wetenschap: methode, verklaren, falsifiëerbaarheid, paradigma, instrumentalisme. Hieraan getoetst blijkt de c.a. soms nog niet veel voor te stellen (verklaren: p. 181), soms tot op zekere hoogte (falsifiëerbaarheid p. 183), soms op en top een wetenschap te zijn (paradigma, maar dan, anders dan bij Kuhn, polyparadigmatisch opgevat: p. 184).

Er blijven nog vragen over, uiteraard. Hoe is bijvoorbeeld de cultuur-bepaaldheid? Wat is er nu eigenlijk universeel: zijn de problemen voor alle samenlevingen hetzelfde, b.v. de behoefte aan voedsel, maar de oplossingen verschillend, zoals op p. 119 gesteld wordt? Betekent dit niet een soort uniforme biologische basis met divergerende culturele bovenbouw – iets dat zeker te betwisten zou zijn? Of, ander vraagstuk, kan men zeggen dat de verschillende wetenschappen een zelfde methode hebben (in navolging van de logisch positivist Rudner: p.51) en tegelijk volhouden dat "Verstehen" "een belangrijke extra dimensie in de cultuurwetenschappen" is (p. 82)? Maar het zijn vragen die het, terecht didactisch beperkt gehouden, kader van dit boek overschrijden.

Jeannine Koubi, *Rambu solo': "la fumée descend". Le culte des morts chez les Toradja du Sud*. Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1982. 530 pages, 3 maps, 73 pictures. Price 150 francs.

JEROME ROUSSEAU

This is a detailed ethnography of death rituals and beliefs among the Southern Toraja. The first and longest part deals with funerary rituals while the second concerns itself with myths and beliefs relating to death. In the description, however, beliefs and rituals are clearly interwoven: for instance, the description of a ritual will be accompanied not only by the actual text of the prayers and invocations, but also by relevant myths which are seen to provide a meaning for the ritual. Whenever possible, several versions of a myth are presented; this facilitates the understanding of their central features. An annex provides the Toraja version of ritual texts and myths, and the descriptions of rituals are illustrated with photos.

Within the area, the author noted a significant variation in rituals; instead of limiting herself to the description of a single tradition, she chose the wider area as her field of study. Consequently, she provides comparative data, especially for Sa'dan and the area west of Sa'dan. *Rambu solo'* clearly is an outstanding ethnography, a basic text of

significance in the study of the Toraja, and of ritual in general.

However, the very elaborateness, the attention to details, makes it a hard book to read: the reader is so overwhelmed with variants of myths and rituals (the latter in part as a consequence of social stratification, which requires different ceremonies for the various social levels) that it becomes difficult to see the system. There are a few synoptic tables, but not enough to see the various cycles; however, the information is available in the text, and the reader can – and probably should – produce those tables in order to have an overview of the situation, and to distinguish between regional and stratal differentiation.

The alternance between the description of rituals and attendant myths (with additional informants' commentaries) produces a convincing explanation of the significance of the rituals. The myths clearly have the role of moral tales and myths of origin. However, the interpretation of the myths is sometimes ambiguous, as it is not always clear whether it comes from the author or from Toraja informants. In many instances, the author seems to take for granted that the meaning of the myth is necessarily present to the Toraja; this is no doubt often the case, but as she herself notes in passing (p. 393), some meanings are unconscious. One can hardly criticize the author for not producing thorough analyses of the myths – if there is such a thing. Her presentation of reliable texts with the original version is in itself a major contribution. But one would wish to know more clearly where the informants' comments stop and where the author's commentaries begin.

Overall, this is an excellent piece of ethnography, and it is to be hoped that the author will be able to realize her wish to continue studying Toraja religion.

Miklós Szalay, *Ethnologie und Geschichte: zur Grundlegung einer ethnologischen Geschichtsschreibung; mit Beispielen aus der Geschichte der Khoi-San in Südafrika*. Dietrich Reimer Verlag, Berlin 1983, 292 S.

H. C. G. SCHOENAKER

With the decline of the *Kulturkreislehre*, the entire culture-historical approach in Vienna became discredited. However, in the sixties a new historical interest developed in its place, namely ethnohistory. At first the theoretical and methodological aspects of this discipline were not well developed, but the practice of ethnohistorical research proved very inspiring. Miklós Szalay was one of the first students to receive his training in this new school.

Szalay shows in his *Ethnologie und Geschichte* that he has since carried out concrete ethnohistorical research and at the same time that he has developed the theoretical and methodological aspects of this new approach considerably. The charm of this book lies in the combination of *Grundlegung* (foundation) and *Beispiel* (example).

In the first part the author discusses the problematic relation between the particular and the general. The previous particularism of the histori-

cal approach appears to have been overcome; the nomothetical character of the natural sciences has been toned down and the contradiction between *erklären* (to explain) and *verstehen* (to understand) become irrelevant.

At present, historical research combines the hermeneutic approach with the methodology and hypotheses of the social sciences, and therefore is moving closer towards ethnology. However, the latter tries to design a macrotheory concerning the way in which societies develop and to present general statements. Ethnohistory, on the other hand, viewed as historical ethnography, uses mainly idiosyncratic concepts and therefore will not try to go beyond an intermediate level of generalisations. Its usefulness for a macrotheory of ethnology lies mainly in its capacity to provide the necessary basic material, which cannot be obtained by the classical methods of ethnography.

In the second part of the book – which deals with methods of research – the author laconically refers the reader to D. C. Pitt's book *Using Historical Sources in Anthropology and Sociology* (New York, 1972) on ethnohistorical heuristics. He then concentrates upon the (up till now neglected) sources on the Goringhaicona and demonstrates how to work along heuristic lines. The Goringhaicona constitute part of the Khoi-San people of South Africa, who are mentioned already in the notes of Jan van Riebeeck. Szalay places his exposition in the context of the discussions about the *Strandloopers* (Coastal Khoi-San) of Africa's south and southwest coast, and about the relationship between the Khoi and the San populations of South Africa.

