Book Reviews

- J. van Goor, *Rechtzetting*.
- M.A. van Bakel, A. Appadurai, *The social life of things. Commodities in cultural perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1986. XIV + 329 pp.
- C. Baks, Ákos Östör, *Culture and power; Legend, ritual, bazaar and rebellion in a Bengali society*, New Dehli etc.: Sage Publications, 1984, 224 pp., including notes and glossary.
- W.E.A. van Beek, B. Bernardi, *Age class systems; Social institutions based on age*, Cambridge University Press, 1985, 199 pp.
- H.W. Bodewitz, J.-M Péterfalvi, *Le Mahabharata. Livres I à V. Livres VI à XVIII. Extraits traduits du sanscrit par Jean-Michel Péterfalvi. Commentaires, résumé et glossaire par Madeleine Biarreau*, Paris: Flammarion, 1985 and 1986. 381 + 382 pp., M. Biarreau (eds.)
- Paul Doornbos, Raymond C. Kelly, *The Nuer conquest - The structure and development of an expansionist system*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1985, 320 pp.
- Henk Driessen, Paul Spencer, *Society and the dance: The social anthropology of process and performance*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, 224 pp.
- D. Gerrets, Daniel Miller, *Ideology, power and prehistory*, Cambridge: University Press, 1984. 157 pp. numerous figs., Christopher Tilly (eds.)
- Peter Kloos, Jacques Lizot, *Les Yanomami Centraux*, Editions de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris 1984, 267 pp.
- Peter Kloos, Jacques Lizot, *Tales of the Yanomami; Daily life in the Venezuelan forest*, Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology no. 55, Cambridge University Press, 1985, 196 pp.
- Peter Kloos, H. Zevenbergen, *Zwakzinnigen in verschillende culturen*, Lisse: Swets

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BOEKBESPREKINGEN

RECHTZETTING

De bespreking door Dr Kuitenbrouwer van het onder mijn redactie verschenen *Imperialisme in de marge, de afronding van Nederlands-Indië* (BKI 142, pag. 360-361) kan de indruk wekken dat de term 'Maritiem BB' in dit werk voor het eerst is gebezigd. Voor de goede orde wijs ik er op dat deze omschrijving is ontleend aan het gedicht 'De K.P.M.-er' van G. J. Resink. Dit wordt in de aanhef van het bewuste hoofdstuk met bronvermelding geciteerd, echter zonder dat deze ontlening voldoende duidelijk is voor willekeurige lezers.

J. van Goor

Het volledige sonnet in kwestie volgt hieronder:

DE K.P.M.-ER

Het oerwoud komt tot op ons kielzog kruiven,
wanneer wij tussen opkomende maan
en zinkende zon op de pier af schuiven
waar enkelingen uit te waaïen staan.

Maar bij de eerste fluit: de boot is aan,
komt heel het achterland naar voren wuiven,
waarbij vooruitlopers te water gaan
en alle prauwen op de golven kuiven.

Nog voor één passagier het schip verlaat
rolt uit de ruimen al de welvaartsstaat,
waarvoor de armoe hier zo graag betaalt.

De crew ziet toe: een maritiem B.B.
dat zich 's nachts, als de maan maar genoeg straalt,
uit de baai redt voor weer een maand op zee.

A. Appadurai (ed.), 1986, *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. XIV + 329 pp., £ 27.50 or \$ 37.50. ISBN 0 521 32351 7.

M. A. VAN BAKEL

The limited space permitted for this review does not allow one to do full justice to this book. To my mind it sets a high standard with regard to the question not only of how certain research issues should be dealt with, but also in which way(s) multi-disciplinary research may be carried on. Moreover, and most importantly, it shows in a lucid and comprehensible way the results that may be attained when scholars from several disciplines work together on an equal footing. It clearly shows that true multi-disciplinary work is more than just a raiding of each other's discipline for some set of data or some useful theory. Each participating discipline gives as much as it can, and at the same time learns a great deal from the other disciplines. From my participation in a similar project in Holland (cf., inter alia, Claessen and Skalník 1978 and 1981; Claessen et al. 1985; Van Bakel et al. 1986; Claessen and Van de Velde 1987) I know that, the more difficult though it may be to initiate truly multi-disciplinary research, the more rewarding are the results where the participants are genuinely willing to tackle the initial problems together.

As is shown again in this book, multi-disciplinary research is problem-oriented to a high extent. Here the central problem is why and how valuables (commodities) in a given society come to be considered valuable. In a preliminary discussion the participants try to assess as many features of and problems around this question as possible in order to prepare the way for further investigation. After this, each discipline highlights and illustrates the issue from its own angle. In this way a wealth of data, theories and hypotheses is assembled. In the nine case-studies contained in this book, the data collected by anthropologists, archaeologists and historians come from the Balkans during the chalcolithic, Minoan Crete, the Wessex culture in Great Britain, the Carolingian empire, Northeast Africa, the Muria Gonds in India, 1900 India, 1800 France, and the Eastern Solomons in the Pacific. The commodities range from chalcolithic artefacts, through medieval relics, to modern Oriental carpets. The theories and hypotheses cover as wide a range as the data.

These many data from different times, places and societies, however interesting, illuminating, stimulating, and so on, they may be in themselves (and this they surely are), here are no more than examples each illustrating a limited point of view in relation to the central problem. They are merely stepping-stones towards a final discussion among the participants which is aimed at reaching a more encompassing understanding of the central problem. This ultimate goal in my opinion is reached here to a high degree, so that the undertaking can be considered a great success.

Most publications flowing from multi-disciplinary work follow the general line of investigation in their composition: introduction, case-studies, concluding chapter. Here, however, the editor has followed

another model of presentation. Though the first chapter is entitled 'introduction', it presents not only an introduction to the subject, but also a discussion of the case-studies, as well as the conclusions reached. Though this deprives us of a final concluding chapter, this arrangement proves at least as good as the traditional one. It offers the reader an opportunity right from the beginning to evaluate the conclusions in the light of each case-study, some of which may be unfamiliar to him from his own discipline. This arrangement even makes such unfamiliar case-studies more comprehensive.

In short, I find this a sound study and a worthwhile book. It is even very thought-provoking for scholars from a great variety of disciplines, even disciplines (like economics) that are not separately represented in this study.

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Ákos Östör, *Culture and Power; Legend, Ritual, Bazaar and Rebellion in a Bengali Society*, New Delhi, etc.: Sage Publications, 1984, 224 pp., including Notes and Glossary.

C. BAKS

This study is based on field work carried out in the late 1960s, whereas some of the collected materials have been published earlier. The present version brings together old and new data in an attempt to analyse an Indian urban society in a holistic way. The author studied a middle-sized town in the western part of Bengal, applying Indo-Bengal instead of western concepts and terms. The town, of some 40,000 inhabitants, is a centre for the 'import' and 'export' as well as the distribution of produce. The products of small cottage and handicraft industries and agricultural produce are traded to other places, while many other products purchased outside the town are offered for sale. A large majority of the inhabitants are Hindus, with about a quarter of the population belonging to Scheduled Castes. There is only a small Muslim group. The Indo-Bengal concepts which Östör has used are: *itihasa* (legend and history),

purana (myth), *jatra* (theatre), *puja* (ritual), *bazaar* (markets and trade), and *andolan* (rebellion and transformation). These concepts correspond to the western domains of history, religion, economy and politics.

The town's history is presented in a series of indigenous narratives which contribute to the analysis and understanding of the relations between persons and groups. With reference to Geertz, there is a model of action and a model for action inherent in the Indo-Bengal concepts (see Geertz, *The Interpretation of Culture*, 1973). Consequently, this town's interpretation of history is not firmly established in real facts which once took place. Imaginary things, sacred things and real events are intermingled. Thus, it is history as the people of the town think it once happened. *Itihasa* is concerned with stories of kings and government, deities and worship, ceremonies and festivals, conflicts and wars, but these narratives also deal with the land and its produce, with artisans and with traders. The town's multiiformity and variation are reflected in *itihasa*, i.e., in the variety of gods and goddesses and their actions, and in the temples and their history. They are manifest in public and *jatri* (caste) worship as well as in ceremonies and prayers. They are present in the hierarchy and segmentation of the town's society, and operative in the caste system. They are likewise visible in the separate neighbourhoods, though often things are complicated by multi-caste neighbourhoods. *Itihasa*, therefore, is closely interwoven with *puja*, with *purana* as staged in theatre plays, and with *purana* as myths which relate the town to the kings. All this is present also in the *bazaar* or market and the trading system. This is characterized by *ganjas* (small bazaars), while of old there has been a great variety of traders, sellers and buyers, in accordance with their localities.

The message is clear: one should not view the Indo-Bengal concepts in isolation, like the western concepts and terms and their respective domains. In this urban society with its myths and ritual, its past king and its present municipality and supra-local government, its caste system and its *bazaar*, these concepts are not mutually exclusive. There is a similarity of structure and process. The Indian equivalents of western domains like history, religion, politics and economy converge in a hierarchical universe, in which gods and goddesses are still superior and all-powerful, and in which the sacred law is still in force, notwithstanding the ambiguity and multiplicity of present-day life. All urban people are encompassed by social and spatial divisions as apparent in neighbourhoods and households. The king, though replaced by the Indian government, is still of significance in ritual and festivals, in which the urban community participates. The social universe and cosmos are linked through ritual, festivals and the theatre. They are reflections of an order that is still alive, and provide a way of living for man. So, 'adherence' and 'following' are reflected in the hierarchical structure of *jajman* (he on whose behalf something is performed) and *jajak* (he who carries out the performance). In this structure, the priest, king, trader, artisan, peasant, labourer, etc., all have their place. In this structure there is always a mediator forming a link between *jajman* and *jajak*. The priest, the king and the trader are mediators par excellence. The organization of the *bazaar* reflects the said structure vividly in the linkages between the

various *bazaar* categories and the *jatis* (castes), ultimately based on purity and impurity and a division of labour.

The *bazaar* is closely linked to temples, beliefs and rituals, to festivities, and to daily ceremonies in the household. Festivals and *bazaars* share quite a few commercial aspects. Overlap of local categories, multifarious relations and reciprocity are manifest in the *bazaar*. Of special interest is Östör's explanation of the concept of government in *bazaar* terms. Government provides capital, regulates trade and distributes scarce articles through rationing (e.g. rice and oil) and licensing. Therefore, the government regulates prices and participates in the *bazaar* by patronage and the employment of local labour. The author makes an attempt to interpret co-operatives in the same way. Government and co-operative society officials primarily perform services (*chakri*) to the people, whereas traders primarily do business (*bebosa*). The latter secure supplies, negotiate with the cultivators and artisans, lend and borrow, invest and engage in commercial ventures. In short, they deal with customers and run great risks. Government, on the other hand, implies an assured, though graded, style of life.

The *bazaar* is part of a wider system extending beyond the town, as is government. Both depend on seasonal changes, e.g. the availability of agricultural products. These changes make themselves felt in the trader's income, though eventually in the official's, too. Festivals are closely related to the seasons and the agricultural cycle. They influence the life of the people and the rhythm of all activities. They affect, for example, the artisan's work or the 'import' of goods and commodities from other *bazaars* outside the town.

The complexity which Östör describes and gradually unfolds in this study could be dealt with in fewer terms, viz. in the notion of an omnipresence of reciprocal relationships. Series of dyadic relationships are presented as being marked by seeming opposition and atomism (p. 121). Relationships are, however, entangled as in a net, and are hierarchized and ordered, as the chapters on *itihasa*, *purana*, *jatra*, *puja*, and the *bazaar* reveal. This social pattern, with its obvious order, constitutes 'a system of relationships among encompassed men rather than a relationship between men and things' (p. 122). This relationship is in thinking, judging and action through the mediation of persons with respect to the exchange of goods and services: in worship, ceremonies, ritual, market and trade, and in government, old and new. Mediation is the central concept.

