Book Reviews

- G.J. Abbink, Serena Nanda, *Cultural anthropology*, Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company (second edition), 1985, 398 pp.
- H.J.M. Claessen, Patrick Vinton Kirch, *The evolution of the Polynesian Chieftdoms*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge etc. Series: *New Studies in Archaeology*, edited by Colin Renfrew and Jeremy Sabloff, 1984. 314 pp., index, glossary, bibliography, maps, and figures.
- H.J.M. Claessen, Jarich O. Oosten, *The war of the gods. The social code in Indo-European myths*, London etc.: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985. 175 pp., bibl., figs.
- H.J. Duller, P.W. Preston, *New trends in development theory. Essays in development and social theory*, Routledge

This PDF-file was downloaded from <http://www.kitlv-journals.nl>

BOEKBESPREKINGEN

Serena Nanda, *Cultural Anthropology*, Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company (Second edition), 1985, 398 pp.

G. J. ABBINK

If, as I. C. Jarvie once remarked, in the *American Anthropologist* of 1975, the appearance of textbooks or introductions to anthropology should be regarded as a sign of 'intellectual stagnation', then our discipline must still find itself in rather a sad state. The wave of introductory texts has not subsided, as anyone preparing a first-year course will have noticed. The book by Serena Nanda, a teacher at the City University of New York, originally appeared in 1980, but has now been re-issued in a second, revised edition. This is her first book, and it is unknown to me whether she has published other work as well (e.g. on the interesting group of *hijra* in India, where she carried out her fieldwork) – the present book certainly contains no references to any other publications by her.

Since the appearance of large numbers of textbooks need not in itself be an indication of a scientific crisis, and since the need for good introductions will continue to be felt, an evaluation of this book will still be justified. Considering this abundance of textbooks, we should also take into account the still unexpectedly high number of first-year anthropology students (e.g. in The Netherlands) and the fact that a general knowledge of anthropology as a comparative cross-cultural social science as part of a good number of academic studies may be an asset and that in the U.S., at which the book is primarily aimed, anthropology is also chosen as an introductory course by many students majoring in other disciplines.

As a rule several things may be expected from an introduction to anthropology, among them a representative dose of substantial, factual information on important subjects and themes of the discipline; a survey of general discoveries made and results achieved thus far; a summary of the traditional problems and hypotheses in historical perspective, indicating the specific contributions of the discipline; an elementary introduction to methods of collecting data and to techniques; and a style of presentation that is not conducive to boredom but rather to a certain enthusiasm. Of course this is no mean list of demands. Nanda has partly succeeded in meeting them. She has adopted a more or less 'encyclopedic' approach to the material, that is to say, she presents a survey of nearly all of the subfields of anthropology, although often on a rather elementary level.

The book possesses a conventional groundplan. In sixteen chapters the following themes are given attention: the cultural context of human behavior (cultural patterning of reality and of perception and cognition), the anthropological work style, language, economics, political organization, religion, marriage and the family, kinship and association, social stratification and ranking, art, the humans-environment relationship,

and strategies for food gathering (little or no attention at all is given to studies of "world view", demographic and urban anthropology, or peasants).

In chapter four perhaps over-much attention is given to the concept of culture. Culture in the general sense is defined (in the Glossary, p. 372) as: "... learned and shared kinds of behavior that make up the major instrument of human adaptation". The concept of adaptation is thus regarded as being central, while emphasis is also placed on the shared, acquired, normative and integrative aspects of culture. (Here we may note the rather 'American bias' of the book, which is the unmistakable product of a dominant strand in American cultural anthropology.) Apart from the chapter on culture, the book contains little evidence of more elaborate theoretical preferences of the author. The last chapter of the book deals with cultural change, with special attention to modernization and planned change.

Each chapter is preceded by a number of questions concerning the most important themes of the following chapter, while at the end of each chapter there are a summary and a short reading list. At the end of the book we find a useful Glossary (unfortunately, the *Instructors' Manual* that should go with this book was not available for review).

Attractive about the book is the use of plenty of pertinent ethnographic examples in the text itself and in separate paragraphs (although often the classic cases are presented, as for instance Tepoztlán, the Tiwi of Australia, the Kapauku, the Nyakyusa age villages, etc.). But by the use of contrastive examples (like, for instance, of sexual behavior in Inis Beag, Ireland, and on Mangaia, Polynesia), some basic anthropological insights into the influence of the cultural factor on behavior are aptly presented.

As has already been said, one is hardly able to discover the author's own position regarding what anthropology should be like theoretically. Obviously the conglomerate of general ideas common to certain strands of American cultural anthropology, the spirit of which we find present in many pages of the book, cannot be taken as a well-argued theoretical position. Epistemological reflections on anthropology as a science, on ethnography, or on the interpretation of human behavior might have been given a larger place, as they are of increasing concern in our discipline, even at the elementary level. In this respect, the scarce attention given to developments like semantic anthropology, 'praxis' theory, or even symbolic anthropology, is striking. Although one may question the eventual value or durability of, or even the insights to be gained from such approaches, they should at least have been mentioned. Even structuralism has received but a tiny amount of space (half a page), while feminist and Marxist anthropology are virtually ignored (apart from the mention of Jane Goodall's work on Tiwi women). One may of course argue that in an informative introduction to anthropology (or whatever other discipline) an explicit personal preference or point of view of the author should be avoided. However, if such a position is well stated and based on a good, comprehensive presentation of facts and opinions of different kinds, it is just as likely to clarify things and stimulate readers to be critical and alert in studying the subject.

The failure to develop a personal point of view or state personal preferences is perhaps partly the result of the scant attention which the author gives to a historical perspective on the subject and, thus, on the problems which have, from the beginning, been central in the anthropological tradition. Attention to such matters would of course have stimulated the delineation of the author's own position. A starting-point here could have been a discussion of cultural relativism and its philosophical background.

Nevertheless, there are no specific reasons for simply criticizing this entire book as an elementary introduction. No doubt it contains much relevant information that is essential for beginners. It is lively and readable. And finally, it treats the important subjects of traditional anthropology and demonstrates the scientific and practical contributions of the discipline. In spite of its limitations, it may be used with profit. For countries like The Netherlands it bears too much of an 'American' stamp, but this disadvantage may be remedied in the accompanying lectures of an introductory course.

Finally some comments on details. The book also shows its American character by the fact that not one French or German publication is referred to. I furthermore wonder whether Derek Freeman may appropriately be called a 'sociobiologist' (p. 62), or whether it is true that anthropology uses the "... methods of the natural sciences" (except in the limited sense of 'observation'). In conclusion, a mention of publications in the text under their original year of publication is to be preferred to that under the year of some later edition.

Patrick Vinton Kirch, *The evolution of the Polynesian chiefdoms*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge etc. Series: New Studies in Archaeology, edited by Colin Renfrew and Jeremy Sabloff, 1984. 314 pp., index, glossary, bibliography, maps, and figures.

H. J. M. CLAESSEN

In this book Patrick Kirch presents his views on the evolution of the Polynesian chiefdoms, combining data from history, anthropology and archaeology in one fascinating presentation. In his opinion only the combined approaches of these three disciplines will enable the scholar to gain an idea of what really happened in history – and who will disagree?

Kirch, however, does not stop at presenting only a historical account: his aim is to trace the regularities behind the data, to unravel the evolution of these island societies. In some respects his efforts resemble those of Sahlins (1958) and Goldman (1970), who had the same objective in mind. The addition of archaeological data, however, gives Kirch's book an extra dimension.

The concept of evolution is used in a broad sense by Kirch, encompassing technological as well as social changes in Polynesia in the course

of time. He stresses (pp. 2ff.) that he is not interested in the application of particular theories or mechanisms for cultural or social evolution, but “it is upon the evidence for social and technological change in Polynesia” that he focuses. He further states that in his opinion evolutionary “stages” or “schemes” are “entirely inadequate as an explanatory framework”. This is not surprising in a book appearing in a series edited by the archaeologists Renfrew and Sabloff. Their work is also characterized by this approach.

The book consists of three parts. In the first Kirch tries to reconstruct – or to construct? – a common baseline, which he calls the “Ancestral Polynesian Society”. In the second part he analyses the dominant processes that resulted in the internal differentiation of Polynesian societies. And in the third part he examines three particular sequences of development (Tonga, Hawaii and Easter Island).

The evidence for the Ancestral Polynesian Society is adduced by Kirch from the ecosystems of the islands on the one hand, and from the data from prehistory and anthropology on the other. He first outlines a number of structural principles of Polynesian society, such as, e.g., the concern with food “which permeated Polynesian life at all levels of the social ladder, and in all social dimensions” (p. 29). To this he adds the neolithic toolkit, and the linkage between production and the social organization. The social organization is based on the conical clan, fissioning into ramagees in later times (p. 31). Though the descent system has a patrilineal bias, in most cases affiliation may be through either male or female links, the choice of which is heavily conditioned by residence. Other principles of the social organization are the tendency towards patrilineal succession and the possibility of manipulating this in various ways. The distinction between senior and junior branches underlies the so-called “status rivalry” – already identified by Goldman (1970) as a major force in the socio-political evolution of Polynesian society.

After having thus formulated some of the structural characteristics, Kirch sets out to explore how, with the help of these data, the APS can be reconstructed. As starting-point he takes the Lapita culture which was once found in the whole of the region between New Guinea and Samoa. The long distance between the easternmost and westernmost islands of this culture area led to isolation of the eastern groups – the islands of Samoa, Fiji and Tonga. The APS developed in this isolation. One of the major technological changes in the development of this area was the gradual disappearance of pottery in the eastern islands. The reconstruction of the material basis of the APS with the help of archaeological and linguistic evidence seems very well possible. More difficult is the reconstruction of the social system, however. There is no evidence of any significant public architecture in the period, while artifactual evidence for social status is similarly lacking. On the other hand, linguistic evidence suggests that some form of ranking occurred already in these societies (pp. 63ff.).

Though the picture of the APS presented by Kirch seems plausible, the danger of *hineininterpretation* is obvious: knowing that historical Polynesian society was characterized by the presence of specific types of

descent groups and hierarchies, the scanty data may easily be interpreted in the direction of the known.

Much attention is given to the demographic factor (chapter 5). Here Kirch discusses the problems connected with the growth of population in the empty, fertile islands on the one hand, and the apparently constant number of people living there on the other. The problem of overpopulation is discussed, as well as the clear connection between population growth and increasing social complexity. The growing complexity of the socio-political organization in its turn strongly influenced the production of food and other commodities on the islands, which in turn led to more complex systems of control, distribution and division of labour.

Kirch explains the complex relations between changes in the number of inhabitants, technology, environmental conditions and constraints, and the social relations of production in a most sophisticated way. This is evolutionary explanation of the highest order: it explains growth as well as decline with the help of the same set of factors. There is no question of a simplistic linear causality. In this way a wide variety of situations in different islands is explained. It constitutes, to my mind, an important contribution to the theory of social evolution in general. In view of this, it is not so important that one may disagree with Kirch about some ethnographical details, or may prefer different interpretations of ethnographical or historical details. One may wonder, for instance, why Kirch used Buck's English adaptation of Laval's book on Mangareva instead of the original text, or why recent articles by Robert Blust on Oceanic Linguistics have not been consulted. The evidence for marriage exchange patterns between Tonga, Samoa and Fiji is rather scant, as is demonstrated in the detailed analysis of this phenomenon by Elisabeth Bott (1981). The reader may also want to know why Micronesia was left out of the discussion. However, why quibble? There is so much that deserves praise in this well-written and well-documented book, which is based on many years of first-hand experience in Polynesian archaeology and a wide knowledge of the written sources. A glossary of terms, an index, numerous maps and figures, and an extensive bibliography complete the work, which is one of the best books on the subject I have ever read.

REFERENCES

- Bott, Elisabeth, 1981, 'Power and rank in the kingdom of Tonga', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 90, pp. 7-81.
 Goldman, Irving, 1970, *Ancient Polynesian society*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
 Sahlins, Marshall D., 1958, *Social stratification in Polynesia*, Seattle: American Ethnological Society.

Jarich G. Oosten, *The War of the Gods. The Social Code in Indo-European Myths*, London etc.: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985. 175 pp., bibl., figs.

H. J. M. CLAESSEN

In this highly interesting book Oosten analyses the social code – the social behaviour between the many gods, heroes, and men – in Indo-European mythology. After a short exposé of the methods and concepts used and a brief – all too brief – discussion of the theoretical background, numerous myths and other stories are passed in review. Some of the myths are related in detail, while others are only hinted at. That it is possible for this complex whole to be presented in a clear and understandable way in roughly a hundred and seventy pages of text testifies to Oosten's mastery of his data as well as of the relevant theory, and to his concise style.

In a short introductory chapter the concept of myth is defined as “tales which provide an account of how the world came to be as it is” (p. 1). Then myth is distinguished from ideology, philosophy and theology – “myths are tales”. Though myths are tales, the story-teller was never completely free in the development of his account, however. His audience knew the stories as well as he did (p. 4). This implies that when the ideas and values of a given group change, the contents of its myths (probably) will change, too – or the myths will disappear, or new myths will evolve, etc. In this connection Oosten stresses that he is not looking for a first, or original, version, but that he is analysing myths “as they have been preserved in the texts that were written down by the participants” (p. 11; cf. p. 134, where the Livy version of Roman mythology is introduced, and p. 153, where the views of medieval nobility are mentioned). In this way the analysis of changing social codes in myths not only becomes an interesting exercise in itself, but also reveals changes in the social codes of the respective audiences. This claim, however, is based on the implicit assumption that it is possible to find indications of chronology in the data of the myths. Oosten states (p. 33), for example, that some Celtic myths represent a transition from tales about gods to tales about human beings. Elsewhere he says that the sacred mead in later times came to be substituted by other intoxicating beverages (p. 52). On p. 72 it is suggested that the mead gives way to a cauldron “associated with abundance and life” – from which it is but a short step to the medieval grail (pp. 84ff.). Gradually, then, the myths of the gods make way for the epics of kings and nobles (pp. 116, 152ff., 161ff.). Though this all seems very plausible and logically follows from the stories themselves, no methodological discussion of the interpretation of this phenomenon is given. The myths apparently have to speak for themselves.

