Book Reviews

- Dennis Tedlock, Dennis Tedlock, *The Spoken Word - Reaction to R. de Ridders review of The Spoken Word and Popul Vuh* (BKI 142-I, 1986, pp. 179-182).
- J.G. de Casparis, Kenneth R. Hall, *Maritime trade and state development in early Southeast Asia*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985, 368 pp.
- M. Hekker, J.E. Ellemers, *Indische Nederlanders en gerepatrieerden*, Muiderberg: Coutinho, 1985. 159 pp., fotos., R.E.F. Vaillant (eds.)
- Tineke Hellwig, Els Postel-Coster, *Het omheinde kweekbed; Machtsverhoudingen in de Minangkabause familieroman*, Delft: Eburon, 233 pp., 1985.
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BOEKBESPREKINGEN

Reaction to R. de Ridder's review of *The Spoken Word* and *Popol Vuh* (BKI 142-I, 1986, pp. 179-182).

DENNIS TEDLOCK

There are questionable allegations and just plain errors in R. de Ridder's review of two of my books, *The Spoken Word* (D. Tedlock 1983) and *Popol Vuh* (D. Tedlock 1985). His most remarkable single statement concerns the source of the Quiché Maya text that I translated in *Popol Vuh*: "In Chichicastenango . . . C. E. Brasseur de Bourbourg in 1855 discovered an extensive manuscript" (p. 179). He should have said, "In Chichicastenango Francisco Ximénez, between 1701 and 1703, discovered an extensive manuscript", or "In Guatemala City Carl Scherzer in 1854 discovered Ximénez' copy of the Chichicastenango manuscript", or "In Guatemala City C. E. Brasseur de Bourbourg in 1855 saw the manuscript shortly after Scherzer and later claimed to be its discoverer" (see D. Tedlock 1985:28-30 and Recinos et al. 1950:32-45). I cannot tell which of these statements is the one De Ridder meant to make.

When De Ridder states that my notation of paralinguistic features in transcriptions of tape-recorded performances "does not contribute much to our understanding of native texts" (p. 179), he displays his personal opinion about such features but gives the reader no idea as to what might have been said about them in *The Spoken Word*. Concerning parallelistic *Popol Vuh* passages that are presented in a verse format, he claims that "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" (p. 181), but he gives no instances. He also asserts that "the same words are sometimes translated differently, even where a consistent translation would not detract from the comprehensibility of the English" (p. 181-82); that the 32 illustrations "do not add anything significant" and have captions that "are often disputable" (p. 182); and that the glossary is "far from complete, as not all the names are mentioned in it" (p. 182). It is difficult to contest such statements when not even token examples are offered.

By my count the Quiché text of the *Popol Vuh* has been published seven times in four different countries; nevertheless, De Ridder thinks I should have included it alongside my translation (p. 182). Is there something about the indigenous classics of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas that makes them inherently different from the great works of the West? Should all translations of the Bible or Homer or Tolstoy be accompanied by the original texts? And should their translators be content to go no further than what De Ridder calls "comprehensibility"? In *The Spoken Word* (chap. 1) I argue, as Dell Hymes has argued before me, that we who practise anthropological linguistics ought to start taking translation quite seriously unless we mean to segregate the cultures we study from the Western and Eastern cultures whose works have long

been honored by translations that go beyond what literary scholars call “cribs” and “trots”.

Twice De Ridder objects to the use of the adjective “definitive” with reference to my *Popol Vuh* translation (pp. 180, 182). This word appears in the descriptive material on the cover of the book; all of that material was repeated – inadvertently, the publishers have told me – on the title-page of the hard-cover edition, where it has the look of a subtitle. The subtitle I had specified was simply *The Mayan Book of the Dawn of Life*, and that is the subtitle that now appears in the paperback edition. But I must say that even in the case of the hard-cover edition, other reviewers have had the grace to attribute the word “definitive” to the publishers.

Claiming to have found a contradiction between the two books under review, De Ridder first says that “translators in general, according to Tedlock, ignore the style in which a given text is spoken or written (*The Spoken Word*, p. 38)”, and then asserts that I did “something similar” to this in my own *Popol Vuh* translation (p. 181). But the point I actually made on page 38 of *The Spoken Word* was that the process of handwritten dictation distorts oral performances. Unless the *Popol Vuh* text was dictated to me in an unsuspected previous incarnation, I can hardly be held responsible for distorting its performance.

As far as De Ridder is concerned, my demonstration that “the presence of an anthropologist and a tape recorder influences the performance of a Zuni narrator” is not only “trivial” but is illustrated with a “curious example” (p. 179). The example is that of a performance by Andrew Peynetsa, who, when freed from a tape recorder and provided with a live Zuni audience, lengthened a story, changed the order of its plot, made its sexual content more explicit, and risked major departures from stylistic conventions (*The Spoken Word*, chap. 13). In what sense such changes might be “trivial” I have no idea; as to why the example is “curious”, I can only guess that De Ridder is thinking of its sexual content or its humor, neither of which he mentions.

De Ridder’s displeasure with my work centers around a single *Popol Vuh* episode and the humorous sexual interpretation that was given to it by Andrés Xiloj, a contemporary Quiché diviner and patrilineage head. First of all he objects to the way I presented this material in *The Spoken Word* (chap. 15), where the narrative itself and Xiloj’s interpretations take the form of a dialogue. Since the presentation “does not represent an exact transcription of the tape”, it is inconsistent with my call for a “dialogical anthropology” (chap. 16) and “is no less subjective than any other anthropological research record” (pp. 179-80). This passage is almost as difficult to untangle as the earlier one that had Brasseur de Bourbourg doing the wrong thing in the wrong place at the right time.

To begin with, the idea of a dialogical anthropology is not reducible to the single notion that we ought to publish transcripts of taped interviews. At the most general level it is a plea that our books ought to let more than one voice be heard rather than reducing everything to the monologues we customarily claim for ourselves (ethnographies and “confessional” accounts of field work) or allot to the natives (“native text” collections and native life histories). The principal parties to the particular dialogue

under discussion here are Xiloj and the text he was reading aloud while I looked on; I eliminated noisy interruptions, inserted material from notes I made during changes of tapes or batteries, and translated. Xiloj speaks not only in the familiar voice of a producer of texts but in a second voice that is usually reserved for the anthropologist, that of an interpreter of texts. Contrary to what De Ridder implies, I make no claim that dialogues (of this or any other kind) offer us a way to be "less subjective", though I do argue (following Alfred Schutz) that a natural-science approach to a social-science problem puts a mask over the observer's subjectivity. I understand the relationship between fieldworker and native along the lines of "intersubjectivity" (Schutz's term) and "inter-objectivity" (my term), not as an attempt to overcome native subjectivity with anthropological objectivity.