Today this social pattern is even more complicated. Besides, the picture the author presents becomes blurred and distorted. Bengal and India responded to British colonization, as they are responding to the even more far-reaching effects of world trade in our days. In this connection I refer to the last of the above-named Indo-Bengal concepts, that of *andolan* (revolt, rebellion, transformation). In the author's analysis, *andolan* is defined as an indigenous type of protest aimed at restoring order. In the examples given, e.g. the strikes and demonstrations by the weavers working in co-operatives and independently, the effects of this are meagre. So are those of the actions by rickshaw pullers and women's associations. These actions were aimed at restoring order,

with government replacing the king. But times have changed fundamentally. There are 'the big men, the highest level of an incipient, emerging class system: landowners, contractors, businessmen, and merchants, lawyers, and so forth' (p. 169), and, I should like to add, government officials. Östör demonstrates that production, exchange and administration are marked by widespread profiteering. Favouritism, nepotism and black-market dealing cannot be ignored. These hamper initiatives in a crucial way. Instead of the mediator of the social pattern mentioned above, now the 'big men' are prominent, upsetting the ideal *bazaar* situation. Meanwhile, this part of India has been the scene of violent rebellion of a different kind, namely the revolts of the Naxalites, who intend to destroy traditional society. Their objective is to establish a so-called socialist society. As such, these revolts, but more so the dislocation of the *bazaar* system, are a serious challenge to the social system described by the author. Östör draws our attention to this problem, but leaves it at that.

In my opinion, Östör's study forms a valuable contribution to our understanding of social change. Upon reflection, I would underline this as follows: notwithstanding notable changes in the indigenous concepts under study, the resilience of urban society is striking. However, I understand that the lower social groups in the hierarchy are becoming more and more segmented. They are in a position of increasing isolation, because within the system of reciprocity their supply is coming to have less and less value. For this reason, the principle of mediation has a very limited meaning nowadays. Isolation is pushing these groups into oblivion. The author neglects these facts, which are affecting quite a number of people, viz. small traders, artisans and small producers, small cultivators and labourers. Thus, one of the crucial indigenous concepts described by Östör, hierarchization and segmentation, is depatronizing the otherwise patronized social structure in the town and its hinterland. The old mediator, the king, can no longer be relied upon, for government has taken his place. And government officials do not reach far enough in their mediation. In the *andolan* as presented in this book, the social groups concerned are not effective in their traditional protests. Their (in western terms) economic position has worsened. In terms of the indigenous concepts, the *bazaar* situation has been dislocated, and this will inevitably weaken and damage the social position of the people in question.

B. Bernardi, *Age Class Systems; Social Institutions Based on Age*, Cambridge University Press, 1985, 199 pp.

W. E. A. VAN BEEK

Age class systems have long fascinated anthropologists. As an integral part of acephalous societies, they have had an almost romantic appeal

for social anthropologists, especially the ones working among East African pastoralists. Still, the description of the various systems is far from complete, and the systematic analysis of age class systems as such is almost non-existent. The reasons for this gap are several. One is the fragility of the systems – they quickly disappeared after the first days of colonization; their military character has been evident to all observers, and pacification nearly destroyed them. Another reason is the paradigmatic shift in anthropology, moving from the study of autonomous homeostatic systems towards either historiography, processes of interpenetration of systems, or cultural semantics. In a sense, Bernardi's comparative study of age class systems comes too late, at a time when both history and theory have turned their backs on age classes. Yet, it is a valuable and important contribution to a long-standing discussion. Bernardi's main contribution consists in the comparison of various systems from a single perspective, namely the distribution and rotation of power. Of course, politics is not the only *raison d'être* for age class systems, but it is a neglected aspect.

After developing a refined set of analytical tools in his first two chapters, in the third one Bernardi unfolds his main argument. In his view, one of the main functions of age class systems has been to establish a harmonious balance between the conflicting tendencies of equality of kinsmen and concentration of power. Thus, the classes guarantee both the importance of each and every individual and the effectiveness of decision-making processes. In this way the rotation of power is one major achievement of age class systems, in Bernardi's view, as it is the main instrument for both the diffusion and the concentration of power. Religion underscores the need for and usefulness of political concentration-cum-diffusion, and as such ritual is essential for moving people through the wheels of time.

The major part of the book consists of a succinct description of a series of models of age class systems, based on initiation, generation, residence, regiments and dancing societies. For each model a prime example is described: e.g., the Masai for the initiation model, and for the generational model the Oromo Boran. In all the examples the political function is highlighted, though in the choreographic systems (Amerindian groups) this aspect is not very prominent. In his concluding chapters Bernardi sums up the 'ethnemic' significance of age class systems: their multifunctionality, their intricate interdependence with the economic system and demography, and their dependency on specific relations between neighbouring groups and the state.

On the whole, the book is well written (also implying that it is a good translation, the original being in Italian) and is a worthwhile contribution to the comparative ethnography of Africa. Its structure gives rise to some redundancies: after a long programmatic introduction in which the political side is stressed, this angle receives repeated attention in all the descriptions, finally to reappear in the conclusion.

A more serious problem is the description of the various systems in terms of models. Though each model has been derived from actual cultures, the description tends to be overly systematic, neglecting the variations and adaptations made by individuals living in these systems.

The very rigidity of several of the age class systems positively provokes questions as to how individuals coped with their own system. One reason for this may be provided by the age of Bernardi's ethnographic sources, as most first-hand descriptions are quite old. But, granting there is this disadvantage, the author does not regard it as a problem; even in the case of the Nyakyusa, where a mass of criticism and comments has sprung up in response to Wilson's 'Good Company', he contents himself with a description of the systematic proportions of the Nyakyusa age classes and villages. In fact, if he had considered the discussion on the subject, he probably would have had to dismiss a separate 'residential model'. While trying to steer a course between the morass of empirical data and sky-high systemic generalizations, his approach in fact is not a valid one. His models are neither flesh nor fowl, representing neither a system nor an ethnographic case. This way, the conflicting tendencies and contradictions in the age classes (viz. the factual impossibility of implementing them) are played down. In fact, this approach, like the whole book, is slightly outdated, putting the whole work in a structural-functional paradigm that would have done the author justice in the sixties. But that is the period from which most of the research dates.

The author's insistence on the egalitarian character of the distribution and rotation of power, and his general appreciation for the systems, tend to blind him to the oligarchical tendencies inherent in them. It would have been just as easy to analyse the role of the elder classes in terms of control over scarce resources, in the form of cattle, ritual or women. The fact that any youngster can hope for a powerful and influential middle age does not detract from the restrictions inherent in the systems. To put it even more strongly: in some systems people who are unable to match their age with the 'structural age' ascribed to them by virtue of their birth, may fall out of the system and never become fully fledged adults.

The inclusion of non-African cases does not make much sense. Of course, the author tried to include all known age class systems, but the difference between the African cases and the Amerindian ones is too great for the inclusion of all of them to be very productive.

By contrast, the comparison of the East African cases (the best-known examples) with the West African ones does offer some useful insights. Bernardi correctly remarks that the tendency of West Africanists to fit their data into the East African pattern is neither helpful nor justified. His criticism could even go further. In my view the difference between the majority of the West African cases and the East African ones is fundamental, but Bernardi's insistence on the political aspect blurs that distinction. As has often been noted, military action and the recruitment of new warriors lie at the core of the East African systems, a view which Bernardi criticizes, but which holds at least for his initiation and generational models. In West Africa, too, war has been important, and a link with age classes undeniable. However, in many parts of West Africa, the age classes fulfil a function that escapes Bernardi's attention, i.e. the regulation of labour. Communal labour in many different forms is often performed by an array of age groups from one community, the number of groups involved depending on the scope of the task. In the pre-colonial situation defense against raiding-parties tended to be part

and parcel of the workload, which accounts for the military aspect. This might conform to the general cultural picture: East African cattle pastoralists in whose acephalous societies age classes flourished, over against the village-based cultivators of West Africa, among whom age classes have been reported.

Consequently, the question can be rephrased as: what might be the major factor in the generation of systems based on age? After all, despite the isolated examples of the Mandan and Hidatsa, age classes are a specifically African phenomenon. If political succession is at its roots, as Bernardi claims, then age classes are one among the many possible political systems; this, however, does not explain the systematic inclusion of age as a factor in the political system. Perhaps another, quite commonplace observation, would offer an alternative. The age classes receiving most ritual and social attention in the community are invariably those of the young adults, either as warriors, as workers or as dancers. Considering the limited amount of time taken up by food production, especially for the men, one important problem which a culture has to solve may be, what to do to properly channel the excess time and energy of its young men. War is one answer, communal labour or ritual another. Any one of them (roughly corresponding to East Africa, West Africa and 'trans Africa' respectively), when systematically applied, can provide creative solutions to a very persistent practical problem and result in a system of age classes.

Any study ultimately is judged as to its productivity in generating questions more than in providing definitive answers. Bernardi's book, despite all criticism, is to be commended as a solid comparative study that presents a fresh view on an old subject. In generating numerous questions, it contributes to our understanding of societies with a limited centralization of power.

J.-M. Péterfalvi and M. Biarreau, *Le Mahābhārata. Livres I à V. Livres VI à XVIII. Extraits traduits du sanscrit par Jean-Michel Péterfalvi. Commentaires, résumé et glossaire par Madeleine Biarreau*, Paris: Flammarion, 1985 and 1986. 381 + 382 pp.

H. W. BODEWITZ

In these two paperbacks a good impression is given of the voluminous epic. Complete translations used to be long-term projects, sometimes broken off by the untimely death of the translator (e.g. Fauche 1863-1870; van Buitenen 1973-1978). The complete translation by P. Ch. Roy (Delhi 1972-76³) dates from 1884-1896. Selections from the epic mostly comprise disconnected stories. Abridged versions in which the epic is retold in his own words by the 'translator' obscure the style and story-telling techniques of the original. I am in favour of the approach of

the present publication, in which a connecting commentary explains and analyses selections in their context.

The commentary not only is helpful for the inexperienced reader. It also provides the spin-off of courses given by Madeleine Biardeau at the École Pratique des Hautes Études. Specialists may consult these two publications along with her scholarly articles on the epic. In this connection it is to be regretted that the translation is not based on the critical edition.

It is clear that these books aim primarily at the general reader. All technical terms are printed in italics and explained in an index. On the other hand, the connecting commentary is hardly simple enough for the interested layman. The Sanskrit names are more numerous and confusing than the Italian names in the short contents of a Belcanto. Moreover, the analysis requires a more or less academically trained reader. This means that, for example, specialists on Indonesian culture who do not know any Sanskrit but have some notion of the names and contents of the epic, will definitely profit from a reading of these books.

Biardeau has her own views about the interpretation of this epic, and sometimes she disagrees with other scholars. However, notes and references are absent. Fortunately a survey of the study of this epic was recently published by J. W. de Jong in *Hokke Bunka Kenkyū* 10-11 (1984-5), 1-19 and 1-21, in which he dedicates five pages (1985, pp. 6-11) to Biardeau's method of interpretation and contrasts and compares this with that of two other scholars, Dumézil and Held. The former applied a Vedic structure to the story, while Held explained the battle in the epic as a dualistic sacrifice. In Biardeau's structural mythology the analysis does not take any Vedic or Indo-European origin of the themes as its starting-point, but rather the classical Hindu religion and its ideas on duty and *bhakti*. The author also regards the battle as a sacrifice, but as one which is comparable to the cosmic conflagration, and which is performed by Śiva for the sake of the deliverance of all beings.

In the publications under review it was impossible to give a single overall interpretation of the epic, since only portions of the text are analysed in the commentary. Moreover, it is Biardeau's view that 'the entire meaning of the epic cannot be discovered in a single structure because its unity consists in an integrated system of structures' (De Jong 1985:9). Sometimes she tries to explain too many details. For example, the names of almost every personage should have a specific function, as indeed is generally the case in Indian stories, but this is less obvious in an epic containing historical names. In general, however, the commentary contains many interesting analyses.

The translation, as far as I have checked it, is reliable and attractive. These two books can be recommended to all those who are interested in the contents and interpretation of the most famous Indian epic.

Raymond C. Kelly (1985), *The Nuer Conquest – The Structure and Development of an Expansionist System*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 320 pp.