Oosten's book makes fascinating reading. Myths and cycles of myths are presented in a single all-encompassing framework. The author's knowledge is impressive: he discusses the Mahabharata with as much ease as the works of Grimm or Perault, and he summarizes the complex Celtic mythology with as much clarity and conciseness as the myths of the Greeks. The problems of Charlemagne with Eggeric van Egger-

monde are discussed as well as those of Balder with Loki. The wealth of data which Oosten packs together in this relatively short book is amazing. Small wonder, then, that the less specialized reader sometimes loses his way in this jungle of names, marriages, divorces, alliances, gifts, tricks and miracles. The figures inserted in the text, in which the relations between the main characters are outlined, are most useful in helping the reader keep track of the plot (in fig. 14, Numitor and Amulius should change places). The Index of Names is most helpful in providing concise information on the various characters.

In the final section (pp. 163-167) Oosten summarizes his main conclusions. The contents of this section could perhaps better have been included in chapter 2, however, as this would have made it much easier to follow the argument. This piece of criticism notwithstanding, Oosten's book is a masterpiece of structuralist analysis of mythology. It will prove prescribed reading for all who attempt an analysis of Indo-European mythology and culture for years to come.

P. W. Preston, *New Trends in Development Theory. Essays in Development and Social Theory*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1985, 200 pages.

H. J. DULLER

This is a curiously complex book, or rather, collection of essays, whose common theme is, mainly, the post-war career of development studies. These, I should think, are largely economic in nature, their focus naturally arising from the studies' object being defined as 'backward', 'under-developed' or, simply 'poor', whereas aspirations to forwardness, development and, simply, wealth prevail. Yet, economics and economists are rarely dealt with in these pages, the author, who trained as an urban planner, having graduated to a lectureship in sociology – initially in Leeds and currently in Singapore.

Mr. Preston is quite young and there is every hope that his, occasionally obsessive, pre-occupation with abstract theory will be softened through his present exposure to Chinese level-headedness and, subsequently, harden into a slightly more practical stance. After all, the problems of the Third World are, eventually, to be solved, not merely to be shelved in categories such as: "Reflexive Consistency I"; "Reflexive Consistency II"; or "Reflexive Consistency III" (p. 103).

Mr. Preston apparently, and not unreasonably, is much impressed by E. Gellner's work and he invokes ideas from *THOUGHT AND CHANGE* whilst tracing the manifold strands of contemporary thought on growth and development. In a chapter called "The specificity of social-theoretic engagement: some lessons for 'neo-marxian' studies of development", comprising a mere 20 pages, he deals with, or at least alludes to: Worsley, Mills, Gouldner, Carroll, Hume, Burke, Smith, Rousseau, Gellner (naturally), Giddens, Habermas, Mao, Ho, Lenin,

Fanon, Pollard, Young, Blackburn, Minogue, Althusser, Roxborough, Cauter, Marx, Woddis, Brenner, Foster-Carter, Taylor, Booth, Frank, Cardoso, Faletto and, for good measure, Guevara, Debray and Castro. I may have missed one or two, but, undaunted, read on to come across a great many more scholars and gentlemen, both familiar and unfamiliar, but all too often, in the author's view, wrong or else lacking in depth. My fellow-countrywoman Hoogvelt is mentioned twice, getting her name misspelled on both occasions, but otherwise going scot-free.

In sum, this book bears the traces of what I surmise to be its origin, not so much of species as of a Ph.D. thesis. Or else it is the unpublished part of one. At least it is written like one and, as such, it is, if I may say so, just a little immature and just a bit over-learned, with a display of well-readness and not a little cocksureness.

That does not prevent it from being, for the determined reader who plods on, lucid and interesting in places. Others have detected shades of natural science in economic model-building. But Mr. Preston, having rejected the Harrod-Domar ingested facts as "brute-relative", smells "low-grade ideology" to boot (p. 87).

Modernization theory, with its desperate attempt to include non-economic factors, is worse: this is very "low-grade ideology" (p. 11). Confidence in the skills of economic planners is "ludicrous" (p. 162). Real social change is being induced by war only, or, in Mr. Preston's terms: it "coalesces around the nexus of war". The U.K. Welfare State is merely the product of wartime upheaval. Apart from war, social systems have "massive inertia" (p. 164). One would wish that such themes would have been more frequent, or alternatively, that all the other themes would have been harped upon with more restraint or even suppressed altogether. Above all, one would wish that the valuable ideas remaining would have been presented with the "wholly pleasing directness of language and purpose" the author professes to admire in J. K. Galbraith.

M. Stiefel and W. F. Wertheim, *Production, Equality and Participation in Rural China*, UNRISD, Geneva & Red Press, London, 1983, 172 pages.

H. J. DULLER

The Great China Debate, to which the present volume is a belated contribution, received a major impetus some 10 years ago from S. Leys, whose *Ombres Chinoises* profoundly shocked the True Believers. Leys' indictments of Chinese leadership, for which at the time he was ostracized and persecuted, have since been corroborated from Chinese sources: not even the most devout follower of the then Chairman is left with a shadow of a doubt that recent historical events in China meant deprivation, suffering and death to millions of Chinese.

Many a foreign observer visiting China at the time preferred to ignore this, or more correctly, was not in a position to perceive it, as he was carefully guided by his hosts, prevented from meeting, unrehearsed, a

likely local and, in any case, spoke no Chinese. Visits on the whole were short. Here, UNRISD's director in his preface also talks of "a fairly short mission"; one of the authors is claimed to "read Chinese, if only with the help of a dictionary" (p. 7); and the guides were once more solicitous, "fulfilling practically all the wishes we had expressed" (p. 5) and frankly owning up to deceit on a previous visit: when reminded of strange discrepancies with earlier clarifications, the cadres would simply say: "But at the time we were lying to you" (p. 95). Such lies, one must assume, were once told about the extraordinary cleanliness of industry, one early observer of the Cultural Revolution reporting to have witnessed goldfish swimming in the sewers; with such infinite respect the Chinese treated their environment, the Good Earth! In *The Bad Earth*, V. Smil last year wrote of the air pollution, which in China is very much higher than in Europe, the Shanghai Huangpu river being termed "the world's largest open sewer".

Such observations do not occur in Stiefel and Wertheim, although their theme, agriculture, provided ample scope, deforestation being among China's most critical environmental problems.

In China, such policy errors are now readily admitted, indeed, the Cultural Revolution is deemed a period best forgotten. Stiefel and Wertheim with obvious dismay found the official image of the period to be completely negative: "The ten lost years" (p. 24). They seem to find it hard to believe the cadres are truthful this time around: why don't the Chinese acknowledge "the remarkable successes achieved" (p. 41)? True: "any vision . . . brings . . . a set of preconceived images" (p. 127). Those who are aware of, for instance, Wertheim's own preconceptions, are familiar with his enthusiasm for all past developments in China. If "development" is the apposite term for the dramatic events analysed by A. J. Coale, a Princeton demographer, who analysed the 1982 census and found 27 million more Chinese had died after the Great Leap Forward than ought to have from normal mortality expectations.

This book's title is a misnomer. Agricultural PRODUCTION, allegedly ensuring the "iron rice bowl", clearly left that vessel empty in many districts; EQUALITY is lacking by the authors' own admission: "the remuneration system is far from egalitarian" (p. 49), and PARTICIPATION apparently is hardly encouraged.

But still, since references to agricultural catastrophes diagnosed elsewhere are omitted, the authors can claim important achievements both in production and distribution – impressive if compared to "any large country" in the region, the criterion "large" making it legitimate to ignore Taiwan, where long since the food problem has been one of storage, not shortage. Equality, which is here described as alien to Marxism anyway (p. 43), certainly does not come naturally to China, where even the cadres are divided into 24 grades and ranks with salaries from 40 yuan to 400 yuan. Nor does the perceptive visitor need to detach himself from his guided tour to observe the prerogatives enjoyed by the higher cadres, emerging from Red Flag Limousines to enter, say, the former French Club of Shanghai, which a door sign proclaims to be out of bounds to Chinese, "except those from Singapore, Hong Kong and Taiwan".

China clearly is ruled by an elite. Participation, admittedly, is hard to achieve in a political system where the rulers change their mind by the decade; the authors note a "reluctance among even lower cadre to commit themselves too strongly to a certain political or ideological line" (p. 122). Revealingly, one of Mao's directives in the matter urges ideas to be explained to the masses "until (they) embrace them as their own".

The authors recognize all this. Nor, to their credit, do they attempt to conceal the fact that their Chinese interlocutors are roundly ashamed of the excesses of the Cultural Revolution. Yet they choose to adopt an alternative stand: throughout the book they are at pains to stress Historical Continuity. The people may now be critical, but at least the Cultural Revolution "led to a lasting raising of consciousness" (p. 95). Here was a period "when peasants . . . were motivated to develop all kinds of new and dynamic activities" (p. 110). Is this naivety? Occasionally, one does get that impression. The authors relate a story of how, in the seventies, there were serious armed clashes among groups of peasants. Then, "reeducation" came to the rescue. "As a consequence of the educational campaign, both cadres and masses became aware of social reality and exchange visits took place". The concluding sentence strikes one as singularly artless: "In this way, the problem was solved" (p. 111).

Really, the scholarly standards of a study that shows such credulity would seem problematical beyond salvation.

Kirsten Hastrup en Jan Ovesen, *Basisboek Culturele Antropologie*. Bewerkt door Yme Kuiper & Nellejet Zorgdrager. Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1983, 353 pp.
(ISBN 90 01 37410 7) M. GRIJNS

Veel eerstejaars studenten culturele antropologie in Nederland blijken nog steeds kennis te maken met hun vak aan de hand van Harris (1971) en Kloos (1972). Het valt kennelijk niet mee deze klassieken te vervangen of aan te vullen met wat meer recente literatuur. Toch zijn er wel alternatieven. Zo verscheen bijvoorbeeld in 1983 het *Basisboek culturele antropologie* van de Denen Kirsten Hastrup en Jan Ovesen in een heldere Nederlandse bewerking van Nellejet Zorgdrager en Yme Kuiper. en aantrekkelijke, zeer leesbare en eigentijdse inleiding in de culturele antropologie.

Hastrup en Ovesen kiezen expliciet voor een eigen invalshoek: 'humanistisch georiënteerd' en geïnspireerd door de structurele en symbolische antropologie. Veel waarde hechten de auteurs bijvoorbeeld aan onderzoek van betekenissystemen (p. 79) en aan het contextgebonden begrijpen van fenomenen (p. 63). Deze uitgesproken visie geeft de lezer een goed handvat bij de bestudering van het vele materiaal dat aangereikt wordt. De opbouw van het boek, waarin de verschillende delen – Inleiding, Methoden, Theorieën, Resultaten en Uitdagingen – logisch met elkaar in verband worden gebracht en waarin regelmatig terug wordt gegrepen op eerder behandelde

stof, maakt het ook didactisch tot een aantrekkelijk werk.

Naar de mening van de auteurs hoort het bestrijden van etnocentrisme tot een van de belangrijkste taken van de culturele antropologie (p. 140). Zij verwerken daarom veel, vaak geestige, voorbeelden uit westerse samenlevingen, die een relativerende toon aan het boek geven en de lezer op etnocentrische vooroordelen attent maken.

Toch is het precies dit relativisme dat tot een zekere tegenstrijdigheid leidt. De auteurs pleiten enerzijds voor een geëngageerde antropologie, die commentaar levert op de ontwikkelingen in 'onze eigen' samenleving (p. 329) en die tot maatschappijkritiek leidt (p. 155). Anderzijds stellen zij zich heel omzichtig op bij de beschrijving van gebeurtenissen in andere samenlevingen dan de hunne. Zo wordt aan de hand van de weduwenverbranding – sati – uit India het contextgebonden begrip toegelicht (p. 64). Ze maken duidelijk dat dit verschijnsel logisch samenhangt met allerlei aspecten van de Hindoecultuur en als zodanig binnen die context zeer verklaarbaar is. Hiermee is echter nog niet gezegd dat sati ook even aanvaardbaar is voor alle leden van de betreffende samenleving, laat staan daarbuiten.

Het gevaar van teveel cultuur-relativisme is dat men mensen met een andere culturele achtergrond niet als gelijkwaardige gesprekspartners erkent die evengoed (of niet) tegen kritiek op hun cultuur bestand zijn als de leden van de eigen samenleving.

Een tweede punt is het vrijblijvend karakter van de betekenissystemen waar Hastrup en Ovesen zoveel naar verwijzen. Hoewel zij uitvoerig de ecologische en economische condities bespreken waaronder mensen leven en niet voorbijgaan aan bijvoorbeeld de gevolgen van westerse expansie of aan 'eventuele' mannendominantie en vrouwenonderdrukking, wekken de auteurs af en toe de indruk de betekenissystemen als neutrale, vrijblijvende gegevenheden te zien, die geen verband houden met ongelijkheid of machtsverhoudingen tussen mensen. Zo schrijven zij bijvoorbeeld i.v.m. de zogenaamde vrouwenruil: "Het systeem kan alleen maar functioneren zolang de vrouwen bereid zijn hun rol als ruilobject te blijven spelen" (p. 270). Alsof het voor vrouwen enkel een kwestie van kiezen is en er geen beperkende condities meespelen van materiële aard of binnen het betekenissysteem zelf!

Tenslotte is het jammer dat, waar de auteurs zo zorgvuldig proberen etnocentrisme te vermijden in hun boek, ze helemaal geen gebruik maken van de inzichten en het werk van collega's buiten Europa en de Verenigde Staten. Overigens een verwijt dat niet alleen Hastrup en Ovesen treft, maar dat op veel meer antropologen van toepassing is. Uit de tekst komt, ongewild, nog steeds het beeld naar voren van de antropoloog als een westerse man. Voor de lezer die dit beeld in gedachten weet aan te vullen is het *Basisboek culturele antropologie* een stimulerende introductie tot het vak. Het is een boek met visie, dat moeilijke vragen niet vermijdt en zeker de behoefte naar meer weet op te wekken.

Harris, M., 1971, *Culture, man and nature. An introduction to general anthropology*, New York: Th. Y. Crowell Cy.

Kloos, P., 1972, *Culturele antropologie; een inleiding*, Assen: van Gorcum.

Jelle Miedema, *De Kebar 1855-1980. Sociale structuur en religie in de Vogelkop van West-Nieuw-Guinea*. Dissertatie Katholieke Universiteit van Nijmegen, Dordrecht 1984: ICG Printing BV. Gelijktijdig verschenen als Verhandelingen 105 van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Leiden, Dordrecht 1984: Foris Publications. Prijs f 35,00.