De Ridder devotes his lengthiest paragraph to a vigorous denial of the validity of Xiloj's interpretive remarks. He describes these remarks as "free associations" (p. 180), as if Xiloj had been on the couch of a psychoanalyst, and goes on to say that "the whole story gains a sexual slant which is completely out of the context of the *Popol Vuh*", accusing me of taking "liberties with the text" (p. 180). First of all, Xiloj's interpretations were not "free associations" but were based on sound play – or, to use a Jakobsonian term, *paranomasia* – and on a recognition of sexual symbols he shares with other members of his culture. De Ridder fails to mention that a contemporary version of this same story, collected in a town far from Xiloj's, is explicitly sexual, showing that Xiloj's "associations" were not merely personal peculiarities (D. Tedlock 1985:267). Further, I fail to see how sex could be out of place in the *Popol Vuh*, which elsewhere offers an intriguing story of seduction that accounts for the origin of prostitution (D. Tedlock 1985:190-92, 309). As to "liberties with the text", I can only guess that De Ridder is referring to my choice of feminine pronouns to refer to the crab in the present story (whereas Quiché pronouns have no gender). I made this choice in order to compensate for the untranslatability of the sound plays that point to the crab's female role (D. Tedlock 1985:266).

At the conclusion of his discussion of the crab's story, De Ridder quotes my own words to describe the two sources of my supposed error, 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. 180). Here I can only observe that contemporary Mayan peoples in general are skilled at sound play, and that when it comes to making sexual interpretations of discourse they have no need of help from Freud. Such "pleasures of the text" (to borrow a phrase from Barthes) are abundantly documented in such works as those of Bricker (1973) and Gossen (1974:chap. 5) on the Tzotzil Maya, B. Tedlock (1982:chap. 5) on the Quiché Maya, and Burns (1983:chap. 5) on the Yucatec Maya. By now it would be difficult to convince many of us who have done field work among Mayan peoples that these pleasures are limited to recent times or to individuals who lack "depth of knowledge".

Twice De Ridder expresses his displeasure with my work through the insertion of an exclamation point, enclosed by parentheses. When he

refers to "the divining couple (!) Xpiacoc and Xmucane" (p. 181), the exclamation follows a phrase I sometimes use when referring to the *Popol Vuh* gods named Xpiyacoc (in my spelling) and Xmucane. Both gods are diviners, they form a married couple, and they do their divining together, so I am mystified by De Ridder's reaction. In the context of the preceding discussion I can only imagine that he finds the word "couple" to be suggestive.

When De Ridder refers to "the dictionaries of different (!) Meso-american languages used by the author" (p. 180), I take the insertion to express his disapproval of my use of any but Quiché dictionaries in the *Popol Vuh* translation. Here it must be pointed out that the text I translated from contains loan words from Nahuatl, Yucatec, and other languages. Further, when I chose to consult two manuscript sources on Cakchiquel (a Quichean language), I was following the advice of Lyle Campbell, an eminent historical linguist (D. Tedlock 1985:19). The particular Cakchiquel source I used most frequently is in fact a compendium whose author, Francisco de Varela, incorporated a great deal of material from Quiché dictionaries. His work is easily the richest single colonial source on the Quichean languages in general. Without it I would have been as helpless as previous translators when it came to eliminating a confusion between oaks and tomatoes (D. Tedlock 1985:288), finding out that sacrificed deer and birds were females (307), and identifying units of measurement that were used for precious stones (322), to give only a few examples.

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Rejoinder to D. Tedlock's Reaction

R. DE RIDDER

In my, necessarily too brief, review of Tedlock's works, it was impossible to give detailed examples of every point made. Here let me confine myself to one, the parallelism in the first lines of the *Popol Vuh* (Tedlock's translation pages 71-72). According to this publication, the names and epithets of deities, the Council Book (*Popol Vuh*) and the description of how the earth was created are written in "strongly marked and sustained" parallelistic verse. This is about 50% of the introductory text. Yet, all the sentences in this part of the text contain, or form part of, parallelistic constructions. Why is no evidence given that *vcutunizaxic*, *vcalahobizaxic*, *vtzihoxik puch* ('the manifestation, the clarification, the knowledge also') is poetry? And if it is poetry, it should be treated as such, not only in the rendering of the text, but also in the linguistic and anthropological analysis.

Any new, even if non-definitive, translation of such a monumental work as the *Popol Vuh* should contribute something to our understanding of it. With respect to divining, Tedlock's notes do exactly this (the second (!) in the review is meant as a compliment). A book by Dennis Tedlock on divining among the Quiché Maya (to complete Barbara Tedlock's *Time and the Highland Maya*?) may be most informative, and will be cordially welcomed. But the translation under review offers too few new insights, both in its form and its content, to justify the publication.

In the process of condensing the first version of my review, the origin of the *Popol Vuh* became more obscure than it already is: Brasseur de Bourbourg probably did not find the manuscript in Chichicastenango. As different colleagues disagree about the history of the manuscript in the 18th century, I prefer to leave the problem aside here. But I don't believe my oversight when reading the proofs is hard to disentangle; nor is my remark on the subjectivity of Tedlock's anthropological research.

Kenneth R. Hall, *Maritime Trade and State Development in Early Southeast Asia*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985, 368 pp.

J. G. DE CASPARIS

The continuing progress achieved in South-East Asian studies, with an increasing participation – in some areas a clear predominance – of South-East Asian scholars, necessitates the periodic re-writing of important aspects of the history of the area. The study of the interaction between different parts of South-East Asia is a relatively recent development here. It is significant, because it may lend real substance to the very concept of South-East Asia.

Kenneth Hall, of North Adams State College in Massachusetts, is one

of the most promising scholars in this field. Some of his publications of the past ten years are concerned with early Indonesian trade and statecraft, others concern not only mainland South-East Asia but also South India during the Cōla period.

The present work covers nine interrelated topics within the frame indicated in the title. The first two are of a general nature, while the remaining seven are dealt with chronologically (with some overlaps) from the beginning of the Christian era to the end of the 14th century. The discussion is focused on early Cambodia, Sriwijaya and Java. Other early kingdoms in mainland South-East Asia which must have played an important part in political and economic developments in the area, in particular Śrīkṣetra (Prome), Pagān, Dvāravātī and Sukhot'ai, are not discussed in detail; Campa and Vietnam, though frequently mentioned, are somewhat marginal to the discussion. The complete absence of references to such important sites as Beikthano and Halin in Burma, Satingphra in Thailand and Kotacina in Indonesia is quite surprising.

Despite these limitations, we must be grateful to the author for this interesting work. Kenneth Hall is well acquainted with the numerous but scattered publications on early South-East Asia, or rather, on certain aspects of its study. His bibliography lists some 400 titles of mainly recent publications, while his work attests to a serious attention to these works. It is, however, striking that, with one or two exceptions, the publications referred to are exclusively those in European languages, especially French and English. Little or no notice has been taken of the ever-more numerous publications in Indonesian, Thai and other Asian languages.

Nevertheless, this is a scholarly and quite stimulating book. Following in the footsteps of Coedès, D. G. E. Hall and Wolters, the author has succeeded in clarifying the economic situation in South-East Asia as a region. With this study he has even assigned a real South-East Asian identity to the region, for trade, no less than culture or religion, brings different peoples and tribes together and thus engenders or stimulates political developments.

Like most other American scholars, Kenneth Hall strongly emphasizes ideas of power and legitimation in political developments, without, however, giving a clear idea of what determined legitimacy in the South-East Asian context. As in India, there were no 'laws' of succession; legitimacy was apparently based on *de facto* authority, descent and prowess, but in what order and in what proportion? Wherever we obtain precise information, we notice all kinds of (apparent?) irregularities.

