Book Reviews

- Wouter E.A. van Beek, Henri Maurier, *Philosophie de LAfrique Noire* (2ème éd.), St. Augustin: Anthropos Institut, 1985.
- Wouter E.A. van Beek, A.M. Hocart, *Imagination and proof. Selected essays of A.M. Hocart*, Edited and with an introduction by Rodney Needham, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1987. 130 pp.
- Martin van Bruinessen, B.B. Hering, *Studies on Indonesian Islam*, Occasional Paper no. 19, Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, James Cook University of North Queensland, Townsville (Australia), 1986, 50 pp.
- Martin van Bruinessen, B.B. Hering, *Studies on Islam*, Occasional Paper no. 22, Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, James Cook University of North Queensland, Townsville (Australia), 1987, 94 pp.
- Martin van Bruinessen, L.B. Venema, *Islam en macht: Een historisch-anthropologische perspectief*, Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1987.
- H.J.M. Claessen, Colin Renfrew, *Peer polity interaction and socio-political change*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986. 179 pp., maps, ill., index, bibl., John F. Cerry (eds.)
- H. Dagmar, Fred R. Myers, *Pintupi country, Pintupi self; Sentiment, place and politics among Western Desert aborigines*, Washington etc.: Smithsonian Institution Press, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
- Mies Grijns, Rosanne Rutten, *Women workers of Hacienda Milagros; Wage labor and household subsistence on a Philippine sugar cane plantation*. Publikatieserie Zuid- en Zuidoost-Azie no. 30, Amsterdam: Anthropologisch-Sociologisch Centrum, Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1982, x + 187 pp.
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- Harry A. Poeze, J.J.P. de Jong, *Diplomatie of strijd; Een analyse van het Nederlands beleid tegenover de Indonesische revolutie 1945-1947*. Amsterdam: Boom, 531 pp.
 - Harry A. Poeze, D.C.L. Schoonoord, *De Mariniersbrigade 1943-1949; Wording en inzet in Indonesië*. s-Gravenhage: Afdeling Maritieme Historie van de Marinestaf.
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BOEKBESPREKINGEN

Henri Maurier, *Philosophie de L'Afrique Noire* (2ème éd.),
St. Augustin: Anthropos Institut, 1985.

WOUTER E. A. VAN BEEK

Ever since Placide Tempels wrote his *Philosophie Bantou* (1946) and started a new religious movement in Zaïre, known as the 'Jamaa', few people have dared to write a systematic analysis of the philosophy embedded in the traditional African culture. Maurier, a French White Father and missionary in West Africa, has taken up the challenge. As a result of long experience in Africa, both as a missionary and as a professor of philosophy (i.a. in Ouagadougou), he has a vast and wide-ranging knowledge of African cultures and religions. The book under review should be seen in conjunction with his other work, with the establishment of a 'théologie du paganisme' (1965), and with the influence of theology on development.

In this book, Maurier aims at an analytical and rational systematization of African thought. He tries to shun metaphysics, keeping the proper academic distance from his subject. His main sources are the notions of traditional African religions and the 'sagesse traditionnelle' of proverbs, saying and legends. From this heterogeneous corpus of data, he tries to disentangle the notions and the structures of reasoning that underly them. In so doing, he argues, the philosophy of African thought rises above the particular cultures in which this thinking is entrenched, thus transcending the tradition itself. This latter stance is difficult for Africans to accept, Maurier maintains, as they tend to view their traditions as encompassing both wisdom and philosophy. Moreover, his approach gives substance to formalistic and in fact empty structuralist findings. The way of thinking cannot and should not be separated from its 'contenu'. On the other hand, Maurier rightly avoids the trap of ethnophilosophy, such as the concept of 'nègritude', which ascribes to African thinking a kind of harmony and wisdom that is highly ethno- or 'continento'-centric, and even inversely racist.

One problem is whether there is such a thing as 'African thought': is a valid and fruitful generalization of African ways of thinking and perceiving possible at all? According to Maurier, this is indeed the case. However, in order to cut through the great diversity and variety of African cultures and religions, he has to raise his view to a higher level of abstraction and resort to generalities and generalizations that are progressively removed from the actual pattern of thinking itself. Maurier tries to restrict this tendency by relying on prosaic elements of the given culture, the concrete daily experience, rather than on more esoteric myths and rituals. The perennial question – whether a non-African can possibly write such a study – receives an appropriate answer: for an outsider it is easier to take distance than for an insider; every African is a participant in one among thousands of possible cultures, which makes selection of data even more idiosyncratic.

From this starting-point, Maurier identifies as a major basic thought

pattern the notion of 'Je – avec' (I – with), a combination in African thought of ego- and anthropocentrism with communo-centrism and a kind of pre-individualism which he contrasts with European post-individualism. The main categories of this thought pattern are identified as 'Relation', 'Subjectivity', 'Tradition', 'Corporality', 'Manipulation' and 'En – dehors' (Within – beyond). He then proceeds to trace these patterns in their social setting, in the way they are expressed and shaped by symbolism, and in economic exchanges and social change. Special attention is given to the way in which thinking is expressed in sacrifices, as the core institution of African religions. He tries to conclude his philosophical systematization with a synthetic theory of African sacrifice.

This is an admirable book, erudite and well-balanced. Maurier goes to great pains to give as matter-of-fact an analysis as possible, devoid of metaphysics and poetics. On the whole he has succeeded in this. Some critical remarks, however, are apposite. His notion of 'tradition' as a separate philosophical pattern of thought raises some thorny problems, in my view. As a category it is different in nature from the five other ones. I doubt whether tradition is much more than a strategy for the 'celestialization' of the present, a means of legitimating actions and thinking more than an actual source of connections and presuppositions. In Maurier's analysis, its substance as well as specific aspects may easily be subsumed under both 'En – dehors' (designating the opposition between this world and the supernatural) and the active category of manipulation.

A second comment concerns the West African bias of the book. The volume deals primarily with West African thought, and most of Maurier's sources come from that area. One reason for this is the fact that French anthropology is over-represented in his study. This in a way has made his study easier while at the same time endangering it. As Mary Douglas has pointed out in articles in *Man* and *l'Homme*, one systematic difference between French and English anthropology may be a French tendency for logical systematization and an indulgence in metaphysics, versus the down-to-earth English insistence on the analytical primacy of observable behaviour and fear of metaphysics and speculation. There may be something in this argument. Maurier's bias towards French anthropology offers him more material for logical analysis and system-building than a predominantly English selection of sources would have done. Still, he is wary of speculation, and has a more modest aim, focused on analysis more than on synthesis. Particularly refreshing is the way he criticizes his ethnographic sources. Having firsthand knowledge of Dogon culture myself, I am relieved to see how carefully he uses the material from the Griaule-Dieterlen tradition. Though many of the Dogon data he uses should be questioned (like the *kikinu* analysis of p. 133), he is to be commended for his common sense and restraint, which even lead to critical comments and some corrections (viz. p. 171). In his conclusion he again argues that an inclusion of cosmogonies or mythologies such as the Ogotemmel-cum-Griaule ones could never lead to an analytic and systematic African philosophy, as it would entail explaining *obscurum per obscurius* (p. 284).

The final question must be whether Maurier is on a quest for an African Holy Grail. Is a single African philosophy indeed possible? If so, how productive would it be? I myself harbour some doubts concerning the first question, and especially serious ones with regard to the latter. Even granting the possibility of generalizing at the level of the continent, the results of this are in fact quite bland. The categories isolated by Maurier and their interrelationship with social processes, symbolism, sacrifice, and economics constitute a basic tenet of all anthropology, not only the Africanist variety. His analysis of sacrifice is a case in point. Though an apt synthesis of existing theories, it in fact does not provide new insights into the sacrificial process or effect. It seems to me that a quest like Maurier's never can lead to more coherent and incisive analyses of meta-cultural thought processes. Thus, Maurier's work raises the old anthropological question of how much general theories or analytic generalizations should say about specific cases. The regression problem is insoluble: the distance involved in generalizations inevitably entails loss of information.

Finally, it should be said that this book is a challenge to Africanists. How 'African' is 'African thought'? Would an analysis of, say, 'Melanesian thought' uncover a similar set of basic patterns? I sometimes think it would. This would imply that if a specific 'Africanness' can be discerned, this will have to be at the level of specific combinations of patterns, of synthesis rather than of analysis – a conclusion which echoes Maurier's humble call for a synthesis of African thought. However, the Holy Grail will remain elusive, and this may be its main attraction.