SIMON KOOLJMAN

Het hier besproken boek is het resultaat van onderzoek in de Kebar-vlakte van de Vogelkop gedurende een periode van zes maanden verspreid over de jaren 1979 en 1980. De auteur was van 1975 tot 1981 werkzaam in dienst van de Evangelisch-Christelijke Kerk van Irian Jaya en had in dit werkverband als opdracht bijzondere aandacht te besteden aan de culturen van bevolkingsgroepen in het binnenland van de Vogelkop. De keuze van de Kebar-samenleving als object van onderzoek werd mede bepaald door de overweging dat hierdoor, gezien de situering van de betreffende groep tussen de westelijke Ayfat en de zuidoostelijke Arfak (respectievelijk bestudeerd door J. M. Schoorl en J. Pouwer), een hiaat in onze kennis van de Vogelkop-culturen zou worden opgevuld. De aanvankelijke opzet van het onderzoek was een volledige cultuurbeschrijving. Hoofdzakelijk als gevolg van tijdgebrek moest hiervan worden afgezien, waardoor 'deze eerste antropologische studie van de cultuur van de Kebar het karakter heeft gekregen van een facet-etnografie' (XIII).

Omdat kennis van veranderingen in de sociale structuur en de religie een van de belangrijke doeleinden was, had het onderzoek een uitgesproken historische dimensie. De gegevens voor dit etno-historische onderzoek ontleende de auteur aan geschreven bronnen en aan de door hem tijdens het onderzoek gemaakte genealogieën. De Bibliografie geeft een beeld van de aard en de omvang van de literatuurgegevens. Deze omvat, naast een aanzienlijk aantal werken van algemeen-theoretische aard en boeken en artikelen die betrekking hebben op de aangrenzende gebieden, op oostelijk Indonesië en Nieuw-Guinea als geheel, een veertigtal in druk verschenen publicaties over de Vogelkop en de Kebar en een even groot aantal niet-gepubliceerde bronnen, zoals Memories van Overdracht en Tourneeverlagen, voor het overgrote deel aanwezig in het Rijksarchief.

In Bijlage 8, 1-4, worden vier genealogieën gegeven. De auteur verdient onze bewondering voor de vasthoudendheid en het geduld opgebracht bij het verzamelen van al dit materiaal. Het is echter te betreuren dat de presentatie te wensen over laat. Met name de wat oudere lezer heeft een vergrootglas nodig om de namen te kunnen lezen, een bezwaar waaraan in de Verhandelingen-versie enigszins tegemoet gekomen is. In hoofdstuk III, 'Sociale relaties: inter- en intratribale huwelijksbetrekkingen' (71 e.v.), wordt van deze genealogische gegevens gebruik gemaakt. In combinatie met demografische gegevens die een beeld geven van de recente situatie, dienen zij om aan te tonen dat er duidelijke aanwijzingen zijn dat in de laatste vier generaties Kebar-vrouwen eenzijdig naar de noordkust werden uitgehuwelijkt. Het betreft

hier een uitspraak van de bevolking die door minutieus onderzoek in het veld kon worden geverifieerd.

In de beschrijving van de Kebar-vlakte wordt een methode gevolgd die overeenkomst vertoont met de benaderingswijze van de mens-milieu problematiek zoals gebruikelijk in de sociale geografie, de wetenschap die de menselijke groep in zijn relaties met zijn woongebied bestudeert. In het betreffende hoofdstuk (41 e.v.) komen sociaal-geografische determinanten van het traditionele cultuurbeeld ter sprake, de visvangst (met de derriswortel als visvergif), de jacht op varkens en herten en de landbouw, als de voornaamste bron van de voedselvoorziening, in de vorm van 'shifting cultivation' met een omlooptijd van zeven tot negen jaar. In dit verband wordt, in Fig. 1 op p. 46, een diagram gegeven dat als voorbeeld van een cyclus van gewassen en opeenvolging van tuinen bedoeld is. Hoe dit schema moet worden geïnterpreteerd blijft echter onduidelijk.

Naast deze met de aard en de mogelijkheden van het woongebied samenhangende determinanten van het traditionele cultuurpatroon waren er de invloeden van de omringende buitenwereld. Deze externe invloeden – een complex van sociale, economische en politieke factoren – hebben, in samenspel met de milieucondities, 'het gezicht van deze tribale samenleving' bepaald.

Tot deze externe factoren behoort het *kain timur* complex, waaraan de auteur bij zijn onderzoek terecht veel aandacht heeft besteed. Na een minutieus bronnenonderzoek wordt geconstateerd dat de *kain timur*, uit Indonesië geïmporteerde doeken, de noordoostkust van de Vogelkop niet hebben bereikt, waarmee de mening van de Zweedse antropoloog Elmberg, die in de 50er jaren onderzoek deed in de Vogelkop, als weerlegd kan worden beschouwd (78). Vervolgens worden aan de hand van geschreven bronnen en mededelingen van informanten *kain timur* circuits in de Vogelkop getraceerd, worden de termen gegeven voor de in het Kebar-district voorkomende soorten, worden gegevens verstrekt over de locale waarde van de doeken en wordt een poging tot classificatie gedaan. Hierbij werden de doeken en foto's van doeken voorgelegd aan informanten, aan wie dan naar de naam en de relatieve waarde gevraagd werd. Achter in het boek zijn onder de illustraties acht foto's van *kain timur* opgenomen. In de tekst wordt hiernaar niet verwezen, wel worden in de bijschriften de betreffende tekstpagina's genoemd. Zeven van de acht afgebeelde doeken worden met Kebar-namen aangeduid. In de tekst worden 26 *kain timur* met Kebar-namen genoemd (Tabel 19, p. 82). Van een aantal van de wel beschreven maar niet afgebeelde doeken waren foto's beschikbaar (85-87) en men kan zich afvragen waarom deze niet zijn opgenomen. Een ruimere fotodocumentatie zou mogelijkterwils met name meer informatie hebben kunnen verschaffen over de Indonesische gebieden van herkomst.

In verband met de *kain timur* en hun belangrijke functie als bruidsprijs komt ook de rijke *kain timur* bezitter, de *momwor*, ter sprake, door de auteur als 'big man' aangeduid. Door het uitlenen van doeken en het incasseren van de hiervoor verschuldigde 'rente' in de vorm van voedselgiften en werkzaamheden in zijn tuin heeft hij een cliëntenkring gecreëerd die hij, behalve door het manipuleren met de *kain timur*, in zijn

macht houdt door middel van *suangi* (zwarte magie) en huurmoorde-naars (101-102). Interessante informatie die niettemin vragen doet rijzen met betrekking tot de positie van de *momwor* in deze samenleving. In het boek blijven deze vragen onbeantwoord, waarschijnlijk als gevolg van het ontbreken van een adequate probleemstelling. In dit verband wordt met name gedacht aan een recente, niet in de Bibliografie voorkomende, publicatie van Victoria Baker waarin o.m. gewezen wordt op de erfelijke aspecten van de positie van de 'big man' en op zijn machtspositie in de lokale groep naast en tegenover die van de 'oudsten'.

In het hoofdstuk 'Mens- en wereldbeeld' geeft de auteur een Nederlandse weergave van mythische verhalen (*wamit*) verteld door een inheemse informant en door een vertrouwde tolk in het Indonesisch vertaald. De belangrijkste van deze *wamit* zijn zes onderling verschillende oorsprongsverhalen, eigendom van afzonderlijke clans of groepen van clans. In een samenvattende beschouwing, mede gebaseerd op gesprekken met informanten over de inhoud van deze mythen, wordt medegedeeld dat de Kebar bij kennismaking met de bijbelse verhalen gedeelten van het daarin vermelde zagen als gebeurtenissen die hun al uit de eigen mythen bekend waren: 'De Wamit- en bijbelverhalen zijn gelijk. Toen het evangelie kwam wisten wij het al' (205). In verband hiermee dient bedacht te worden dat de Kebar in 1948 hun eerste evangelist kregen, dat waarschijnlijk al vóór die tijd de berichten over bijbelverhalen waren doorgedrongen (205) en dat de auteur zijn mythenmateriaal ruim 30 jaar later verzamelde. Nu ligt het in de verwachting dat in deze periode elementen uit de bijbelse verhalen in het traditionele mythenbestand werden opgenomen. Dat dit inderdaad het geval was wordt aangetoond door verwijzing in de aan de auteur vertelde verhalen naar Genesis 19:26, de verandering van de vrouw van Lot in een zoutpilaar (202 en 204). In dit verband is de vraag legitiem in hoeverre de vermelde oorsprongsmythen al beïnvloed waren door bijbelse verhalen en voorstellingen, welke vraag door de auteur niet expliciet gesteld wordt.

In een afsluitende beschouwing van het betreffende hoofdstuk wordt geconcludeerd dat 'in de confrontatie tussen de oude adat en de nieuwe adat . . . een oorspronkelijk en collectief Kebaridee van een hoop op en een toeleven naar een beter bestaan – mits bepaalde regels worden opgevolgd – opnieuw gevoed (wordt) door de Indonesische staatsideologie en het christendom' (222), een conclusie die hoop lijkt te geven voor de toekomst. Hieraan wordt echter toegevoegd dat men zich weliswaar kan vinden in de idee van een 'nieuwe orde' maar niet in de richting waarin die zich beweegt. Hieruit mag duidelijk zijn dat men er goed aan doet zijn verwachtingen in deze niet te hoog te spannen.

In een poging mijn beschouwingen samen te vatten zou ik als een van de verdiensten van het werk de invulling van een van de witte plekken in de 'etnografische kaart' van West-Nieuw-Guinea willen noemen. Het boek heeft het karakter van een etnografie vooral gezien de uitgebreide presentatie van feitelijke gegevens. In vergelijking met 'klassieke' etnografische monografieën met betrekking tot Nieuw-Guinea en Melanesië, zoals de werken van Beatrice Blackwood en Paul Wirz, is er sprake van een zeker tekort in die zin dat bepaalde facetten van de

cultuur onbelicht gebleven zijn. Zo krijgen we vrijwel geen informatie op technisch-materieel gebied. Dit kan de auteur overigens niet worden verweten, omdat hij zich tot de sociale structuur en de religie heeft willen beperken. Op deze terreinen geeft het werk aanzienlijk meer dan kan worden verwacht in een antropologische benadering van de cultuur van de Kebar, in de eerste plaats omdat ook de nabuurstammen in het onderzoek werden betrokken en, last but not least, door de ethnohistorische aanpak.

Het veldwerk is verricht met grote volharding en veel geduld. Dit blijkt uit de aard en de kwaliteit van het basismateriaal en ook uit de kwantiteit van deze gegevens, die in hun veelheid aan de lezer niet onthouden worden. Hier en daar, zo krijgt men de indruk, heeft de auteur zijn veldgegevens vrijwel ongewijzigd gereproduceerd. Dit heeft het voordeel dat zijn uitspraken kunnen worden gecontroleerd. Het nadeel is de moeilijke leesbaarheid. Samenvattingen en conclusies zijn in deze overvloed van feitenmateriaal soms lastig vindbaar. Verder moeten de hierboven gesignaleerde manco's op de debetzijde worden geschreven. Het betreft hier echter grotendeels tekortkomingen op het gebied van de presentatie waardoor de informatie die de auteur beoogt te geven de lezer nauwelijks of niet bereikt.

Ik zou overigens niet willen aarzelen dit boek een belangrijke bijdrage tot onze kennis van de Vogelkop-culturen te noemen. Sociale wetenschappers – met inbegrip van historici – die zich met dit deel van West-Nieuw-Guinea willen gaan bezig houden, zullen er nuttige en interessante informatie in kunnen vinden. Men kan zich in dit verband afvragen of het boek wellicht niet beter in het Engels had kunnen worden geschreven. Aan de andere kant mag gesteld worden dat de verschijning in het Nederlands voor in de regio geïnteresseerde niet-Nederlandse vakgenoten geen al te grote belemmering zal vormen van de inhoud kennis te nemen. Nederlands immers is de taal van practisch alle literatuurgegevens die betrekking hebben op dit deel van Nieuw-Guinea en het aangrenzende Molukse gebied, waardoor een, althans passieve, beheersing van het Nederlands voorwaarde is voor elk serieus onderzoek.

LITERATUUR

- Victoria J. Baker, 1983, 'Elders in the shadow of the big man', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 139, pp. 1-17.
- Beatrice Blackwood, 1935, *Both sides of the Buka Passage*, Oxford.
- J. Pouwer, 1960, 'Bestaansmiddelen en sociale structuur in de Oostelijke Vogelkop', *Nieuw-Guinea Studiën* 4, pp. 215-234, 309-327.
- J. M. Schoorl, 1979, *Mensen van de Aifat; ceremoniële ruil en sociale orde in Irian Jaya, Indonesia*, Nijmegen/Meppel.
- P. Wirz, 1922-1925, *Die Marind-anim von Holländisch-Süd-Neu-Guinea*, I-IV, Hamburg.

R.H. Barnes, *Two Crows Denies It: A History of Controversy in Omaha Sociology*, Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1984. ISBN 0-8032-1182-1.

ADAM KUPER,
Brunel University

This book appears exactly a century after the publication of Dorsey's *Omaha Sociology*. Dorsey – like all members of the Bureau of American Ethnology – was deeply influenced by Lewis Henry Morgan's ideas about social organization, but he was also a good linguist and a patient, systematic ethnographer, who carefully preserved the conflicting statements of his informants, including, most notably, those of the obstinate Two Crows, who so often denied the confident statements of his rival as indigenous expert, Francis La Flesche.

La Flesche later collaborated with another trained anthropologist, Alice Cunningham Fletcher, to produce a second detailed study of the Omaha, *The Omaha Tribe*, which appeared in 1911. Both books became anthropological classics, and the Omaha themselves became one of the most famous paradigmatic cases in the discipline, coming to stand for a "type" of social structure.

Yet the Omaha were not a significant presence in American Indian politics – numbering indeed only about a thousand in the mid nineteenth century – and their anthropological celebrity must give rise to some perplexity, however detailed the reports of their ethnographers. If the Omaha "were drawn into the mainstream of anthropological advancement" (to use Barnes' phrase), this was not because of their historical significance or the intrinsic fascination of their culture, but because they were made to appear relevant to a particular theory. This was the theory of American Indian social evolution proposed by Lewis Henry Morgan. They have remained so central a case-study because the issues defined by Morgan have not yet disappeared from the anthropological agenda.