Kenneth Hall throws new light on all the subjects discussed in this work. Thus chapter 6, on temples as economic centres in Cambodia, is a very important contribution to our knowledge of the Khmer empire. It has greatly benefited from the author's earlier studies on South Indian temples. Moreover, chapter 8, dealing with economic and political changes in the area as a whole, contains many new and interesting observations and valuable discussions. The complicated and ever-changing relationships between South-East Asian kingdoms during this period have been admirably analysed.

The chapters on Indonesia, on the other hand, have suffered from the

author's inability to use publications in Dutch and Indonesian. As a consequence, one finds a number of unwarranted statements or conclusions that have been superseded by new data. Whereas chapter 4, on Sriwijaya, is on the whole excellent, since most of the relevant publications are in French and English, that on early Java (chapter 5) is unsatisfactory. Thus, Van Naerssen's idea of the existence of several independent rulers in Central Java during the 8th and 9th centuries (quoted on p. 113) is difficult to reconcile with the astounding building-activity at the time, which presupposes a strong central authority. The term *watèk* did not denote a kind of district, but a group of often scattered villages which all paid taxes to and performed compulsory services for one particular 'nobleman' with a *rakai* or *pamègat* title. Some other Old Javanese terms are wrongly spelt. Thus, one never finds *rakrayān* or *dērwaya haji*, but always *rakryān* or *rakarayān* and *drawya* or *drēwya haji*. The idea that 'unadulterated Indian cultural forms' (p. 129) predominated during 'the era of central Java sovereignty' reflects an outdated view on early Javanese civilization. Chapter 9, dealing mainly with the Majapahit period, is largely based on the monumental work by Pigeaud. Yet, some points here remain controversial. Although there can be little doubt about the importance of internal and external trade, there is no evidence for a 'growing monetarization of the Javanese economy' (p. 238). It is true that Majapahit inscriptions occasionally mention extremely high figures (up to 120,000!) in connection with debts or taxes, but it is not certain that these numbers refer to actual coins, such as the *kèpèng* known from later periods. They may have been conventional equivalents of payments in kind. Even if they were coins, it is striking that, in contrast to the 9th and 10th centuries, we do not find silver or gold coins mentioned in the inscriptions; nor have such coins ever been recovered from Majapahit sites. Until such time as evidence of their use emerges from future excavations, it seems safer to assume that most trade was carried on by barter.

A few reservations aside, one's conclusion may be that Kenneth Hall has produced a valuable study which will hopefully stimulate fresh research on South-East Asian trade and state development.

J. E. Ellemers en R. E. F. Vaillant, *Indische Nederlanders en gerepatrieerden*, Muiderberg: Coutinho, 1985. 159 pp., foto's.

M. HEKKER

Op initiatief van de Stichting Pelita – voor leniging van de noden van de slachtoffers van de oorlog met Japan – verscheen vorig jaar dit boek van Ellemers en Vaillant over de Indische Nederlanders en gerepatrieerden uit Indonesië. Ellemers en Vaillant willen een oriënterend overzicht geven van de situatie en de problemen van deze bevolkingscategorie in Nederland. Zij doen dit op basis van de beschikbare literatuur, die

overigens grotendeels uit de jaren vijftig en zestig stamt. Met het oog op de actualiteit zijn door Vaillant in 1984 aanvullende gegevens verzameld door middel van interviews met deskundigen en betrokkenen zoals bestuursleden van Indische organisaties. De schrijvers stellen in hun Inleiding met nadruk, dat het boek niet meer beoogt te zijn dan een oriënterende en descriptieve voorstudie, niet in de laatste plaats door het gebrek aan gegevens. Zoals zij zelf zeggen, laat het boek eerder zien hoeveel wij allemaal nog *niet* weten over de Indische Nederlanders en gerepatrieerden, te beginnen met de omvang en exacte samenstelling van deze groepering.

Het begrip Indische Nederlanders wordt vaak gebruikt als een globale aanduiding voor diegenen, die na de onafhankelijkheid van de Republiek Indonesië naar Nederland kwamen. Hierbij wordt vooral gedacht aan Indo-Europeanen, dus personen van gemengde afkomst. Ellemers en Vaillant nemen hun onderwerp echter zo ruim mogelijk. Onder Indische Nederlanders verstaan zij mensen van Indo-Europese of Indonesische afkomst of anderszins met Europeanen gelijkgestelden en diegenen onder de Hollanders uit Indië, die zichzelf hiertoe rekenen. Onder gerepatrieerden verstaan zij diegenen, die na een verblijf van hooguit enkele jaren in Indië weer terug naar Nederland gingen. Niet alleen vallen dus Nederlanders onder deze omschrijving, maar ook verschillende etnisch Indonesische groeperingen, zoals Molukkers, Minahassers en Timorezen die in Hollandse dienst waren.

In het eerste hoofdstuk worden de sociaal-historische achtergronden van de Indische Nederlanders beschreven tegen het decor van de koloniale samenleving van het vroegere Indië. In de volgende hoofdstukken 2 t/m 5, die het grootste deel van het boek vormen, worden de migratie naar Nederland beschreven, de integratie en voorzover mogelijk de huidige situatie van de Indische Nederlanders en gerepatrieerden hier. Uitvoerig gaan Ellemers en Vaillant in op het overheidsbeleid bij de zg. "repatriëring", de begeleiding van de migranten door de diverse hulpverlenende instanties en het ontstaan van de vele organisaties van Indische Nederlanders. Zij proberen een beeld te krijgen van de omvang en samenstelling van de groepering, wat maar ten dele lukt. Als groep schijnt men wel min of meer geïntegreerd te zijn, maar op individueel niveau zijn er nog veel problemen, afhankelijk van de ervaringen in de oorlog en bij de migratie naar Nederland. Hoofdstuk 6 is gewijd aan de migratie vanuit Indonesië naar Nieuw-Guinea tot 1962 en het vertrek van al dan niet teleurgestelde Indische Nederlanders naar onder meer de Verenigde Staten. Tot slot concluderen de schrijvers dat de categorie Indische Nederlanders en gerepatrieerden in feite een grote verscheidenheid kent. Hoe precies deze verscheidenheid in praktijk uitwerkt, alleen al qua getalsverhoudingen, is echter een kwestie van nader onderzoek.

Ondanks de ruime definitie van het begrip Indische Nederlanders beschrijven Ellemers en Vaillant voornamelijk de Indo-Europeanen onder hen. De Molukkers, maar vooral de Minahassers, Indo-Chinezen, Timorezen, Toegoenezen en Depokkers komen er maar bekaaid af, ik neem aan door gebrek aan gegevens. Dit laatste is voor Ellemers en Vaillant de reden dat het beeld van de Indische Nederlander zo frag-

mentarisch blijft. Toch vraag ik mij af, of dit excuus wel terecht is. Het boek bevat vele namen, cijfers en tabellen die spoedig enige leesmoetheid veroorzaken. Instanties en regelingen trekken in een bonte voorbij, zodat het vaak meer lijkt op een gids voor welzijnsland dan een sociologisch overzicht. Door het kritiekloze gebruik van de officiële bronnen worden de Indische Nederlanders al te zeer door de bril van het beleid van overheid en particuliere instellingen gezien, met integratie als norm.