In his view the communities involved cannot be ethnically distinguished: the Khoi keep cattle, the San are hunters and gatherers, and the Goringhaicona, as former pastoralists (thus Khoi), have lost their stock and become hunters and gatherers (thus San). In fact, the tendency has been to develop from the San to the Khoi way of life, but, as has been the case with the Goringhaicona, a kind of "devolution" has also occurred.

After his ethnohistorical exercise, the author describes in detail, step by step, how to proceed in ethnohistorical research. He gives a series of valuable methodological instructions, which, he says, are the fruits of his research experience of many years. Again he gives a concrete demonstration of this by tracing the origin of the negative stereotyping of the Khoi in Portuguese writings, for which the foundations were laid already in J. de Barros' standard work, *Da Asia* (Lissabon 1552-1563).

In the third part the author deals concretely with the confrontation between the Khoi-San and European colonizers. In their studies, South African historians have hardly shown an interest in such questions, while ethnologists had little idea of how to use the historical sources which ethnohistorians explore. Szalay's fascinating exposition demonstrates the enormous value of practical historical research.

Above I pointed out that the charm of this book lies in the alternation between theoretical reflections and practical research. At the same time, however, this is perhaps its weakness. Thus, the strictly methodological part has been restricted to a description of the separate steps one has to make when assessing the value of historical sources. This part is somewhat fragmentary. On the other hand, the last part, about the colonial

history of the Khoi-San, is much more than just an example. In fact, this part would deserve separate publication, preferably in English, so that it may be generally consulted in South Africa as well.

Notwithstanding this ambivalence, I highly recommend this book both to ethnologists with an interest in history and to Africanists.

Ghaus Ansari and Peter J. M. Nas (eds.), *Town-talk, the dynamics of Urban Anthropology*, 170 pp., Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1983.

F. J. M. SELIER

This volume is the product of the First International Symposium on Urban Anthropology, held in Vienna in 1982. The volume seems to me to possess the character of a fortuitous collection of papers which happen to have been submitted to a congress. Within the scope of 170 pp. we find twelve articles dealing with a rather wide variety of subjects. It is impossible, of course, to review them all in detail.

The first part of the volume relates to universal perspectives on the city in general. I read Southall's contribution with great interest. He connects the urban process in time and space to the effects of modes of production (ancient, feudal and capitalistic). My objection to it concerns the high level of abstraction, which I find acceptable only for theories which can also be tested. I would have thought that attempts to evolve universal definitions of 'urban' or 'the city' would by now have proved a waste of time. There is no such phenomenon as 'urban' in an absolute sense. To maintain that "the simplest, most general and universal identifying characteristic of cities and of all urban forms is the concentration of relationships", is to restart a discussion like that on the typical 'urban way of living'. To my mind, Gutkind's contribution is too narrative in style (town-talk?), presenting neither a theoretical nor a factual discussion but containing a number of isolated fascinating ideas. Prins and Nas offer what is a combination of a structural-functional and a conflict approach to a tension model. Their article is as well written as it is schematic. Harmony and disharmony of interests are the two ever-changing poles which obtain, of course, in every human situation, urban or otherwise. This purely academic exposé eventually culminates in a very general analysis of three kinds of relationship, namely the city-hinterland, inter-city and intra-city ones. "At all these levels one finds changes and conflicting interests!"

The second part of the volume is devoted to the national or regional urbanization process. Ansari and Qutub have presented a contribution on the characteristics of urban growth in the Gulf States, which are displaying massive urbanization and a far-reaching, though not total, transformation of their traditional societies. I personally do not like the juxtaposition of the concepts 'urban' and 'modern', which is a habit not only with these authors. If one is inclined to describe traditional rural life as non-'modern', many urban situations can be characterized as non-

modern as well (villages incorporated in a town). In the second contribution in this part Imoagene describes the West African experience. It is a clearly written article, without any special facts or new insights. What seems of interest to me is what the author refers to as 'psycho-social migration', i.e. migration to urban areas not in the first place for economic reasons, but because people cannot stand the traditional rural life any longer. In the last article in this part, Azuka Dike writes on pre-industrial, modern traditional (traditional towns affected by Western influence) and modern Igbo towns (which are built less randomly than the traditional ones) in Nigeria.

The third part is on aspects of urban culture. Here we find a contribution by Kiyotaka Aoyagi on traditional Japanese urban festivals (*mat-suri*). Today they allegedly function mainly as occasions for mass celebrations with a view to overcoming problems caused by modernization and industrialization. I would like to observe in this connection that it remains extremely difficult to demonstrate that all the functions which are identified in this kind of anthropological studies in fact really exist. I am thinking of the phenomenon of so-called *chonaikai* as intriguing. The term refers to associations based on occupation or neighbourhood which are in charge of the organization of these festivals. In the recent past the *chonaikai* has been used as a medium of governmental influence (e.g. to mobilize a homefront for World War II activities). Today they often function as popular movements via which local demands are voiced. Some of them are now even "the base for the election of radical (in which direction?) political representatives". Another contribution here is that by Aschenbrenner and Skinner on family art traditions. The paper begins with the remark: "Amid current concerns of threatening nuclear wars, massive poverty, and urban and environmental crises, the topic of the transmission of art in families may seem rather unimportant, even frivolous". I fully agree, as I do with a subsequent remark that the scientific approach does not provide the only solution to social problems. I accordingly tried to consider this paper as a creative contribution, entitled to a certain degree of freedom. But even within this context I have to dismiss the article as being badly organized (or I should say, composed). Regarding the urban factor, I am afraid that, implicitly, urban life is again considered as being generally impersonal, in which context the individualistic mode of expression of art has a special meaning. This part concludes with Hussein's paper on urbanization in Kuwait and its influence on the stability of family life.

The volume concludes with a fourth part consisting of three review articles dealing with the institutional development of urban anthropology in Venezuela, the U.S.A. and The Netherlands. The first article presents a body of facts, which cannot be said of most other such review articles, which very often remain personal and dependent on the author's knowledge of that part of reality he happens to be surveying.