Morgan's theory gave central significance to the relationship between descent groups, rules of exogamy, and kinship terminology. This became the classic matrix of anthropological debate in the field of social organization. Morgan argued that the descent groups function to define marriage possibilities. These marriage possibilities are reflected in the classification of relatives within the kinship terminology. Morgan himself had an historical hypothesis about the relationship between these variables – the terminology reflected a former system of marriage possibilities. More recent authors – notably Radcliffe-Brown and Lévi-Strauss – have taken a synchronic view, arguing that the marriage rules, the descent groups and the kinship terminology were aspects of a single structure. In this theoretical context, the Omaha have become the type-case of a society organized into patrilineal descent groups and with a very wide-ranging rule of exogamy, in which marriage is prohibited into the "clans" of all four grandparents. This system (or one or other aspect of it) is assumed to account for the peculiar generational skewing which characterizes "Omaha" kinship terminologies.

Although the "Omaha type" was originally inspired by Dorsey's ethnography, itself deeply coloured by Morgan's ideas, it quite soon

took on a life of its own, provoking theories and counter-theories, but, until now, very little reference back to the Omaha themselves. Barnes' excellent study reviews the original Omaha ethnographic records, and then restates what is known of Omaha social organization in contemporary analytical terms. After an historical introduction, which places the Omaha and their principal ethnographers, successive chapters deal with chieftainship, the famous "tribal circle", divided into two halves ("moieties"), descent groups, personal names, kinship terminology, marriage, residence and "alliance". In the end, little of the classic Omaha structure remains in place. Crucially, Barnes concludes that it "is perhaps not really based on such elaborate restrictions on marriage choice as we have thought" (p. 173). A detailed survey of the records "permits the definite conclusions that Omaha moieties were not exogamous, that their symmetrically structured prohibitions covered only a small field of traceable kin, that direct exchange was otherwise permissible, and that between larger groups marriages tended to go both ways, giving rise in the aggregate to a de facto, but culturally insignificant, pattern of direct exchange" (p. 193). (He does not, however, see the Omaha as conforming to the terms of Lévi-Strauss's "Omaha" model.)

This meticulous critique can perhaps be faulted for not going far enough. Little remains of the various Omaha models, but even the little that does remain seems of dubious value. Barnes, for example, qualifies the claims which have been made for the extent and solidarity and exogamy of Omaha descent groups. He clearly indicates the ethnographic difficulties in defining such groups. For example, discussing the "subclans", he remarks:

This description (. . .) greatly simplifies the situation with which the ethnographers were confronted. To begin with, not all clans were subdivided, while some were segmented in more than one way. Subclans were sometimes designated by a variety of names (. . .) The ethnographers, and also their informants, disagree on what the subclans are and how many there are in each of the clans. (p. 69.)

And what of the clans themselves? Fletcher and La Flesche (taking off from Morgan and Powell) commented that the "gens" was "not a political organization" and that "the people composing it did not claim to be descended from a common ancestor from whom the group took its names and crest". They ended by defining it as "a group of exogamous kindred who practised a particular rite, the child's birthright to which descended solely through the father. . ." (cited pp. 68-9). Yet it is difficult to believe in the solid significance of these descent groups when Dorsey reports, for example, that "Some of the people know their grandfather's and grandmother's names and others do not know them at all" (quoted p. 174). There is even considerable doubt as to whether Joseph La Flesche's own mother was a Ponca or an Omaha – and a good proportion of the illustrative genealogical material illustrating descent groupings and marriages is taken from La Flesche's personal data. The subclans seem to be shadowy divisions of a descent group which exists only by virtue of a presumed exogamy (which Barnes calls into question)

and the right to a particular ceremony. It would be worth reconsidering whether the whole series of constructs – moiety, clan, sub-clan – is of any value at all in analysing Omaha ethnography.

Barnes' monograph is a good advertisement for what will no doubt become a common anthropological genre, the reanalysis of classic ethnographies on the basis of various contemporary reports, published and unpublished. This is a field on which anthropologists and ethnohistorians will meet, to their mutual advantage. The basis for this sort of work is much more solid than many anthropologists seem to appreciate. As Barnes concludes:

Despite the very plain differences in style and preoccupations of the ethnographers... the basic features of that culture nevertheless come through in all reports. The personalities of the ethnographers may act as a filter, but, especially where there are independent reporters, ethnographic facts impose themselves sufficiently to prove that the facts are not merely the imaginative creations of the anthropologist. (p. 234.)

This is true also of the theoretical assumptions of the ethnographers, to which, perhaps, Barnes might have given more attention.

Steven Piker, *A Peasant Community in Changing Thailand*, Anthropological Research Papers, No. 30, Arizona State University, 1983.

C. L. J. VAN DER MEER

Piker states in his preface that this study is addressed to the description of the social and economic organization of a predominantly rice growing village located near the heart of the Central Plain of Thailand. In the introduction the author gives a summary of the emergence and characteristics of the Thai nation before the twentieth century. The first and second chapters set out the results of anthropological research conducted during the years 1962-63 and 1967-68. The first deals with subjects such as characteristics of rice farming, labor, sources of income and level of living. In the second chapter – concerning social organization – particular aspects of kinship groups, social relations, patron-client relations and factors of social change are discussed. In the final chapter Piker interprets his results in the light of some general models of Thai society and compares his findings with those of fellow-anthropologists.

The best part of the study to my mind is the chapter on social organization. Although limited in aim and scope, this chapter presents a lucid description of some basic elements of social organization in the village, such as kinship, marriage and patron-client relations. His findings confirm those of other researchers before him. He adds neither unexpected data nor challenging interpretations.

Less convincing are Piker's remarks about changes in the village rice economy and related social change. He claims that pressure on land – in

his view, evidenced by increases in the proportion of landless households – is a major factor of social change. Unfortunately he fails to give much evidence on trends in landlessness and its causes. He also expresses the view that there has been a decline in the village population of about 25 per cent since the 1930s as well as a rise in the level of living. An alternative economic explanation could be provided by growing opportunities in Bangkok and other places relative to those in rice farming, with concomitant out-migration and scarcity of labour, making the latter more expensive. Mechanization then was most likely induced partly by the increasing labour scarcity. If one is interested in explanations of these phenomena, one does not find these in Piker's study. His only economic reference is Ingram's book. Attempts to use census and economic survey data or farm-economic studies are conspicuously lacking. Where there is so little attention for economic changes and explanations in a broader context, the contention that land scarcity constitutes a major cause of changes in the social organization should at best be regarded as tentative.

One is puzzled by Piker's actual intention. His field work was carried out as early as 1962-63 and 1967-68, while most of the present text was apparently written not much later. The interpretative chapter contains only few references to more recent studies, and not a single reference is dated after 1978. It is to be regretted that Piker has neglected the work of Thai scholars, though he does mention Akin's and Dhani's older studies.

Mark S. Mosko, *Quadripartite structures: Categories, relations, and homologies in Bush Mekeo culture*, Cambridge: University Press, 1985, XIII + 298 pp.

J. MIEDEMA

The Bush Mekeo are an Austronesian-speaking riverine people living along the middle reaches of the Baru River, which discharges itself on the south coast of Papua New Guinea. The book under review is the first systematic account of their culture. Moreover, referring to a revival of Marxian and historicist approaches in a post-structural era, Mosko emphatically presents his study as a structuralist one. Bush Mekeo culture is presented as a whole, which in (almost) all its aspects is characterized by structures of bisected dualities, involving the inversion or reversal of initially opposed binary pairs – for instance, “bush underground : village aboveground :: village underground : bush aboveground”, or, in more formal terms, “ $X^I : Y^{II} :: Y^I : X^{II}$ ” (p. 35).

Mosko convincingly shows, on a frequently very abstract level of interpretation, how in various contexts of Bush Mekeo culture and society connections between indigenous concepts can be traced back to quadripartite orderings, which thus form an underlying model. The contexts concerned include mythical as well as non-mythical ones, the latter extending to (conceptualizations of) space and time, physiological

processes, gender roles, social organization, leadership and authority, and ritual.

Mosko recommends further research on quadripartite structures on the basis of distinct epistemological as well as grammatical arguments. According to him, the value of synchrony has not yet been exhausted. Rather, structure still takes precedence over event. In conformity with this view, the quadripartite structure is presented as revealing the essential features of Bush Mekeo culture. It is also recommended as a structure which "possesses a particular efficiency for analytically encompassing such distinctly diachronic phenomena as social action and historical event" (p. 12), while it moreover is valuable in revealing thus far unnoticed relations and homologies in other Austronesian-speaking cultures. The latter point is provisionally demonstrated through a reinterpretation of specific data from the well-known Tikiopian and Trobriand societies. At this point Mosko outlines an attractive program, pleading for further research on the spread of quadripartite – alongside binary and tripartite – structures among Austronesian-speaking people, to be continued by systematic comparisons between Austronesian and non-Austronesian areas.

Less attractive is Mosko's focus on culture as a synchronic whole; hereby he almost reduces 'change' to the replication of a particular structure. It is furthermore regrettable that, due to limitations of space, Mosko failed to include more "statements of native exegesis" (p. 239) in his texts to give his interpretations more flesh and blood. With these remarks I would not wish to suggest that *Quadripartite structures* is merely a useful contribution to structuralist anthropology, or to the literature of New Guinean peoples. It is a program that certainly deserves to be studied by every scholar interested in the question of in which ways, and to what extent, (structural) continuity and change can be interrelated.

Rodney Needham, *Against the Tranquility of Axioms*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1983, xi + 182 pp.

DAVID S. MOYER,
University of Victoria

One expects to find a certain amount of bombastic rhetoric in Needham's publications. The tone of this book, however, is temperate and reasonable. The central theme of the book is an evaluation of certain concepts that anthropologists have used imprecisely and carelessly. The approach to the problem is philosophical and grounded primarily in a particular philosophical tradition, that of Wittgenstein and the linguistic philosophers.

The first of seven chapters, 'Advertisement', presents an outline of the book as a whole. The second chapter, 'This is a Rose...', is an almost medieval discourse on the significance of five statements involving the word rose: "1. This is a rose. 2. This rose has five petals. 3. This rose is

red. 4. This rose smells sweet. 5. This rose is beautiful" (p. 24). All that seems to be missing is a discussion of Abelard's statement "nulla rosa est". Though the manner of presenting the argument appears overly scholastic, the point being made is a reasonable one, i.e., a word or a notion may be considered from a variety of perspectives or "aspects", and no particular aspect should be singled out as being primary. The third chapter, 'Polythetic Classification: Convergence and Consequences', deals with the problems raised by monothetic classification systems and explores the advantages of the alternative polythetic approach. Monothetic systems are based on a series of shared properties, i.e., properties must be shared by all the members of a class. Polythetic categories lack this fundamental characteristic. "Among the members of such a class there is a complex network of similarities overlapping and crisscrossing; sometimes overall similarities, sometimes similarities of detail. These features Wittgenstein termed, in a since-famous phrase, 'family resemblances'" (p. 37). The argument presents a good case for the problems associated with insisting on monothetic categories. The proposed solution to these problems, i.e., polythetic classification systems, is less convincing. Part of the difficulty is that only one solution is presented when others come to mind. For example, the linguistic model used by Lévi-Strauss seems to offer a different set of advantages and disadvantages.

The third chapter, 'Skulls and Causality', is perhaps the most interesting to the readers of the *Bijdragen* because it deals with both Indonesia and Dutch Indonesian scholarship. In my opinion, it is also the best chapter. In considering the various aspects of headhunting in Indonesia, Needham very astutely points out that "the common premise on the part of anthropological commentators on headhunting has been that in the clearly causal connection between taking heads and securing prosperity there must subsist or intervene some forceful medium which brings about the effect" (pp. 81). This insistence on the presence of some sort of soul-substance is not justified by the ethnography and is an error on the part of the analysts. Needham argues that this is the result of two conceptual errors. First, there is the failure to understand the nature of a plurality of aspects, i.e., there is no real need to insist on the unitary explanation offered by postulating the existence of something like a soul-substance. Second, there is the nature of the force that is added. This force suggests, according to Needham, an over-dependence upon nineteenth-century mechanical models of causality. As Needham points out, "the taking of heads secured well-being and that was that" (p. 79).

The fifth chapter, 'Reversals', deals with the use of the terms reverse, reversal, inverse and inversion in anthropological literature. Needham presents a list of twelve distinct uses of these terms. The mere presence of all the usages in a single list, regardless of how one wishes to divide them into categories, is convincing testimony of anthropological carelessness. The chapter concludes with a formal analysis of the twelve types of reversal that suggests that they cannot be reduced to a single shared formula. Though the argument is convincing in the end, it seems unnecessarily complicated.

The sixth chapter, 'Alternation', deals with series that alternate

between fixed categories. Receiving special attention are alternations involving age-group systems and alternation associated with prescriptive marriage systems. Here one finds the argument difficult to follow and at times obtuse. Needham's early work on the same subject in the late fifties and early sixties is much clearer.

The final chapter, entitled 'Wittgenstein's Arrows', is an elaborate discourse on the significance and meaning of symbolic arrows in print. Wittgenstein is used as a guide. Just as one is beginning to wonder where all of this is going, there is a very clever discourse on one of Lévi-Strauss' diagrams from *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*. Here Needham suggests that the arrows are backwards. The whole thing is an elaborate Parthian shot. The only problem is that the author has left the reviewer trying to remember whether a Parthian bowman actually sat backwards on his horse or only faced backwards.

Imke Swart, *Die Traditionellen Grundlagen der Erziehung im Zentralen Java*, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1983. (130 pp.)

ANKE NIEHOF

A discussion of this book in English immediately raises the problem of how best to translate the term *Erziehung*. The common English equivalents 'education' or 'socialization' could be used, but after reading the book the anthropological term 'enculturation' seems more apt. The emphasis in the book is on the first part of the title, i.e. the traditional foundation. About two thirds of the book deals with the traditional Javanese worldview and values, and only in the last part the question of how these are passed on to the younger generation is discussed. The term 'enculturation' refers directly to the internalization of basic cultural notions, and that is what the book is about.