Hoe overzichtelijk moet een overzicht zijn, ook al is het maar "oriënterend en descriptief"? Een nieuwe, geniale visie hoeft niet te worden verwacht, wel een kritische leidraad voor de lezer die zich in het onderwerp wil verdiepen. En dat is wat er naar mijn idee schort aan dit boek. Teveel wordt overgelaten aan de lezer, die zelf zijn weg maar moet zien te vinden. Het is dus niet zozeer een kwestie van gebrek aan gegevens als wel van bewerking van gegevens.

Dat neemt niet weg, dat er tenminste weer belangstelling is voor een groepering die sinds de jaren zestig in de anonimiteit is ondergegaan maar inmiddels ook zijn tweede generatie-probleem lijkt te kennen. Wat dat betreft is dit boek zeker een samenvatting van de belangrijkste bestaande literatuur op dit gebied.

Els Postel-Coster, *Het omheinde kweekbed; Machtsverhoudingen in de Minangkabause familieroman*, Delft: Eburon, 233 pp., 1985.

TINEKE HELLWIG

Van oudsher heeft de Minangkabause samenleving in Indonesië (West Sumatra) de aandacht van wetenschappers getrokken. Hier zijn twee belangrijke redenen voor. De eerste is het matrilineale verwantschapstelsel, gekoppeld aan een matrilokaal vestigingspatroon. De tweede is de belangrijke rol die Minangkabause schrijvers speelden in de wordingsgeschiedenis van de moderne Indonesische literatuur.

In haar boek combineert de antropologe Els Postel de beide aandachtsvelden. De vraagstelling van haar studie is de wijze waarop de mensen en speciaal de vrouwen in de Minangkabau hun positie beleven en op welke wijze zij in die positie machtsmiddelen, met name verwantschapsrelaties, kunnen mobiliseren. De Minangkabause literatuur als aandachtsveld komt tot zijn recht door de gevolgde onderzoeksmethode. Als bron van gegevens heeft Postel tien, merendeels vooroorlogse, romans van Minangkabause auteurs gebruikt.

Postel plaatst de Minangkabause cultuur en samenleving nadrukkelijk binnen Indonesië als antropologisch studieveld. De in de Minangkabau zo essentiële oppositie *darat* (centrum) – *rantau* (buitenwereld) laat zich in vergelijking (met o.a. Aceh en de Atoni van Timor) uitwerken tot een samenhangend geheel van binaire opposities. De associaties vrouwelijk:mannelijk :: centrum:buitenwereld :: stabiel:mobiel laten

zich ('niet zonder moeite'; p. 183) uit de romans afleiden. Welke bezwaren er ook tegen de analyse aangevoerd kunnen worden, het grote pluspunt is dat de Minangkabause samenleving zo geen op zichzelf staande curiositeit meer is, maar valt binnen een Indonesisch kader.

De antropoloog die de Minangkabause samenleving bestudeert, kan niet om het onderwerp verwantschap heen. Ging het P. E. de Josselin de Jong in zijn dissertatie (1956) vooral om het aantonen van dubbel-unilinealiteit in hét toonbeeld van een matrilineale samenleving, voor Els Postel is de Minangkabau aanleiding om de visie op huwelijk als vrouwenruil en het 'verwantschapsatoom' van Lévi-Strauss aan de orde te stellen. De termen 'bruidgever/nemer', 'bruidsprijs', e.d. zijn moeilijk toepasbaar op de Minangkabau, waar niet met bruiden maar met hun partners wordt geschoven. Het spiegelbeeldige model, zoals Postel voorstelt, ondervangt echter niet het bezwaar tegen de theorie dat dit model mensen (bruid óf bruidegom) tot object maakt (zoals door anderen, o.a. Van Baal, naar voren is gebracht). Bij de discussie van het verwantschapsatoom, waarbij Postel terecht het ontbreken van de moeder-kind relatie aan de orde stelt, speelt iets dergelijks. De kernvraag is namelijk in hoeverre een model recht moet doen aan gevoelens van mensen van vlees en bloed. Horen emoties in een dergelijk structureel model thuis? Wie bepaalt welke emoties structureel zijn en welke niet? Lévi-Strauss zelf heeft geprobeerd antwoorden hierop te vinden maar kwam er ook niet uit. Het stellen van de vragen, zeker naar aanleiding van het materiaal zoals dat door de romans geleverd wordt, is legitiem.

Mensen met hun emoties vinden we beschreven in de romans, die de basis vormen van het onderzoek. Dit roept onmiddellijk de vraag op of en zo ja op welke wijze de romanfiguren refereren aan een Minangkabause werkelijkheid. Het voor literatuurwetenschappers bekende probleem van fictionaliteit versus referentialiteit duikt hier op. Postel onderkent dit probleem en maakt vervolgens een keuze. Zij behandelt de romans als uitingen van collectieve ideeën, verwijzend naar de Minangkabause werkelijkheid: niet iedere roman hoeft als 'eenling' (p. 79) geïnterpreteerd te worden.

Door het relatieve karakter van het begrip werkelijkheid te benadrukken, ontnemt Postel het probleem van de werkelijkheidswaarde van romans wel zijn overgewicht, maar ze lost het daarmee niet op. Zoals Watson in zijn artikel 'Social values in the universe of Minangkabau novels' (*Sumatra Research Bulletin*, May 1973) aantoonde, is er aan de roman *Salah Asuhan* nogal gesleuteld voordat deze voor publicatie in aanmerking kwam. Wat betekent dit voor de werkelijkheidswaarde van het boek?

Het is jammer dat de onderzoekster niet verder ingaat op de methode van Bal (die zij noemt op p. 72), omdat deze in haar artikel (1981) juist de aandacht vestigt op de rol van vrouwelijke personages in literaire werken en hun recht op handelen, visie en spreken. Het zou interessant zijn om bijvoorbeeld het motief van doodgaan volgens die methode te onderzoeken. Waarom gaan vrouwelijke personages passief dood door weg te kwijnen (Sitti Nurbaja, Corrie, Hajati, Rasmani) en zoeken mannelijke personages de dood op (Samsulbahri, Hanafi)? Deze en

andere vragen liggen besloten in het boeiende materiaal van de Minangkabause roman. Els Postel's boek heeft vanuit de romans het thema van machtsverhoudingen in familieverband vorm gegeven. De verworven inzichten zijn relevant en waardevol voor een beter begrip van de Minangkabause samenleving.

Sartono Kartodirdjo, *Modern Indonesia, tradition and transformation. A socio-historical perspective*, Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1984, xii + 299 pp.