Finally, I would like to make a general remark about the relevance of urban anthropology as demonstrated by this volume and as I see it. Whereas some of the contributors propagate an urban folklorist approach, I would like to see urban anthropology or sociology as the study of major issues such as urban growth and the related problems of

rural-urban migration and regional development, housing and employment for the poor, and ways of organizing the latter to achieve improvements. Therefore, I do not consider this volume representative of the state of affairs in the field of urban research as I know it.

Serge Tcherkézoff, *Le Roi Nyamwezi, la droite et la gauche. Revision comparative des classifications dualistes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Paris: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1983, 154 pp.

A. A. TROUWBORST

Er zijn in de culturele antropologie enkele studies die voortdurend de aandacht blijven trekken, discussies uitlokken en inspiratie leveren voor nieuwe ideeën. Daartoe behoren in ieder geval Mauss' 'Essai sur le Don' en van Gennep's 'Rites de Passage', maar ook zonder twijfel het befaamde essay van R. Hertz over de 'prééminence de la main droite' (1909). Het valt op dat verschillende van dit soort studies oorspronkelijk in het Frans geschreven zijn, in het Engels taalgebied zijn doorgedrongen, daar vertaald en becommentarieerd en vervolgens door Franse auteurs weer verder worden uitgewerkt.

In het geval van Hertz is dat op die manier gebeurd. Zijn studie, in 1960 in het Engels vertaald, is verschillende malen, met name door de inspanningen van Evans-Pritchard en Needham, met zeer veel nadruk onder de aandacht van het Engelstalige publiek gebracht, en heeft nu de inspiratiebron gevormd voor het onderhavige boek van Tcherkézoff.

Niet ongewoon is verder dat met name Needham's commentaar en voortborduren op Hertz' studie in vrij negatieve en afwijzende zin beoordeeld wordt. Weliswaar noemt Tcherkézoff de door Needham uitgegeven bundel *Right and Left. Essays on dual symbolic classification* (1973) een 'recueil important', zijn boek laat zich nochtans voor een groot deel lezen als een kritiek op de tekortkomingen van Needham's analyses.

Tcherkézoff, afkomstig uit de stal van Dumont – het boek is verschenen in de serie *Atelier d'anthropologie sociale*, uitgegeven door dezelfde Dumont – is Chef de Travaux aan de Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Parijs, en werkt binnen het kader van een onderzoeksproject waarvoor ook al weer Dumont, naast Daniel de Coppet, de verantwoordelijke is.

Het boek is ook duidelijk onder de invloed van Dumont geschreven, of sterker nog, het vormt in belangrijke mate een toepassing van Dumont's ideeën op concreet empirisch materiaal. Tcherkézoff werkt die ideeën (o.a te vinden in het ideologie-nummer van het tijdschrift *L'Homme*, juli/december 1978, waarin ook een uitdrukkelijke verwijzing naar Tcherkézoff zelf) in zijn betoog als volgt uit.

In tegenstelling tot Needham's binaire methode van analyse, dient een 'analyse hiérarchique' te komen. Ten onrechte immers gaat Needham uit van symmetrische relaties en van een logische complementari-

teit tussen termen. Needham ontkent hiermee contradicties en de hiërarchische relatie tussen termen. De hiërarchie houdt een asymmetrie van relaties in, een onderscheid van niveaus en de onderkenning van waarden. Het gaat dus niet om complementariteit maar om 'englobement'. 'L'opposition hiérarchique articule deux termes: englobant/englobé' (p. 127/8). Belangrijk is ook het begrip 'totalisation', dat betekent dat het geheel aan de termen vooraf gaat, waardoor het ene element niet het complement van het andere vormt, maar er de 'englobé' van is.

Het verschil tussen Needham's binaire methode en de hiërarchische methode van Dumont en Tcherkézoff hangt samen met het onderscheid tussen onze moderne binaire, symmetrische logica en de hiërarchisch/asymmetrische manier van denken van holistische, niet-moderne samenlevingen. Vandaar dat Needham niet tot een bevredigende verklaring van dualistische classificaties komt.

Tcherkézoff's opvattingen leveren een aantal knappe analyses en herinterpretaties op. In zijn boek volgen op elkaar een herinterpretatie van Needham's bekende artikel over 'The left hand of the Mugwe', een analyse van etnografisch materiaal over de Nyamwezi/Sukuma en beschouwingen over Dogon-etnografie en de klassieke studies van Granet over China en La Flesche over de Osage.

Het boek is zeker de moeite waard ook voor niet-Afrikanisten die minder geïnteresseerd zullen zijn in het gepresenteerde etnografische materiaal. Toch komt het me voor dat Tcherkézoff's analyses minder vernieuwend en radicaal zijn, dan hij suggereert. Ook vraag ik me af of Needham's 'équidistatoire' benadering nu werkelijk ontoegankelijk is en zich niet leent voor het onderscheid van niveaus en een hiërarchisch totaalbegrip.

Het boek is verder wat beperkt van opzet. Het gaat niet in op tal van andere nieuwe studies op het gebied van de symbolische classificatie. Dit heeft misschien ook zijn voordelen: het is een boek met een duidelijk omlijnd gegeven dat systematisch wordt uitgewerkt. Het zal zonder twijfel aanleiding geven tot verdere discussie.

Te Elfder Ure 32: Verwantschap en Produktiewijze, onder redactie van H. Boekraad, G. van den Brink, R. Raatgever en F. van Wel. Jaargang 26 nummer 3 (maart 1983).

PIETER VAN DE VELDE

Dit nummer van *Te Elfder Ure* bundelt een aantal klassieke teksten en enige diskussiestukken rond de vraag: 'leidt de marxistische analyse van [voorkapitalistische] economieën tot een theorie van de verwantschap als alles omvattende sociale structuur?'