PAUL DOORNBOS

This study is concerned with the insatiability of the Nuer urge for territorial expansion. During the nineteenth century the Nuer increased their territorial domain fourfold, at the expense of the ethnically related Dinka and Anuak peoples, within the space of seventy years (1820-1890). Their expansive drive was eventually checked by outbreaks of trypanosomiasis and rinderpest, which decimated their cattle herds. Earlier studies have explained Nuer territorial expansion mostly in terms of population pressure.

Reviewing archive sources and the considerable volume of literature on the Nilotic tribes of Southern Sudan, the author rejects this explanation in favour of one centering around the manner in which the Nuer bridewealth system imposes social requirements for cattle. "The latter effectively determine the size, composition and growth characteristics of Nuer herds, thereby defining the extent of Nuer grazing requirements. Recurrent shortages of dry season pasture (that are ultimately attributable to bridewealth requirements) provide the immediate impetus to successive rounds of territorial expansion."

The study contains a wealth of comparative data with regard to Nuer and Dinka bridewealth systems, segmentary organization, grazing systems and economic organization, and forms an important contribution to social theory, economic anthropology and ecological anthropology.

Paul Spencer (ed.), *Society and the Dance: The Social Anthropology of Process and Performance*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, 224 pp.

HENK DRIESSEN

Over the past decade, performance, ritual, play, celebration and symbolism have loomed large in the anthropological literature. A book on the dance, which, oddly enough, has long been neglected, fits well into this trend of renewed interest for expressive art genres.

The present volume, the outcome of a seminar held at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London in 1979, is a collection of seven case-studies which all deal with dancing in tribal society from a contextual point of view. The authors hold that the dance is an aspect of ritual action that can only be fully appreciated with reference to the wider social and cultural context in which it is performed.

In a convincing introductory essay, the editor develops a broad theoretical framework, offers comments on the pertinent literature, and shows how the various contributions interconnect. He identifies a series

of themes, ranging from that of the dance as catharsis to the uncharted deep structure of the dance, aspects of which are dealt with in the subsequent case-studies.

Sue Jennings analyses dances among the Temiar of the Malay peninsula in intimate relation to the cosmology. Trance dancing serves to release tension and to control fears of cosmic threat. John Blacking views movement, dancing and music in the girls' initiation cycle of the urbanized Venda of southern Africa as an extension of speech and gestures that adds further meaning to formal events. He stresses the educational role of the dance. Choreographed movements in Tongan social performances are not adequately covered by the Western notion of 'dance'. Adrienne Kaeppler shows how the mixing of words and gestures results in an aesthetic idiom of subtle allusions to social rank and solidarity. Andrew Strachern's contribution illustrates the theme of the dance as a cumulative process. Among the Melpa of Papua New Guinea dancing plays a crucial role in the maintenance of the exchange cycle. Not the actual giving away of pigs but rather dancing constitutes the climax of periodic pig celebrations. Boys' circumcision and wedding dances among the Samburu, pastoral nomads of northern Kenya, express ritual rebellion against the power of the elders. Spencer's intriguing analysis discusses the dance as ritual drama, safety valve and means of social control. Dancing among the Lugbara of Uganda is a communal response to crises, a way of trying to comprehend and resolve situations of structural ambivalence. John Middleton maintains that in dancing the Lugbara give each other messages about the structure of their society. Alfred Gell's structural analysis of style and meaning in the Umeda dance of Papua New Guinea, finally, is the most thought-provoking. He is the only contributor to describe and represent movements graphically, relating a set of dance styles to the gait of walking of different categories of people. The Umeda dances reveal the gradual process of containing the primordial energy of strong men.

The theme of the dance as an instrument of social control is predominant in this volume. One wonders whether this emphasis on maintenance results from the rather static way in which the authors treat the socio-cultural context. The tribal societies under consideration are all going through a process of far-reaching transformation. The internal dynamics of the dance should be analysed in relation to external forces of change. Only Blacking and Kaeppler stress the creative power of the dance and also hint at the changing role and meaning of dance forms. This relative neglect of change in the context of the dance is the only shortcoming of an otherwise ethnographically most valuable collection of papers. One would wish to have a similar volume on stage- and folk-dances in Europe.

Daniel Miller and Christopher Tilly (eds.), *Ideology, power and prehistory*, Cambridge: University Press, 1984. 157 pp., numerous figs. £25.00.

D. GERRETS

This volume in the series 'New Directions in Archaeology' can be regarded as the sequel to a volume that previously appeared in the same series, namely *Symbolic and structural archaeology*, edited by Ian Hodder. The viewpoint presented in the earlier book is elaborated in the present one, concentrating as it does on an analysis of asymmetric power relationships, the legitimization of these relationships by means of ideological conceptions, and the transformations undergone by them in the process of social change.

The first chapter comprises an essay – which is not consistently lucid – in which the editors criticize the mechanistic explanatory model of established theories like that of cultural evolutionism, functionalism and 'New Archaeology', while pleading for a more dynamic kind of approach as inspired by structuralism and structural Marxism. The same influences can be traced in the papers of the other contributors to this volume. The neopositivist 'objective' approach to science is dismissed, and an interpretative, contextual approach proposed in its stead. From the three subsequent chapters it is evident that the authors do not regard the role of ideology, as symbolically embodied in the material culture of a given society, as being restricted to prehistoric situations alone. Alice Welbourn, in an ethnographical study, describes how symbolic values embodied in pottery among the Endo afford a 'natural' character to asymmetric power relationships. This is followed by two historical studies, by Mark Leone and Daniel Miller, on (garden) architecture. In four other chapters the emphasis is on long-term social change in prehistory. Ian Hodder attempts to demonstrate a relation between early Neolithic house ground-plans in Central Europe and the ground-plans of the later megalith-graves in Atlantic Europe. Michael Parker Pearson analyses the cyclical character of the process of economic and ideological change in 'pre-state societies' in Jutland. Mary Braithwaite discusses ritual and prestige in the prehistory of Wessex from c. 2200-1400 B.C. Christopher Tilly, finally, devotes his attention to the role of ideology and the legitimization of power in the transition from the Funnel Neck Beaker to the Battle-Axe/Corded Ware tradition in Southern Sweden.

Because of the way in which the book has been compiled, namely so as to include a number of chapters each dealing with a different subject, the treatment of the subjects concerned has to remain fairly broad. One sometimes gets the impression that the subject dealt with has been chosen more as an illustration of a particular theoretical approach than with a view to making a comprehensive analysis of the relevant available data. The way in which theoretical premises are related to the material discussed therefore sometimes strikes a somewhat forced impression, and is not always convincing. Many of the ideas put forward require more thorough analysis.

The main importance of this book, however, lies in the authors' dissociating themselves from the mechanistic and monocausal way of

thinking that is so conspicuous in many archaeological publications. Economically and ecologically deterministic explanations are dismissed, without any denial of the importance of these factors, however. The main focus of attention in the papers presented here is the internal dynamics of prehistoric societies. The authors acknowledge that prehistoric reality was much more complex than others would often have us believe, and that it can only be understood through specific analyses, in which widely different kinds of evidence are correlated. In this way, many aspects of prehistoric society, such as ideology, ritual, power and symbolism, which have up until now been considered as unfathomable by prominent prehistorians, come into the the archaeologist's field of vision. *Ideology, power and prehistory* will indisputably stimulate a more creative understanding of our past.

Jacques Lizot, *Les Yanomami Centraux*, Editions de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris 1984, 267 pp.
 Jacques Lizot, *Tales of the Yanomami; Daily Life in the Venezuelan Forest*, Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology No. 55, Cambridge University Press, 1985, 196 pp.

PETER KLOOS

The first book is a collection of articles published between 1971 and 1976, mostly in *Antropológica* (Caracas) and *L'Homme*. Only one article is new – the one on the Yanomami use of wild plants. The last chapter is a translation into French of Lizot's well-known IWGIA document on ethnocide. What unifies the book is the people concerned, and, of course, the author. For the rest the topics range from pottery to poisons used in warfare, hunting and fishing; from Yanomami tradition to socio-economic change. Three chapters are devoted to various aspects of kinship. Very useful is the inclusion of Lizot's paper on population pressure and warfare, which first appeared in 1977 in a journal not regularly read by many anthropologists. Although most of the chapters thus have been previously published, the availability of these miscellaneous articles in one book is very useful. Lizot is such a master of Yanomami ethnography, that it is a delight to read.

This applies even more to *Tales of the Yanomami*, a translation of Lizot's *Le cercle des feux* (1976). This book is much more difficult to assess, even though, unlike *Les Yanomami Centraux*, it was not written for the specialist. Lizot argues – rightly so – that many anthropological books are excessively abstruse. This he regrets. In his *Tales* he aims at, among other things, letting the Indians speak for themselves. Using a minimum of technical language, he proceeds to describe normal life, as well as matters of religion and war. In so doing, he presents a new perspective on Yanomami life – very unlike the usual ethnography. Yet Lizot is deceiving us – in more than one sense. First of all, it is he who is speaking on behalf of the Indians. This he readily admits in his preface,

but the curious fact is that, although he informs us in the same preface that he has acted as go-between in most of the love affairs he describes, in these descriptions Lizot himself is not present. In the second place one can hardly say that it is Yanomami *women* who are speaking in this book. I do not mean to say that women are absent – far from it – but what is virtually absent is the Yanomami women's point of view. Nevertheless, Lizot's approach is highly intriguing and forms an essential contribution to most ethnographical accounts, in which the principles of society are elucidated at the cost of insight into what it means to live them. Implicitly, Lizot raises an important question about anthropological method.

H. Zevenbergen, *Zwakzinnigen in Verschillende Culturen*, Lisse: Swets & Zeitlinger, 1986, 109 pp.

PETER KLOOS

Zwakzinnigen zijn er waarschijnlijk in elke samenleving, maar de manier waarop zij behandeld worden verschilt zeer. Het boek van Zevenbergen (oorspronkelijk een doctoraal scriptie ortho-pedagogiek) richt zich op een tweetal vragen. Welke houdingen zijn er ten opzichte van zwakzinnigen te vinden in verschillende culturen, en welke factoren zijn op die houding van invloed? In hoofdstuk 1 komt de visie op zwakzinnigen-zorg zowel in de westerse als in de derde wereld aan de orde. In de hoofdstukken 2 en 3 wordt een overzicht gegeven van houdingen ten aanzien van zwakzinnigen in verschillende culturen, waarbij een continuum wordt gehanteerd variërend van niet-accepteren (in extreme gevallen doden) tot met eerbied behandelen (in extreme gevallen heilig-verklaren). De factoren die die verschillen in houding kunnen verklaren komen aan de orde in het vierde hoofdstuk. De auteur beperkt zich daar tot levensomstandigheden (van materiële en sociale aard) en opvattingen (religie en kennis).

Het is een heel leesbaar boekje geworden, al komen er geen inzichten uit die er niet bij voorbaat waren ingestopt. Dat heeft verschillende redenen. In de eerste plaats is het overzicht van houdingen in de derde wereld nogal slordig, in die zin dat volken, landen en halve continenten door elkaar heen als eenheden worden gebruikt. Daardoor ontstaan inconsistenties, die op de keper beschouwd maar schijn zijn (bijvoorbeeld: enerzijds wordt er op p. 55 gesteld dat zwakzinnigen in Kenya geaccepteerd worden, anderzijds wordt op p. 39 gesteld dat de *Kenyaanse* Pokot en Kikuyu zwakzinnigen doden; vergelijk Kameroen op p. 39 en 55, en Botswana op p. 38 en 56). In de tweede plaats zijn de factoren die mogelijk verantwoordelijk voor de verschillen in houding geacht worden veel te grof. Heel duidelijk blijkt dat uit de beschouwing over de invloed van de vijf wereldgodsdiensten, wier leer zodanig elastisch is dat elkeen eruit kan halen wat hij of zij wil. Het Christendom levert met gemak argumenten op grond waarvan zwakzinnigen niet als

mensen worden beschouwd, maar ook argumenten op grond waarvan zij als 'Gods liefste bloemetjes' worden gezien (p. 87). Dit bezwaar geldt ook materiële welvaart.