Drawing on a variety of sources and authors, in which Geertz features prominently, Swart constructs a compact picture of the Javanese worldview, in which the cosmic and social order mirror one another. The child should learn to be (not to become) Javanese by participant observation, in which parents, elder siblings, and later, village elders, teachers, and *wayang* characters serve as guides. Especially the *wayang* stories offer the older child a variety of culturally acknowledged personal alternatives. The insights the child has to internalize differ fundamentally from the knowledge provided by formal education. In the eyes of the traditional Javanese the latter is irrelevant for reaching cultural maturity.

Although Javanese culture is not marked in the first place by sexual differentiation, boys and girls are treated differently. Because, as it is said, women are governed more by emotions and impulses than are men, it is in their nature to be "less Javanese". Hence, girls are troubled less with cultural standards and important values than boys. Sexual differentiation in the process of socialization and enculturation begins at the age

of five or six. After having observed this, the author more or less drops girls from sight. They are now disciplined by their mothers. Because of this, their range of social contacts and cultural experiences is more restricted than that of their brothers. But then, how do girls learn to be Javanese wives and mothers? Social and cultural arenas like the kitchen and the market are placed outside the scope of the discussion. Given the fact that these institutions are necessarily contaminated with *pamrih*, this may be very Javanese, but it leads to an incomplete picture of female socialization. The book falls into the common enough trap of explaining cultural phenomena – in this case Javanese – in terms of models articulated by men. This inevitably leaves questions about the upbringing of Javanese women and their cultural ideals unanswered.

R. S. Khare, *The Untouchable as himself. Ideology, identity and pragmatism among the Lucknow Chamars*, Cambridge Studies in Cultural Systems, Cambridge University Press, 1984.

J. H. B. DEN OUDEN

When asked to review a book, I am inclined to behave like a true anthropologist and circle around my subject before really tackling it. So I reread G. S. Bhatt's article on the Chamars of Lucknow (*The Eastern Anthropologist* 8, 1954-1955, pp. 27-41; not mentioned by Khare) and looked through Brigg's classic (1920) and Cohn's famous article on a rural Chamar group (1955). Then, turning to Khare's book and finding that, whereas he is writing about sociology, his main interest is culture, I also reread Bailey's article, 'For a Sociology of India?', and the Editor's (Dumont c.s.) 'Rejoinder' (*Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 1959, pp. 88-101; 1960, pp. 82-89).

In the first pages of his book, Khare writes that he is "interested in a cultural analysis of the ideas and actions of the Lucknow Chamars, . . . to see how they organize and express their ideology for self-identification and how this ideology is then related to some concrete social contexts and conditions". He tries to explicate and understand the "symbolic ideas" and strategies pursued by these urban Untouchables at present to cope with the changing circumstances (p. 2). To give the reader an idea of Khare's style of writing, to point out the difficulties 'laymen' will doubtless encounter, and to give an indication of the kind of conclusions he draws, I shall quote a passage from the final chapter. Here Khare presents "a dominant and four stranded profile of the discussions this study has produced" (p. 143). "The first strand, . . . rests on a transcendent, ultimate order of Indic equality and justice." "The second reflects the first's difficulty in the actual world and is marked by the ascetic's and the hero's efforts to reform." "The third strand is concerned with organized political protests and their culmination in a pragmatic pursuit of legal and economic claims." "The fourth is a stagnation of the third. It

concerns a decline in cultural innovation and a rise in the free play of pragmatic evaluations and accountabilities.” (p. 144.)

Khare talked a lot to Chamars from Lucknow, many of them educated and followers of the Rai Das or Ravi Das sect. I have an idea that he became biased in favour of these ascetics, Chamar priests (not a word about the *naut*, or devil priest), and local politicians. If this had been sufficiently counterbalanced with a considerable quantity of ethnographic case-analysis, the book would have been important for scholars of ‘Indian sociology’. However, this is not the case. Pages 97-107 are to some degree an exception in this respect.

Considering the background literature mentioned above, one may ask amongst whom Khare did his research. Judging from Bhatt’s article, he must have worked mostly with Kureels. Khare mentions three areas of Lucknow where he collected data (p. 9), but never mentions any ‘sub-castes’. We know, however, that in the fifties Ravidas followers were to be found mainly in one of the three (or five, if we include the Koris and Jaiswars) dominant Chamar groups of Lucknow. No comparisons have been made in the field of culture and ideology with other Scheduled Castes like the Bhangis (normally strongly discriminated by Chamars), nor have the traditional and new relations with other Untouchables, with Muslims, or with various middle and high castes been systematically analysed. Traditional religion, ideology and customs are moreover systematically ignored. We are told nothing about Paramesari Devi, the patron goddess of the Chamars, or about the Siva Narayan sect.

I am very much against the opposition which Khare uses, viz. that of the dominated Indian Untouchable versus the dominant caste-Hindus (IX). I can imagine Chamar leaders talking in this way, but an anthropologist should even so know better. Only rarely (p. 15) does Khare speak in a more modified way about “the Lucknow Chamars’ version of the cultural ideology of the Untouchable”, though this is still a dangerous way of putting things. Every caste increasingly discriminates against lower strata castes, and this extends right down into the category of very low castes, the so-called Untouchables. It is moreover not at all clear in many regional and local settings exactly which castes should be included with these very low castes, what criteria should be used for the delimitation of this category of castes, and over how many socio-ritual strata the castes of this category are divided. “The Untouchable as an all-Indian cultural construct” (p. 67) is not that easy to define. It is furthermore unacceptable to speak of “the Untouchable’s cultural ideology”. For example, the very low castes which I studied in detail in a Tamilnadu region were seen not only to observe a strict social distance vis-à-vis each other (Pallar and Kuravar clearly discriminating Paraiyar and Cakkiliyar), but also to differ markedly in their reaction to modern processes of incorporation and in the ideology and strategies evolved by them. As regards their aggressive frustration, stress on education and eagerness to enter white collar jobs, ‘my’ Paraiyar are to my mind best comparable to Khare’s Chamars. As a further warning against lumping the very low castes together in a homogeneous category, reality has shown that they can ‘decide’ in favour of more Brahman or Kingly models of behaviour and ideology (A. C. Mayer, 1960). In the South, for instance, Right hand

and Left hand caste divisions run right through the very low castes with respect to behaviour and ideology (B. E. F. Beck, 1972). Not to mention a number of 'unclean Untouchables', among whom signs of utter fatalism and internally directed aggression are found, also because such castes as the Chamars or Pallar are running away with most of the support provided by the Union and the states in connection with their protective discrimination of the Scheduled Castes.

Khare is not averse to sweeping statements. On pages 61 and 62 he ventures to compare "Indic individuation" and "Western individualism". On such statements as, for instance, that in the Western world "... the focus has been moved to the secular – politico-economic – domains", whereas in Indian civilization "the basic construct has remained moral and ethical, deriving from and returning to the sacred cosmology", I don't think it is necessary to comment. One wonders whether it is always true that "the deprived seek social justice" (p. 152). Perhaps they do under circumstances in which they expect to have a chance of improving their socio-economic and political position, as is the case in India nowadays. But if such an improvement is not feasible, very different cultural and behavioural reactions may be observed. In many cases weak groups, whether in India or elsewhere, seek protection and security by realizing harmonious vertical relations, with the accompanying "culture of adaptation", with those categories of people who can offer guarantees for survival. To this I could add an endless series of statements which I do not understand very well, but which leave me doubting.

It is conceivable that this type of 'culturology', without much stress on inter-caste or inter-personal relations, but focusing instead on the thinking of regional and local ascetics, priests and reformists, will to some extent further our knowledge of the very low castes and their frustrations in the past and at present. One could argue, as does Khare, that the focus on the cultural-ideological side is highly underrepresented in much of the present literature. But the reader should beware, for one needs to have a thorough training in Indology to be able to understand and judge a book like this. And here, again, one has very good grounds for criticism: this work is so very particularistically Indian.

To end my review on a positive note: I was delighted, after the famous film about the 'limelight figure', Ghandi, to be able to read a book in which the importance of B. R. Ambedkar and many other Indian reformists is highlighted.

Rubie S. Watson, *Inequality Among Brothers: Class and Kinship in South China*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985. xiii + 193 pp., 3 maps.

FRANK N. PIEKE

This case study of the Deng lineage of Ha Tsuen village, in Hong Kong's New Territories, focuses on the interplay of descent and class over a period of almost 900 years. The Deng lineage is a product of fusion. In the 17th century some Deng became sufficiently rich and powerful to unite into a corporate lineage what had, until then, been only a loosely knit network of agnates. Recently the dominance of the old elite of landlord-merchants has been challenged by a new class of entrepreneurs. Although they formulate their attacks in terms of the old lineage ideology, it is unlikely that the Deng lineage will in the long run continue to exist in its present form.

Watson's is a very carefully documented contribution to one of the oldest fields within sinological anthropology. I was especially interested in her data on inheritance and on the difference between rich and poor in marriage customs and the importance of affinal ties. However, the book's contributions to the theory of the Chinese lineage are not as novel as the author herself seems to think, and a lot of her criticisms of previous work on the Chinese lineage are therefore only partly justified. For instance, it has never been assumed that Fortes' model of lineage organization can be applied wholesale to the Chinese case. The southeastern Chinese lineage and its segmentary structure have never been seen as natural outgrowths of the Chinese patrilineal descent ideology. On the contrary, many of the studies of the Chinese lineage conducted over the past 30 years or so represented a succession of attempts at explaining this phenomenon from a variety of factors.

The major strength of the book is not that it presents an entirely new idea. Its importance lies instead in its bringing together and elaborating upon arguments advanced earlier, and checking them against the author's own wealth of data. Its deserves to be read by all those specializing in Chinese kinship and marriage, the role of women and class differences in the traditional Chinese countryside, and the impact of industrialization and migration on the New Territories.

James A. Boon, *Other tribes, other scribes; symbolic anthropology in the comparative study of cultures, histories, religions, and texts*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982. xiv + 303 pp., appendixes.

RIEN PLOEG

Writing about 'other tribes as another scribe' seems to be a Columbus-like experience. Boon explores the varied, complex, and limitless material relating to symbolic anthropology in a fascinating way. In his dis-

cussion of innumerable subjects, texts (literary), and authors in connection with anthropology and other 'semiotics-oriented' sciences, he takes his readers on an exciting voyage on a boundless ocean with exotic shores. On his voyage, Boon discusses many famous scholars like Lévi-Strauss at length, while only mentioning Bateson, of whose work one would expect a fuller treatment in this respect, in passing. In the whole undertaking his only explicit compass is the assumption that "any interpretation of another culture is itself embedded in a specific cultural context and historical moment" (Boon 1982: backflap).

The pleasure derived from the book is mainly a heuristic one. For it gives a vivid insight into the way data concerning other peoples living in different ages and in different milieus may be interpreted and above all re-interpreted.

Setting out from the harbour of anthropological fieldwork, Boon steers his exposition into a state of between and betwixt. As he himself puts it: "Our discourse remains caught between the fire of fieldwork (speaking, being, procreating, describing, kama) and the ice of ethnology (writing, ordering, asceticism, comparing, tapas)" (Boon 1982: 236).

It is this state of rather inactive in-betweenness which must induce readers to search for their own harbors; but Boon won't let them, because they are on his ship. Most readers will probably refer more than once to the chapters on 'the history of ethnology' (ch. 2), 'social theories' (ch. 3), and 'semiotics and dialectics' (ch. 4), while consulting the others on subjects like 'Jacobean ethnology' (ch. 5), 'Balinese incest' (ch. 6), and 'structuralism/Romanticism' (ch. 7) as crucial and refreshing documents in the quest for a methodology in the general comparative approach to symbolic processes. In this respect Boon complicates matters in his last chapter, called 'Conclusion: Dead moons or eclipsed', and gives his readers more to think about in presenting three appendixes under such intriguing titles as 'Structuralistics' (appendix A), 'Trickstering' (appendix B) and 'Dia-tribes' (appendix C).

In this process Boon indeed offers in his book glimpses of many exotic shores while roaming intentionally on an ocean of symbol.

Durk Hak, Ybeltje Kroes and Hans Schneyermann (eds.), *Watching the seaside. Essays on maritime anthropology*. A. H. J. Prins; Festschrift on the occasion of his retirement from the Chair of Anthropology, University of Groningen, University of Groningen, 1984, 251 pp., ill., diagr.

RIEN PLOEG

One can honour a scholar on the occasion of his retirement in different ways. One such way is the publication of a book with contributions by

fellow-scholars to underline first of all the academic significance of their retiring colleague. In this particular case the editors of the book under review have chosen to publish a selection of articles on what is called maritime anthropology and archaeology written by the scholar, Professor Prins, himself. The result is a volume containing a heterogeneous collection of articles which gives an accurate reflection of the academic stand of Prof. Prins and a good idea of his contribution to maritime anthropology. This makes the book an invaluable document. For it brings the, otherwise isolated, work of Prof. Prins to the fore by uniting his main nautical research themes in a single volume.

One important aspect of this publication is, indeed, the greater access it offers to Prins' work for those interested. This could have the positive side-effect of providing a stimulus for future research. The subject of maritime anthropology still awaits an integrative, if not holistic, approach, and, according to Prof. Prins, "future maritime research should also be problem oriented" (p. 212).

But until this effect is actually achieved, the *Festschrift* will remain obligatory reading. Here a word of caution is necessary to those who expect to read about real people, in the way these are presented by Malinowski in his *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*. As Durk Hak aptly remarks in his introduction to Prof. Prins' articles, "real people are almost completely absent" (p. 3). Instead, the author writes in rather great detail about ships/boats, the distribution of boats, trade and trading articles, characteristics of boats in terms of decoration, technical particulars, crew numbers, etc. He also concentrates on, among other things, a lexicographical survey with the aim of exploring the possibilities of classifying boats. Furthermore, he discusses subjects like magic and boats, and the relationship between the shape of a boat, trade (trading articles) and ecology.

After a reading of the *Festschrift*, one could indicate especially the articles on 'Islamic maritime magic' (ch. 2), 'The Turkish Levant' (ch.5), 'Turkish maritime culture' (ch. 6) and 'The Persian Gulf Dhows' (ch. 8 and 9) as offering promising points of departure for future research in the field of maritime anthropology. Towards this end Prof. Prins also sketches the brief outlines of what one might call a 'scientific programme' (pp. 210-212).

All in all, one finds oneself wondering if, with Prof. Prins' retirement, the branch of maritime anthropology as practised thus far in The Netherlands is doomed to go to anchor. Hopefully this book will provide a stimulus for further activity in this field, however.