De klassieke teksten zijn a.e.v.:

- C. Meillassoux, *De huishoudelijke reproductie*, 1975;
 P.-Ph. Rey, *Klassentegenstellingen in verwantschappelijke maatschappijen*, 1977;
 C. Lévi-Strauss, *De grondslagen van de verwantschap*, 1967;
 E. Leacock, *Lévi-Strauss en de transformaties van het gezin. Waar zijn de vaders gebleven?*, 1977;
 M. Godelier, *Mannenheerschappij bij de Baruya. De sekse als laatste grondslag van de sociale en kosmiese orde bij de Baruya in Nieuw-Guinea*, 1976.

De diskussiestukken/nieuwe teksten zijn:

- H. Boekraad, G. van den Brink, R. Raatgever, F. van Wel, *Verwantschap en produktiewijze. Aantekeningen bij teksten en auteurs*;
 P. Geschiere, *Bruidsprizen bij de Maka in Kameroen. Marxistiese theorieën en de praktijk van antropologies veldwerk*;
 R. Raatgever, *Geëchte arbeid. Uitbuiting onder de dominantie van de verwantschap*.

De (hier vooral als de Franse) opgevatte marxistische antropologie wordt gekenmerkt door het debat over produktiewijzen, zo stelt de redactie van dit nummer; het blijkt dat daarbij aanzienlijke verschillen zich openbaren in theoreties opzicht, en de hier verzamelde teksten illustreren die verschillen. Toch zijn er belangrijke punten van overeenkomst uit polemiek en analyses naar voren gekomen: het in elkaar grijpen van kapitalistische en lokale produktiewijzen is zichtbaar gemaakt; primitieve kulturen blijken niet 'onschuldig' aan uitbuiting. Daar staat tegenover dat een konkreet historische benadering – zoals uit de aanduiding histories-materialisme te verwachten zou zijn – nog geen gestalte gekregen heeft; ook is de verhouding economie/verwantschap niet theoreties doorgedacht. En over dit laatste gaat het in deze bundel.

Wordt de vraag naar produktiewijzen opgehangen aan de Franse Neo-marxisten, de verwantschaps-problematiek sluit aan op Lévi-Strauss' *Structures élémentaires de la parenté*, waarvan het slothoofdstuk hier opgenomen is. Het voornaamste thema daaruit is dat aanverwantschap fundamenteel is voor een verwantschapssysteem; vrouwen mediëren de tegenstellingen tussen verwantschapsgroepen. De redactie tekent aan dat Lévi-Strauss' theorie sterker zou zijn indien in plaats van over ruil tussen mannen, over ruil tussen groepen gesproken zou worden; ook zou meer aandacht gegeven moeten worden aan de ongelijkheden die optreden bij vrouwen/bruidsprijs ruil-transakties – het is wel degelijk van belang wat geruild wordt (zie daarvoor de bijdrage van Geschiere). Het afsluitende hoofdstuk van Raatgever probeert dit verder uit te werken. Na een analyse van Althusser's begrippenpaar dominantie-determinatie, waaruit de ambiguïteit van de eerste term (kausaal, politiek, of structureel principe) en de heuristische betekenis van de tweede naar voren komt, blijkt dat de Franse marxistische antropologie de betekenis van dat determinisme overschat, en dominantie niet voldoende specificeert.

Door dan direkt aan de burgerlijke antropologie in Frankrijk aan te sluiten (Mauss, Lévi-Strauss) wordt getracht vrouwenruil/verwantschap

als 'prestation totale' weer te geven. Geven-ontvangstplicht-wedergave verwijzen naar economische verhoudingen tussen zowel als binnen groepen, waardoor economie en verwantschap met elkaar in verband gebracht worden.

Een huwelijkssluiting in prekapitalistische samenlevingen wordt zo een 'arbeidsplaatsenkontraat'. Daarmee is de weg vrij verwantschap als algemeen sociaal verschijnsel te zien (sensu Mauss) dat 'het economische' organiseert, open voor een histories-materialistische analyse.

Naast de belangwekkende punten die Inleiding en afsluitend hoofdstuk brengen, is het nuttig dat een aantal teksten uit de Franse antropologie voor een breder publiek toegankelijk is gemaakt door vertaling en bundeling. Als altijd, is er op een selectie als deze het een en ander aan te merken (b.v., waarom alleen Franse marxisten, en wat doet Leacock daartussen?); gegeven het thema kan de keuze geslaagd genoemd worden.

Sally Humphreys, *The family, women and death. Comparative studies*. London, Boston, etc.: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983 (International Library of Anthropology). xiv + 210 pp. ISBN 0 7100 9322 5. £ 15.00.

E. CH. L. VAN DER VLIET

The family, women and death, comparative studies is a collection of articles and essays on aspects of ancient Greek, and mainly classical Athenian, society. Its title, therefore, is rather misleading, especially for those readers who are not informed about Ms. Humphreys' particular field of study, which is ancient history. It is her aim to study ancient Greek society from a comparative, anthropological point of view, as is indicated by the title. Nearly all the essays collected here have been published before, and they can be regarded as a sequel to a similar book by the same author, *Anthropology and the Greeks*. A reprint of that book, which was published originally in 1978, has appeared recently (London, 1983; paperback). Compared with its predecessor, *The family, women and death* in my opinion makes better reading, not only because of the greater homogeneity with respect to its themes, but also because Ms. Humphreys now has chosen a more consistent and unified anthropological approach. The earlier essays in *Anthropology and the Greeks* suffered from too great a degree of eclecticism in the use of anthropological ideas and schools of thought.

Many collections of articles of this kind suffer from the fault of too great a heterogeneity of the subjects dealt with and a general lack of one or more themes binding the whole together. Fortunately, this cannot be said of the book under review. The inclusion of two essays, however, is debatable. I am thinking here of chapter 3, 'Women in Antiquity', and the final chapter, 'Comparative perspectives on death'. Both were originally drafted as concluding comments to papers presented and discussions held at congresses. Detached from their context, these two essays

are less interesting and sometimes less comprehensible to the reader of this book.