Imagination and Proof. Selected essays of A. M. Hocart,
 Edited and with an introduction by Rodney Needham.
 Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1987. 130 pp.

WOUTER E. A. VAN BEEK

Rodney Needham admirably performs his self-appointed task of providing a link with our forgotten anthropological past. After his re-editions of the classical French anthropologists, notably Hubert and Mauss, and his own work on social organization and marriage – which in itself stands in a long and illustrious tradition – Needham has recently been reviving the works of Arthur Maurice Hocart (1883-1939). Here he is following in the footsteps of Lord Raglan, who has republished Hocart's work on caste (*Caste; A Comparative Study*, London 1950; *The Life-giving Myth*, London 1952; and *The Northern States of Fiji*, London 1954), editing and commenting on reprints of these monographs and essay collections. Thus, *The Life-giving Myth* and *Kings and Councillors* were reissued in 1970. The present volume is part of the same project. Needham's role in this has been to select the essays, to choose the title

and to write the introduction to the volume. In selecting the papers, Needham aimed at diversity, at academic span, more than at coherence. The rationale behind this is to pay homage to the breadth and scope of Hocart's scholarship.

The first article deals with the rules of inference and evidence. Hocart in a way was the odd man out in early British social anthropology. Whereas mainstream social anthropology enthusiastically embraced the model of the exact sciences, Hocart chose differently. In this essay he cogently argues for what he calls circumstantial or indirect evidence: comparison-*cum*-heuristics. His credo is: Let us not fight about the one and only true method in science, but get down to work and let the results speak for themselves. In short, we are not saved by our faith in methods but by the merit of our works. History has by and large proved Hocart right on this issue. I feel, as we are moving from the era of the 'Methodenstreit' to the more down-to-earth, no nonsense mentality of our decade.

Comparison, however, is still underdeveloped in anthropology, and Hocart's work can be viewed as a passionate plea for and an able example of this approach. This is not an easy endeavour, though, as it takes both thorough and wide-ranging scholarship and an open mind to tackle the fundamental problems of anthropology. Thus, Hocart writes about the basic question of how similarities between customs are to be explained. Not only does he manage to add a third possibility (i.e., convergence) to the classic duo (common origin and independent creation), but he also succeeds in contextualizing this perennial question within a general discussion of the role and relative merit of definitions. The best example is the article on caste, which exemplifies Hocart's strategy in a straightforward and compelling way. A more modest example can be found in 'Buddha and Devadatta'.

Hocart's common sense approach is illustrated in several articles. In an essay on the connection between institutions and the state of mind of the participating individual, he cogently argues that there is no direct way of inferring facts from the institutional to the psychological level, and vice versa. Likewise, he warns against over-interpretation of myths: we must take a myth as it stands, just as we should not 'explain away' the many arms of Hindu gods. The fundamental question is how conceptions get into the human mind and how, within this mind, they flow from one compartment to another.

Although Hocart's essays call the basic tenets of anthropology to mind, the mainstream of the discipline has moved away from the questions he poses. Thus, the collection also represents a voice from the past, which is interesting to read after one has wiped off the dust. The discussion of kinship terms may serve as an example. The problem of the early Indo-European kinship system is discussed in one article. Terminologies are discussed within the framework of marriage prescriptions, as an independent system cut off from the rest of the culture. Needham, characteristically, gives ample attention to this subject in his introduction, but this tells us more about Needham than about anthropology. I find it hard to accept the debate on prescriptive alliances as one central to a 'modern social anthropology' (p. 6).

On the whole, this is a stimulating collection of essays, which once again brings home the fact that most of the present generation of anthropologists has a scant knowledge of the writings of our scientific ancestors. The history of anthropology, probably of any discipline, tends to be random and eclectic, canonizing a few scholars, while leaving others in limbo. A 'wide-angle scholar' such as Hocart, who lacked a strong institutional base in order to sow his ideas among pupils, is likely to get elbowed out by his 'narrow-focus contemporaries' who do have a consistent conviction about how anthropology should be practised, as well as a strong academic base. Mavericks are important and interesting and may be proved right by history, but they will not shape the course of history in a significant way. Swimming against the current helps to develop strong individual muscles, but does not stem the tide. In a way, Needham's revival of Hocart may reflect a renewal of faith in his own mission in anthropology as a self-selected defender of structuralism. He, too, is swimming head-on against the current. Maybe history will prove him right, too, after the inevitable perambulations and digressions of academic paradigms.

B.B. Hering (ed.), *Studies on Indonesian Islam*, Occasional Paper No. 19, Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, James Cook University of North Queensland, Townsville (Australia), 1986, 50pp.

—, *Studies on Islam*, Occasional Paper No. 22, Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, James Cook University of North Queensland, Townsville (Australia), 1987, 94pp.

MARTIN VAN BRUINESSEN

These two unpretentious little volumes each consist of a few short articles, dealing with Islam and politics under the New Order and with the Sarekat Islam in its revolutionary phase respectively. The centrepiece of the first (Occasional Paper No. 19) is a slightly updated version of the well-known paper by Wertheim, 'Indonesian Moslems under Sukarno and Suharto: Majority with Minority Mentality', which appeared earlier, under slightly different titles, in Malcolm Caldwell's *Ten Years' Military Terror in Indonesia* (1975) and Wertheim's own *Indonesië: Van vorstenrijk tot neo-kolonie* (1978). The author has added a cursory survey of Muslim expressions of dissent in the 1980's and, though sceptical, explicitly wonders whether (some) disaffected and militant Muslims might be potential allies of 'the progressive forces in Indonesia opposing the Suharto regime' in the struggle for a better society.

Ernst Utrecht seems to take this almost for granted in his 'Muslims and Military in Indonesia', which presents a very simple and schematic view of the Muslim community and Indonesia's class structure. Although the large number of footnotes suggests scholarly intentions, we are presented with sweeping generalizations and unsubstantiated (in a few cases, pa-

tently incorrect) claims. The author expresses the belief that the army has been 'disastrously divided since 1978', that its killer squads ('PETRUS', or *penembak misterius*) — first used against suspected petty criminals — nowadays are operating primarily against Muslim fundamentalists, and that the anti-Suharto activities of the latter are being financed by 'the rising Muslim commercial bourgeoisie and the traditional (Muslim) landlords, many of them kiyais and hajis'.

Hering, in the opening article in this volume, surveys the changing role of *aliran* in the political life of independent Indonesia. Although in the first sentence he still speaks of *aliran* as an analytical tool, the subsequent discussion deals with these *aliran* as an objective empirical reality rather than a model in the observer's head. This makes for strange and unexplained quantum jumps: where at first there were three *aliran* (Geertz), these were soon split into four (Hindley). The elimination of the PKI left two *aliran*, namely the *santri* and the non-*santri*, structured from above and balanced one against the other by ABRI, which is not itself an *aliran*. Under ABRI's tutelage, Hering continues, depoliticization and the 'creation' of a large 'floating mass' have deflated the *aliran*. *Aliran*-based political analyses have therefore become much less accurate than they once were. One cannot but agree with this latter conclusion. Speaking of a *santri* and a non-*santri aliran* in New Order Indonesia is hardly enlightening as long as that term carries the a priori connotations given it by the author.

Paper No. 22 opens with an essay by Hering on the development of the *Sarekat Islam* from its inception until 1942. Hering's account largely follows Deliar Noer's analysis in *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia. 1900-1942*, but makes use of some later publications and a few previously unpublished documents from the Dutch State Archives. English translations of the latter source materials make up two-thirds of this booklet. They include a report on the 1923 PKI and 'Red' Sarekat Islam congress (where 'communist Muslim' H. Misbach put in a memorable appearance), and one on the revolutionary tendency within the Sarekat Islam since 1927. Hering's essay seems to have no other intention than that of placing these documents in their proper context. To the published literature that Hering mentions, one would wish to add Michael Williams' important study of the Banten rebellion. Also, the excellent recent dissertation by Takashi Shiraishi, obviously still unknown to Hering at the time of writing, should henceforth be obligatory reading for anyone interested in the revolutionary tendency within the Sarekat Islam.