H. A. J. KLOOSTER

Sartono Kartodirdjo's work can be divided into two categories: publications concerning the theory and methodology of Indonesian history, and those concerning specific subjects, particularly the social history of Java in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In 1982, some of the earlier articles devoted to theory and methodology were published collectively under the title *Pemikiran dan perkembangan historiografi Indonesia* (Jakarta). Now a collection of 'socio-historical' papers, *Modern Indonesia, tradition and transformation*, has appeared. It contains twelve congress papers by Sartono, grouped around three main themes: social movements (peasant protest and revolutionary struggle), social hierarchies (power, privilege and personality) and social consciousness (myth, imageries and ideologies). In his preface, the author admits that the collection as a whole shows little coherence. Indeed, if the papers are read successively – and this is likely to happen where they are presented in one volume – the author is seen to repeat himself more than once. One passage from the paper entitled 'Bureaucracy and aristocracy', concerning élites in traditional Javanese society (pp. 110-113), is even repeated literally in another paper concerning Javanese regents (pp. 129-131). In putting the volume together, some more drastic editing of the papers would have been desirable.

The volume makes clear that Sartono has concerned himself over the past ten years with the subjects we are already familiar with from his earlier work: social stratification and change in modern Javanese society, with emphasis on the situation in rural districts. However, some new trends are discernible as well, for example the attention to the revolutionary and post-revolutionary periods and to the historical novel as a source in reconstructing the reality of colonial society. Most interesting are the papers in which attention is given to the various militias and other groups in the years of the physical revolution (1945-1949), varying from gangs of bandits to well-organized political parties. The role of religion as a socially binding factor, which was already recognized as such by Sartono in studying rural unrest in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, has kept his attention in the study of Indonesia's most recent history, as is apparent in the paper concerning the Pangestu

movement in contemporary Indonesia. This movement does not draw its adherents from the countryside but from urban areas.

Minor criticisms that could be made about this volume concern the use of somewhat less elegant terminology from the social sciences and a large number of misprints. However, *Modern Indonesia* is a monument to its author's unflagging energy over the past decade, notwithstanding difficult personal circumstances. His work is of lasting importance for Indonesia's, and especially Java's, social history; the papers collected here testify to this once again.

W. S. M. Hoogbergen, *De Boni-oorlogen 1757-1860. Marronage en guerilla [sic] in Oost-Suriname*. Utrecht: Rijksuniversiteit 1985. [Bronnen voor de Studie van Afro-amerikaanse Samenlevingen in de Guyana's, dl. 11.] 528 pp.

GERT J. OOSTINDIE

In de historiografie met betrekking tot Suriname wordt bijzonder veel aandacht besteed aan het ontstaan en de ontwikkeling van Marrongemeenschappen, alsmede aan de verhouding van deze gemeenschappen tot elkaar en tot het koloniale gezag. Sinds 1978 is door het Centrum voor Caraïbische Studies van de Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht zelfs een serie "Bronnen voor de Studie van Bosneger Samenlevingen" gepubliceerd, specifiek gericht op het toegankelijk maken van bronnenmateriaal betreffende Marrons en hun afstammelingen.

De Boni-oorlogen 1757-1860 is het elfde deel in deze belangwekkende reeks, die vanaf dit deel is omgedoopt tot "Bronnen voor de Studie van Afro-amerikaanse Samenlevingen in de Guyana's" (overigens zonder verdere toelichting van de uitgevers, thans behalve het Centrum voor Caraïbische Studies ook de Stichting Nieuwe West-Indische Gids). Waren voorgaande titels in deze serie, een enkele uitzondering daargelaten, inderdaad in de eerste plaats becommentarieerde bronnenuitgaven, *De Boni-oorlogen 1757-1860* is véél meer dan dat. In dit boek, tevens zijn dissertatie, beperkt Wim Hoogbergen zich niet tot het ontsluiten van fascinerend archiefmateriaal met betrekking tot de Boni's, maar tracht hij tevens de geschiedenis van deze niet-gepacificeerde Marrons te schrijven. Hij kondigt bovendien aan het niet bij deze geschiedschrijving over de Boni's te willen laten: ook de Kwinti, de Paramaka en de Brooskamper Marrons staan op zijn ambitieuze programma.

De geschiedenis van de Boni's, door Hoogbergen zo uitvoerig beschreven, is niet in enkele zinnen samen te vatten. Ik zal mij hier beperken tot enkele opmerkingen over de opzet van het boek. In de eerste twee hoofdstukken geeft Hoogbergen elementaire informatie over de Surinaamse samenleving in de tweede helft van de achttiende eeuw en over de Marrongemeenschappen. Het derde tot en met het elfde hoofdstuk vormen het hoofddeel van het boek: een chronologisch

overzicht van de geschiedenis van de Boni's. In hoofdstuk twaalf wordt een aantal aspecten uit het voorgaande vanuit een antropologische optiek belicht, terwijl het dertiende en laatste hoofdstuk een reeks bijlagen omvat, waaronder een methodologische verantwoording.

In de Proloog geeft de auteur aan niet zozeer geïnteresseerd te zijn in een krijgsgeschiedenis van de Boni's, als wel in een antropologische benadering van hun verleden. Aangezien echter de voortdurende strijd met het koloniaal gezag tot in de negentiende eeuw centraal heeft gestaan in de geschiedenis van de Boni's, ontkomt Hoogbergen er niet aan steeds maar weer over de guerrilla te spreken. Duidelijk komt dan naar voren, hoezeer de sociale organisatie van deze gemeenschap werd bepaald door de voortdurende situatie van oorlog of, op zijn gunstigst, gewapende vrede.

Hoogbergen geeft blijk van een duidelijke voorkeur voor een beschrijvende benadering, voor de "thick description [die] toegepast op een geschiedkundig onderwerp valt binnen het historisme, de opvatting dat elke periode in de geschiedenis een geheel eigen karakter heeft, dat vanuit zichzelf en zijn verleden moet worden begrepen. Volgens deze filosofische opvatting is het de taak van de wetenschapper het bijzondere, unieke en eenmalige te beschrijven. Het is binnen deze wetenschappelijke traditie dat ik de geschiedenis van de Boni's behandel" (p. 15).

Deze positiebepaling wordt in de eerste elf hoofdstukken consequent aangehouden. Daarin ligt de grote kracht van het boek: er wordt een uniek, plezierig leesbaar verhaal verteld en de lezer krijgt een bijzonder gedetailleerd beeld van de Boni-geschiedenis dat niet wordt verstoord door ideologische en/of theoretische stokpaardjes van de auteur. Niet alleen de heroïek wordt beschreven, maar ook het vele dat minder heldhaftig lijkt, het dagelijkse gezwog om voedsel, de spanningen binnen de Boni-gemeenschap en ook tussen de Boni's en anderen: plantageslaven, Indianen, gepacificeerde Bosnegers. Het is duidelijk dat Hoogbergen, die alle hem bekende bronnen heeft benut, dit materiaal uitstekend kent. In zoverre kan de lezer hem slechts dankbaar zijn voor deze nauwgezette reconstructie.