The main theme of these studies is the perception and the delimitation of what is considered as belonging to the private and the public domain in life respectively and the changes occurring therein. Chapter 5, 'Family tombs and tomb-cult in classical Athens: tradition or traditionalism?', which occupies the central part of this book (pp. 79-130), also holds a central position with regard to its themes. In this essay the author analyses the attitude of the nearest of kin and of the society as a whole towards their dead as far as we are able to understand this by reference to Athenian burial customs. Especially in the fourth century B.C.E. one observes an increasing tendency to bury the members of the same household together. This archaeological observation is supported by the inscriptions accompanying the burial sites. According to Ms. Humphreys this tendency must be interpreted as the outcome of a growing sense of unity among members of the same household, in life as well as in death. On the other hand, there is clearly no evidence of any tomb-cult for individuals or the family in connection with the place of burial that was observed by the surviving relatives and descendants for some generations, nor is there any evidence of such a tomb-cult prior to the fourth century B.C.E. According to Ms. Humphreys' interpretation, the sense of unity among the members of one household at the same time implies a more clearly marked separation between what is felt to be essentially private and what is generally considered as belonging to the public domain of social life. In Athenian society a development towards an increasing consciousness of privacy can be perceived from the later part of the fifth century B.C.E. onwards. One may contrast the burial customs of this later period with the funeral practices of nobles in the seventh century B.C.E., which outwardly made a public show of the high status enjoyed by the deceased in the community during his lifetime. It is one of Ms. Humphreys' principal conclusions that in the course of the fifth century B.C.E. the experience of death and dying had shifted from the public to the private domain of life.

In chapters 7 and 8 the author continues her analysis of the experience of death and dying in Athenian society. In chapter 7, 'Death and time', she deals with matters relating to the social experience of dying. She raises such questions as: what moment was considered as the 'right time' to die, when was a still living person considered to be dying or even as being already dead, and how did the dying and death of a member of the community take place as a social process? She remarks that these questions are answered in a different way in each culture and concludes that these problems have until now received little attention in anthropological literature and in research in general.

The increasing consciousness of privacy within the intimacy of the household and among the nearest of kin as separated off from, and even opposed to, the publicity of social life in the community at large must be seen as a consequence of the continuing politicization of public life. This theme connects chapter 5 to the other essays in this book. The delimitation of *oikos* and *polis*, of household and community, i.e. of the private and public domain, vis-à-vis each other is the subject of the first essays.

In 'Oikos and polis' Ms. Humphreys tries to determine what the feelings of the Greeks themselves were as regards 'private' and 'public'. Such things as the management of the household and the acquisition of property and wealth belonged to the private domain. Hence the word *oikonomia*, economics, in contrast to public affairs, politics. It must be admitted, however, that the boundaries of the private and the public domain cannot be defined very accurately where the adult male members of the family are concerned. The gymnasium, not only as a place of physical and moral education and training but also especially as a meeting-place for intimate friends, male clubs, and meetings of rather informal circles of friends at symposia, represented for the men as many transitions between private and public life. If it is possible to define a clearly marked private domain in ancient Greek society, it must be that within the *oikos*, the household, which was predominantly the women's domain. In 'Family in classical Athens' Ms. Humphreys further analyses this aspect of Athenian society. She points to a gradual shift in the position of family life and the esteem in which it was held. This consequently implied gradual changes in the attitude towards marriage and women as well. The growing distinction between life in public (activity in the community, i.e. politics) and life in private (passivity in the public domain, i.e. retirement from politics and devotion to work and the family) further strengthened the idea of household affairs as being essentially a private matter. We find a reflection of this process in Greek tragedies where women are placed in a male role and position, and vice versa.

Considering this collection of essays as a whole, one may summarize its main conclusions as follows. The growing politicization of public life in classical Athens entailed its gradual depersonalization on the one hand and an increasing consciousness of a private domain in life on the other. Privacy came to be distinguished and separated off from what happened in public. This was true for the experience of death and dying and for the more explicit concern with private economic interests, as well as for the growing sense of unity of the household in general. Behaviour and conduct in private became definitely distinct from those in politics and public. These developments were mainly a feature of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E.

These general conclusions seem justified, not in the last place because Ms. Humphreys makes good use of the available evidence. Nevertheless, some methodological questions remain unanswered. The anthropological approach followed by Ms. Humphreys, as far as I can see, is strongly influenced by the school of Durkheim and its organic conception of society. I personally am not convinced that this is the correct approach to anthropological studies. The results of this kind of approach always leave the impression of being subjective and influenced by the researcher's personal point of view to a relatively high degree. The conviction these studies carry rests to a large extent on the manner in which they are presented by their authors. In other words, they tend to convince their readers more through their literary than by purely scientific qualities. I have this impression also after reading and rereading the essays in this book. In fact, they do not provide an answer to the important question of

whether it is methodologically correct to study ancient Greek society, or any society other than our own, starting from our conception of the distinction between private and public. I doubt if this is really the way a comparative study should be made. Ms. Humphreys is very well aware of this problem. She admits that our feelings of what is essentially private and of what belongs to the public domain may have no meaning in the context of the ancient Greek conception of social life. Their point of view may have been totally different from ours, and probably was. It is comparison, as Ms. Humphreys states, that brings to light whatever differences there are between their social experience and ours (see esp. p. x ff.). But this is not the real answer to the question of the comparability of social experiences in different cultures. Besides, one may also question, for instance, the validity of conclusions about the inner experience of death when these are based only on the outward appearance of funeral customs. Certainly more research will need to be done before we can make definite statements on the subjects dealt with in this book. We may be confident, in any case, that these essays will stimulate such further research, regardless of whether this will lead to similar, or, as Ms. Humphreys herself says, to 'different points of view'. Therefore, I can recommend this book to anyone interested in a comparative view of ancient Greek society.

T. Svensson and P. Sørensen (eds.), *Indonesia and Malaysia. Scandinavian studies in contemporary society*. Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies: Studies on Asian Topics No. 5. London and Malmö: Curzon Press, 1983, 282 pp.

W. F. WERTHEIM

Since the end of World War II, in the Scandinavian countries a new interest has grown in Southeast Asia. The volume under review testifies to the variety of topics with which Scandinavian scholars are at present concerned and to the remarkable quality of the research undertaken by them in several fields.