The second article in this volume, by Else Ensering, is another study on the well-known *Afdeeling B* incident. The so-called *Afdeeling B* was a secret sub-section of the Sarekat Islam in the Priangan regencies. It was accidentally discovered by the authorities in 1919, and was accused of plotting the violent overthrow of the political order. Its discovery was used by the Dutch Resident to legitimate repressive measures against the Sarekat Islam in general; these developments mark a shift away from previous 'ethical' policies. The incident was earlier studied by William Oates (*Journal of Southeast Asian History* IX/1, March 1968, pp. 107-116), and the present author has little to add. She used the same archival sources and reaches the same conclusions as Oates. However, more explicitly than the latter, she focuses upon conflicts within the élite, namely the Resident and

regional *beambten* versus the more liberal central administration; the younger, educated *priyayi* versus the established older generation; and the *pesantren*-based *kyai* versus Dutch-appointed *penghulu* and regents. Her presentation of the various indigenous élites, especially of those involved in the last-named conflict, is much too schematic, however. The regents and *penghulu* of Garut often opposed the popular *kyai* (especially those affiliated with a *tarekat*), it is true, but this has certainly not been consistently the general attitude of their colleagues throughout the Priangan area. The author moreover fails, in my view, to demonstrate the relevance of these conflicts for the emergence of the *Afdeeling B*. Like Oates, Ensering draws attention to the antagonistic relationship developing between the *Afdeeling B* (or rather, the *kyai* leading it) and the central leadership of Sarekat Islam. Many traditional religious leaders saw their authority threatened by this modern organization. Some opposed it outright; others joined it and attempted to turn it into a vehicle for their own mundane ambitions or for a popular Messianism that would enhance their charisma (see, for instance, Schrieke's report on the Sarekat Islam in Madura (in *Sarekat Islam Lokal*, Jakarta: Arsip Nasional RI, 1975, pp.308-326), and the reports on the 1916 Jambi rebellion instigated by the *tarekat*-like sect Sarekat Abang, which had infiltrated and taken control of local Sarekat Islam branches, (in the General State Archives, The Hague, Vb.17-1-18-1, MR 1714/17). Most studies of the Sarekat Islam thus far (Shiraishi's is an exception) have concentrated on the central organization, virtually overlooking the situation at the local branches, where the organization had its real, mass base. It would be interesting to have more in-depth studies showing how the Sarekat Islam affected local power relations and was, in turn, moulded by them. The archives still contain much relevant material, and on-the-spot field research will prove of great help in interpreting and evaluating these sources.

OTHER WORKS REFERRED TO

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Williams, Michael C., 1982, *Sickle and Crescent: The Communist Revolt of 1926 in Banten*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project.

L. B. Venema (red.), *Islam en macht: Een historisch-anthropologisch perspectief*, Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1987.

MARTIN VAN BRUINSEN

In dit boekje zijn acht opstellen gebundeld die tijdens een seminar over 'Islam en Macht' (Amsterdam 1986) werden gepresenteerd. Men verwachtte daarom geen systematisch overzicht over dit thema; de bijdragen zijn nogal heterogeen, en er is geen duidelijke rode draad die door het geheel loopt. Maar juist die heterogeniteit toont ook hoe bedrieglijk al te

eenvoudige generalisaties over de verhouding tussen islam en politieke macht zijn. Zeven van de opstellen zijn gevalstudies, waarvan vier Tunesië betreffen, twee Indonesië, en één Senegal (dus geen enkele het eigenlijke Midden-Oosten). Ze zijn alle gebaseerd op veldwerk gecombineerd met historische studie aan de hand van secundaire bronnen.

De vier artikelen over Tunesië vertonen een zekere onderlinge samenhang; alle betreffen de verhouding tussen 'soefisme' (of liever, 'maraboetisme', de cultus van lokale heiligen), 'officiële' islam, 'fundamentalisme' en overheid. Ze pogen de geobserveerde verschijnselen te analyseren in termen van 'volkse' versus 'officiële' of 'institutionele' religie, waarbij de eerste, nogal a priori, als een sociaal-politieke tegenbeweging begrepen wordt. Vanwege dit laatste aspect rekenen de auteurs van een artikel over 'fundamentalisme' in Tunesië (Jaap Vermaat en Willem de Wit) ook deze stroming tot de volkse islam, wat sommige lezers nogal zal verbazen. In de andere artikelen wordt het 'fundamentalisme' voornamelijk genoemd als de meest radicale tegenstander van de volkse heiligenverering, waardoor het dichterbij de 'institutionele' pool lijkt te staan. Het model van een duale oppositie van volkse versus institutionele religie (Redfields 'little' en 'great tradition') laat zich gemakkelijk op boerengemeenschappen toepassen maar werkt al gauw verwarring in de hand bij complexere samenlevingen zoals het moderne Tunesië. De meest subtiële benadering is die van Edien Bartels, in een interessant artikel over de opkomst van een nieuwe heiligencultus, waarin zij weliswaar elementen van sociaal protest onderkent maar waarvan zij ook laat zien dat de cultus juist door een vrouw uit de elite is geïnitieerd, en in zekere zin juist sociale conflicten beoogt te overbruggen. Deze vier artikelen geven een levendig beeld van het maraboetisme in Tunesië, maar de 'officiële' religie en het 'fundamentalisme' (dat overigens nergens precies wordt omschreven) komen er nogal mager van af. Wat erover te berde wordt gebracht steunt, afgezien van anecdotische feitjes over één 'fundamentalistisch' gezin, op secundaire literatuur en speculatie.

De twee opstellen over Indonesië besteden ook enige aandacht aan de invloed van het soefisme. Pim Schoorl schrijft over het staatje Buton (Zuidoost-Sulawesi), waar de islam vanaf het moment dat de eerste vorst zich bekeerde (in 1540) gebruikt is om de positie van de vorsten tegenover de andere elitegroepen te versterken. De grondwet was gebaseerd op de soefi-leer van de *martabat tujuh* ('zeven bestaansgraden'), een Indonesische adaptatie van Ibn 'Arabi's emanatieler; de zeven stadia van emanatie werden geassocieerd met verschillende rangen en standen in de staat en legitimeerden zo een (nieuwe?) sociale en politieke orde. De hoogste plaats was hierin uiteraard voor de vorst, die tevens hoofd van de religie – een zeer syncretische vorm van Islam – was. Elly Touwen-Bouwsma schetst de geschiedenis van de vorstendommen op Madura en het ontstaan van een erfelijke elite van *ulama* daar uit het deel van de Madurese adel dat zich (in de 18e eeuw) misnoegd van de vorsten afwendde. De door deze *ulama* uitgedragen variant van de islam is sterk mystiek getint, en soefi-orden (*tarekat*) hebben veel invloed. In wat zij hierover meldt verlaat de auteur zich echter nogal eens op gissingen, ook waar zij wel bronnen zou hebben kunnen vinden.

Het laatste artikel gaat over de verschillende respons van Moslims en niet-Moslims in het religieus gemengde Zuiden van Senegal tegenover nieuwe instituties van de – grotendeels islamitische – centrale overheid. De gevalstudies worden voorafgegaan door een, niet op eigen veldwerk gebaseerd, algemeen artikel van Nico Kielstra over de sociale en politieke rol van soefi-orden in vooral Iran en Noord-Afrika. De auteur ziet het soefisme als 'historisch gezien een prototype van een *revival*-beweging als reactie op zwak staatsgezag en anarchie', maar constateert dat in de moderne, sterke staat de rol van religieuze oppositiebeweging is overgenomen door de fundamentalisten, dat de soefi-ordes vergrijzen en hun ledental sterk afneemt, en dat zij andere, niet-politieke, functies zijn gaan vervullen. Dit lijkt een pleidooi om meer aandacht te schenken aan het heterogene gezelschap dat 'fundamentalisten' wordt genoemd, wat in de rest van het boek, zoals reeds gezegd, nauwelijks gebeurt. Maar tussen de stortvloed van publikaties over Islam die uitsluitend of voornamelijk aan politiek radicale islam aandacht schenken, levert dit boekje, met zijn nadruk op de rol van de heiligencultussen en de soefi-orden – die in sommige landen, zoals Turkije en Indonesië, juist in aanhang lijken te groeien – een nuttig tegenwicht.

Colin Renfrew and John F. Cherry (eds.), *Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986. 179 pp., maps, ill., index, bibl. ISBN 0-521-22914-6.