Nancy L. Hamblin, *Animal use by the Cozumel Maya*, Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1984. 206 pp.

RIEN PLOEG

This book is interesting reading especially for those who are unfamiliar with the discipline of zoo-archaeology.

On a general level the author demonstrates that the study of the Maya cultural tradition (c. 100-1500 A.D.) requires an interdisciplinary approach. More particularly she sets out to make this study serve "as an example of how faunal analysis can be used to make deductions or to evaluate previous inferences concerning different aspects of a pre-historic culture and its lifeways" (187).

With respect to the Maya cultural tradition the study corroborates the hypothesis that the island of Cozumel (located about eleven miles off the northeastern part of Yucatán Peninsula in Mexico) played a significant role in an assumed long-distance trade network. The uniqueness of the Cozumel fauna, which appears to be much more extensive than those from other sites in the Maya area, lends the argument that Cozumel was of some importance in the Maya cultural tradition, both on the point of religion and commercially, a more solid foundation in the absence of concrete archaeological evidence.

Using, among other things, the material of the Cozumel Archaeological Project (CAP), the author illustrates that zoo-archaeological research combined with simple statistical procedures and comparisons with other remains of the Maya cultural tradition is fruitful for the testing of hypotheses concerning socio-cultural phenomena.

Towards this end she lays emphasis on subjects such as diet and nutrition in the study of the faunal sample in question, which gives rise to some tentative conclusions. With one of these she tries to underscore an aspect of the main hypothesis of the Cozumel Archaeological Project in relation to the long-distance trade of William L. Rathje and Jeremy A. Sabloff.

This is the idea of the levelling effects of long-distance trade, according to which this kind of trade was responsible for a general homogeneity of cultural remains of all types (cf. 174-181).

However, it is for future research to decide whether this and other conclusions hold.

Ladislav Holy and Milan Stuchlik, *Actions, norms and representations. Foundations of anthropological inquiry*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983. VIII + 134 pp.

RIEN PLOEG

There are, according to the authors, two main ways in which anthropologists obtain their data, namely through observing what people do and by listening to what they say. These data thus relate to two different

domains of social reality, i.e., in simplified terminology, to the domain of actions and the domain of notions.

The authors then systematically explore the methodological relevance of each for normal anthropological research procedure. Their main thesis is that the study of social life as a process can only be valid if based on the study of the relationship between the said two domains of social reality. Their argument is lent conviction by their systematic and comprehensive approach to their subject – using ethnographic examples and referring to philosophical questions, theoretical anthropological discussions, and facets of the procedure of actual research.

Although the book is mainly directed to student readers, it should be compulsory reading for professional scholars in the field of the social sciences as well.

Lilly Eversdijk Smulders, *Een jaar bij de yogi's van India en Tibet*, Deventer 1983.

RONALD H. POELMEIJER

Deze goed uitgevoerde vierde druk, die verscheen in een oplage van 2000 exemplaren, bevat tweeëndertig tekeningen, die door de schrijfster zelf zijn vervaardigd. Het werk is het resultaat van een viertal reizen, die de schrijfster heeft gemaakt door India en Nepal, met als doel “om een serie van antropologische portretten te maken van de verschillende Indiase stammen” (p. 11). Het tekstgedeelte bestaat uit drie onderdelen, die geschreven zijn tegen de achtergrond van de Birla-Tempel te New Delhi en het klooster “Verblijf van Genade” in het bekende bedevaartsoord in Rishikesh. Het derde deel is een verslag van een rondreis door India en Nepal. Deze drie delen zijn opgebouwd uit 62 paragrafen van verschillende lengte, die met hun afzonderlijke titels het boek tot een overzichtelijk geheel maken.

Als voornaamste stijlfiguur bedient de schrijfster zich van de dialoog, waarbij zij vertegenwoordigers van verschillende geestelijke stromingen aan het woord laat over hun ideeën en over de wijze, waarop zij in hun leven aan deze idealen vorm trachten te geven. Deze gesprekken worden afgewisseld met informatie over de algemene achtergronden van het geestelijke leven in India, waarbij telkens de Bhagavadgītā ter sprake wordt gebracht.

De spil van het boek evenwel is de yoga, die hier gedefiniëerd wordt als “de verbinding, de vereniging – eigenlijk de hēreniging – van de Goddelijke vonk, het Atman, God, het Absolute, waaruit alles is voortgekomen” (p. 16). Het behoeft nauwelijks nader betoog, dat deze interpretatie enigszins beperkt en eenzijdig is. Yoga immers is een verschijnsel, dat zich niet beperkt tot die Indische denkscholen, die we “ātmavāda” zouden kunnen noemen, maar dat tevens wordt aange troffen binnen verschillende richtingen van het Boeddhisme, dat de leer van anātmavāda propageert.

Niet alleen speelt het begrip yoga een belangrijke rol in de Mahāyā-

nistische scholen, die we hier gemakshalve met *yogācāra* zullen aanduiden, maar het vormt tevens een hoeksteen in de Tantrische literatuur, die onder meer de categorie der “*Anuttarayogatantra*’s” kent. Dat, weliswaar met wezenlijk verschillende interpretatie, yoga een sleutelbegrip is in zowel het Hindoeïsme als het Boeddhisme illustreert eens te meer het feit, dat beide tradities putten uit een en hetzelfde culturele reservoir. O.a. D. Seyfort Ruegg heeft dit aan de orde gesteld in zijn artikel ‘*Sur les rapports entre le bouddhisme et le substrat religieux indien et tibétain*’ (*J A*, 252, 1964).

De schrijfster koestert opmerkelijke gedachten ten aanzien van de historische achtergronden van de Indische wijsheidsliteraire tradities. In het voorwoord tot de tweede druk van het boek (1965) stelt ze, dat het niet anders kan “of het kennismaken van de oude Midden-Aziatische wijsheden geeft . . . – zo niet meer – toch enige momenten van serene rust”. Het moge weliswaar zo zijn dat het dit verlangen naar rust is, dat er ook in Nederland velen toe beweegt, zich individueel of in georganiseerd verband vertrouwd te maken met deze “oude Midden-Aziatische wijsheden”, maar toch wekt het enige verwondering dat de schrijfster zonder nader betoog een verband legt met Centraal-Azië. Onze historische bronnen immers wijzen er duidelijk op, dat de yoga, zoals we deze thans kennen, vorm hebben gekregen in Zuid-Azië. Evenwel, uitgaande van de verschillende migratietheorieën, die verschillende Aziatische volkeren in verband brengen met Centraal-Azië, zou het wel eens vruchtbaar kunnen blijken om na te gaan in hoeverre er ook in Zuid-Azië sprake zou kunnen zijn van een Centraalaziatisch cultureel substraat.

Reeds in de dagen van Abel Remusat, Isaac Jacob Schmidt en A. Csoma de Kőrös leefde de vooronderstelling, dat Midden-Azië de sleutel zou bevatten tot de ontdekking van vele onbekende schakels in de Oriëntalistiek, zoals rond de eeuwwisseling ten dele is bevestigd door verschillende grote expedities. Wanneer we ons, gedwongen door de huidige disciplinaire restricties, zouden beperken tot een wellicht eenzijdige benaderingswijze vanuit Zuid-Azië, behoeft het geen betoog, dat we het voortgezette onderzoek van de contacten tussen de verschillende beschavingsgebieden, die hun invloeden op Centraal-Azië hebben doen gelden, dienen te plaatsen tegen de achtergrond van de “*Himalayan regions (especially in Western Tibet) as geographical or [sic] background [with] its legends and sagas, which mirror the migration of the Vedic people leading from the snowy mountain ranges of Central Asia to the fertile regions of the South*” (B. C. Olschak, ‘*Archaic Tibeto-Indian Relations*’, in: L. Chandra (ed.), *Indo-Asian Studies*, New Delhi 1965, Pt. 2, p. 129). Welke de uiteindelijke oorsprong van het Indische geestelijke leven ook zal moge blijken te zijn, de theorieën en praktijken van de yoga blijken velen aan te spreken, getuige deze vierde druk.

Mw. Eversdijk Smulders belicht niet alleen de godsdienstige aspecten van het contemporaine India, maar zij onthaalt de lezer tevens op obligate, maar desalniettemin belangwekkende “wonderen der yogi’s” (pp. 177-185), waarover reeds eerdere reizigers hebben bericht. Het is verheugend, te kunnen constateren, dat er ook van natuurwetenschappelijke zijde belangstelling wordt getoond voor deze en aanverwante fenomenen. Onder meer Th. Brosse heeft in haar *Etudes in-*

strumentales des Techniques du Yoga, Paris 1963, aangetoond, dat de samenwerking van de klassieke Indologie met de moderne natuurwetenschappen zinnig blijkt te zijn.

Alhoewel *Een jaar bij de yogi's van India en Tibet* geen wetenschappelijke verhandeling is, zal het zeker bij sommige lezers een diepgaande belangstelling voor deze materie kunnen wekken. Als zodanig kan het boek een welkome bijdrage worden genoemd tot de belangstelling voor India.

Dean Peabody, *National Characteristics*, Cambridge/Paris: Cambridge University Press/Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1985.

YPE H. POORTINGA

The publication of this book in a prestigious series, the European Monographs in Social Psychology, raises high expectations about its quality. At least in one respect the reader will not be disappointed. Peabody gives quite a meticulous and detailed account of his research project, which covered a fairly large number of countries. In each national study, judgements of students about people of their own country as well as of several other countries were collected. In addition, the author compares his findings with accounts of national characteristics found in the literature.

The book has 18 chapters, divided into 3 parts.

Part 1 contains a discussion of the theoretical arguments and the methodological considerations on which the research is based. Peabody draws a clear distinction between national stereotypes (usually considered to be irrational and incorrect) and national character or national characteristics, i.e. "modal psychological characteristics of members of a nationality" (p. 8).

In the first chapter various kinds of objections against the validity of national characteristics are discussed and rejected. The arguments do not always sound entirely convincing. For example, Peabody mentions that the validity of judgements about foreign nationals has been questioned because of the lack of first-hand experience of the evaluators used in most studies. He argues that virtually all our knowledge is acquired from others and that we do not even know that the world is round on the basis of our own experience. Of course, there is much substance in this argument, provided we have no reason to doubt what we are told. But it is clear from Peabody's own discussion that the validity of the national character concept has been seriously questioned.

Peabody then moves on to a distinction which is crucial for his study, namely that between evaluative and descriptive elements in the ratings of judges of trait-like characteristics in others. He works with pairs of opposite traits, using two terms for each trait, one with a positive and one with a negative connotation. An example is *thrifty* (+) and *stingy* (–) vs. *generous* (+) and *extravagant* (–). Although it was not possible for all

the relevant adjectives to be combined in this way, the sets of four form the core of the instrument with which the data were collected. Various combinations of scores of the four items in each set are used by Peabody to separate the descriptive and the evaluative aspects. The elegance of this method is probably the strongest point of the book.

A series of hypotheses containing suggestions about various factors that are likely to affect group judgements is formulated: for example, that judgements about one's ingroup tend to be more favourable than those about outgroups. The data set for each country is usually based on the judgements of a sample of about 40 nationals taken from one or two schools or universities. The most important are a set of 6 samples of opinions of judges from England, Germany, France, Italy, Austria and Finland. They evaluated (at least) the following target nationalities: English, Germans, French, Italians, Americans, and Russians. The first part of the book ends with a discussion of the results in terms of the various hypotheses. The results are quite varied. For the above-mentioned example support was found in less than 50% of the cases, as against the more than 95% which Peabody reports to have been found by Brewer and Campbell in Africa.

The second part of the book begins with a general chapter on national character, discussing the ideas of, among others, Dahrendorf and Weber. The *pièce de résistance* of this part – and in terms of percentage of space of the whole book – are 10 chapters on the national character of the various nations already mentioned and of North and South Italians, Northern Europeans, Southern and Eastern Europeans and Philipinos.

Typically, Peabody draws on various sources, often of a historical or sociological nature, and compares the conclusions of these writings with the results of his own study. He emphasizes two general dimensions which were distinguished earlier and which emerged also from factor analyses of his own data, namely *tight* vs. *loose* and *assertive* vs. *unassertive*. In general, the argument is rather complex, and one gets the impression that the author had a long hard look at the available evidence. Unfortunately, the way in which Peabody has attempted to cast the evidence into coherent representations of the national character of the various nations discussed will probably fail to convince those inclined to be skeptical about the theoretical basis of this kind of study.

The conclusions of the study are summarized in two short chapters which form the last part of the book.

For an overall evaluation of Peabody's book, the reader's own pre-conceptions are probably of the utmost importance. For anyone who agrees with Peabody's view that the notion of national character has intrinsic validity and that trait evaluations of foreign nations by samples of students may provide valid information, this book will offer many valuable insights. Despite the fact that the style is far from easy, the effort of reading will be amply rewarded. On the other hand, someone who questions the validity of the notion of trait-like national characteristics will probably find too many arbitrary choices in the interpretation to be convinced by the evidence.

Khin Thitsa, *Nuns, Mediums and Prostitutes in Chiangmai: A Study of Some Marginal Categories of Women* (41 pp.).

Signe Howell, *Chewong Women in Transition: The Effects of Monetization on a Hunter-Gatherer Society in Malaysia* (34 pp.).

Maila Stivens, *Sexual Politics in Rembau: Female Autonomy, Matriliny and Agrarian Change in Negeri Sembilan, Malaysia* (50 pp.).

KAREN PORTIER

These three contributions were published by the University of Kent at Canterbury in 1985 as occasional papers nos. 1 and 5 in a series entitled 'Women and Development in South-East Asia', I and II. The series is the result of a number of seminars held at the University of Kent in 1983, in which attention was given to the consequences of economic changes for the role and position of women in so-called traditional societies.

The first two papers (by Thitsa and Howell) deal with the position of women in two apparently different situations: the rural-urban society of Chiangmai (Northern Thailand) numbering more than 150,000 people, and a very small (less than 200 individuals) community of hunters and gatherers deep inside the tropical rain forest of the Malay Peninsula. Both authors observe a similar tendency: the position of women has been negatively influenced by the rise in economic opportunities, of which primarily men have taken advantage.

Stivens, in her contribution, more clearly differentiates between the causes and consequences of the subordination of women. She emphasizes that the social significance of gender relations cannot be explained exclusively by an analysis of economic factors. One should pay considerable attention to the specific aspects of historical developments before formulating theoretical arguments about the position of women in the development process.