The present volume contains studies in sociolinguistics (by Elisabet Lind, Lars Vikør, and Wil Lundström-Burghoorn), in cultural anthropology (by Magnus Lindgren, Sven Cederroth, and Ingrid Rudie), and finally in rural sociology. It is this latter category of contributions, on subjects with which the present reviewer is more familiar, to which henceforth specific attention will be paid.

Thommy Svensson has investigated Dutch archival documents on a subject that has thus far been neglected by Dutch historians: the rapid growth and subsequent decline of the *Sarekat Rakyat*, affiliated with the Indonesian Communist Party, in the Priangan region in the years 1923-1925 ('Peasants and Politics in Early Twentieth-Century West Java'). The author develops an interesting theory on the reasons why such a protest movement could originate in a comparatively prosperous region of Java, and on the causes of its sudden collapse as soon as the local

authorities created and supported a counter-movement called *Sarekat Hedyo* (Green Associations).

Svensson's analysis, although illuminating in several respects, also displays certain weaknesses. First of all, by attributing to the protest movement embodied by *Sarekat Rakyat* characteristics *exclusively* specific to the Priangan region (namely the prevalence of individual land-ownership), he overlooks a striking affinity with an earlier peasant protest movement which had its focus in the border area of Central and East Java: the Samin movement, which had a lasting impact on the peasantry particularly in the Blora region around the turn of the century. Like the *Sarekat Rakyat* movement in the Priangan, the Saminists also resisted paying taxes and performing corvée. Exactly the same as described by Svensson for the Priangan, the core of Samin's resistance movement originated not among the landless but among landowners.¹ Moreover, in the core areas of the Samin movement there was even a direct link with the subsequent *Sarekat Rakyat* movement of the twenties.

As is pointed out by Eric Wolf in *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century*, it is generally not among poor peasants that peasant revolutions start: the pivotal group would mainly consist of *middle* peasants, who have contacts with the urban sphere. Therefore, the phenomenon described by Svensson is not a specific trait of the Communist movement in Indonesia, as the author assumes. Landless peasants and farm hands are not, generally, in a position to wage a class struggle independently – unless they can find a powerful protector in the shape of a revolutionary movement firmly established in a guerilla base which may function as a replacement for the protection provided by the former landlord-patron.

The author rightly draws a parallel with an earlier peasant movement in the same region of Priangan, which was also easily suppressed by the authorities: the so-called *afdeling-B* of the *Sarekat Islam*, a radical branch of the SI which was active around 1919.² From Svensson's argument one might get the impression that Dutch civil servants were not strongly involved in the suppression of the movement; however, it was precisely Dutch authorities such as De Stuers, Resident of Priangan, Van der Jagt, a conservative member of the Volksraad and an active civil servant, and Filet, a high functionary in the Department of Justice, who attempted to utilize the Afdeling-B affair in order to completely crush the nationalist movement as embodied in *Sarekat Islam*.

It was not the first time that *Sarekat Islam* had been confronted with repression at a time when its leadership appeared to take a radical stance, directly opposing the government. When in 1912 the real founder of the union, the journalist R. M. Tirto Adhisoerjo, started directly attacking Dutch civil servants in his widely read newspaper *Medan Prijaji* (he even had the effrontery to translate BB as *Buaja Besar* – Great Crocodile!), the government took stern measures which resulted in his banishment to Ambon. The Adviser for Native Affairs, Rinkes, who is generally assumed to have been a benevolent observer of the nationalist movement, even did everything he could to blacken Tirto's reputation and to obliterate him from Indonesian political history. Tjo-kroaminoto at the time appeared to be a much more pliable SI leader. In

his recent doctoral thesis on the first years of *Sarekat Islam*, the Dutch historian Pieter Korver follows the lead of Rinkes and Hazeu by playing down the role of Tirta in the creation of *Sarekat Islam*.³ However, from the forthcoming publication of Pramoedya Ananta Toer's biography of Tirta Adhisoerjo the latter's real pioneering role within the Indonesian nationalist movement will become apparent.

Anyhow, it is clear that whenever the colonial authorities decided to take drastic action, they were able to suppress more radical nationalist protest movements. There is no need to ascribe the sudden collapse of the *Sarekat Rakyat* in the Priangan in 1925 to specific weaknesses in the Communist strategy. However, resistance against colonial domination and against its Indonesian stooges remained dormant and could erupt again in a different shape.

Two other contributions to the volume under review take issue, on the basis of experiences in the field, with Clifford Geertz's characterization of rural developments in Java and other parts of 'Inner Indonesia' as *involution*. Ingela Gerdin, a Swedish anthropologist who died after the volume under review was published, performed field research in West Lombok (which is part of what Geertz calls 'Inner Indonesia') during the seventies. Her paper on 'Land and Labour in West Lombok: Non-involutionary Change' shows convincingly that,

"quite contrary to the process of fragmentization of landownership that should be characteristic for a process of involution, the shift from share-cropping arrangements towards the employment of wage-labour accentuates processes of concentration of land in fewer hands".

Landowners like to stress that they are fulfilling a social function by employing share-croppers or wage labourers; Geertz interpreted their attitudes as one of 'sharing poverty'. However, Ingela Gerdin concludes her sharp analysis with the following sentence:

"Notions concomitant with the concept of involution are certainly to be found in indigenous as well as Western representations of organization of production in Inner Indonesia – or should we say misrepresentations?"

A similar argument is pursued in the paper by Lien Pekih Aass and Svein Aass in their contribution entitled 'Rural Change in Suharto's Indonesia. Communal rights and harvesting methods in a Javanese village'. In this study, again, it is argued that not shared poverty but increasing polarity is a characteristic of more recent developments in Java. The study arouses special interest because the authors' research was undertaken in the early seventies in exactly the same area where Geertz had been doing research with his Modjokuto team in the fifties.