H. J. M. CLAESSEN

This volume contains a theoretical introduction by Renfrew, ten case studies, and an epilogue by Cherry and Renfrew. The book is well-illustrated with photographs, line-drawings, and maps. The literature cited in the text is listed in a general bibliography. While this makes the copying of individual articles less convenient, the high price of the volume will probably provide a sufficient stimulus to surmounting such a trivial difficulty.

In the Introduction, Renfrew outlines the general idea of 'peer polity interaction' (from here on referred to as PPI) as the 'full range of interchanges taking place between autonomous socio-political units which are situated beside or close to each other within a single geographical region' (1986:1). PPI thus represents a kind of intermediate approach, in between the world-systems-strategy and the isolated-state-line. The latter two approaches both have disadvantages that the PPI does not have. The fact that socio-political developments usually take place within a wider context than that of a single unit has already been stated several times (e.g. Cohen 1978: 38 ff.; Mair 1962; Adams 1966; Price 1977). However, with the exception of Price, none of these authors has elaborated the view into a theoretical position. According to Renfrew, a wide range of interaction between neighbouring polities will occur. Con-

sequently, there will be a quick transmission of innovations, mutual competition, and exchange of valuables. The case studies of the volume under review must be placed against this background.

Cherry (chapter 2) discusses PPI in Minoan Crete. According to him, the fact that written information hardly exists here means that ingenious reasoning is required to make the archaeological finds 'speak'. The great advantage of the possession of written information is demonstrated by Snodgrass (chapter 3), who analyses the interaction between Greek city states. With the help of the Athenian tribute lists of the 5th century B.C., the extent of Athenian influence can be precisely reconstructed (1986: 50). With regard to Minoan Crete, however, it is not even possible to say with any certainty that 'an area of homogeneous culture' reflects an 'overarching political system' (1986:27).

The possibilities of the PPI model are convincingly demonstrated by Champion and Champion (chapter 4). They first analyse developments in Iron-Age Central Europe – an era characterized by chiefdom societies (1986:59, cf. Van de Velde 1985) which maintained contacts with the Mediterranean world. Competition over imported wealth strongly influenced regional developments. When these contacts were ended, the entire cultural system collapsed (1986: 62). As a second example of PPI, the authors analyse Gaul in the 2nd century B.C. Here Early States emerged, influenced by contacts with the Romans.

Hodges (chapter 5) discusses Anglo-Saxon England from the time of the legendary King Arthur to the historical Alfred the Great. In this period many small, ranked societies were gradually replaced by a few powerful states. The exchange of goods and ideas played a crucial role in this development, which can be seen as another demonstration of PPI. In chapter 6, Barnes describes developments in early mediaeval Japan, where a strong élite interaction was found to occur (1986: 82 ff.). This led to the development of a three-level hierarchy before the 4th century A.D., and a four-level hierarchy somewhat later (1986: 88).

In chapters 7 and 8, current data on the Maya are presented. Freidel discusses the role of Mayan warfare, occasioned by the ritual requirement of sacrificing high-born captives (1986: 96). The relevant belief, which was widespread among the Mayans, testifies to the occurrence of PPI. In the next chapter, Sabloff discusses the problem of monitoring PPI with only the help of archaeological data – a problem confronted also by Cherry and the Champions. In the Mayan area the various sites bear a strong cultural resemblance to one another; therefore, the contacts between the areas concerned must have been intensive. Sabloff (1986: 112) considers the PPI model also suitable for explaining failures in development (cf. Tymowski 1987).

Braun (chapter 9) discusses Midwestern Hopewell culture, where 'inter-regional standardization and imitation of style in valuables' can be understood as a consequence of communication between local aggregates (1986:120). He associates developments here with the emergence of a successful leadership and the development of a 'system of signs' (1986: 122). Bradley and Chapman contribute a chapter on long-distance relations in Later Neolithic Britain and Ireland. They distinguish five centres of cultural activity, and suggest that long-distance

contacts explain their cultural similarities – which again signifies the presence of PPI (1986: 131). In the last chapter, Shennan presents data on interaction and change in western and central Europe during the third millennium B.C. He uses the shape of pots and beakers to support his argument, and does so in a convincing way.

In the Epilogue Cherry and Renfrew discuss the findings of the various chapters, pointing out that by applying the PPI model, all the contributors were able to draw new and important conclusions. This is true indeed. The editors also indicate some of the differences between Price's model of 1977 and their own PPI model. In this they are also right. PPI seems to be a powerful model for the explanation of developments in a regional context. As such, it is a valuable addition to the theoretical tool kit of evolutionary research. Within the context of PPI, it is no longer necessary to distinguish between external and internal influences in a given region (1986:152). It makes it possible to understand shifts in complexity occurring as a consequence of interaction. PPI specifies the systemic character of such interchanges precisely. From this approach it likewise follows that in many cases explanations must be multi-causal. It seems possible thus to combine the Complex Interaction Model (Claessen and Van de Velde, 1985) and PPI into a broad approach to the evolution of socio-political organization. Some views of Renfrew's, however, do not seem very convincing to me. For example, his suggestion (1986:153) that a specific state is legitimized in the eyes of its citizens 'by the existence of other states which patently do function along comparable lines' will be difficult to substantiate with ethnographic data. How, for example, were ideas of legitimacy expressed in Early States? There was often peaceful acceptance of the rules by the ruled (cf. Godelier 1978). There also were proverbs about good rule. And there were rewards and punishments, besides myths and legends. But there were no references to other states. We scarcely know what citizens thought in our own region in the past and there is no reason to expect that we will ever know much about the attitudes of people in far-away places in the past. The best we can do is to define legitimacy in terms of a ruler acting more or less in accordance with the norms and values of a given society. Sometimes these norms and values show similarities over a wider area than that of a single state – a circumstance that is most probably connected with PPI. To jump from this fact to the conclusion of legitimation of the type suggested by Renfrew, however, seems unwarranted. The same objections can be raised against the view that the collapse of a state might be connected with a loss of confidence. However true this may have been, I see no realistic possibility of demonstrating such a mental state for Early States. These comments have little to do with the concept of Peer Polity Interaction, however – which is a most useful model, that is presented in a convincing way in this important book!

Fred R. Myers, *Pintupi country, Pintupi self; Sentiment, place and politics among Western Desert Aborigines*, Washington etc.: Smithsonian Institution press, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

H. DAGMAR

Of the concepts featuring in the subtitle of Myers' book, only one reappears in the index: politics. To make detailed reference to the other two, sentiment and place, would have been impossible, indeed, as these concepts are the body and soul of the book, and permeate the text in its totality.

In Australian Aboriginal ethnography, the subject of the relationship between world view and social organization on the one hand, and physical environment on the other, has certainly been discussed before. However, the quality and approach of Myers' book form a welcome contribution to the theme.

Naturally, the author deals extensively with the concept of 'The Dreaming', the Aboriginal outlook on human life and the universe in which space, nature, and time play such an important role. The Dreaming is examined both in terms of the framework it provides for the enduring aspects of Pintupi social life, that is, Pintupi society, and the way in which it figures in the reality of everyday life and social interaction. This dual focus is, in fact, a major characteristic of the book. Although Myers presents a view of the underlying structure of Pintupi culture and social relations, he also paints an impressively vivid picture of life as experienced by his informants. Apparently, the author explored the Pintupi way of life so faithfully through the guidelines provided by the observable interaction and explained meanings of his informants that, as he himself writes, 'for quite a long time in the field I did not think I knew anything about the usual issues anthropologists discuss: descent groups, kinship roles, territory' (p. 16).

An extra merit of the book is that it not only provides an uncommonly good insight into reality as experienced and understood by the Pintupi, as well as an analysis of underlying cultural constructs on the basis of this, but also explains some methodological problems involved in the typical ethnographical enterprise of linking these two levels of understanding. Myers' notion of the cultural subject encompasses both the actors' subjectivity and the cultural system. It is to be regretted that he does not refer in his theoretical discussion to the work of the symbolic interactionists who, after all, represent an approach that offers a promising treatment of both human emotions and social structure.