Het waardevolle van dit boekje ligt echter maar gedeeltelijk in de resultaten. Zevenbergen legt met haar beschouwing bloot dat antropologen een terrein links hebben laten liggen dat zowel praktisch als theoretisch van belang is. Het is in feite heel pijnlijk te zien hoe weinig bijvoorbeeld veldwerkers zich met het verschijnsel zwakzinnigheid hebben beziggehouden. Welbeschouwd is het ook heel verbazingwekkend, omdat de manier waarop zogenaamd normale mensen met zwakzinnigen omgaan veelzeggend is, althans, voor wie daarnaar wil luisteren.

Freek Schiphorst, *Macht en Onvermogen: Een studie van de relatie tussen staat en boeren op het Ve-a-irrigatie project Ghana*, Universiteit van Amsterdam, CANSA publikatie nr. 20, 1983, 107 pp.

PIET KONINGS

Deze studie is een verslag van een onderzoek naar de 'werkelijke' gevolgen van een recent irrigatieproject voor een dorp gelegen in Noord-Ghana, Zaare geheten.

In het eerste deel van zijn studie geeft de auteur een korte beschrijving van de socio-economische structuur van het dorp en de verschillende veranderingen die daarin plaatsgevonden hadden alvorens het Ve-a-irrigatieproject in 1965 een aanvang nam. De dorpsbewoners waren overwegend kleine boeren die nog grotendeels buiten de markteconomie stonden. De koloniale overheid deed lange tijd opzettelijk weinig aan de ontwikkeling van dit gebied: de streek moest vooral dienen als een goedkoop arbeidsreservoir voor de mijnen en cacao-gebieden in Zuid-Ghana. De auteur stelt echter terecht dat de post-koloniale staat steeds meer belang schijnt te hechten aan een verdere ontwikkeling van het agrarisch potentieel in Noord-Ghana als een mogelijke bijdrage aan de oplossing van de precare voedselsituatie in de Zuidghanese steden. De post-koloniale staat ziet zich hierbij echter gesteld voor een fundamenteel probleem: op welke manier kunnen de overwegend zelfvoorzienende boeren verder in de markteconomie worden geïntegreerd en hun produktie verhoogd? De auteur staat tamelijk sceptisch tegenover het opzetten van grootschalige ontwikkelingsprojecten, zoals het Ve-a-irrigatieproject, als een uitweg uit dit staatsdilemma. Hoewel dit soort projecten in *theorie* de staat een goede gelegenheid lijkt te bieden om de arbeid van boeren onder toezicht te houden en hun produktie te verhogen (door technologische vernieuwingen en het leveren van inputs), komt daar in de *praktijk* echter maar weinig van terecht. Het Ve-a-irrigatieproject is een van de schrijnende voorbeelden in Afrika van het eenvoudig ontbreken in de post-koloniale staat aan de financiële middelen en de management capaciteiten om zulke projecten tot een goed einde te brengen. Misschien is de auteur hier wat al te pessimistisch. Men

treft in Afrika ook wel succesvolle grootschalige ontwikkelingsprojecten aan en het zou interessant geweest zijn als de auteur ook de geslaagde projecten in zijn analyse betrokken had.

In het laatste deel van zijn studie schetst de auteur eerst de uitwerking van het Vea-irrigatieproject op het dorpje Zaare. Voor onze ogen ontwikkelt zich het drama van de onteigening door de staat van het land van de lokale boeren, hun gedwongen verhuizing, hun toenemende verarming, hun aanwenden van een aantal overlevingstactieken, en hun proletarisering (zich manifesterend in verschillende vormen). De dorpsbewoners zagen zich uiteindelijk genoodzaakt handelsgewassen te verbouwen op een veel te klein stukje pachtland in het irrigatiegebied onder toezicht van het projectmanagement en hun schamele oogst voor een lage prijs aan de leiding van het project te verkopen. Toch wist althans een aantal boeren in Zaare in de loop van de tijd te profiteren van het feitelijk gebrek aan beheer van het project door de leiding door hun produkten voor een hoge prijs op de 'vrije' markt te verkopen.

Tenslotte tracht de auteur met behulp van verschillende theorieën over boerenorganisatie en actie de vraag te beantwoorden waarom de boeren in Zaare enkel een *individuele* oplossing zochten voor de problemen waarmee zij geconfronteerd werden en niet in staat bleken tot *collectieve* actie om hun lot te verbeteren.

De studie is geschreven in een uiterst leesbare stijl en de auteur lijkt geslaagd te zijn in zijn opzet om de 'werkelijke' gevolgen van staatsinterventie op het platteland van Afrika te analyseren. Maar al te vaak geven projectplannen en theorieën over de relatie staat-boeren in Afrika een zwakke en vertekende afspiegeling van de werkelijkheid.

E. Schlesier, *Eine ethnographische Sammlung aus Südost-Neuguinea*.

S. KOOLJMAN

This publication gives a description and a photographic presentation of a collection of objects acquired by the author in the SE part of Normanby Island in 1961-62 and 1974-75. Normanby lies within the Massim culture area, which covers the eastern extremity of New Guinea and the adjoining groups of islands. The materials in question are in the possession of the Institut für Völkerkunde of the University of Göttingen, Federal Republic of Germany. The objects, as well as their decoration, are typical of the products of Massim handicraft and Massim art well-known from Oceanic collections in other ethnographic museums and from literary sources.

Bernhard Gardi, *Zaire Masken Figuren*, Museum für Völkerkunde und Schweizerisches Museum für Volkskunde, Basel, 1986.

H. M. LEYTEN

This catalogue, in the attractive square format which has been made popular by the Rietberg Museum in Zürich, has been published to mark the occasion of the opening of the new Africa department of the Basel museum of ethnography. It contains photographs of almost all the objects on display, giving a good insight into the museum's Zaire collection.

Rather than limiting the scope of the catalogue to an aesthetic appreciation of the museum collection, the author has added a number of photographs of great historical value, showing the objects 'in situ'. Some of them were taken in the 1930's by Hans Himmelheber, others by scholars of the Tervuren Central Africa Museum. The oldest photograph is a postcard from 1902, showing 'fetishes' in front of a hut. The combination of photographs of objects in museums and of objects in the field makes the reader aware of the fact that African masks and statues were never meant to be displayed in dimly lit show-cases in the almost sacred silence of a museum gallery. They have been made for the whirl of music and dancing, for the spell of ritual. The division of the book into chapters follows a geographical division. Each chapter has a short introduction to the region concerned and its most important cultural and religious features. In a general introduction to the book the author briefly relates the history of the area and attempts to explain some basic concepts common to the Zaire traditional cultures. One such concept is *Nkisi*. It plays a central part in everyday life and helps us to understand the sculptures, according to the author. '*Minkisi* (plural of *Nkisi*) are forces created by God, both beneficial and harmful. Their effectiveness has been destined by God. *Minkisi* can be found everywhere in nature, in human beings, in water, in rocks, and so on. Man has the power to manipulate *Minkisi* in a positive manner by abiding by the laws and codes accepted by society.' (p. 13). This description is too vague to be of practical use. It derives from a vision of African culture which was fairly common in the first half of this century, and which considered Africa steeped in superstitious ideas and notions of supernatural forces (sometimes classified under the term 'animism'). This vision gave phenomena which seemed strange to us a religious and supernatural interpretation.

Daniel Biebuick, who has conducted research in Zaire from as early as 1949 and who has just published the first of five volumes on *The Arts of Zaire*, namely Volume I, *South-Western Zaire* (University of California Press, 1985), writes about the same *Nkisi* on page 69: 'The *Nkisi* is a manufactured object typically consisting of a container and a set of ingredients'.

He then explains what is understood by this 'container and a set of ingredients', and finishes by saying that these 'power objects can be used in order to cure and protect people as well as cause them harm. These objects also have great symbolic value. They stand for the solidarity and unity of a group, the autonomy of a village or family, especially in areas

which are occupied by several ethnic groups.'

Biebuick approaches the matter from a sociological/anthropological angle, which is more in line with the aims and objectives of a museum of ethnography than the vaguely supernatural approach of Bernhard Gardi. An explanation for this shortcoming is probably to be found in the author's exclusive use of old sources. In the *Minkisi* example, he mentions their price in 1914 and quotes one Laman, who conducted his research between 1891 and 1919. The author appears not to be familiar with the recent literature. This is unfortunate in the case of such an attractive catalogue, as it may contribute further to the widespread lack of correct information about Africa in this part of the world.

Bruce M. Knauff, *Good Company and Violence: Sorcery and Social Action in a Lowland New Guinea Society*, Berkeley, Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1985, X + 474 pp.

J. MIEDEMA

The book under review is a very detailed study on sorcery among the Gebusi, a small tribe of some 450 persons living in the rain forest of south central Papua New Guinea. The tribe comprises 25 clans, each with a population ranging from 1 to 67 members (severe depopulation has occurred over the past few decades). Knauff's corpus of (field-)data includes the complete genealogies of 15 clans and of a subclan of each of 3 additional clans, no fewer than 232 cases of sorcery (which span a period from about 1940 to 1982), and data on 25 ritual feasts organized by the community of residence in the course of the fieldwork between April 1980 and March 1982 (see pp. ix, 6, 116/7, 157, 183 and 245/6).

The central problem dealt with is how a society that is marked by strikingly friendly and congenial intra-community relations ('good company') can at the same time display such a high frequency of sorcery attributions, resulting in an extremely high rate of homicide ('violence'), accounting as it does for 32.7 per cent of all adult deaths (394) between 1940 and 1982 (Table 4, p. 117). Gebusi sorcery is represented as being the 'result' of the denial of conflict in marital relations: non-reciprocal marriages in a community where sister exchange is seen as the ideal and where there is no bride price or bride service system. Though Knauff argues that '... antagonisms ignored and denied for long periods of time can be expected to build up until they are triggered in a culturally legitimated context where violence is normatively sanctioned – namely, a sorcery attribution following a sickness death' (p. 79), he considers a socio-psychological explanation insufficient. Through a systematic and multi-level analysis of key concepts, spirit seances, narratives, rituals, kinship and social structure, inter-tribal relations and demographic trends, he gives an absorbing picture of both cultural/symbolic and

sociological/organizational determinants of sorcery beliefs and attributions among the Gebusi. According to Knauff it is the interaction between the afore-mentioned factors as part of a comprehensive system that is the heart of the issue (p. 328). Evidence of particularly a dialectic between good company, affinity and violence, is based on a qualitative and quantitative analysis, the latter – in itself unique for these kinds of studies – revealing unparalleled interrelationships between sorcery and affinity.

In addition to Knauff's wider ethnographic conclusions – including comparisons with Melanesian and non-Melanesian societies –, his notes on method and theory – relating to British, French and American Anthropology, and Structural Marxism, as well as his own 'point of departure', Max Weber – are also noteworthy.

The importance of Knauff's study is that it not only provides new evidence that cultures have the capacity to 'effectively sanction both tranquility and aggression [...] in different social contexts' (reconciling Mead and Freeman, p. 338), but also reveals the mechanisms at work in this capacity. From this point of view *Good Company and Violence* will certainly prove a rich source of inspiration not only for (New Guinean) anthropologists, though even they may have difficulty – if not theoretically, then at least practically – with the dialectical approach recommended by Knauff. Obviously this approach is only workable for very small societies studied within a relatively narrow time-span.

David H. Turner, *Life Before Genesis, A Conclusion: An Understanding of the Significance of Australian Aboriginal Culture*, Toronto Studies in Religion Volume 1, Peter Lang, New York, 1983, vii + 181 pp.

DAVID S. MOYER
University of Victoria

This small book is more of an extended essay than a monograph. It begins with an effort to rethink certain aspects of social organization in technologically unsophisticated cultures. This is followed by a theoretical generalization based on the effort. The third major section involves applying these theoretical insights to the book of *Genesis*.