Another important aspect of their study is that the authors relate the present trend of increasing polarity to the aftermath of the 1965 events:

"As a result of the political events at the national level in 1965, and as a consequence of the repercussions at the local level in that same year and later on, it has become possible for the landowners to escape the demands placed on them to underwrite with social expenditures the traditional ties with their fellows".

Consequently, landowners have been enabled to apply the *tebasan* sys-

tem to their rice-crop, which made it possible to replace the *ani-ani* (rice harvesting knife) with a sickle and to employ an intermediary (*penebas*) with a small number of harvesters from the latter's village instead of providing work and a share in the harvest (*bawon*) to a large number of their co-villagers. The Green Revolution, by introducing new varieties of rice, has certainly contributed to the fast-spreading use of the sickle.

"The new tebasan system makes it possible to satisfy the wants for the new products through a *redistribution of income from the poorer bawon harvesters to the landowners*".

"The fast-spreading tebasan system and the introduction of hullers dramatically worsens the economic situation of the majority in radically reducing both the number of harvesters and the pay given, and also in limiting their work opportunities".

Geertz's view is criticized by the two authors in the following words:

"Finally, as to the 'effort to provide everyone with some niche . . . in the overall system' we may say that the introduction of tebasan and hullers on the contrary amounts to a virtual *eviction* of the poorer villagers from their very 'niches'!"

Is increasing polarity a new phenomenon, produced since Suharto's ascent to power, and was Geertz right in defining rural development in Java as 'involutionary' in the fifties, at the time of his research? According to my own experiences at that time involution certainly was an existing trend – but at the same time growing polarity could already be discerned in the countryside of Java; and it was precisely this process that produced the tragedy that struck the peasantry of Java in the mid-sixties.⁴ Again, Java was not yet ready for a peasant revolution, and those in power were able to quell the peasant unrest – but at what a cost!

NOTES

- 1 The Siauw Giap, 'The Samin and Samat Movements in Java: Two examples of peasant resistance', *Revue du Sud-est asiatique*, 1967/2 and 1968/1.
- 2 The movement has been recently described by Else Ensering in: Dick Kooiman, Otto van den Muijzenberg and Peter van der Veer (eds.), *Conversion, Competition and Conflict: Essays on the Role of Religion in Asia*, Amsterdam, 1984, pp. 99 ff.
- 3 A. P. E. Korver, *Sarekat Islam 1912-1916*, doct.diss., Amsterdam, 1982, p. 16.
- 4 W. F. Wertheim, *Evolution and Revolution: The Rising Waves of Emancipation*, Harmondsworth, 1974, p. 252.

The articles in the volume under review above which are not discussed here are:

Elisabet Lind, 'The Rhetoric of Sukarno'; Lars Vikør, 'Language Policy and Language Planning in Indonesia and Malaysia'; Magnus Lindgren, 'The Problem of Kinship: Women's Labour and Relations of Production in the New Guinea Highlands'; Sven Cedderoth, 'Marrying the Ancestors: Marriage Strategies of the Surenese Nobility in Lombok'; Wil Lundström-Burghoorn, 'Names, Naming and Address Customs in Minahasa'; Ingrid Rudie, 'Controversial Reciprocity: On Social Change and Role Negotiation in a Kelantan Malay Community'.

Ed.

Franke, Detlef, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Mittleren Reich*, Hamburg, Verlag Born GmbH, 1983. ISBN 3-921598-13-3.

H. O. WILLEMS

This book represents the first lengthy study on the ancient Egyptian kinship system, more in particular that of the Middle Kingdom. It is first and foremost an Egyptological study; the author has, however, made a serious effort to incorporate anthropological theory in his discussion, so that the book may be of interest to anthropologists as well.

In the introduction the author explains that there is a difference in kinship systems between the terminological system and the system of attitudes. The aim of the present study is then stated to be to give an account of the former of these two. Though admittedly the emphasis is on a reconstruction of the meaning of the terms used for the different categories of kin and for kin-groups, many other themes are dealt with at some length.

The book consists of two main parts: one on kinship terms (pp. 11-177), and the other on the terms for social groups (178-300). From the analysis in the first part there emerges a terminological system in which the terms for P and Ch may be extended to lineal relatives in the ascending and descending generations respectively, while the Sb terms may denote all collateral relatives. Franke's thorough and lengthy report (it is based on a close analysis of the genealogical data contained in some 2000 texts!) confirms the conclusions of my own article, which has appeared in a previous issue of this journal (*BKI* 139-I, 1983).

In the second part, the author proceeds to reconstruct the meaning of the many terms used to designate Egyptian kin-groups. Franke concludes that some of these in fact do not refer to kin-groups at all, but to groups based on other membership criteria. As far as real kin-groups are concerned, Franke takes the view that they were all organized on the basis of cognatic principles. Thus there was a term for kindred (*h3w*, pp. 211-230), while other terms referred to cognatic sibs, domestic and other groups. Cognatic principles that operate in other contexts are pointed out as well. In the inheritance system, for instance, both men and women could pass on their earthly goods to their children, both sons and daughters being entitled to a share in this inheritance. Similarly, there was no fixed rule regarding marriage locality. For whereas patrilocality was probably the common form of residence, matrilocality and neolocality occurred as well. Hence there would appear to have been a close correspondence between the structure of the kinship terminology (which was cognatic) and the organization of kin into groups.

Some additional pages are devoted to Bachofen's theory, according to which there existed a matriarchy in Egypt – a theory which is still meeting with some support among Egyptologists. Franke demonstrates that there is no reason to consider this theory correct (pp. 326-343). He even denies the existence of matrilineal traits in Middle Kingdom Egypt (335-339). Then follows a short but interesting chapter on marriage and marriage rules (pp. 340-343). First, the author points out that polygyny existed in the higher strata of the society, but was a rare phenomenon. It

further seems clear that there was no widespread system of preferential marriage. Cousin marriage, a feature which many believe was common in Egypt, cannot be demonstrated from Franke's large text sample to have existed to any appreciable extent. Similarly, sibling marriage cannot be shown to have been normal among royalty, as some have thought.