Taking cues from the Pintupi world view, Myers reveals three basic patterns in their way of life: an emphasis on extensive and wide-ranging relatedness among individuals in a particular region; a cherishing of individual autonomy; and the importance of the concept of 'looking after' others in the acceptance of hierarchy, both in an internal Pintupi context and in that of Pintupi-European Australian relations. These fundamental patterns of Pintupi interpersonal relations are portrayed in a context of group formation within the constraints of the physical environment of Australia's Western Desert. The author shows that people have rather

flexible types of claims to land in this area. As for politics, Myers shows that the relationship of 'looking after' can be transferred to a modern inter-ethnic setting. Thus, the Australian government and its representatives are seen as 'largely autonomous "bosses" to whom deference and obedience is owed. In turn the government is obliged to "help" and "look after" the Aborigines' (p. 282).

While this ethnography will doubtless be highly stimulating as a source of comparison, it is most of all commendable for the incisive way in which it reveals core elements of Australian Aboriginal culture. The Pintupi certainly have their own typical life style, but no one who has worked with Aborigines can deny a ring of familiarity when reading Myers' account of, for instance, the way in which the Pintupi have 'culturalized space and made out of impersonal geography a home, a *ngurra*' (p. 54); the way in which relatives are identified with land, and vice versa; the paradox of violence and compassion in interpersonal behaviour; or the ebb and flow of group contraction and personal autonomy. There are few books which portray Aboriginal culture with equal clarity.

Ann Laura Stoler, *Capitalism and Confrontation in Sumatra's Plantation Belt, 1870-1979*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985, xii + 244 pp.

Rosanne Rutten, *Women Workers of Hacienda Milagros; Wage Labor and Household Subsistence on a Philippine Sugarcane Plantation*. Publikatieserie Zuid- en Zuidoost-Azie no. 30, Amsterdam: Antropologisch-Sociologisch Centrum, Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1982, x + 187 pp.

MIES GRIJNS

Plantation life in Southeast Asia seems to be drawing renewed attention from anthropologists and historians, as recent publications suggest. In *BKI* 143 (pp. 357-362), W.F. Wertheim reviewed some of the books based on authentic archive documents, particularly Jan Breman's dismaying account of colonial labour relations in East Sumatra and the complicity of government officials and politicians in maintaining and reproducing this exploitative type of plantation economy. These books not only contribute to our understanding of colonial society, but also raise important questions about today's society. As the export of plantation crops is becoming more important again as a source of foreign exchange earnings (especially in countries like Indonesia, which have seen their incomes from oil exports drop drastically), the questions of how labour relations are influenced by international developments and what happens to estate workers are becoming urgent.

Unfortunately, there are only a few studies which deal with the experiences of these workers, or 'coolies', and consider them as social and political agents in their own right, rather than as economic factors of marginal importance. Both of the books reviewed here form a welcome

exception to this general rule: Stoler's work is especially important, as she so skilfully links the present to the past, and analyses how the current organization of labour has been shaped by the colonial history.

Stoler's book about the dynamics of labour control and resistance among plantation workers on Sumatra's East Coast over the past century is a probing account of the complexities and the contradictions of the struggle for power and autonomy that mark the relationship between the plantation industry and the mainly Javanese labouring communities on its margins. Because she combines archive research with oral history and fieldwork, Stoler is able to reconstruct the political and economic developments that have led to the present-day realities of Sumatra's 'reconstituted peasantry', which is neither peasant nor proletarian. This book provides us with useful clues for evaluating recent developments in the region and understanding 'new' plantation policies of Southeast Asian governments and inter-

national agencies because of the parallels between the colonial and the modern plantation economy.

The central problem which Stoler describes is the conflict between the workers' objectives to secure a living as at least subsistence farmers, to be independent of the estates and to be free from the control of others on the one hand, and the interests of corporate managements and government officials on the other. The latter were aware that the sector's 'profitability depended on the continuing cheapness of the work force, its availability, and its submission — not necessarily in that order' (p. 9). The bitter irony is that the Javanese immigrants, in their efforts to gain access to land for subsistence farming, ultimately ended up subsidizing the continued availability of a cheap labour force for the plantations. The most convincing parts of the book are the chapters on the Second World War (1942-1945) and the Indonesian Revolution (1945-1949); on the rise and development of the labour movement and its ambivalences (1950-1965); and on the period of subsequent regression and loss of many previously acquired rights. In the final chapter Stoler describes the village where she did her fieldwork from 1977-1979. Although only twenty pages are devoted to an actual description of the village, the preceding chapters on the history of the first imported landless Javanese coolies, their toils and their protests, their more or less organized attempts at improving their working conditions, and their role as a politically important but relatively marginal group, enable us to view the lives of their grandchildren in a much broader perspective than a classic village study would have done.

Stoler offers much more information still, for instance, on the strong squatter movement; the diversion of the unions' attention from class issues to nationalism; the growing political influence of the estate élite; the signs of discord in the settlements on the plantation periphery, where most workers eventually went to live; and conflicts within households between elders trying to keep up the appearance of living a peasant existence and youngsters faced with the choice of how to sell their labour so as to be able to spend (part of) their wages independently.

Although this ethnographic history of Sumatra's Plantation Belt deals mainly with power and production relations, it is not a simple class

analysis. 'Ethnicity and gender provide the charged idioms in which class relations are embedded and expressed', Stoler states (p. ix). She continues: 'I have shown that the manipulation of gender hierarchies was a primary instrument of labor control called upon by corporate and state authorities alike. North Sumatran agribusiness, in large part, pivoted on the marginalization of women at critical economic junctures. Men have not always benefited from these policies, and the companies have not always correctly gauged the social consequences of their actions. What is evident is that estate policies have not only compounded the subordination of women but have ensured the political and economic vulnerability of the work force as a whole' (p. 210).

Ethnicity does not receive as much attention as gender, but on the whole Stoler very convincingly demonstrates how plantation managements create and use the specific composition of their labour force to their own advantage. The first coolies imported were young men. Only very few women were employed in plantation work and under such harsh conditions that they were almost obliged to prostitute themselves to keep alive. Larger proportions of female workers were recruited after it turned out to be more viable to organize the recruitment of new labour in Sumatra instead of Java. After the Great Depression, half the coolies were dismissed and repatriated, and plantation managements were relieved of all responsibility for them. Only married women were allowed to stay on (although they were fired as well), and work tiny plots of land for their families' subsistence. After 1945, when their labour was needed again, women re-entered the plantations as workers. But when, as a result of union actions, wages were raised and were complemented with food allowances and social benefits, women and married men were the first to lose permanent jobs and to be increasingly employed as temporary labourers. This situation has continued up to the present day, and is aggravated by the absence of any powerful, independent labour organization.

Although it is clear that gender played an important role in this process, one is left with a desire to know more about how this happened. Why, for instance, was it women who withdrew from plantation labour in the early 1950s to become the family 'farmers' (p. 130)? Was this because of their domestic responsibilities, because it was considered more proper for them to farm, or because of wage inequalities in plantation work? And why should women, more than men, prefer the 'flexibility' of temporary jobs and quit their permanent jobs (p. 170)? What has this to do with their marital status, with pressure from outside their households, or with a specific gender ideology?

This book provides no answers to these questions, because it deals only with the main aspects of gender relations in the village studied. But, considering the amount of time spent by Stoler in Sumatra, and previously in Java, and given her expertise in this field, we can hope that she will provide more information on these subjects in the future.

Looking for some foothold in the quest for an answer to the question as to how gender is manipulated as a means of controlling labour in a plantation economy, I turned to Rosanne Rutten's work. Hers is a much more modest book than the one discussed above, being originally written

as a master's thesis (Stoler's book is based on her doctoral thesis). Rutten describes the lives of women working on a hacienda, or privately owned sugar plantation, in the province of Negros Occidental in the Philippines. She focuses on the ways in which married women try to make ends meet, to 'stretch a peso', in a context of wage dependency and severe poverty. Women play an important role in their own households, as they seem to control their children's labour and the earnings of all household members, including that of their husbands. It is they who decide on most household expenditures and who dominate local cash and credit relations. Although ideally their husbands should provide the household's income, wages are too low to enable families to live on just one income, so most women are engaged in wage labour as well. Apart from this, a woman's ability to use relations with kin, friends and others outside her household is a very important 'resource'. These connections are used to obtain credit, to borrow food or money in times of need, and to secure jobs outside the hacienda. These relations are almost exclusively a woman's affair.