The first major section of the book is divided into two chapters entitled 'Incorporation' and 'Confederation'. These titles represent two basic types of social organization found in simple societies. The older and more primitive type is what Turner calls 'locality incorporative societies'. The process of incorporation forms 'people into stable, cohesive work groups by minimizing the presence of aliens through transforming them from "outsiders" to "insiders"' (p. 7). The author goes on

to point out that 'this particular adaptive strategy would seem to be oriented more to maximizing the effectiveness of each hunting and foraging group than to maintaining stable relations between them, which is perhaps why the band as a whole is in need of leaders or chiefs' (p. 7). Though he does not refer to Service, this formulation is similar to the band level of social organization in Service's formulation of band, tribe, chiefdom, state.

Using his own work among the Canadian Cree as an example, Turner shows how the essential aspects of the locality-incorporative type are expressed in myth. The demonstration is convincing. He then tries to demonstrate how this type of social organization is reflected in Cree art. Here he is less convincing.

At the end of the chapter he introduces the Tlingit of the Northwest Coast of British Columbia. The Tlingit present major problems for traditional systems of classification. They are food-collectors, something typical of bands. They have clans, something typical of tribes. They have an elaborate system of rank, something typical of chiefdoms. And, according to some anthropologists, they have classes, something normally found only in states. Turner focuses on the fact that though they have clans, the development of mechanisms to link or confederate local groups is weak or absent. They are a warlike group who attack fellow-Tlingit as readily as anyone else. This underscores one of the peculiarities of the Tlingit, i.e., their underdeveloped sense of ethnic solidarity. Thus, though the Tlingit have clans, Turner considers them to be a borderline case of a locality-incorporative society because, he argues, the clan is 'not an abstract eternal aspect of society' (p. 36). Once again he examines how the pattern is replicated in myth and art. Like the analysis of the Cree material, the examination of myth is the more successful of the two.

In the second chapter, 'Confederation', he develops the second type, which he calls 'kinline confederation/production group diversity'. The type emphasizes two aspects of what are often called tribes. There exist mechanisms like the clan which provide confederative links between local groups. But, accompanying the creation of such linkages is the segmentation of the local group. In other words, there is 'production group diversity'. What Turner is describing is similar to Service's definition of tribes. In fact, the similarity is so striking that it is puzzling that the author does not explore the differences and make a case that his own scheme represents an improvement. Though there are similarities to 'tribes', his kinline confederation type, he argues, is pluralistic in nature and does not involve the submergence of the component parts in the whole. Though he does not develop the point, his examples involve societies where there are confederalional mechanisms (Service would call them pan-tribal sodalities) but which do not also possess a strong sense of ethnic identity. This feature may account for Service's persistent misapplication of his own classification system to the Australians that always results in their being classified as band societies.

Turner's analysis treats Australian clans as the fundamental feature of Australian organization. The section systems are placed in a subsidiary position. Indeed, he prefers to use the terms two and four clan system

when referring to four and eight section systems. Using his own data on Groote Eylandt Aboriginal society, he successfully demonstrates how certain aspects of the kintline confederational type are thought about in myth. And, as in the previous section, a demonstration involving art is less convincing. He concludes the chapter with a brief examination of the Pitjantjatjara, the Australian group in which the locality-incorporation principle is most pronounced. Like the examination of the Tlingit material, this analysis underscores Turner's commitment to a processual as opposed to a categorical approach to classification.

The middle section of the book, the third chapter, is entitled 'Theoretical Interlude'. He translates the specific societal forms of the locality-incorporation and kintline-confederation types into more general principles which he calls monism and pluralism. For each he creates formulations in logical, economic and mythological terms. He argues that the monist approach has been typical of European thinkers such as Marx and Lévi-Strauss. This approach replicates the classical formulation of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. In economic terms the synthesis is a new mode of production. In mythological terms the conclusion is the 'illusion of synthesis or solution'. This is all very familiar. However, when one gets to the pluralist view Turner is considerably more original. He argues for an additional formulation to be used in conjunction with, but not as a replacement for, the monist view. This second formulation is antithesis, thesis, complementarity. Phrased in economic terms, complementarity becomes 'accommodation in economic interdependence'. When phrased in mythological terms, the conclusion becomes 'separation/withdrawal'. Though at times the argumentation seems overly complicated, the general formulation is both interesting and promising.

With this formulation complete, he turns to the last chapter, 'Genesis'. Here one finds an application of the monist/pluralist mythological structures to the Genesis myths. The effort is both more and less ambitious than previous anthropological attempts at analyzing Genesis. He takes the analysis much further into the book of Genesis than is usual, stopping just before the birth of Moses. On the other hand, he does not attempt to explore all possible codes and themes but primarily focuses on the monist/pluralist dimension. Though one might wish to argue about specific details of the presentation, one cannot deny that both dimensions are present. For example, the Tower of Babel story brings both elements into juxtaposition. Here the quest for monist unity (the construction of the tower) ends in separation and withdrawal (the destruction of the tower and the scattering of the people). What is peculiar about the presentation is Turner's apparent unwillingness to refer to other literature that seems relevant to the points that he is trying to develop. For example, the two creation stories at the beginning of Genesis are from two different time periods. The Garden of Eden Story dates from the monarchy, a very monist period. The Seven Day creation story is later and dates from the Babylonian Captivity, when Judaism had ceased to be a state religion and had become a minority religion. This seems to be the epitome of the pluralist situation.

This book is stimulating, interesting and important for anyone interested in the relationships between mythology and the social order.

Nonetheless, even allowing for its essay format, the curious lack of reference to the viewpoints that Turner is challenging is a disappointment. There is a substantial body of literature on the band, 'tribe, chiefdom, state formulation. Turner's reformulation seems to represent a substantial improvement, but one cannot be sure. The Genesis analysis is interesting and suggestive; however, without a comparison with other material one cannot be sure that it is anything more.

Peter Kloos (red.), *Onderzoekers onderzocht; Ethische dilemma's in antropologisch veldwerk*, DSWO Press, Leiden, 1984.

B. VAN NORREN

Pogingen van de Amerikaanse regering antropologisch onderzoek aan te wenden voor politieke en militaire doeleinden in Latijns-Amerika en Zuidoost-Azië brachten in de jaren zestig en zeventig antropologen ertoe zich te bezinnen op hun verantwoordelijkheid als onderzoeker. Naar aanleiding hiervan kwam een discussie op gang over de ethische aspecten van antropologisch onderzoek in het algemeen. *Onderzoekers onderzocht; Ethische aspecten van antropologisch veldwerk* tracht aan de hand van empirisch onderzoek de vraag te beantwoorden met welke ethische problemen Nederlandse onderzoekers worden geconfronteerd. Het onderzoek werd onder begeleiding van antropoloog Peter Kloos en filosoof Marja Zuidgeest uitgevoerd door een werkgroep van negen doctoraalstudenten antropologie van de Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden. Om praktische redenen koos men als onderzoekspopulatie antropologen en niet-westers sociologen die in de periode 1970-1980 bij één van de hoogleraren CA/SNWV in Nederland waren gepromoveerd op een onderzoek waarvoor zij zelf veldwerk hadden verricht. Zoals opgemerkt door Kloos (pagina 11), was door deze keuze het beleidsgerichte onderzoek, waarvan de ethische problematiek waarschijnlijk sterk verschilt van die van het zogeheten zuiver wetenschappelijke onderzoek, in het project ondervertegenwoordigd. In de winter van '80-81 werden 47 doctores geïnterviewd.

Onder invloed van Appell's *Ethical dilemmas in anthropological enquiry: A case book* (1978) koos de werkgroep het begrip 'ethisch dilemma' als theoretisch uitgangspunt, waarna men – op grond van literatuuronderzoek en eigen voorstellingsvermogen – met betrekking tot een negental aspecten van antropologisch onderzoek, zoals keuze van het onderzoeksobject en relaties met respectievelijk respondenten, tolken/assistenten en de overheid, een aantal ethische dilemma's formuleerde waarmee antropologen en niet-westerse sociologen bij onderzoek geconfronteerd zouden kunnen worden. Aan de hand van deze zogeheten 'potentiële ethische dilemma's' als leidraad van gesprek trachtte men in open vraaggesprekken de door de respondenten zelf in hun promotie-onderzoek ervaren ethische dilemma's op te sporen die 'actuele ethische dilemma's' werden genoemd.

Het boek is als volgt opgebouwd. Na een inleidende beschouwing van

de hand van Kloos worden in negen bijdragen de onderzoeksresultaten met betrekking tot de bestudeerde aspecten van veldwerkonderzoek per aspect door een student-lid van de werkgroep besproken. In een afsluitend hoofdstuk geeft Marja Zuidgeest een nabeschouwing en formuleert zij enkele conclusies.

In zijn inleiding schenkt Kloos onder meer aandacht aan de methodische Achilleshiel van het onderzoek: de wijze waarop het begrip 'ethisch dilemma' als deductief uitgangspunt is aangewend. Terugblikkend wijst hij erop dat de term te serieus genomen is, waardoor een ethisch overmatig zwaarwichtige visie tot stand kon komen op conflictueuze situaties die de geïnterviewden zelf niet of nauwelijks als ethische dilemma's bleken te ervaren. Nadat Kloos geconstateerd heeft dat de werkgroep als gevolg van deze overtrokken visie minder ethische dilemma's heeft gevonden dan men in feite stilzwijgend had verwacht, vestigt hij de aandacht op twee inhoudelijke resultaten van het onderzoek. Ten eerste merkt hij op dat, dankzij het gebruik van het begrip 'potentieel dilemma' als 'nuttig lapmiddel', het onderzoek heeft uitgewezen dat 'er allerlei keuzesituaties bestaan waarbij één van de waarden of maatstaven kennelijk zó zwaar weegt, dat de uitkomst bij voorbaat al vast staat' (pagina 15). En ten tweede vestigt hij de aandacht op de uitkomst dat onderzoekers een dubbele moraal bezitten: 'machthebbers mag je in het belang van het onderzoek bedriegen, tegen zwakkeren in de samenleving moet je de waarheid spreken' (pagina 17). Naar mijn mening zijn dit de twee meest interessante uitkomsten van het onderzoek, die jammergenoeg in de afzonderlijke bijdragen analytisch niet verder worden benut.

Alle negen bijdragen bevatten de negatieve uitkomst dat de geïnterviewden ten aanzien van het bestudeerde aspect van onderzoek veel minder ethische dilemma's hadden ervaren dan de werkgroep had verwacht. Het blijkt duidelijk dat de onderzoekers – gefascineerd als ze waren door de benadering van Appell en diens begrip ethisch dilemma – met dit voor hun teleurstellend resultaat eigenlijk geen raad wisten. Sommigen laten, ondanks het gebruik van de term 'ethisch dilemma' in de titel van het hoofdstuk, de ethische problematiek voor wat hij is en geven een op zich interessant overzicht van bij veldwerk ervaren praktische problemen (bijvoorbeeld hoofdstuk 5). Anderen trachten – met gering succes – achter de bewoordingen van de respondenten onuitgesproken 'verborgen dilemma's' te ontdekken (bijvoorbeeld hoofdstuk 9). En weer anderen vervallen in ingewikkeld getheoretiseer (hoofdstuk 6).

Pas in het laatste hoofdstuk weet Zuidgeest – in impliciete aansluiting op de inleiding van Kloos – aannemelijk te maken dat zowel de gevolgde methodiek (het vragen naar ethische dilemma's) als de inhoudelijke resultaten van het onderzoek toch wel de moeite waard zijn. Zij merkt op dat door de gevolgde wijze van vragen de respondenten aangesproken werden op hun maatschappelijk verantwoordelijkheidsbesef, waardoor men zich geroepen voelde redenen te geven voor gekozen handelingen, verantwoording af te leggen tegen zichzelf en anderen (pagina 219).