Aan Hoogbergens behoefte om zo dicht mogelijk bij de feiten te blijven, aan zijn voorliefde voor de reconstructie van "hoe het is geweest", kleeft echter ook een nadeel. Van een kenner als Hoogbergen verwacht de lezer syntheses, conclusies; de auteur lijkt deze juist liever te willen vermijden. De lezer raakt hierdoor na een slordige driehonderd bladzijden toch enigszins vermoeid: zoveel feiten, zo'n verscheidenheid! Wij lezen bijvoorbeeld vele malen over de strijd tussen Marrons en Indianen of gepacificeerde Bosnegers, maar evengoed over onderlinge solidariteit. Hoogbergen laat zich niet, of slechts met de grootste voorzichtigheid, uit over de omstandigheden waaronder strijd, respectievelijk samenwerking, voor de hand lagen. De lezer voelt zich dan toch wat verloren in de zee van gegevens. Dit geldt ook voor zijn summiere conclusie over de nu eens hartelijke, dan weer vijandige verhouding tussen slaven en Marrons, een fascinerend hoofdstuk apart.

Zoals gezegd belicht Hoogbergen in het twaalfde hoofdstuk het voorgaande vanuit een antropologische optiek. Hier tracht hij wel tot alge-

mene conclusies te komen, zij het in tegenstelling tot het voorgaande, beschrijvende deel nu juist zeer beknopt. Zijn uiteenzetting over de fasering van het marronageproces, overigens hier door hem niet voor de eerste maal beschreven, is overtuigend; hij breekt terecht met het "alles of niets" beeld van de marronage. Nieuw is de verklaring voor de matrilineairiteit die het Boni-verwantschapssysteem ging kenmerken, volgens Hoogbergen een gevolg van de combinatie van permanente migratie, matrilocale vestiging, het ambulante leven van de mannen, de nadruk op reproductie en de naamgeving naar moederszijde.

De methodologische appendix tenslotte leek mij, na lezing van het voorgaande, niet uitzonderlijk. Heel interessant is de uiteenzetting over de orale traditie, zowel in het algemeen als juist bij de Boni's. Wat volgt over het karakter van archiefmateriaal, Hoogbergens voornaamste bron, biedt echter weinig nieuws; dit geldt ook voor de uiteenzetting over de verhouding (niet: complementariteit!) tussen beide typen bronnen. Het is duidelijk dat Hoogbergen in plaats van te theoretiseren liever reconstrueert "hoe het is geweest", overigens in het volle besef dat het resultaat daarvan slechts beperkte geldigheid heeft.

Samenvattend: *De Boni-oorlogen 1757-1860* is een waardevol en grotendeels goed leesbaar boek over een unieke episode in de Suri-naamse geschiedenis. Een nadeel is mijns inziens de al te strikte scheiding tussen een wel zeer uitvoerig verhaal enerzijds, en een beknopte analyse achteraf anderzijds. Dit laatste neemt echter niet weg dat Hoogbergen met dit boek een belangrijke bijdrage heeft geleverd aan de historiografie van het koloniale Suriname.

V. M. Clara van Groenendael, *The Dalang behind the Wayang. The Role of the Surakarta and the Yogyakarta Dalang in Indonesian-Javanese Society*, Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 114, Dordrecht-Holland/Cinnaminson-U.S.A.: Foris Publications, 1985, VIII + 242 pp., 3 maps.

P. PINK

This publication is 'a slightly revised version' of an Amsterdam doctoral thesis of 1982, based on field work done in the Javanese Principalities between 1976 and 1978. The focus of the interest is on the '*dalang as guru masyarakat*', or the *dalang* in his social and cultural context. The book describes how he has fulfilled this role over the past century, what social factors have made for changes, and how he is now accommodating to the needs and values of modern Javanese and Indonesian society.

During her research, the author was helped by 6 assistants, as well as the late R. Soetrisno, to whose knowledge I personally owe a lot, too. This form of cooperation not only produced an amazing amount of material on which to base the study, but also had the advantage of permitting the incorporation of Javanese points of view, instead of

purely Europa-centric assessments, in the study. The material is arranged in 9 chapters, the first four of which deal with the *dalang* in historical perspective, especially with the training of the *dalang*, the genealogies of *dalang* families, the relationship of these families to the courts, the differences between the court and popular traditions, and the different styles in the *dalang* tradition. Three chapters are devoted to the art and work of the present-day *dalang* and their social and political context; these deal with the agreements made between a *dalang* and his sponsor, the occasions for a performance and the function of the *wayang* and the *dalang* in modern Indonesia. A final chapter summarizes and exemplifies the above material.

Thus a most valuable study on the *wayang* has resulted, which is indispensable to the expert, but, because of its presentation, is also accessible to the layman. In my view one of the main assets of this study is that it makes research gaps clear. Thus, for example, a supplementary iconographic analysis of the *wayang* figures in the possession of the *dalang* concerned would have been interesting in the third chapter, which deals with styles and local stylistic variants. However, this would have been beyond the scope of this study; it would in any case be worth a separate analysis.

As the focus of the study is on the *dalang*, special attention is given to the interaction between the *dalang* and his audience, and, especially in the last chapter, to the reactions of the audience to topical allusions by the *dalang*. The fragments of performances reproduced in this chapter contain the spoken words of the *dalang* and descriptions of what takes place on the screen as well as of what goes on in the orchestra, on the stage and in the audience. Nevertheless, as fragments, they cannot reflect the entire scope of the relationship to reality in a performance. We hope, therefore, that the author will find the opportunity to publish some of the *lakons* as a whole in the same way as the fragments here. On the other hand, this chapter shows that, after the author's treatment of the *wayang* so fully from the perspective of the *dalang*, it is high time to analyse its reception in a similar way.

J. Kats, *De Wajang Poerwa, een vorm van Javaans Toneel*, ingeleid door J. J. Ras en H. A. Poeze, Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Indonesische Herdrukken, Dordrecht-Holland/Cinnaminson-U.S.A.: Foris Publications, 1984, XLVIII + VIII + 446 pp.

P. PINK

Since its publication over 60 years ago, Kats' book on the *wayang* has remained a standard work. Intended for the interested Western layman, it was also accepted by the Javanese and in some respects influenced their opinions on the *wayang*. The success of this book is on the one hand

attributable to its encyclopaedic approach, attempting as it does to treat all aspects of the wayang. Furthermore, it is due to Kats' positivist attitude, which restrains the scholar from presenting his own theories but rather induces him to collect, describe and summarize, thus giving ample attention to research by other authors. Above all, the value and topical interest of this book are a consequence of the author's ability to cooperate with others, in this case especially Javanese experts. They are responsible for the richness of the technical details, as, for instance, in the survey of the three cycles of the *wayang purwa lakons*, which even still today is of inestimable value not only as an introduction to 'wayang mythology' but also as a rich collection of 176 plays. Though the work is based mostly on the court tradition – mainly that of the Mangkunegaran in Surakarta – Kats was conscious of the existence of local traditions as well. It is to be hoped that this aspect of the book will some time serve as a starting-point for further research on local traditions in wayang mythology and for a diachronic study of the changes in the tradition since the book was first published. Another proof of Kats' ability to cooperate with others are the drawings and lithographs of wayang figures and scenes. The frequency of their reproduction in later Javanese publications testifies to their acceptance by the Javanese.