The final chapter of the book is devoted to a description of workers' protests, in unions, church meetings, or small collectives, and of individual complaints at the hacienda. According to Rutten, 'women's domestic responsibilities promote their class militance rather than inhibit it — even when they do not work on the hacienda themselves — since anything that affects their household's income directly affects their ability to make ends meet. Demands for higher pay in cash and kind appeal to their "manager" interests, as do the demands for better labour conditions to their interests as workers... However, though many women and men are eager or willing to organize themselves and stage protests, others are not, for fear of risking the subsistence security of their household and losing individual privileges. Given their personal dependency on the planter and their vulnerability to reprisals, solidarity among workers may be limited' (p. 169).

Women play a most important role in their communities and enjoy considerable freedom, but theirs is a very relative freedom, within limits posed by the hacienda economy and the demands of their own household. Dealing with just one community and concentrating on the present situation, Rutten gives an interesting and detailed account of daily life and the limits of female autonomy. It is disappointing, however, that she does not extend her analysis to include the relations between class and gender in a broader context. Instead, she restricts herself to a description of the survival strategies of these women. While lack of imaginative analysis tends to mar most case-studies, when reading the postscript to Rutten's book (on developments which took place after she finished her fieldwork) one's curiosity is aroused about the structural problems confronting the women of Hacienda Milagros. It is as if a scenario that is already familiar to one from the large-scale, more commercialized Sumatran situation, were being put into operation in Negros Occidental, too, where one encounters a more powerful labour union, a rise in minimum wages, and an acceleration of mechanization that may lead to the marginalization and pauperization of many workers.

In the author's words: 'The women of Hacienda Milagros may thus expect more hardships that they already have ... They will become more dependent on their husbands, who as permanent workers would be the only

ones with secure incomes; the women themselves will probably no longer be entitled to the status of permanent worker or be able to "inherit" it from their husband if he leaves them or dies ... If things really happen like this, ultimately the hacienda will take on many traits of a modern plantation' (p. 178).

So developments in both the Philippines and Sumatra seem to be taking the same — not exactly surprising — turn, even though the specific circumstances and history of the communities involved differ. That gender plays a crucial role in both areas is clear, but how exactly the link between class and gender functions still needs further clarification. Because marginalization affects so many women, and thus so many of the men, too, one can only hope that books like the two reviewed here will inspire other researchers to devote more attention to the study of this core issue of plantation economy.

Rodney Needham, *Mamboru. History and Structure in a Domain of Northwestern Sumba*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987, 202 pp.

NICO DE JONGE

As early as 1980, in a note to his essay 'Principles and Variations in the Structure of Sumbanese Society', Rodney Needham announced the publication of his analysis of the asymmetric prescriptive alliance system of Mamboru, a domain on the north coast of West Sumba in eastern Indonesia. The author includes Mamboru among the districts discussed in that essay, in his search for the general principles underlying the organization of Sumbanese society, to demonstrate that all local institutional differences in the island are merely variations on the same theme. Needham traces all the differences in kinship and descent to six fundamental principles which are regarded as being common to all the various forms of Sumbanese society: (1) identity (under which heading he classifies group-distinguishing features such as descent and locality); (2) duality; (3) inequality (class, political status, relations between alliance groups); (4) asymmetry; (5) complementarity; and, as a characteristic of the asymmetrical relations between alliance groups, (6) nontransitivity. In his discussion of the West Sumbanese domains — where the variations are most numerous — he stresses the systems of Kodi and Mamboru: here the contrasts established are greatest. Kodi is distinguished by bilineal descent and nonprescriptive affinal alliance, while in Mamboru, as in East Sumba, there is agnatic descent and asymmetric prescriptive alliance. Kodi has for several decades basked in keen anthropological interest (since Van Wouden 1956/1977), and the monograph under discussion now does justice to Mamboru.

Even if the reader is unaware of this previous history, the preface to the study states its aim clearly and straightforwardly: Needham went to Mamboru intrigued by the asymmetric prescriptive alliance system discovered here. Due to this early frankness about the kinds of marriage arrangements

that are to be discussed, the reader immediately knows what to expect. But a drawback that is not to be underestimated is that the argument is largely devoid of suspense. Nonetheless, the impressive amount of data which the researcher managed to gather during his brief stay in Mamboru (18-30 January, 1955), and the excellent way in which he has ordered these, render the monograph very much worth reading.

The most important part of the book is the ethnographical analysis, which follows a digest of (mainly) historical facts on Mamboru from other sources. Wherever possible, the author combines these facts with local interpretations of the past, and this results in a detailed historical reconstruction producing the picture of one village of origin common to all Mamboru clans. At the same time, the segmentation process that started from this 'great village' a few centuries ago is reconstructed.

In the fifties, when Needham visited Mamboru, the members of many clans were dispersed over several villages, where they lived together in a named house if they represented the minimal local lineage of a clan. It turned out that alliances between groups were often realized at this level; it was here that the relations had been established, and if possible had been extended into every new generation — of course with the added detail that one's wife-givers could never become one's wife-takers. What results from this is a distinction into categories of marriageable and nonmarriageable persons, a distinction Needham distils from the local relationship terminology, before discussing the alliances found by him between the clans/lineages and the villages in Mamboru. This local relationship terminology is characterized by the discrimination of three patrilineal descent lines asymmetrically related to each other and is incompatible with a system of symmetric alliance (of course the opposite is not the case). Hence the chapter dealing with the arrangement of marriages hardly leaves room for conjecture.

The sum of positive and negative marriage rules makes it clear that the standard marriage in this domain is that with a matrilineal cross-cousin (MBD, preferably a woman of the same standing): this marriage partner is always looked for among the traditional groups of one's wife-givers; the norm prescribes that one's own women follow the path to a wife-taker that has already been trodden in previous generations. In Mamboru this 'path of the women' is explicitly perceived as cyclical, and the relationship terminology is based on the smallest possible closed circuit, consisting of three participating groups. From a formal viewpoint, both flanking patrilineal lines are connected: the same term applies to FZHZ and MBW, and in practice this may well involve the same person. Thus (as wife-taker) the group acting as wife-giver of one's wife-giver, cannot act as wife-giver to one's own group. The picture of three groups marrying in a circle also clearly emerges from the absence of terms for the wife-giver of one's wife-giver and for the wife-taker of one's wife-taker, as well as from the rules of social conduct hampering contacts between WBW and HZH (WBW and FZD — excluded as marriage partner — can be the same person).

This contributes to the substantial discrepancy between social reality and local ideology. At this level there are seven clans who, living together in the 'great village', exchange women in a single cycle. Due to the multitude of groups maintaining exchange relationships (at various levels),

this latter aspect is not reflected in marriage practice, either. And although the odd mythical number of clans excludes direct exchange, reciprocal relations between clans in Mamboru certainly do exist. But in such cases the actual alliances have been established at a lower level (e.g., that of the named houses), and here we do find asymmetry.

In the final section, Needham summarizes the effects of the alliance system in Mamboru by reviewing its characteristics, and in this connection refers again to the ordering principles formulated in his above-cited essay. Elaborating on this, he stresses that on the basis of a hierarchy of types of social structure, in which societies are classed in order of complexity, that in Mamboru can be classified as the 'second simplest type of social structure' (the simplest being systems of sister exchange), that is, the joint result of duality, asymmetry and intransitivity. In comparison with 1980, nontransitivity as a distinctive feature of asymmetrical alliances has been replaced by intransitivity (wife-giver of wife-giver is not wife-giver) — a refinement that is certainly due to the kinds of social relations established in Mamboru.

The principle of duality impels the author to discuss briefly matters not directly pertaining to the alliance system, such as Mamboru cosmology. Here in particular, the reader is confronted with the thematical one-sidedness of the study, its extremely specialist focus being the social structure — a one-sidedness that constitutes both the strength and the weakness of the book.

Actually, the grand concept of 'structure' expressed in the title would have to refer to this, and therefore needs further specification. However, the clear and convincing analysis of the organization of Mamboru society merits nothing but praise. For the reader only one question remains unanswered: hasn't the increasing depopulation of the villages in this domain — a trend that began after the turn of the century as a result of the Pax Neerlandica — relegated Mamboru structure itself, as presented here on the basis of data more than thirty years old, to history?

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Kenneth E. Read, *Return to the High Valley. Coming Full Circle*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986. xxi + 269 pp., \$ 18.95 (cloth).