De wijze waarop men zijn keuze dan legitimeert blijkt volgens Zuid-

geest samen te hangen met de gehuldigde visie op het wetenschappelijke nut van antropologisch onderzoek. Zij die antropologie min of meer beschouwen als een zuivere wetenschap zijn geneigd verantwoordelijkheid af te leggen in termen van een individueel-ethische ethiek: men heeft de onderzoeksgelden eerlijk besteed en heeft assistenten en/of informanten ethisch zuiver bejegend. Zij die antropologie tevens zien als een instrumentele wetenschap die maatschappelijk bruikbare kennis dient te leveren zijn (daarenboven) meer geneigd keuzen te verantwoorden in termen van hun gevolgen voor maatschappelijke verhoudingen. Hoewel – volgens Zuidgeest – juist gedurende de jaren zeventig deze tweede visie op antropologie en antropologisch onderzoek geleidelijk aan sterker werd, valt het op dat de bestudeerde groep onderzoekers toch vrij homogeen in zijn normatieve opvattingen is. Twee zeer duidelijke normen worden zelfs door vrijwel allen gedeeld. Ten eerste de opvatting dat onderzoekers het morele recht bezitten overheden te bedriegen ten behoeve van de wetenschappelijke doeleinden van het onderzoek en ter bescherming van de eigen kring, waaronder ook de eigen informanten. Ten tweede de opvatting dat informanten zonder meer beschermd dienen te worden, wat doorgaans door anonimisering wordt bereikt.

Ter afsluiting merkt Zuidgeest op dat het door haar verschaft overzicht van antwoorden op de – impliciete – legitimeringsvraag aantoonst dat een gedragscode voor antropologen 'maar zeer tijdelijk een houvast zal bieden voor het oplossen van ethische dilemma's, omdat de cultureel antropoloog zich in een wereld van wisselende verhoudingen bevindt, die vragen om een aanpassing van de ethische houding. De functie van het hier gegeven overzicht ligt dan ook vooral in de bewustwording waarvoor hopelijk de individuele onderzoeker het hier aangeboden materiaal zal gebruiken' (pagina 233-234).

Deze reflectieve functie zal het boek ongetwijfeld hebben: zelf bracht ik me bij het lezen onwillekeurig telkens weer eigen onderzoeksbelevissen voor de geest en vroeg me af, of ik die en die problemen indertijd wel (moreel) goed had opgelost. Anderzijds dient toch te worden vastgesteld, dat methodisch en conceptueel *Onderzoekers onderzocht* onvoldragen van de pers is gekomen.

Victor T. King, *The Maloh of West Kalimantan. An ethnographic study of social inequality and social change among an Indonesian Borneo people*, Dordrecht-Holland/Cinnaminson-U.S.A.: Foris Publications, Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde No. 108, 1985. viii + 252 pp., maps, diagrams, plates, glossary.
JÉRÔME ROUSSEAU

This is an excellent monograph, based on the results of 14 months' fieldwork among the Maloh of West Kalimantan in 1972-73. The author

reconstructs the traditional social system, while accounting for social change; ranking and social inequality constitute the focus of his monograph. After placing the Maloh in their ethnic and historical context, he considers the links between ranking and household organization, kinship, descent, economics, politics and religion. This is supplemented with an appendix on the Maloh language and a 500-word glossary. Throughout the text, King compares the Maloh with other Borneo groups, in particular the Kayan, Iban, Bidayuh and Kenyah, thus providing a comparative context. The detailed sketch maps of Maloh areas are very useful (however, Map 1 does not accurately locate the Kayan, Kenyah and Kajang; this is probably inevitable because of its small scale).

His reconstruction of traditional Maloh society shows remarkable similarities with the Kayan of central Borneo. There were four status levels. These strata constituted three classes: the ruling group (*samagat*) had the monopoly of headmanship and exclusive ownership of slaves (*pangkam*); they received corvées from commoners (*pabiring* and *banua*), and were released from manual labour. Villagers could not leave the community without the headman's permission. The *pabiring* are a residual category which includes fallen aristocrats and aspiring *banua*. Commoner "big men" served to balance the headman's power. In inter-rank marriages, the child took the rank of the parent maintaining natal residence. The near identity between Maloh and Kayan stratification systems is also noticeable at the ideological level. The most significant difference between the Maloh and Kayan was the presence of debt-slaves among the Maloh. Other features of Maloh social organization are similar to the Kayan's: there is a preference for initial and permanent post-marital uxorilocal residence. Unlike the Kayan, whose ideal is the stem-family, the most common type of household is the two-generation nuclear family.

Throughout the book, King documents the major socio-cultural transformations of the last century. These are most evident in politics. The traditional political structure has been eroded by the introduction of a government bureaucracy and democratic elections for village headmanship. The whole traditional class system is being replaced by a new one, and even though most headmen are still *samagat*, they have lost much of their power to higher authorities. At the time of fieldwork, there was no longer a clear correlation between traditional rank and political position and power. Indeed, the weakening of headmanship only mirrors the loss of autonomy which Maloh villages are experiencing. Conversion to Catholicism has eliminated the ideological framework which justified stratification. The status system has also been transformed by the abolition of slavery, education, and the availability of clerical work. While *samagat* continue to emphasize traditional status criteria, successful commoners attempt to deny the validity of these attributes. However, up to the 1970s, rank endogamy had persisted.

Technological changes are also evident: longhouses are disappearing, wet rice and rubber cultivation have been introduced. Over the past century the Maloh economy has not changed radically. They are still primarily traditional cultivators, and their involvement in commodity

production is modest. Nonetheless, fundamental changes are taking place. Wage work is becoming available, and agricultural commodity production can be expected to grow. While corvées are still performed for the *samagat*, the practice is clearly on the wane.

Alain Testart, *Le communisme primitif, I. Economie et idéologie*, Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1985, 549 pp.

JÉRÔME ROUSSEAU

Here is a book that must be read by anyone interested in hunters-gatherers, in social evolution or in Marxist theory.

Testart defines the primitive communist mode of production (PCMP) as follows: a. The producer does not consume the product of his labour. He produces for others, and consumes what others have produced. b. This mode of production (MP) is not exploitative, because through the course of their lives all individuals are equally producers and non-producers. The PCMP was the first MP of humanity; by its emphasis on cooperation, it made possible the development of hunting – particularly big-game hunting – when technology was very limited. Cooperation, hence hunting, is the central criterion of hominization, more than the making of tools. Matrilineal Australian aborigines are the only ethnographic examples of the PCMP. All other hunters-gatherers have a different MP, based on the individual appropriation by the labourers of the product of their labour (IAMP), which arises from the dissolution of the PCMP. In the IAMP, hunters preside over the distribution of their catch, keeping the best parts for themselves. The fact that the workers benefit directly from the product of their labour creates an incentive to increase productivity, unlike the PCMP, which maintains a very limited technology. The IAMP limits the emphasis on cooperation central to the PCMP.

To the mode of production framework, Testart adds the notion of 'fundamental social relation', which constitutes the necessary condition of the relation of production. In the Feudal MP, this is a relation of personal dependence, in the Asiatic MP it is the subjection to the State, while in capitalism it is the mercantile relationship between two agents who are formally free to trade. Kinship is the fundamental social relation of the PCMP. Classificatory kinship serves to identify the non-producers who appropriate game.

In the PCMP, sexual interaction and reproduction are not distinguished from economic activities; all are a simple appropriation of nature. Sex is a product and reproduction is a form of production. The rule against producers consuming the product of their labour applies for men to the hunt and for women to the production of sexual objects (sex and children); hence exogamy. It does not apply to foraging or making weapons, because the production of weapons is simply a moment in the male production process, and gathering is part of the female production

process. Thus weapons and the product of foraging may be consumed by their producers. (The exclusion of gathering from the PCMP is a major stumbling block of the concept, to which I will return.) Women reproduce themselves by having daughters, hence the productive unit of the female process of production is the matrilineage.

The IAMP does not require kinship for its production relations; this is why kinship plays a secondary role among other hunters-gatherers, where an Ego-focused system is sufficient. The evolution of MPs also explains the variation of kinship systems: the PCMP, with its distinction between lineages, has an Iroquois cousin terminology (or a variant). When the PCMP is replaced by the IAMP, it transforms the classificatory kinship terminology into a Hawaiian terminology, where only the distinction of generations is retained, or more rarely into the more complex Eskimo terminology, which emphasizes further the Ego-focus. The PCMP can transform itself not only into the IAMP, but also, directly, into the Lineage MP, which cannot evolve from the IAMP, because lineages have disappeared in the latter.

Totemism and taboos related to blood (i.e. menstruation, hunting, etc., as well as consanguinity) are the ideological expression of primitive communism. A clan may not consume its totem, but must undertake the ceremonies which guarantee its reproduction. Blood taboos enjoin those who are 'bloodied' not to come in contact with each other, and it forbids sexual relations between those who are of the same blood. This follows the principle of primitive communism, where the producer may not appropriate his product. The production relations of the PCMP apply only to hunting and sexual production, which share the same ideological element, blood, and not to collecting.

The sexual division of labour finds an ideological explanation: a. The PCMP conceptualizes social relations as natural relations, and sexual differences exist naturally; b. The ideology of blood defines the two processes which follow the PCMP. If blood is to be kept separate, hunting and sexual production cannot be performed by the same persons. As women are necessarily the producers of children, it follows that hunters must be men. Dualism is also a consequence of the PCMP, being a generalization of the opposition between producer and consumer.

Testart's book is breathtaking: it touches on basic issues of socio-cultural evolution, because the PCMP is seen as the origin of hunting, exogamy, dualism, totemism, lineages, taboos relating to blood, and the sexual division of labour. To develop his argument, Testart makes a careful critique of the literature on hunters-gatherers and modes of production analyses. However, despite the remarkable coherence of Testart's argument, it is not convincing. Testart argues that weapons and vegetable products are consumed by their consumers, because they are simply moments of the male and female production processes respectively. *Gathering simply is not comparable to the making of weapons*, and it is difficult to understand why the PCMP would not regulate the main form of production. This is the major weakness of the book.

While Testart shows that the distribution of game follows different procedures in different societies, this is not sufficient to demonstrate the contrast between two MPs. For instance, Testart places the Inuit in the

IAMP on the basis that hunters first appropriate game, then, as owners, share it with the members of the band. But in fact the meat is shared by the wife, not by the hunter. Can we blithely assume that the wife is an extension of her husband? Is it not possible that she shares the meat as the representative of the community? Also, in order for appropriation to exist, there has to be some choice; but are the hunter or his wife free to divide the catch at will, or indeed to keep it for themselves? The Netsilik Inuit had a complex sharing system whereby every hunter had a number of sharing partners for each part of the seal, and partners were obligated to give each other the relevant portions. Even without such an elaborate system, if there is an obligation to share the catch, one cannot talk of initial appropriation by the hunter. Ethnographies do not show a dichotomy between PCMP and IAMP, but a continuum, where the degree of effective control over the product of one's labour varies.

Testart confuses surplus and exploitation. He rejects Hindess and Hirst's argument that there is surplus labour in every society, but that exploitation does not follow automatically from it. However, it is methodologically and conceptually hopeless to define – as the Marxist literature has done – surplus labour as the opposite of necessary labour (itself defined as the labour time necessary to secure the conditions of reproduction of the labourer). MPs do not define directly the parameters of necessary labour, they define surplus. Surplus is the part of the labourers' product which they do not control – indeed, the word 'surplus' is somewhat misleading to deal with this reality. For instance, income tax is surplus, even when it serves to secure the conditions of reproduction of the labourer (as in education and health services); but this extraction is not exploitative.

There is no great divide between exploitative and non-exploitative societies. The extraction of surplus first appears in a non-exploitative form, but its presence can serve as a building block on which exploitation develops. The PCMP may be one of the first significant steps in the development of inequality, where the non-producers appropriate the product of labour. While the producer becomes a non-producer when he eats someone else's catch, elders are *always* non-producers. *Per se* this is not exploitative, because, as the productive youth become old, they consume the product of the next generation. Nonetheless, this principle defines unequal social *positions*. The existence of lineages, of which the individual is a creature, is also conceptually an important element in the development of inequality, not only in the lineage MP, but possibly already within the PCMP, insofar as it limits mobility.

It is impossible to make a snap judgement about *Le communisme primitif*. My initial reaction is one of scepticism; however, it will force us to rethink a number of issues related to the evolution of societies and the link between modes of production and ideologies. For this at least it is one of the most stimulating books I have read in many years.