Stivens expresses her doubts with regard to the feminist model of hidden exploitation of women, because it does not unconditionally apply to the Rembau society which she studied. Here women enjoy relative autonomy on the basis of the egalitarian ideology of *adat* (culture, way of life). As Stivens remarks in her conclusion, this *adat* and the position of women in it will be subject to the increasing pressure of modernizing influences, which "have a very poor record in guarding women's rights" (p. 46).

Although the three papers are not all quite of the same quality, they present interesting information about the consequences of economic change for the position of women in different parts of South-East Asia.

Dennis Tedlock, *The Spoken Word and the Work of Interpretation*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983. ix + 365 pp., 8 ill.

—, *Popol Vuh. The Definitive Edition of the Mayan Book of the Dawn of Life and the Glories of Gods and Kings*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985. 380 pp., 32 ill.

R. DE RIDDER

The Spoken Word and the Work of Interpretation (hereafter abbreviated as *The Spoken Word*) sets out the author's views on the study of oral literature, based on material collected by him among the Zuni of New Mexico and among the Quiché Maya of the Guatemalan Highlands. The chapters on the Zuni material have been published before, or have been presented as lectures, between 1971 and 1983, and have been revised for this book; of the Quiché chapters only three have been published before (1979 and 1982).

The readability of the Zuni chapters varies greatly. Chapter 3, 'Learning to Listen', for instance, was originally a lecture on how to reproduce oral performances in print; a large part of this chapter is printed in such a way as to indicate aspects of the performance. Words spoken in a relatively loud voice are printed in capitals, and pauses are indicated by a dot between sentences. This procedure does not contribute much to our understanding of native texts, however. In chapter 13, 'Ethnography as Interaction', the author argues that the presence of an anthropologist and a tape recorder influences the performance of a Zuni narrator, and then illustrates this trivial statement with a curious example. Several of the chapters of *The Spoken Word* do nevertheless contain useful information on Zuni narrative performances. It would appear to me that the revised articles on the Zuni are better thought out than the Quiché chapters.

In Chichicastenango, a town in the Guatemalan Highlands, C. E. Brasseur de Bourbourg in 1855 discovered an extensive manuscript dealing with the history of the Quiché Maya from the creation of the world until about 1550. This manuscript is now known as the *Popol Vuh*. It contains myths concerning the creation and the doings of gods in the Underworld, as well as legends, prayers and historical accounts. More than 20 translations of it have been published over the past century. Tedlock, after doing fieldwork among the Quiché Maya in 1975 and 1976, saw reason to provide a new translation, which he published in the second of the works under review.

To understand the principles and methods with which Tedlock approaches the *Popol Vuh*, it is necessary to read some of the relevant chapters of *The Spoken Word*. In chapter 16, 'The Analogical Tradition', he pleads for a so-called "dialogical anthropology". He states, "... the objectivity normally claimed in the social sciences is really nothing more than the 'subjectivity' of the observer, making his own claims over and above those of the observed" (p. 323). In the field,

anthropology takes the form of a dialogue between the researcher and the participant of the particular culture. Of this dialogue no trace is to be found in the published results of anthropological research. In *The Spoken Word* we come across two examples of such a dialogue, namely in the Epilogue and chapter 15. On page 313 of the latter, Tedlock discloses that the dialogue following in his text does not represent an exact transcription of the tape recording of the conversations between the author and the Quiché diviner who was his co-translator. It is rather a reproduction of the words of the diviner and the lines of the *Popol Vuh* in the form of a dialogue. This reconstruction of the conversation is no less subjective than any other anthropological research record.

Tedlock describes the method applied by him in the translation of the *Popol Vuh* as “ethnopaaleography”, “which involves taking a text back to the descendants of those who produced it in order to draw analogies with contemporary spoken arts and obtain commentaries from contemporary readers” (*The Spoken Word*, p. 16). As far as the *Popol Vuh* is concerned, this is not an entirely new method. The translation by Burgess & Xec (1955) is based largely in a comparable way on the comments of the Quiché informant, Patricio Xec, while one of the most recent translators, Chávez (1978), is a Quiché *maestro*. Neither translation is flawless, however, which goes to show that a dialogue with a contemporary Quiché, even if he is a diviner, is no guarantee for the production of a ‘definitive’ translation and, by definition, interpretation.

Tedlock’s ethnographical method is set out in chapter 15, ‘Reading the Popol Vuh over the shoulder of a diviner and finding out what’s so funny’. Tedlock’s introductory comments to the above-mentioned dialogue are far from convincing. For instance, on page 312 he says: “What made Don Andrés laugh required acts of interpretation that gave the entire episode a second meaning on the symbolic level, as will be seen”. But “what’s so funny” is actually based on the free associations engaged in by Don Andrés. To cite one example, on page 315 Don Andrés associates the sentence *quibe ta iuaba*, ‘you go along and show me’, with *quebe ta iuabah*, ‘if only your stones (balls) would go along’. Through such associations the whole story gains a sexual slant which is completely out of the context of the *Popol Vuh*. Such liberties with the text may be claimed to produce another meaning on the symbolic level, but it is highly questionable if it really has this meaning in the conceptual framework of the culture of which the text forms part. Tedlock here is caught in the very pitfalls which he noticed the Burgess & Xec translation to be prone to, namely “the underestimation of linguistic and cultural change, leading to commonsense solutions based on current usage; and the problem of the depth of knowledge of traditional culture . . . on the part of the native consultant” (p. 131).

In addition it is impossible to tell what Tedlock’s influence has been on the diviner’s reading of the story. In *The Spoken Word* he writes (p. 134): “(Don Andrés) required only a few orthographic instructions; on the syntactic front, it was necessary to point out, for example, that *xch-* (a composite no longer used in Quiché) is something like the future tense in Spanish. I offered glosses of archaic words . . .” In the translation it is

unclear what is Don Andrés' and what Tedlock's contribution or what is the influence of the dictionaries of different (!) Mesoamerican languages used by the author.

This does not mean that Tedlock's ethnopaleographic method is invalid – quite on the contrary. About divination we find some most valuable remarks in his studies, especially in the notes to the translation. The way of thinking of a Quiché diviner, as it is partially revealed to us in some chapters of *The Spoken Word* and in the Introduction and the notes to the 'definitive' translation, is of great use to anyone interested in the Mayas. What would be extremely welcome would be a new, joint translation by an expert on early Quiché texts like Munro Edmonson, with Tedlock and other specialists. However, judging from the frequently harsh, exaggerated criticism of Edmonson's work by Tedlock, such a form of co-operation is not to be expected.

Sometimes Tedlock's critical remarks belong more to the sphere of a personal guerilla than to that of objective scholarship. For instance, Tedlock censures Edmonson for over-emphasizing the couplet structure of Mayan verse in both his *Popol Vuh* translation (1971) and that of the *Tizimin* (1982), a Yucatec Maya text from about 1850. Translators in general, according to Tedlock, ignore the style in which a given text is spoken or written (*The Spoken Word*, p. 38). But in his own translation, Tedlock does something similar (p. 245). He says about this himself: "In the present work I have chosen a verse format only where the parallelism is both strongly marked and sustained". In all the other hundreds of cases, parallel constructions which are sometimes just as strongly marked and sustained are completely ignored, and often translated as if they were no parallels at all.

Where Edmonson is still able to defend himself against this and other unreasonable attacks, an author like Roman Jakobson is not. Concerning parallelism in poetry, Tedlock writes (*The Spoken Word*, p. 217) that Jakobson "(in his Closing Statement to 'Linguistics and Poetics') gives explicit primacy to such conventions as meter, alliteration, and rhyme, treating parallelism only in passing".

Thanks to the brilliant idea of the publisher of much of Jakobson's work to collect all the scattered articles ever written by this scholar and publish them in a series of selected writings, Jakobson's writings on the subject of parallelism, such as 'Poetry of Grammar and Grammar of Poetry', and 'Grammatical Parallelism and its Russian Facet', are readily accessible in *Selected Writings* volume III (Jakobson 1981). From these and other studies we know how much importance Jakobson attached to this aspect of literary composition, both in oral literature and in modern poetry.

In general, Tedlock's translation of the *Popol Vuh*, as compared with those of Schultze Jena (1944) and Edmonson (1971), is good, but it is certainly not better. In some cases it clarifies difficult passages, for instance concerning the use of measuring as a metaphor for the creation of the sky and earth (p. 72). His identifications of the names and epithets of deities are sometimes dubious and inconsistent, but sometimes enlightening, as in the case of the divining couple (!) Xpiacoc and Xmu-cane. Moreover, the same words are sometimes translated differently,

even where a consistent translation would not detract from the comprehensibility of the English.

A last remark I feel I should make concerns the form of this publication. It does not include the original Quiché text, so that readers who do not have this available in another publication are unable to trace what Quiché word is represented by a given word in Tedlock's translation. Instead, there are 32 illustrations that do not add anything significant to the text, and the captions of which are often disputable. Nowhere in the text of the Introduction (42 pages long, and largely a synopsis of the translation) or the translation are there superscript numerals referring to the notes at the end of the text. The reader has to determine himself what note refers to what part of the text by reading the chapter 'Notes and Comments' concurrently with the text. There is a separate glossary of names and words, which is far from complete, as not all the names are mentioned in it.

These omissions may sometimes necessitate a long search through the book. For instance, on page 36 we find the intriguing information that Seven Macaw and his spouse Chimalmat live on as the Big Dipper and the Little Dipper. In the notes to this page (pp. 232-33) we find a reference to an as yet unpublished article by the author and to the glossary. In the glossary (pp. 360 and 330) we find the indications 'A.' and 'M.', which we have to look up on page 229, where we find out that 'A.' refers to a Quiché and 'M.' to the Motul dictionary. But the references here are incomplete, so that we have to turn to the bibliography (pp. 373-380), to find out that the Quiché dictionary appeared in 1975, while the Motul one is a Yucatec dictionary from about 1600.

In spite of the subtitle and the eulogies on the back cover of the book, this translation is far from definitive.

REFERENCES

- Burgess, D. M. de, and P. Xec, 1955, *Popol Wuj*, Quetzaltenango: El Noticiario Evangélico.
- Chávez, A. I., *Pop Wuj* (1978), 1981, Edición Guatemalteca, Quetzaltenango.
- Edmonson, M. S., 1971, *The Book of Counsel: The Popol Vuh of the Quiché Maya of Guatemala*, New Orleans: Tulane University.
- , 1982, *The Ancient Future of the Itza: The Book of Chilam Balam of Tizimin*, Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Jakobson, R., 1960, 'Linguistics and Poetics (Closing Statement)', *Selected Writings* vol. III, pp. 18-51.
- , 1960; 1968, 'Poetry of Grammar and Grammar of Poetry', *Selected Writings* vol. III, pp. 87-97.
- , 1966, 'Grammatical Parallelism and its Russian Facet', *Selected Writings* vol. III, pp. 98-135.
- , 1981, *Selected Writings* vol. III: *Poetry of Grammar and Grammar of Poetry*, The Hague: Mouton Publishers.
- Schultze Jena, L. S., 1944, *Popol Vuh: Das Heilige Buch der Quiché-Indianer von Guatemala*, Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer.

Dietmar Rothermund, *Die Peripherie in der Weltwirtschaftskrise: Afrika, Asien und Lateinamerika 1929-1939*, Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1983, 295 pp.

G. VAN ROON

In addition to the many studies inspired by the current economic crisis which investigate developments in *Europe* during the crisis of the thirties, the publication of books which throw light upon the consequences of that crisis for certain areas of the Third World is to be applauded. After all, a crisis tends to narrow rather than broaden one's view.

In this volume Dietmar Rothermund, who is a lecturer in non-European history at the University of Heidelberg, has included studies on countries and regions in three continents, although they are rather unequally represented. A collection of mostly regional studies may yield interesting data for a comparative analysis. It is to be regretted that the volume itself is not rounded off with a contribution drawing comparative conclusions. The introduction concentrates on a number of salient points: the world economy, concentration of credit, drop in prices and import substitution. This book is a worthwhile contribution because of all the statistical information.

Various authors expressly urge caution in deciding where one can and where one cannot speak of a direct consequence of the economic crisis. Helmuth Bley, in his contribution on Nigeria, distinguishes between structural consequences and political effects. He moreover demonstrates that in a number of respects the crisis functioned rather as a catalyst, accelerating developments which had already manifested themselves earlier. Other developments, on the other hand, appear to have been much less influenced by the crisis, or hardly at all. An epidemic of influenza in 1918 robbed South Nigeria of more than 25% of its inhabitants. As typical consequences of the crisis Bley mentions the disappearance of many small businesses, the rise in debts in the countryside, large-scale unemployment in the trade centres, strikes and nationalism.

For the Belgian Congo – the contribution on which is by Albert Wirz – the crisis began as early as 1928, after a boom in the twenties. By the end of 1930 people were already speaking of a catastrophe.

Between 1930 and 1933 the value of exports declined by 56%. Mines were closed and workers laid off. Here, too, lack of diversification in the export package exacted its toll. The burden of taxation increased, wages were reduced and cuts were made in food benefits. As a result, there was increasing unrest, and in the port of Matadi and the Lake Leopold II district, for example, the population conducted campaigns of protest.

Prices of exports dropped particularly sharply in North Africa and the Near East, as Helmut Mejcher shows. That a cotton-mill could be established in Iraq at this particular time was a result of the area's political independence. Syria, Lebanon and North Africa, on the other hand, formed part of the French colonial empire, which was governed from Paris. Mejcher goes in great detail into the effects of the crisis on the standard of living of the population both of the rural areas and the

cities. They protested against the rising costs by deserting the country and through boycotts, strikes and sometimes even rebellions. These years were also of great significance for the genesis and growth of nationalistic movements.

In the first of the three contributions devoted to India, Rothermund describes how the economic crisis intensified the latent political crisis in this region, and how it induced farmers to join the Congress movement. Horst-Joachim Leue demonstrates how the boycott and reduction of imports, a protectionist trade policy and an increasing demand in the cities promoted the rise of a native cotton industry. Saugata Mukherji shows how the colonial status of this region aggravated the consequences of the crisis. He elaborates his point by using the jute industry as his example.

Japan, according to Bernd Martin, experienced in this period the consequences of a process of modernization that was carried out too fast. It was an industrial country virtually without any raw materials and dependent on foreign markets for its sales. It was a land of extremes.