ANTON PLOEG
Utrecht University

This book is the result of Read's return to the Gahuku, a people living near Goroka in the Central Highlands of Papua New Guinea, in 1981-82, after having done field work there in the early fifties. It is an invaluable sequel to the author's *The High Valley*.¹ The content and tone of this book are a consequence of Read's rejection of much anthropological writing as 'anti-septic' and his conviction that he can do better by including, in his account, a description of how he experienced his field work (1965:ix). *The High Valley* resembles conventional ethnographies published at the time because a case method approach is followed; that is to say, Read elucidates Gahuku culture by describing and analysing clusters of events which he deemed revealing for the culture under study. Simultaneously, however, he appears to have chosen events in which he himself was an actor or to which he had strong emotional reactions.

In this earlier work Read was quite frank in stating that 'Gahuku life, its collective interest and its dominant values (such as competitiveness (1965:20), aggression (19) and an 'exhausting tendency to seek excess' (133)) emphasized everything that was antithetical to my own temperament' (1965:19), with the result that 'distress', 'inner exhaustion and mental protest ... became my common lot among the Gahuku' (1965:18). Read's discomfort in living among these people contrasts strongly with his elation at living in their natural environment. Again and again he displays considerable talent in the loving descriptions he gives of the non-industrial, tropical mountain scenery. Only in the course of his field work did he become aware of the emotional attachment to at least a number of Gahuku. This often happened when relations took a particular turn or were about to be broken off. His account reminded me of my own experiences while doing field work among the Dani, in the Central Highlands of West Irian. Gahuku and Dani cultures differ considerably and, while my distress and protest were not as strong as Read's, I did not reach the level of attachment he did, either.

The book under review differs from its predecessor in that it is thematically arranged. Read was bothered by the fact that the wide circulation of *The High Valley* had publicized the private or disreputable behaviour of some Gahuku. He attempted to avoid a repetition of this in the sequel by omitting particular events, or by not attributing these to named individuals.

Return to the High Valley deals primarily with cultural change. When Read made his first trip to the Gahuku, colonial control had just been established. The people, who were on the threshold of an entirely new era, were aware of this, but were not yet able to fathom what it would bring them. When he returned, the Gahuku had entered it with zest. They had

¹ First published in 1965, and reissued in 1980 by Columbia University Press; it is still available.

abandoned many elements of their former culture, such as warfare and initiation ceremonies (and their ideological underpinnings) and had adopted several Australian ones, notably commercial agriculture, as well as social habits such as beer-drinking and watching 'B-grade Westerns'. Read notes that those tourists who came to Goroka having read *The High Valley*, were bound to witness a radically changed way of life, in the form of 'underprivileged examples of things familiar to them in their own culture' (1986:237). He is taken aback by the extent to which young Gahuku, born after his first field trip, were unaware of Gahuku life as he himself had previously witnessed it. Read is dismayed at the result of the changes, which he sums up as (1986:150):

'The vulgarization of life through the unselective adoption of many of the elements associated with the only alternatives offered to the Gahuku. For there were no alternatives to the spiritual poverty of fundamentalist Christianity and participation in a world political and economic system whose harvested fruits are likely to be bitter.'

What bothers Read is that it has been the adoption of elements of his own culture that has brought about the vulgarization. It is apparent from the book that towards the end of his second, brief revisit he almost felt relieved to be about to leave. While he leaves open the possibility of a return, his Gahuku companions had formed the impression that he would not.

Central to Read's experience is his relationship with Makis, the Gahuku Big Man, who invited him to his village and became one of his main mentors. Read has devoted a chapter to Makis in *The High Valley* and a memorial chapter in the sequel. In Makis' case as well it was some time before Read started to appreciate him and to realize the depth of his attachment to him. At times, during his return visits, he felt Makis' absence as an 'aching loss' (1986:254). References to Makis occur throughout both books and reach a climax in the description of the farewell party during which his companions attempted to contact Makis' ghost.

Read describes himself as not gregarious, 'although I enjoy the company of others' (1965:5). Yet, given his statements about his reactions to Gahuku life as quoted above, I was surprised to read in the 1986 book that his first field work among the Gahuku had given him 'mostly joy' (1986:246). In this statement, Read's retrospective appreciation again appears to differ from his earlier feelings. Another surprise was to learn (1986:xvi) that Read's son had stayed with him briefly on his first trip. In *The High Valley* Read consistently gives the impression that he was all by himself. The fact that his infant son was with him for some time hints at the possibility of a change in personal circumstances which may well have influenced his perception of the field work situation and, hence, might have deserved mention.

The High Valley is an account of how the author, in the course of his field work, gradually came to know the Gahuku way of life. It filled him with amazement, if not stupefaction, so that consequently his venture into the unknown was a very deep emotional experience which he conveyed masterfully in the book. Notwithstanding his dismay at the way in which Gahuku culture is changing, *Return to the High Valley* does not reach the same emotional intensity. The author emphatically points out that his dismay does not refer to persons, and adds that his relationship with some

of Makis' children differed little from the one with his own son. But for me, this emotional quality does not transpire from his descriptions of how they interacted.

The author characterizes (1986:ix) *Return to the High Valley* as a 'post-script' to *The High Valley*. It is far more than that, both in length and in content, however. A reading of it gains immensely from reading, or, as I did, re-reading, the earlier book, which, in its turn, gains in value by now having a complement.

Tom R. Zuidema, *La Civilisation Inca au Cuzco*, Collège de France, Essais et Conférences, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1986.

RIEN PLOEG

Professor Zuidema lectured at the Collège de France during the years 1983-1984. He used the classic cultural anthropological theory on dual social organization as a background to further analysis not only of modern Andean societies but also, more especially, of the socio-political and territorial organization of the Cuzco area shortly after the fall of the Inca Empire. Central to his argument was a kinship model. Kinship terminology functions as a principle of interpretation for purposes of demonstrating that there is a coherent pattern of development cutting through such diverse cultural domains as origin myths; spatial organization; in- and outgroup relations; irrigation systems; and the currently fashionable topic of gender and power relations.

Despite the complexity of the material, Zuidema's analysis is clear and inspiring. He uses as his main sources Spanish chronicles, myths, rites, and archaeological data on pre-Hispanic social organization, irrigation systems and astronomy.

Attending lectures provides an opportunity of asking questions and obtaining direct answers. Reading the texts of lectures in a book is quite a different matter, however. One can ask questions, but will receive no direct answers. It seems to me that only after reading lecture 3 will one become better acquainted with Zuidema's central argument. This lecture on origin myths is a short and lucid exposé that provides a better insight into Zuidema's model. Through a comparison of three origin myths a demonstration of the development of Cuzcon politics is provided. At the same time, central themes treated in the other lectures are introduced. The interesting thing about this is that political development in the Cuzco area was not triggered by expansion through conquest, but was primarily a result of political integration through marriage. Zuidema infers this development pattern from, among other things, the marriage rules, the kinship terminology and the indicated (dynastic) genealogy, and the administrative system.

For those who have a reading knowledge of French and are interested, it is worthwhile to go through Zuidema's five lectures and to think about

additional possibilities of testing his model in the socio-political and economic domain with regard to marriage and ceremonial relations between Cuzco and its neighbours. For those who are not able to read French, it is always possible to get an idea of Zuidema's views by reading his article on 'Hierarchy and Space in Incaic Social Organization', published in *Ethnohistory* 30(2), 1983.

Klein repertorium; Index op tijdschriftartikelen met betrekking tot voormalig Nederlands-Indië, samengesteld door E. E. van Delden. Amsterdam: Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen. Deel 1, Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlandsch Bestuur 1887-1900, 1986, 79 pp. Deel 2, Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlandsch Bestuur 1900-1909, 1986, 80 pp. Deel 3, Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlandsch Bestuur 1910-1917, 1987, 80 pp.

HARRY A. POEZE

Tijdschriftartikelen over Nederlands-Indië zijn voor wat betreft de periode 1594-1933 opgesomd en systematisch geordend in een reeks delen *Repertorium op de literatuur betreffende de Nederlandsche koloniën*. Als aanvulling en verdieping hierop is het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen gestart met een reeks *Klein Repertorium*, waarvan de eerste drie deeltjes de inhoud ontsluiten van het *Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlandsch Bestuur*, dat, zoals de naam al aangeeft, een blad was dat zich richtte op de Nederlandse bestuursambtenaren. Deze ambtenaren ook vulden de meeste bladzijden van het blad met bijdragen over zaken waarmee zij in de dagelijkse praktijk te maken hadden, zoals landbouwaangelegenheden, herendiensten, belastingen, maar ook voor gedegen beschouwingen over de geografie en cultuur van een bepaalde streek was er ruimte. Vanzelfsprekend werd ook uitvoerig geschreven en soms met enige hartstocht gediscussieerd over de eigen positie, de relatie tot het inheemse bestuur en de eindeloze stroom directieven die het Bataviase opperbestuur verzond.