David Pace, *Claude Lévi-Strauss. The Bearer of Ashes*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul (Ark Paperbacks), 1986, £3.95.

ARIE DE RUIJTER

Pace typifies Lévi-Strauss as a prisoner of two conflicting roles: the academic/specialist (intellectual artisan) on the one hand, and the generalist/philosopher (*maître penseur*) on the other. Both aspects are present in his work, and in that respect Lévi-Strauss is a transitional figure. 'Thus, one may see two quite different patterns running through Lévi-Strauss's work: a neo-positivist strain, which remains within the narrow boundaries established by his professional discipline, and a second, broader, more humanistically oriented tendency which is given a secondary position but which represents a significant portion of Lévi-Strauss's intellectual output' (pp. 9-10). It is especially the more speculative and philosophical aspects of Lévi-Strauss's thinking which are analysed by Pace in this book. In this context Pace sets out to detect the psychological and sociological roots of Lévi-Strauss's position. To that end, he discusses *Tristes Tropiques* at length in order to identify the traits of his personality as they are revealed in his attempt to project a certain self-image upon his readers. He subjects the concrete images in Lévi-Strauss's writings to a structural analysis so as to discover the manner in which Lévi-Strauss organized his universe. He then explores Lévi-Strauss's interest in the fate of the 'primitive', his concern about the spread of western civilization, his debt to Rousseau, and his critique of humanism. He deals with Lévi-Strauss's attack upon ethnocentrism, his polemic against cultural evolutionism, his attack on the paradigm of World history, and his assertion of the value of 'primitive' thought. He analyses Lévi-Strauss's structuralist writings to see how they are connected with the material being considered. In the concluding chapter, Pace attempts to place all of this material in a larger context.

Pace's analyses are interesting and illuminating. Examples of this are: (1) his conclusion that the psychological mechanisms which become apparent in a close reading of *Tristes Tropiques* indicate that Lévi-Strauss's real discovery in the wilderness was not that it was impossible to escape western civilization physically, but rather that physical escape was irrelevant, since the real source of his discontent lay in internal emotional conflicts which could not be dealt with through travel (p. 35); (2) his claim that Lévi-Strauss chose to treat Rousseau not only as a model from the past but also as a prophet for the future (p. 71); (3) his deduction that Lévi-Strauss's ultimate ideal is not the noble savage, but rather the traditional peasant, living in a slowly evolving harmony with nature (p. 195); and (4) his description of Lévi-Strauss's position not as one of 'serene pessimism', as Lévi-Strauss himself has described it, but as of a Nietzschean resentment, viz. 'His work is marked, not by the rejection of what is good but rather by the rejection of what is evil . . . In fact, his entire world-view may be viewed as a lamentation for a world, which is disappearing . . . This lamentation seems to have been connected with the two great emotions which dominated Lévi-Strauss's writings: anger and loss' (p. 199).

At the same time, it is obvious that sometimes Pace's conclusions are based on sparse and ambiguous data or on one-sided readings of the texts. For example, in his treatment of Lévi-Strauss's three mistresses (geology, marxism, psycho-analysis), he depicts Lévi-Strauss as an 'outsider who is appalled by the official culture around him and must seek truth on his own through direct contact with the great thinkers'. However, Pace fails to present evidence for this conclusion. In another section Pace accuses Lévi-Strauss, without giving any arguments whatsoever, of applying linguistic methods to anthropological problems also because these 'appeared as an excellent road to professional frame' (p. 154). Further on, Pace states that in the case of Lévi-Strauss 'the notion of history has been replaced by that of transformation', and 'If one is concerned with the manner in which the *logical* relationships of one system may be changed to produce those of another system, time is irrelevant' (p. 183). However, Lévi-Strauss has acknowledged that there are two kinds of time: reversible and irreversible time. In the case of irreversible time, history is important, and then history is not just transformation. More examples of generalizations and conclusions based on scanty and doubtful data can be given, but on the whole Pace has produced a convincing study.

Roland Mischung, *Religion und Wirklichkeitsvorstellungen in einem Karen-Dorf Nordwest-Thailands*, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1984. B. J. TERWIEL

Roland Mischung spent eight months among the Karen in 1975 and 1976. Now, about a decade later, we are presented with the results of his enquiries. The book is largely ethnographic: theory is kept to a minimum and is not permitted to impinge upon the data.

First we are introduced to the village in northern Thailand where the Karen people have been settled since the beginning of this century. After the villagers' own scanty account of its history and a few remarks on its demography and rice-growing, we are quickly led to the main topic, religious perceptions.

It is by no means easy to unravel the abstract world behind Karen rituals. Few previous researchers have even attempted the task, and none have been able to provide the wealth of data Mischung has collected. The spirits of the living and the dead, the view of ancestors and tutelary forces, all are presented with a wealth of detail.

The book gives the impression of having been written by a scholar who was not easily satisfied with his own work: it is painstaking and thorough. It provides a unique window upon the traditional religion of the Karen. The scholarly world is definitely enriched by this account, which will serve as a base point for future studies in this field, while I have no doubt that it will prove invaluable for those pursuing cross-cultural studies.

Niels Mulder, *Everyday Life in Thailand; An Interpretation*, Second, Revised Edition, Bangkok: Duang Kamol, 1985. 227 pages, paperback. Price: 95 Baht.

B. J. TERWIEL

Behind this innocuous, friendly and inviting title there hides nothing less than an attempt to provide an all-encompassing analysis of Thai society. There are very few people outside Thailand itself who could undertake to write such an ambitious book, and of these Mulder seems among the best qualified to do so. During the past twenty years he has spent prolonged periods of time in Thailand, and in the 1970s his writing has tended to move towards an examination of what he has called the 'Thai worldview', or, as he seems to prefer to put it in this booklet: to provide 'a generalized Thai theory of action' (p. xv). Mulder wants to do nothing less than 'explain the Thai social order', and describe the 'Thai Weltanschauung'. He sets about this daunting, self-imposed task with great flair, daring and originality.

His analysis of Thai values and symbols rests upon the idea that there may be recognized a Thai 'inside world' that is imbued with order and virtue. This inside world is characterized by 'moral goodness', and a large number of positive principles are connected with it. Opposing this tranquil, ideal inner world is the chaotic outside world, the unpredictable, dangerous realm of power. At the interface between the inner and outer worlds is the symbolic world that confronts the Thais in their daily lives, where concepts relating to the social and political order appear to play their part.

This example should suffice to illustrate the level of abstraction and analysis that Mulder has chosen for his theory of social action. With the help of detailed models such as this, he examines the role of Buddhism, spirit beliefs, social hierarchy, attitudes towards work, authority and the environment.

The first edition of this work appeared in 1979. The present revised edition contains much that is new: a fully rewritten theoretical introduction, some new chapter headings, and an occasionally rewritten paragraph. A comparison of the first and second editions also reveals, however, that the author has decided to completely eliminate his 1979 'Note on field experience and method'. In that 'Note' Mulder described some of the difficulties faced by him in his attempts to probe into Thai values, and the resistance he had met when subjecting ordinary Thais to lengthy interviews on his chosen topics. This resistance against prolonged questioning on 'worldview' seems relevant, and Mulder deserved to be congratulated for his honesty in revealing it in the original book. It is regrettable that such laudable honesty has been sacrificed in the new edition.

Mulder has taken the opportunity, in preparing the second edition, to revise some of the language. Much more drastic editing still would have been welcome. In many places the text remains somewhat obscure, and it is often only by intuitively attuning himself to Mulder's mixture of hyperboles and metaphors that the reader can gauge the author's thoughts. One example will suffice to illustrate this point. On p. 185, one

paragraph begins with the following sentence: 'Modern times is an outside phenomenon that has not naturally developed in the Thai polity and that is therefore difficult to domesticate'. A critical reader may well stop and ask what is meant with 'outside', with 'naturally', and with 'domesticate', or to question the use of the word 'therefore'. In the eyes of this reviewer, some further editing with a view to improving the clarity and style would be warranted.

Stylistic points aside, the book as such is a breathtaking journey into Mulder's world of ideas. He depicts the situational analysis of 'the Thais' (on p. xii he specifies them as the *Central Thais* – my emphasis). By doing so, he transcends the glib cultural stereotypes of the tourist pamphlet and raises points that ought to stimulate further scholarly debate. It is to be hoped that Thai sociologists will use this book as a means of clarifying their thoughts on their own society.

Arts and Artists of Oceania, edited by Sidney M. Mead and Bernie Kernot, The Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, New Zealand, 1983. 308 pp., drawings, black and white illustrations. Paperback, 19 x 25.5 cm. ISBN 0961100605.

R. S. WASSING

This book is a compilation of 18 selected papers (listed below) delivered at the Second International Symposium on the Arts of Oceania at Victoria University, Wellington, in February 1978. As a result of the symposium, the Pacific Arts Association was established. This volume is the Association's first major publication.

The papers are grouped into three principal sections, namely a general one (6), one on Melanesia and Micronesia (5), and a section devoted to Polynesia (7). For the purposes of this review, however, I have regrouped the papers, each reflecting different facets of the heritage of the peoples of Oceania, into the following categories, so as to discuss them more conveniently by category under the relevant letter:

- A. Those dealing with one or more objects as products of the material culture;
- B. Those dealing with the impact of specific cultural developments on the development of artistic traits;
- C. Papers of a pragmatic character, dealing with current situations and their backgrounds;
- D. Papers dealing with theoretical classificatory systems as frameworks in which to place empirical processes in the realm of art;
- E. Others.

A. The first in this category is the article by Philip Dark, focusing on a Kilenge drum maker. In his own society he is just someone who is skilful at making drums with a good sound, but one wonders whether it has ever occurred to him that in a modern Western context he would be regarded as an artist.

Ann Chowning discusses *tataro* designs – applied to the human face, shields, bark-cloth masks and the sterns of canoes – among the Lakalai people of West New Britain on the basis of data collected between 1954 and 1974. The component elements of these designs are numerous, each with its own name, although to an outsider they may all look alike. The source of inspiration is the natural environment. Unfortunately we are not informed about the meaning and function of these designs in Lakalai society.

Deborah Waite tries to reconstruct the genealogies of shell-inlaid wicker and bark shields from the Solomon Islands scattered in museums and private collections all over the world. This Sherlock Holmes approach is the only one possible in the absence of concrete data.

Dirk Smidt's article, finally, gives a detailed, almost hour-to-hour, account of the physical and social process of carving a shield by reference to field notes gathered in the framework of the Papua New Guinea National Museum's Ramu Project in 1976/77. The shields in question, though made recently, were still produced in the traditional style, displaying symbolic motifs and colours symbolizing the two moieties. To what extent such carvings still play an important role in Kominimung society is not indicated.

B. The author of the first article in this category, Katarina Mataira, applies the concepts 'art', 'artist' and 'artisan' – of which she first gives a clear definition – to various societies in Polynesia, Melanesia and New Guinea. Thus she is able to identify the reasons for local differences and analyse the impact of modern education and other Western influences on the development of indigenous arts.

David Robinson, tracing the history of Palauan clubhouses or *bai*, describes how the carved and painted gable-boards of these were transformed into story-boards, often depicting important events, under the influence of new ideas in the 1930's. New *bai* built since World War II most of them display modern trends in style and conception. Thus a new creative process developed into a distinguished art form adopted by some leading artists and their followers.

Bernie Kernot gives a striking example of the harmonious integration of traditional elements of Maori culture and contemporary signs of innovation inspired by the Christian religion, as artistically manifest in the construction of a new meeting-house. Through a series of compromises between traditionalists and innovators, the builders – all belonging to the same *whanau* – succeeded in preserving the unity and identity of the group.

Dave Simmons describes different Maori tattooing (*moko*) techniques and the function of *moko* in traditional society. Although the practice died out after 1865, there has been a recent revival using modern instruments and techniques.