The artist of these illustrations, R. B. Soelardi, likewise followed the tradition of the Mangkunegaran; so the book in general owes a lot to cooperation with Mangkunegara VII. A letter from Kats to the latter written in 1920, after Kats had attended a series of theater productions in Surakarta, reveals how much enthusiasm lay concealed behind the matter-of-fact tone of the book: 'Wat is de Javaansche kunst toch buitengewoon mooi en hoog ontwikkeld! En wat is het jammer, dat nog zoo weinig Europeanen daarvan doordrongen zijn. Ik hoop iets te kunnen doen, om de waardering daarvan meer algemeen te maken.' This effusion is the more surprising since 20 years previously Kats had characterized Javanese music as a mirror of the 'in het algemeen zeker niet bijzonder rijk en diep te noemen . . . gemoedsleven van de Inlander'.

Thanks to the KITLV, this book, which had become a rarity on the market for which exorbitant prices had to be paid, now is available as a reprint. The quality of the printing, and especially of the reproductions of the pictures, bears no comparison with that of the originals – the production costs of which troubled the publishers even then – but can be said to be satisfactory. This second edition contains a preface by J. J. Ras, which clearly and succinctly states the importance of Kats' book for research on the *wayang*. It is followed by a biography by H. A. Poeze, from which the above quotations are taken, and a list of Kats' publications by the same author.

Since a bibliography of wayang literature by V. M. Clara van Groenendaal is shortly to be published by the same publishers, an up-dating of the book was sensibly refrained from.

Hisako Nakamura, *Divorce in Java*, Gadjah Mada University Press, Yogyakarta 1983, xxiii + 145 pp.

S. POMPE

This publication, originally an M.A. thesis accepted by the Australian National University in 1982, is based on fieldwork in the area of Kotagede, Central Java, in the early seventies. The results of this study aroused so much interest in Indonesia that the book has now been published by the Gadjah Mada University Press with an introduction by Abdurrahman Wahid, a well-known Muslim politician, scholar and *pesantren* leader. The central thesis of the study is that the dissolution of marriage among Javanese Muslims is in all essential respects influenced by Islam, and that, if properly interpreted, Islam is contributing towards a limiting of divorce.

In the first part of the book (chapters 1 to 3) some findings are mentioned which led the author to take a closer look at the relation between Islam and the dissolution of marriage among Javanese Muslims. These findings, based on official statistics, indicated a much lower divorce rate in the heavily Islamicized town of Kotagede than in other parts of Java – as mentioned, for example by H. Geertz, *The Javanese family*, New York 1961. Moreover, the apparently extraordinarily low divorce rate among members of the local Muhammadiyah branch seemed to point to a negative correlation between rate of divorce and degree of Islamization. Finally, statistical data from the area pointed to a relation between divorce rate and urbanization which deviated markedly from the accepted western sociological theory in this respect, namely that divorce tends to increase with urbanization. In Kotagede, on the contrary, the data indicated that divorce decreased with urbanization. All these findings suggested that Islam might be instrumental in reducing divorce. Javanese *adat* with regard to the dissolution of marriage, whilst not entirely ignored by the author, was not found to be relevant in the matter. No conflict between *adat* and Islamic law was discovered. Going even one step further, she states: "... as far as the dissolution of marriage is concerned, all *adat* can be attributed to Islamic law. The multiplicity of normative sources observed in the field can be explained in terms of the difference of the kind and degree of knowledge about Islamic law of individual informants." (p. 26). As examples are mentioned divorce by mutual consent and lengthy separation preceding divorce action. The author has found no evidence for attributing these institutions to any source of law outside Islam. Kotagede appears to be an ideal place for studying Islam in action in Indonesia. It has a very large Muslim population (1968: 96.2%; 1977: 98.3%) and is regarded as the national base of the Muhammadiyah movement.

The second chapter is devoted to a description of the research area. The third chapter presents a brief review of Islamic law on the dissolution of marriage, looking particularly at the *talak*, *khuluk* and *fasakh* divorce procedures.

In the second part of the book (chapters 4 to 6) an explanation is advanced for the low divorce rates in Kotagede. Rejecting a purely

legalistic, "western" approach to Islamic law (divorce is allowed in that it is not forbidden) and opting for an "ethical" interpretation (divorce must be avoided as it is *makruh*), the author discovered that there are important mechanisms functioning as a deterrent to divorce. These mechanisms consist essentially in the approach of government institutions to matters of divorce. These institutions, some of which have a specific counselling function, are all concerned primarily to bring about a reconciliation between the parties involved in divorce proceedings. Only if the attempts at reconciliation as prescribed by Islam fail may the marriage be dissolved, provided adequate reasons are advanced to warrant such a step. It appears that these marriage rescue services of the relevant governmental institutions are not unsuccessful in restricting the number of divorces. According to the author, the conciliatory role of government institutions has hitherto been insufficiently recognized. This role is definitely affecting the nature of divorce rights and procedures. Thus the *talak* divorce procedure is not as arbitrary, according to the author, as some scholars would have it, whilst the *khuluk* ensures that the wife has more rights in matters of divorce than is commonly believed. In either case the conciliation attempts of governmental institutions prevent the parties from starting divorce proceedings too hastily. It is interesting to note in this context that in 29% of the *talak* cases the wife was the petitioner (husband: 37%, both: 33%). In addition the *khuluk* (agreed repudiation) divorce appears to be an effective means of dissolving a marriage, not in the last place because the *ciwadd* (compensation), which poses a potential obstacle for the wife, apparently is never paid.

In the concluding chapters the author points out that Islam can be instrumental in reducing divorce, and that it does not favour the husband as one-sidedly as is commonly thought. According to her the misconceptions with which the subject has been beset up to now have been the result of too western and legalistic an approach on the part of western scholars.

The book is most interesting, being based on an effective investigation of data collected from official statistics and registers and verified in the field. It is in many ways revealing to see how Islamic law on the dissolution of marriage may function in practice, and anyone interested in Islamic law should look at the statistical data in chapter 5 in particular. The new Marriage Law of 1974 has introduced certain changes in the competence of the religious courts (*pengadilan agama*), especially as regards *talak* divorce procedures. Moreover, Prins, in his book on the Marriage Law, has wondered whether the *talik-talak* marriage conditions are not now implicitly forbidden (though practice suggests otherwise). The basic premise of this book is not, however, greatly affected by these changes. Nevertheless, one cannot help wondering if the practice of Islam is really as rosy in this respect as Mrs. Nakamura would have us believe – whether out of respect for the proponents of the Marriage Law, such as Nani Soewondo, whether because of traditional scholarly thinking on the matter, or whether in the light of new data. The world would no doubt be a better place if we all behaved the way we should, yet in

practical terms the question is what happens to us if we don't. It appears to me that the "ethical" interpretation of Islam proposed in this book fails to answer that question conclusively.

Discussing the *talak* divorce procedure, this book says that the ambit of the *talak* right is not as extensive as is commonly thought. Yet on p. 34 it points out that a *talak* divorce without any statement of specific reasons is not *haram* but *makruh*, while an act that is *makruh* is not subject to any secular sanctions. What this means in practice is that if a hard-headed husband wants to divorce his wife without any apparent reason, no-one can really stop him. Hence this is a most extensive right. The Marriage Law was meant to address the problem of the possible abuse of so extensive a right. Statistical data advanced by June and Ronald Katz (*AJCL*, vol. 26, no. 2, 1978) suggest, in fact, that the problem was anything but imaginary. These data indicate that the rate of Muslim divorce decreased by up to 70% after the introduction of the Marriage Law, according to statistics of the Ministry of Religion.