The argument is supported by an impressive body of documentation, which can only rarely be shown to contain gaps. The interpretation of Egyptian text sources is, however, often a hazardous undertaking which might lead other researchers to draw rather different conclusions on several points. For instance, I have the feeling that some of the kin-groups that according to Franke are based on cognatic membership principles are actually quite different in nature. Similarly, I have some reservations about Franke's outright denial of the existence of matrilineal traits during the Middle Kingdom. I hope to elaborate on some of these issues in a forthcoming article.

A much more serious drawback of the book is that it is often unnecessarily vague, and even confusing. Some examples may serve to illustrate this.

In chapter 3, Franke makes some general remarks about the Egyptian kinship terminology. Discussing the difference between terms used in their primary meaning, compounds consisting of a number of such terms linked by a genitive (e.g. Father's Brother), and those used in an extended meaning, Franke explains that in his view this distinction is due to semantic differences (p. 176, cf. p. 167 f.). According to him the basic kinship terms were used in both the primary and the extended meaning when employed as terms of address. Only in the case of the compound terms is mention made of a referential use. One is thus led to believe that the basic terms used in an extended meaning did not serve as terms of reference. This is rather an odd conclusion, for the texts studied by Franke for the purpose of establishing the range of extended meanings of the terms point in another direction. These sources are funerary stelae, on which a specific ego is represented together with a group of people, mostly relatives. Apart from depictions, these persons are usually referred to with such terms as "his father A" or "his mother B". It is clear that we are confronted here with a referential use.

Further, it should be remarked that Franke has omitted to discuss the term *hbswt*, which means something like "wife". Admittedly this was still a rare term during the Middle Kingdom. But some other exceptional terms are given a great deal of attention.

Some of the chapters on kin-groups are similarly vague. Here I would like to mention the two cases of the groups *whyt* and *3bwt*. For both terms a whole range of possible translations is suggested. The former of the two is variously rendered as "extended family", "clan" or "subclan", or "local group" (pp. 204-210; p. 322). Oddly enough, all these explanations seem to be adhered to throughout the book, although they seem to me to be hard to mutually reconcile. What is even more confusing is the lack of clarity about what Franke means by these concepts. On the one hand, the terms "clan" and "extended family" are clearly defined at the end of the book (pp. 363 ff.). We are told in the context of the discussion of the *whyt* that the existence of clans in Egypt is probable,

though the concept should not necessarily be used in the narrow sense of the word. But the author does not proceed to make it clear in what sense we should then take it. Moreover on page 325 one finds the categorical statement that no clans or lineages existed in Egypt. The only certain thing that can be said about the *whyt*, in my view, is that it was some sort of local group. To a large extent, of course, the people living in such a group must have been relatives. But this is not the same as to state that the group was organized in terms of kinship. For locality may be as forceful a principle of social organization as kinship. Furthermore, the available sources on this group are so scant and so ambiguous that the explicit conclusions Franke tries to draw are unwarranted. The only text in which the *whyt* is discussed at some length is the Story of Sinuhe, in a passage the setting of which is in Palestine. The ancient writer may well have been trying to describe foreign situations, and hence the text should not be used as primary evidence for drawing conclusions as to the nature of this group in Egypt.

With regard to the group called *3bwt* the situation is even more confusing. The term is variously rendered as "the members of a household" (pp. 280; 285) a "Hausverband" (pp. 281; 283; 288; 323; neither of these terms is defined, however, which is particularly annoying in the latter case – what is a "Hausverband"?), a "(patriarchal) extended family" (pp. 288; 323), and a "patriarchal 'Sippe'" (pp. 320; 323; paraphrasing Franke's definition on p. 365, a "Sippe" is a cognatic descent group). Further on, on p. 281, we are told that the *3bwt* was a local group, and probably smaller than the groups referred to as *whyt* and *pr* ("house") and the kindred. It is rather surprising, then, to read elsewhere that the *3bwt* was probably a "'Sippe' or larger kin-group, which *did not necessarily live in one place and under one roof*, while *whyt* (. . .) denoted the members of *this* 'Sippe' who lived in one household" (p. 320, my italics). Here again, the *3bwt* is not a local group, and appears to exceed the limits of the *whyt*. After much discussion one is still left wondering what Franke thinks an *3bwt* is.

Despite the fact that the study can be criticized on several points, it should be emphasized that this is a valuable book, the author of which deserves to be congratulated. It is only natural that he has not managed to deal with all the problems in a satisfactory way in this pioneer study. But to have succeeded in drawing the broad outlines of the Egyptian kinship system is no mean feat. This makes the study what I think is the most important contribution to Egyptian social history so far, which it is likely to remain for many years to come.

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

de Bey, Ilsa

- 1982 *Van noot tot noodzaak, het belang van karité voor vrouwen in een Gourounsi-dorp in Boven-Volta*, Leiden: Onderzoekscentrum Vrouwen en Ontwikkeling, Instituut voor Culturele Antropologie en Sociologie der Niet-Westerse Volken, Serie Vrouwen en Ontwikkeling.

Dostal, Walter

- 1983 *Ethnographic Atlas of Asir*, Wenen: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Douglas, Mary

- 1984 *Purity and danger; An analysis of the concepts of pollution and taboo*, London, Boston, Melbourne and Henley: Ark paperbacks (first published in 1966), Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Esmeyer, Loek

- 1984 *Marginal Mediterraneans; Foreign settlers in Malta: Their participation in society and their contribution to development*, Amsterdam: LUNA Press, Papers on European and Mediterranean Societies No. 18, Antropologisch Sociologisch Centrum.

Hewitt de Alcántara, Cynthia

- 1984 *Anthropological Perspectives on Rural Mexico*, London, Boston, Melbourne and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Jacobson-Widding, A. (ed.)

- 1983 *Identity: Personal and Socio-Cultural; A Symposium*, Upsala, distributed by Almqvist & Wiksell International.

Wildavsky, Aaron

- 1984 *The Nursing Father, Moses as a Political Leader*, Alabama: the University of Alabama Press.

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