The article by Roger Neich gives a most revealing account of the influence of interacting processes, under a complex of different forces, in a traditional system of artistic values in Rotorua, resulting in the production of pseudo-traditional objects of art. Both internal and external factors – notably the influence of two white 'protectors of the old

traditions' – led to a cultural imperialism promoting a strong conservatism which from the turn of the century has impeded the development of Maori visual art according to autonomous principles.

Roger Rose, in conclusion, gives an account of the discovery of the whereabouts – in museums in Hawaii and Europe – of some of the c. 26 roughly carved wooden posts found by accident in a cave on the island of Hawaii in 1876, using old and partly unpublished archive material. He stresses the importance of these objects as missing links in the history of Hawaiian religious art. This case further illustrates the unpredictability of fate in deciding the last resting-place of many objects of art from Oceania.

C. In this section we have first a succinct, matter-of-fact account by Jean Guiart of a number of crucial historical factors resulting from many years of Western influence in various parts of Oceania which have affected the appreciation of local artefacts by European collectors, which process finally culminated in the establishment of ethnographic museums in Europe and America. The author sharply denounces dishonest practices in the trade of rare objects. To safeguard the artistic traditions of Oceania he suggests stimulating systematic cooperation between Western museum curators and well-trained persons in the countries of origin.

The article by Albert Wendt is an eye-opener to those who feel involved but are far away from the actual scene, and is an advance on Guiart's article by several steps. After an exposé of the historical factors responsible for the backward state of Oceanic arts, he suggests ways of improving the situation, *inter alia* by discarding cultural imperialism and developing respect for the indigenous culture. Examples of local artists who have made an international name for themselves are given from New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Western Samoa and the Solomon Islands. A few photographs to accompany this article would not have been amiss.

D. Jehanne Teilhet's article, as the first in this category, tells us more about Western feminist dogmas concerning the role of male and female artists than about the actual status of women in traditional Oceanic art. It is a typical illustration of the confusion arising from the random application of Western definitions of art to a wide variety of cultural concepts that are alien to ours.

Nelson Graburn presents an ingenious exposition, including three theoretical models, relating to economics, linguistics and contemporary cultural theory, in the areas of process and institution in contemporary arts in Oceania. Applying his classification to a whole range of phenomena throughout Oceania, he identifies three significant modern developments, *viz.* the production of tourist 'airport' art, the 'creolisation' of the language, and the revival of traditional arts. One wonders whether the same conclusions might have been reached more quickly in a simpler way.

Allan Hanson analyses the way in which art (and other institutions) conveys messages about reality as conceived in Maori culture, namely as

being marked by a consistent tension between the opposite tendencies of union and separation. This view finds expression in regular formal bilateral symmetry, as reflected in works of art and other modes of communication. Once the right code has been discovered, the analyst is able to translate artistic expressions into verbal expressions.

E. Sidney Mead's introduction puts forward some suggestions for the study of Oceanic art, in which he wants to do away with the Sherlock Holmes approach. In reality, the approach chosen is dependent on the particular circumstances, as is clearly testified by some of the articles in this volume. I heartily agree anyway with the author's exhortation in the last sentence that we must preserve our passion for and dedication to this art and approach our task with devotion.

Colin De'Ath's article, though not actually dealing with art and artists as such, certainly fits in with the main theme of this book in that it presents an example of a culture conflict arising in the confrontation between two different value systems that may easily occur in the field of the arts as well. This particular conflict, over a pottery-clay site with its guardian spirit, which was therefore marked off as a taboo area by the owner but was nevertheless exploited for commercial purposes by a company, remains unsettled to this day.

The final article to be discussed, that by Judith Huntsman, is on the refreshingly different subject of cooking, which is rightly given a place among the arts. The two traditional staple items of the Tokelau diet – coconut and fish, which in the course of time have become supplemented with other items – are placed in a general classificatory dichotomy between land and sea. Some recipes are included for the gourmets among the readers to try out.

In conclusion I would point out what I consider to be two major shortcomings of the work, which hopefully it will be possible to redress in a future revised edition. These are: the numerous typographical errors and the absence of brief introductions on the contributors. Such brief professional biographies would be especially welcome to readers in the Northern Hemisphere, who most of them are unable for reasons of distance to keep in regular touch with scholars in the field of their interest at the other end of the world.

Chowning, Ann, 'Inspiration and Convention in Lakalai Paintings'.

Dark, Philip, 'Among the Kilenge "Art is something which is well done"'.

De'Ath, Colin, 'Pots, Power and Progress in the Trans-Gogol of Papua New Guinea'.

Graburn, Nelson, 'Art, Ethno-Aesthetics and the Contemporary Scene'.

Guiart, Jean, 'Changing Western Attitudes to Oceanic Art'.

Hanson, Allan, 'Art and the Maori Construction of Reality'.

Huntsman, Judith, 'Tokelau Cuisine'.

Kernot, Bernie, 'The Meeting House in Contemporary New Zealand'.

Mataira, Katarina, 'Negative and Positive Influences in the Development of Oceanic Art'.

Mead, Sidney, 'Attitudes to the Study of Oceanic Art: Some Introductory Remarks'.

- Neich, Roger, 'The Veil of Orthodoxy: Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Woodcarving in a Changing Context'.
 Robinson, David, 'Motifs of Palauan Clubhouses'.
 Rose, Roger, 'The Cave of Images. "New" Discoveries in Hawaiian Art'.
 Simmons, Dave, 'Moko'.
 Smidt, Dirk, 'Kominimung Shields'.
 Teilhet, Jehanne, 'The Role of Women Artists in Polynesia and Melanesia'.
 Waite, Deborah, 'Shell-Inlaid Shields from the Solomon Islands'.
 Wendt, Albert, 'Contemporary Arts in Oceania: Trying to Stay Alive in Paradise as an Artist'.

Maarten van der Wee, *Aziatische Produktiewijze en Mughal India*, Ph.D. thesis, Katholieke Universiteit, Nijmegen, 1985. xv + 399 pp.

HARRIET T. ZURNDORFER

A historian looking at any historical society is committed to asking a number of questions whose answers will yield information on how that particular society is structured and how it functions. One model for such investigation, which became popular with the rising interest in Marxism in the 1960s, was the Asiatic Mode of Production (AMP). The author of this dissertation has utilized much of the secondary material resulting from scholarly preoccupation with that model to produce an *essai de synthèse*, which focuses on its application to Mughal India from 1550 to 1700. This study thus offers no new information on Mughal India, but rather presents a critical and comprehensive analysis of the relevance of the AMP concept for that particular historical civilization.

After sketching the intellectual history of the AMP concept and noting the varying approaches of several Aziatchiki, Van der Wee carefully notes what aspects of Mughal India make the Asiatic mode seemingly appropriate. These include, among others, Mughal India's 'service' aristocracy, who received a prebend form of remuneration, local self-sufficiency in rural areas, and the limited opportunity for merchants and entrepreneurs to accumulate capital. But Van der Wee clearly rejects the model in showing what lies beneath the surface of these factors. For one thing, the imperial officialdom and the regional agrarian élite became fused. Professional bureaucrats used the income gained from collecting taxes to build up land and power domains outside the capital district, while rural aristocrats often acquired lucrative positions in the bureaucracy. As the imperial élite increased in number, the service aristocracy, Van der Wee concludes, was forced to adopt class strategies that ultimately reinforced centrifugal tendencies in Mughal India.

According to Van der Wee, Mughal rural society hardly presented the picture of the egalitarian and 'closed' community presupposed by the AMP model. Property differentials existed because villages were domi-

nated by *rentiers*. Moreover, sizable amounts of property were under the control of princes and chieftains who imposed levies of their own on villages under their jurisdiction. On certain occasions the center was forced to recognize the financial claims of these groups. Van der Wee doubts whether the imperial élite ever actually received the major part of the surplus owed by the cultivators.

The last part of this dissertation examines the non-agrarian sector in Mughal India – relatively speaking, Mughal India boasted a well-developed market economy, advanced financial institutions, a relatively high degree of urbanization, and a prosperous class of merchants and financiers. The merchant community did not suffer from ‘state intervention’ by the Mughal regime, but rather from interference by magnates and chieftains outside its control. But even extortion on the part of these groups was minimal. What is more important here for the understanding of Mughal India’s long-term development is the lack of economic incentives to improve labour productivity, which ultimately encouraged the existing state of affairs, i.e. labour-intensive household production.

Finally, Van der Wee reaffirms the inapplicability of the AMP model to Mughal India and goes on to claim that the model actually distorts the reality of the historical situation. Aziatchiki, it would seem, have not helped us understand the development of this particular society. Rather, they have promoted the stereotype of ‘East versus West’ in a scholarly context.

The success of Van der Wee’s stimulating analysis may be due in part to the fact that he examines the connections between social and economic phenomena. He does not isolate one or two elements within the AMP model which do not seem to apply to Mughal India, but instead investigates a number of relationships between various social and economic processes. He is able to do this because of the limitations he has imposed in this study.

In conclusion, in the opinion of this reviewer it is a great pity that the author wrote this thesis in the Dutch language. Let us hope he will in course of time publish this important work in English translation and thereby win it the wider audience which it deserves.

J. Terrell, 1986, *Prehistory in the Pacific Islands. A Study of Variation in Language, Customs and Human Biology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. XVI + 299 pp. ISBN 0 521 30604 3. £ 30.00.

M. A. VAN BAKEL

This book is less about Polynesian prehistory than about the methodology of research. In a lucid and extensive account Terrell goes into the problem of Polynesian prehistory as a problem of methodology.

The central problem of Polynesian prehistory is said to be that of how Oceania – especially Melanesia – came to be peopled. Existing theories center around the origin of the people of Oceania from Southeast Asia and from at least two different ‘races’ – a Papuan and a Malayo-Polynesian one –, each with its own language and culture, in successive waves of colonization. The confusing variety, mixture and interrelatedness of cultures, ‘races’, languages, and so on, existing in Melanesia nowadays is thought to have come about through varying degrees of mixture and isolation, contact and borrowing, etc., of these two original ‘races’.

Terrell refutes this idea. He does so by constructing a cumulative series of models depicting certain aspects – such as race and genetic drift, language and historical linguistics, colonization by accident or design, isolation and contact, change by adaptation and selection, populating islands and staying there, organization of peoples, structure and function in society – of the existing theories. In each of these models of individual aspects the fallacies of the existing theories are shown up, and alternatives are presented. In this process Terrell has ample opportunity to demonstrate his great erudition, not only in his own fields, those of archaeology and anthropology, but also in linguistics, biogeography, cultural ecology, and (to a lesser extent) human genetics. Furthermore, he proves to be an excellent, though sometimes somewhat verbose, teacher and writer.

As an introduction to the methodology of constructing and using models in research, it is a very useful and enlightening book. Its scope, moreover, extends far beyond the limits of Polynesian and prehistoric research.

In spite of this, I have some problems with this book, the most important one being methodological. Firstly, showing up fallacies in (aspects of) theories is by no means the same as proving these theories to be false. Of course Terrell is well aware of this, and so does not say this explicitly, although his way of reasoning suggests as much. Secondly, and in the same way, suggesting an alternative – the population of Oceania by one ‘race’ with one culture, which afterwards became locally diversified as a result of the interplay of a great variety of factors, such as isolation, adaptation, contact, etc. – is by no means to prove that this alternative is correct. Again, Terrell takes great care not to say so explicitly. Yet he suggests as much by presenting his alternative as the only one. However right the author may be in showing an alternative to existing theories about the peopling of Oceania, and however enlightening and interesting this alternative may be (which I do think it is), it certainly is not the only one. Even this alternative has its fallacies. To

mention just one: not only is it becoming increasingly clear that the Lapita culture (the starting-point of both the existing theories and Terrell's alternative) has a greater time-depth than the 3 to 4000 years B.C. until now commonly accepted (cf. Gibbons and Cluny 1986:67, 82), but, more importantly, no theory (existing or alternative) takes into account the pre-Lapita people(s) proven to have been living in New Guinea (and possibly in – part of – Melanesia as well) from at least 24000 B.C. (or the agricultural people(s) from 9000 B.C. (cf. Golson 1977)) onward (cf. Bellwood 1979:15).

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