The book has also failed to establish what happens in practice in the case of the husband's refusal where the wife sues for a divorce in a *khuluk* procedure. It would appear that in these cases the marriage can only be dissolved by a religious court, while this is not a divorce procedure provided for by Islamic law. The difference between the rosy theory and less rosy practice, or between small towns and the big city, also affects the mediating role of government institutions in divorce procedures. Recent research has indicated that such a mediatory role was played by the court in only 3 out of a total of 35 divorce cases handled by the religious court of North Jakarta over a period of three years (1980-1982) (*Laporan Penelitian 10 Tahun UU Perkawinan*; see also *Hukum dan Pembangunan*, vol. 5, yr. 15, October 1985, p. 478). This suggests that the way Islam is brought to bear in legal practice depends to a large extent on the way Islamic judges are prepared to interpret it.

Another point is that possibly insufficient attention has been given to socio-economic environment. As has been pointed out again recently (*Prisma* no. 11, 1985, p. 35 (Kuntowidjojo)), Kotagede is rather a special place, not only because of its high degree of Islamization but also because it has traditionally been a prominent commercial centre – as is evidenced historically by its *kabekelan sudagaran* status. E. Hill has pointed for the Egyptian context to a connection between socio-economic background and the way Islam is professed or Islamic law observed. According to her: "lack of financial support is the chief cause for divorce by court action in Egypt" (*Mahkama! Studies in the Egyptian Legal System*, 1979, p. 83). For this reason the rate of divorce by court action tends to be higher in poor than in wealthier areas. Proceeding from this premise, it will not be unreasonable to assume that economic reasons may figure less prominently as grounds for divorce in a commercially active town such as Kotagede. In fact, the Kotagede figures presented in the book under review show that failure to provide *nafkah* is the primary reason for divorce by court action.

There is no indication, however, whether the figures apply to the poorer rural or to the more well-to-do urban areas of Kotagede, or to both. The distinction is nevertheless important for a determination of

how socio-economic environment influences the divorce rate or of the extent to which this is only a matter of the proper observance of Islamic Law.

Finally, something should be said about *adat*. The dominant role of Islamic law with respect to marriage and divorce in Java is a well-established fact (cf. Soepomo, *Het adatprivaatrecht van West Java*, 1933, p. 73; Djodjodigono/Tirtawinata, *Het adatprivaatrecht van Middel-Java*, 1940, pp. 182-3; Prins, *Adat en Islamitische plichtenleer in Indonesië*, 1948, p. 54). The roots of this lie in the system of marriage administration in the colonial period. In Java, in contrast to the Outer Islands, this was in the hands of religious officers (the *naib* at the district level and the *penghulu* at the sub-district level). As has been pointed out by these authors, *adat* continued to play a role in marriage affairs at that time as well, however. Thus, Prins (p. 54) mentions that a potential source of conflict was provided by the discrepancy between the (mostly *adat*) marriage ceremony and the religious marriage requirements. Van Vollenhoven, moreover, mentions instances in which *adat* imposes definite restrictions on the freedom of people to marry within certain kinship categories which do not necessarily coincide with those of Islamic law (van Vollenhoven, *Javaansch Adatrecht* 1923 (reprint), p. 66). Even today, *adat* still appears to be exercising a strong influence in matters regarding matrimonial property (see, for instance, I. M. Sjah, *Pentjaharian Bersama Suami Isteri*, 1965, which deals specifically with the *gono-gini adat*). Thus *adat* law apparently has retained some influence in marriage affairs in Java, and it would be interesting to see how *adat* and Islamic law are interacting at present in particular in matters of matrimonial property.

This book is restricted to a consideration of divorce, however, and in spite of the shortcomings I have mentioned, it remains an interesting book that should be read by anybody interested in Indonesian private law.

Wim Bakker, *Bali Verbeeld*, Volkenkundig Museum Nusantara, Delft, 1985. ISBN 90-71423-01-8. 96 p., 120 afb., f 25,—.

J. M. C. PRAGT

Van 21 september 1985 tot 7 april 1986 werd in het Volkenkundig Museum Nusantara te Delft de tentoonstelling 'Bali in Beeld' gehouden. Wim Bakkers boek *Bali Verbeeld* ondersteunt deze tentoonstelling. In dit boek schetst Bakker in grote lijnen de ontwikkeling van de moderne Balische schilderkunst van 1930 tot aan 1985, zodat een vrij compleet overzicht is ontstaan.

In de 30-er jaren ontstond op Bali, naast de traditionele schilderkunst in wayangstijl die tegenwoordig beperkt is tot het dorp Kamasan, een

geheel nieuwe stijl, die zijn geografisch middelpunt in het dorp Ubud had en gebruik maakte van andere technieken, kleuren en onderwerpen. Drukke vlakvulling, het verlaten van de aloude iconografie, de afbeelding van het gewone alledaagse leven en het gebruik van waterverf en nieuwe papiersoorten zijn kenmerkend. Deze nieuwe stijl kon ontstaan door de groeiende toeristische afzetmarkt en de ondersteuning van westerse schilders als Walter Spies en Rudolf Bonnet. Een directe invloed op de Balische kunst oefenden deze schilders nauwelijks uit. In het dorp Batuan ontwikkelde zich een tak van de nieuwe schilderkunst, zich o.a. onderscheidend door de zg. gewassen-inkt techniek. Iets later ontstond ook in Sanur een kunstcentrum onder de stimulerende invloed van de gebroeders Neuhaus, die daar een toko bezaten. Hier echter was deze ontwikkeling van korte duur. In de 60-er jaren ontstond onder leiding van Arie Smit in Penestanan een nieuwe richting: 'The Young Artists'. Deze schilders maken gebruik van een simpele stijl en felle kleuren. Daarnaast is in de laatste jaren op Bali nog een 'Academic Group' ontstaan, een westers georiënteerde, academisch gevormde groep.

De indeling van dit rijk geïllustreerde boek, dat al deze stijlen behandelt, is chronologisch. Het is echter niet erg strak gecomponeerd. Soms kan dat enigszins verwarrend werken. Een overzichtelijk boek dat de gehele ontwikkeling van de Balische schilderkunst beschrijft was reeds lang een desideratum: vóór het verschijnen van dit boek moest een duidelijk overzicht bij elkaar worden geschrapt uit katalogi, artikelen en losse hoofdstukken. Daarom is het boek, in het bijzonder voor de nog niet ingewijde, zeer welkom. Aardig als illustratie zijn de gesprekken die de auteur met enige vertegenwoordigers van de Balische schilderkunst voerde. Achterin het boek zijn beknopte biografieën van enkele belangrijke schilders opgenomen.

Hoewel het boek geen uitgesproken wetenschappelijke pretentie heeft, wordt het door het uitermate rijke plaatwerk ook voor de meer ingewijde zeer interessant, daar veel foto's van nog ongepubliceerde schilderijen zijn opgenomen. De auteur werpt ook een nieuw licht op de Pita Maha coöperatie, die volgens hem van minder invloed en belang is geweest dan voorheen vaak is verondersteld.

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