Whereas in the countryside great poverty prevailed, in the industrial sector a few giants had risen. Even the profits from the war industry chiefly benefited the business concerns. It is striking how little attention the living-conditions of the population receive in this contribution.

Rothermund's second contribution concerns China. There the crisis widened the gap between town and country and furthered the polarization between the Kuomintang and the Communists. Because China was heavily dependent on foreign countries, in particular the United States, it lacked the freedom and scope to efficiently combat the crisis. Moreover, it was very soon at war.

In the final contribution, Hans-Joachim König examines the consequences of the crisis for Latin America in general and Columbia in particular. Here the crisis effected an about-face from a type of economic development that was oriented towards foreign countries to a more domestic kind of policy and import substitution. During the thirties, Columbia had no funds available for industrial expansion. Poverty in the countryside increased and farmers organized themselves into farmers' unions, which began occupying land.

This volume compiled by Rothermund, which examines the consequences of the world economic crisis of the thirties, is a major contribution to our knowledge about the living-conditions of the populations of Third World areas during the colonial period. It provides a valuable amount of background information with regard to the rise and growth of nationalistic movements.

Günter Dabitz, *Geschichte der Erforschung der Nuba-Berge*, Arbeiten aus dem Seminar für Völkerkunde der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, Band 17, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1985. 280 pp., maps, tables, illus. DM 38.

THILO C. SCHADEBERG

This History of Research on the Nuba Mountains is a revised version of an M.A. thesis submitted to the Department of Anthropology of the Goethe University at Frankfurt a/M. The stated aim of the study is to prepare the author for post-graduate research involving field work and to provide others with a state-of-the-art overview.

The basis of the work is a bibliography of some 700 titles (Ch. 5). This bibliography appears to be well researched, though it excludes Arabic-language titles. It lists not only scientific books, articles and manuscripts but also travel accounts, studies by administrators and development workers, popular photographic and journalistic reports, and ethnographic films. The early 18th and 19th century literature is described in strictly chronological order (Ch. 2); the modern 20th century literature is arranged by subject (Ch. 3), viz. colonial administration, linguistics, physical anthropology, migrations, ethnography, agriculture, cultural change, and miscellanea. Chapters 1 and 4 comprise an introduction and conclusions.

The modern literature is mainly summarized, and occasionally it is presented in the form of a critical synthesis. It is in this area that the reader may sometimes find occasion to disagree with the author. To give an example: an important subject in Nuba Mountains history has been the controversy about the historical relations between the various widely diffused groups speaking Nubian languages and dialects. In this connection the reader is led through the extensive discussion in the literature about whether the Hill Nubians came from the Nile, or the Nile Nubians came from Kordofan/Darfur. The author's conclusion that "the generally accepted view that the Nubian dialects in Kordofan and Darfur have their origin in Nile Nubian . . ." (p. 102, transl. TCS) then comes as a surprise. Admittedly, "herrschende Meinung" (literally 'ruling opinion') is a tricky phrase to translate, but it still seems to me that the opposite view is much more generally accepted, mainly because it is the only one that is compatible with the linguistic evidence.

I have chosen an example involving my own discipline, African linguistics. As far as I can judge, the author's views are much more balanced in his own field, ethnography. I feel that on the whole the book achieves well what its author has set out to do: to produce a tool that will stimulate and support research in and on this fascinating area, the Nuba Mountains.

Ger van Roon, *Derde Wereld en Depressie*, Leiden: Nijhoff, 1985, 139 p.

L. VAN VROONHOVEN

Derde Wereld en Depressie is de ambitieuze titel van een boekje van ruim 100 pagina's, waarin de auteur zich ten doel stelt witte vlekken in onze kennis op te vullen en aandacht te vragen voor de effecten van depressieperioden op het ontwikkelingsproces vroeger en nu.

Een dergelijke tweeledige doelstelling roept het risico op van weinig samenhang tussen beide delen en de auteur is er niet in geslaagd daaraan te ontsnappen. In het eerste en laatste hoofdstuk staat de problematiek van depressies centraal. In de andere zes hoofdstukken worden de witte vlekken in onze kennis opgevuld en komt de invloed van depressies op het ontwikkelingsproces slechts twee maal (p. 41 en 106) en dan nog zijdelings, ter sprake.

In de hoofdstukken 2 t/m 7 passeert de Derde Wereld in vogelvlucht de revue en wordt vooral de koloniale en postkoloniale geschiedenis behandeld. Daarbij verschillen de accenten, die worden gelegd. In de hoofdstukken over het Nabije Oosten en Zuidelijk Afrika (2 en 6) ligt de nadruk op politieke ontwikkelingen; in die van Zuid- en Zuidoost-Azië en het Verre Oosten meer op economische ontwikkelingen, terwijl bij de bespreking van Tropisch Afrika en Latijns Amerika ook sociale ontwikkelingen aandacht krijgen. Deze schetsen blijven uiteraard globaal, maar zij bevatten veel informatie, zijn ook vlot geschreven en goed leesbaar. Als inleiding met name voor diegenen, die nog vele witte vlekken onderkennen, zijn ze beslist bruikbaar.

De huidige belangstelling in het denken over ontwikkeling voor conjunctuurverschijnselen roept de belangstelling voor de relatie Derde Wereld en Depressie op. De auteur laat zich daarbij leiden door de hypothese, dat depressies in de ontwikkelde landen leiden tot structurele onderontwikkeling in de Derde Wereld en tot crises in de bestaande politieke systemen aldaar. Hij stelt bovendien, dat daardoor verzet wordt opgeroepen en bewustwording plaatsvindt, die weer tot democratische of autoritaire politieke oplossingen kunnen leiden. Hij neemt aldus een standpunt in, dat haaks staat op de bekende stelling van A. Gunder Frank, dat depressies in de kapitalistische wereld juist leiden tot een meer autonome en zelfstandige ontwikkeling in de Derde Wereld. De discussie met Frank wordt evenwel niet aangegaan en de auteur doet geen poging zijn hypothese te toetsen aan het historische materiaal. De invloed van depressies is ook niet de leidraad van zijn betoog over de Derde Wereld en waar hij verzet of protest bespreekt wordt al evenmin de relatie met eventuele conjuncturele verschijnselen gelegd. De beknopte bespreking van de relatie depressie en ontwikkeling in het eerste en laatste hoofdstuk maakt de wervende kافتekst, die stelt, dat de invloed van perioden van economische crisis op ontwikkelingen in de verschillende gebieden van de Derde Wereld, vroeger en nu, wordt behandeld, maar in zeer beperkte zin waar.

Nigel Phillips, *Sijobang, sung narrative poetry of West Sumatra*, Cambridge Studies in Oral and Literate Culture, no. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981. xi + 255 pp., photos, texts and translations, short glossary of Minangkabau words, bibliography, index.

WIM VAN ZANTEN

This interesting book deals with a narrative poem about the hero Anggun Nan Tungga, one of whose names in the Minangkabau area investigated around Payakumbuh is Si Jobang Sati. The genre is called *sijobang* after this. The total story comprises several episodes, and only a small part is recited or sung during a single night's performance. The storyteller, *tukang sijobang*, accompanies his own singing by tapping the rhythm with a half-full box of matches. Some singers accompany themselves on a *kucapi* zither. Episodes of the same story of Anggun Nan Tungga are also performed, in dramatized version, by the *randai* theatre groups.

The focus of the book is on the analysis of verbal aspects of performances recorded by the author in 1974-75. Although I am not a linguist, I have the impression that this work testifies to excellent craftsmanship. For a start, the whole of the *sijobang* repertoire of the storyteller Munin was recorded, resulting in 23 hours of tape recording. This material is then analysed, an English summary of the complete version of the story being given in Appendix 1. The author estimates this summary to be "about 40,000 words long – slightly over a quarter of the length (in words) of the Minangkabau original" (p. 171). The reduction in size was achieved by leaving out the repetitions of the original, by forgoing the attempt to reproduce the metre or style, and by turning all passages of direct speech into indirect speech. This appendix is very valuable as a source of information on several aspects of Minangkabau culture.

In the main part of the book, chapter 3, the author gives the complete text with an English translation of two popular episodes, again sung by the storyteller Munin, in performances of 35 and 42 minutes respectively. This material is used as basis for a discussion of the linguistic and literary features of *sijobang*. There is also a short description of the tunes used in singing, and a discussion of the relation between the tunes and the number of syllables per phrase. However, the main discussion concerns the literary language used, focusing on recurrent elements such as repetitions of words, substitution of synonyms, recombinations of words, recurrent clusters of lines or scenes, parallelism, repetitions of lines spoken by different persons in the story, and the integration of *pantun* (short verses), which make the main story more 'spicy'.

The fourth and last chapter deals with variations between performances. In this connection several recordings of a short episode of about a hundred lines (phrases) are compared: first two versions of two scenes as sung by the already mentioned storyteller Munin, and then two versions of the second of these scenes as sung by Munin's pupil, As. From this comparison the author concludes on page 169 that "different performances of the same scene by an experienced *tukang sijobang* show re-

markable stability, both in the scene as a whole and within its component segments of narrative and dialogue. In contrast, two performances by the novice storyteller As differed considerably, and the possibility should be considered that *sijobang* performances undergo a process of stabilisation like that which is thought to operate in the case of Mandinka griots."

Dr. Phillips has done us a great service in making such carefully collected and analysed data available to us. There are even so of course some critical remarks to be made, notably as regards the methodology. The aim of this study clearly was to present one complete version of the story and to compare this version with other versions of the same story. The detailed comparison, which makes the book so valuable, is restricted to the different versions of one storyteller and those of his pupil, however. The comparison with the versions of other *tukang sijobang* and with written versions of the story is rather sketchy. Clearly such a broader comparison was not part of the aim of the research. A more serious shortcoming is the lack of comparison with samples of sung narrative poetry from the surrounding cultures, i.e. in the same 'field of anthropological study'. There is, for example, some literature available on the Sundanese *carita pantun* (Pleyte, Eringa, Ajip Rosidi), while the relative invariance of *sijobang* performances could be compared with, for instance, that of performances of *wayang* scenes. Such comparison with similar genres within the Indonesian Archipelago seems more relevant than that with the African Mandinka and the European Yugoslav genres.

On page 34, as well as in a number of other places, an account is given of what the storytellers and the public seem to appreciate in the characters of the story. Anggun Nan Tungga's diplomacy, his loyalty to his fiancée and his affection for his son are valued positively. To my mind the book would have gained considerably by a fuller treatment of this subject and of the question of how the story expresses typical Minangkabau cultural traits. There are obvious links with, for example, the feature of matrilocality in the kinship system, the phenomenon of many Minangkabau men settling in areas outside their homeland (*merantau*), and the binary opposition between elder and younger brothers. The analysis of the content of the story should be carried out with these features of social organization in mind. For instance, the arguments advanced in the discussion between Anggun Nan Tungga and his wife Dandomi Sutan (pp. 88-101, where Anggun Nan Tungga wants to leave Dandomi to visit his homeland) and the final outcome of this discussion are much easier to understand against this background. Further, the relation between Anggun Nan Tungga and Abang Salamat is one between a younger and an elder brother, which explains why Anggun Nan Tungga asks Abang Salamat for permission to go: "The wish within me now is that you should let me go to Tanau" (p. 65). As a last example, I will cite the three lines of the Minangkabau *pantun* as sung by Munin on the relation between fathers and children (p. 87): "It is hard if your father is far away, it is futile to love too much, even a beloved child will be deserted."

The references to textiles, the loom and clothes are numerous. This is

certainly a point that should be investigated in more detail. Further, the information on the musical aspects of the performances is very limited. Much more research remains to be done on this, as is remarked by the author himself on page 123.

In conclusion, I feel that Dr. Phillips' book is a fine contribution to our knowledge of a genre of sung narrative poetry in the Indonesian Archipelago. His stimulating book is an invitation for further research on *sijobang*, especially the non-verbal aspects of the genre.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Beutler, Gisela, 1984, *La historia de Fernando y Lamar, Beitrag zum Studium der Tanzspiele der Moros y Christianos in Puebla (Mexiko)*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Gianotten, Vera, and Ton de Wit, 1985, *Organización Campesina: el objetivo político de la educación popular y la investigación participativa*, CEDLA, Dordrecht: Foris Publications.

Goody, E. S., 1982, *From craft to industry; The ethnography of proto-industrial cloth production*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hering, B., 1985, *Candi and Pura: A pictorial history*, Townsville, Australia: Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, James Cook University of North Queensland.

Lasker, G. W., 1985, *Surnames and genetic structure*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lewis, I. M., 1985, *Social anthropology in perspective; The relevance of social anthropology*, second edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mintz, S. W., 1985, *History, evolution and the concept of culture*, Selected papers by Alexander Lesser, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Molenaar, H. A., 1985, *Odinns Gift; Betekenis en werking van de Skandinavische mythologie*, Meppel: Krips Repro.

Morphy, Howard, 1984, *Journey to the crocodile's nest; An accompanying monograph to the film Madarrpa Funeral at Gurka'wuy*, Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

Pitkin, D. S., 1985, *The house that Giacomo built; History of an Italian family, 1898-1978*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schapera, I., 1985, *The Tswana* (first published in 1953), London: Kegan Paul International.

Sirajul Islam, 1985, *Bengal land tenure; The origin and growth of intermediate interests in the 19th century*, Rotterdam: CASP 13.

Smet, P. A. G. M. de, 1985, *Ritual enemas and snuffs in the Americas*, Dordrecht: Foris Publications.

Soeten, Dick de, 1984, *Hopi, een oeroude Indiaanse cultuur in Arizona*, Deventer: Uitgeverij Ankh-Hermes b.v.

Steenbrink, K. A., 1984, *Beberapa aspek tentang Islam di Indonesia abad ke-19*, Jakarta: Bulan Bintang.

Strien, P. J. van, 1984, *Integratie als ambtelijk idool; Systematiek en dynamiek van de sociale wetenschappen*, Amsterdam/Oxford/New York: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij.

Tran Tu Binh, 1985, *The red earth; A Vietnamese memoir of life on a colonial rubber plantation*, Translated by John Spragens Jr. and edited by David G. Marr, Ohio: Ohio University, Monographs in International Studies, Southeast Asia Series no. 66.

Tuinder, A. den, 1985, *Bevolkingsgroei in koloniaal Noord-India 1881-1941; Een poging tot een labour-demand interpretatie*, Rotterdam: CASP 9.