De samensteller heeft in deze drie boekjes 1607 artikelen uit de 53 verschenen delen van het tijdschrift beschreven en deze alle van trefwoorden en UDC-notities voorzien. Al die trefwoorden keren terug in een uitvoerig zaken- en geografisch register, dat de helft van de inhoud van de boekjes beslaat. Ook is een register op persoonsnamen opgenomen.

In zijn verantwoording deelt de samensteller mee dat slechts boekbesprekingen en artikelen in Indonesische talen niet zijn opgenomen. Voor dit laatste is naar mijn oordeel geen steekhoudende rechtvaardiging te bedenken. Juist het feit dat dit tijdschrift één van de weinige plaatsen was waar in die tijd bijdragen van Indonesische bestuurders verschenen maakt die bijdragen uiterst interessant. Die enkele tientallen artikelen hadden zeker moeten worden opgenomen. Bij een vergelijking bij wijze

van steekproef voor een aantal delen van de repertoriumgegevens met het originele blad bleek overigens dat no. 453 een in Javaans schrift afgedrukte bijdrage is, waarvan slechts de titel in het Nederlands wordt gegeven. Bij die vergelijking bleek bovendien dat ook de regelmatig opgenomen rubriek 'Varia' niet in het repertorium wordt vermeld – jammer omdat vaak interessante, actuele commentaren zo worden overgeslagen. Door middel van een opsomming van de nu weggelaten stukken, die slechts enkele bladzijden extra had behoeven te kosten, had een complete inhoudsopgave kunnen ontstaan. Nu dient de geïnteresseerde onderzoeker om een volledig overzicht te verkrijgen de afzonderlijke inhoudsopgaven van de diverse delen te raadplegen.

De samensteller heeft zorgvuldig gewerkt; ik noteerde slechts één kopieerfout in mijn steekproef (Feuilleateau de Bruyn in plaats van Feuilletau). Schijnbare inconsequenties in de paginering van de artikelen bleken het gevolg te zijn van fouten in het blad zelf (en hadden beter bij de titelbeschrijving kunnen worden gesignaleerd).

Deze kritiek op onderdelen doet niets af aan de waardering voor deze uitgave, die een aangename handreiking vormt aan de onderzoeker die zijn weg zoekt in het *Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlandsch Bestuur*.

J. J. P. de Jong, *Diplomatie of strijd; Een analyse van het Nederlands beleid tegenover de Indonesische revolutie 1945-1947*. Amsterdam: Boom, 531 pp. ISBN 90.6009.838.2. Prijs f 68.50.

HARRY A. POEZE

De auteur, werkzaam als hoofd van het Bureau Indonesië bij het Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken, promoveerde op deze studie aan de Universiteit van Utrecht. Sinds 1977 heeft hij hieraan gewerkt; ruim vijfhonderd dichtbedrukte bladzijden zijn de vrucht van vele jaren studie en analyse. De Jong stelt zich ten doel een integrale benadering toe te passen op het Nederlandse, Republikeinse en Britse beleid in de jaren 1945-1947 en de wijze waarop deze elkaar beïnvloedden. De bestaande geschiedschrijving is, volgens hem, ondanks al zijn verdiensten eenzijdig door zich te concentreren op de interne ontwikkelingen in de Republiek Indonesia, of door, met onvoldoende rechtvaardiging, het sjabloon van Nederland, uit op herstel van zijn koloniaal gezag tegenover het onafhankelijkheidsstreven van de Republiek Indonesia, te hanteren. Studies van Nederlandse zijde miskennen de internationale dimensie en de nuances in Indonesië. Door de uitgave van de *Officiële bescheiden inzake de Nederlands-Indonesische betrekkingen 1945-1950*, het beschikbaar komen van Amerikaanse bronnenpublicaties, Squire's dissertatie over de Britse politiek in 1945-1946 en Nasutions veeldelige serie over de revolutie, nog aangevuld met een aantal interviews met Indonesische hoofdrolspelers, alsmede gegevens uit Nederlandse archivalia,

was De Jong in staat zijn doelstelling te verwezenlijken. Hij laat zien dat zelfs de feiten vaak niet of onvoldoende zijn vermeld, en dat dat vanzelfsprekend nog veel meer geldt voor de kernpunten in de ontwikkelingen en de interpretatie daarvan. Hierbij schuwt De Jong de polemieken niet: 'klassieke' boeken als die van Kabin, Alers en Anderson, en hun meer op deelaspecten gerichte navolgers die uitgaan van de Republikeinse ontwikkelingen, Smits' studies over de Nederlandse zijde, McMahons boek over bemoeienis van de Verenigde Staten, Banks' verhaal over de betrokkenheid van de Nederlandse Katholieken en Yong Mun Cheongs studie over de rol van Van Mook krijgen vaak zeer fundamentele fouten en omissies aangewreven.

Datzelfde gebeurt ook ten aanzien van de partijen die een rol speelden in het ingewikkelde proces: de verslagen Japanse bezetter en Engeland, dat namens de geallieerden Indonesië overnam, en waar de Londense Labourregering, het leger met Mountbatten en Christison en diplomaten ter plaatse als Denning, Clark Kerr, Killearn and Mitcheson afwisselend het beleid bepaalden. In Indonesië waren Sjahrir en Soekarno/Hatta de beleidsbepalers van de Republiek, die er nooit in slaagden in hun grondgebied een sterke staat op te bouwen en die bij elke stap die kon worden uitgelegd als concessie aan Nederland moesten vrezen voor een hardhändige correctie van leger, strijdgroepen en daaraan verbonden organisaties (als de Persatuan Perdjuangan van Tan Malaka). Buiten Java en Sumatra speelde de Indonesische elite een eigen rol, die tot 1947 nog niet van veel politiek gewicht was. Aan Nederlandse zijde was in Indië Van Mook de dominerende en zeer bekwame hoofdrolspeler, met naast hem later de commissie-generaal, waarin Schermerhorn de voornaamste rol speelde, vooral ook in de spannende maanden voor de eerste politieke actie. Tegenover hen stonden de Indische publieke opinie en de militaire leiding, die geen enkel begrip konden opbrengen voor de Republiek en een militaire opmars wensten. Mede door verholen of zelfs onverholen steun uit het Nederlandse kabinet vormden de strijdkrachten een zelfstandige machtsfactor die zich soms niets aantrokken van het civiele gezag. In Den Haag zetelde het kabinet dat onder druk van de publieke opinie en parlement, bij gebrek aan voldoende informatie en vanuit een achterhaalde en legalistische visie, vrijwel voortdurend achter de ontwikkelingen aanliep. Na de eerste verkiezingen werd het Indiëbeleid verlamd door de onoverbrugbare tegenstelling in visie van PvdA en KVP. Maar bij gebrek aan een reële alternatieve coalitie bleven de partijen bijeen. Fundamentele debatten eindigden in dreigementen en vervolgens in uitsstel. De verantwoordelijke minister Jonkman was een meester in tactische manoeuvres en versluierende formules, waarbij de coalitie werd gered, maar toch de 'voldongen feiten' uit de onderhandelingen in Batavia min of meer ongeschonden werden geaccepteerd. Tenslotte speelden in de laatste maanden van de behandelde periode de Verenigde Staten, waarvan Nederland dringend financiële steun nodig had om aan een bankroet te ontsnappen, en de Veiligheidsraad een rol.

Op een groot aantal punten corrigeert De Jong de geldende opvattingen over de gang van zaken tijdens de revolutie. Dat geldt allereerst de rol van de Britten, die veel doorslaggevend blijkt te zijn dan tot nu toe.

beschreven. Het was Mountbatten, die onder invloed van de nationalistische explosie in India en op basis van verkeerde informatie kwam tot een de-facto-erkenning van Soekarno's Republiek, die op dat ogenblik nog slechts in naam bestond. De Britten maakten de kernfout de Japanse legermacht niet uitdrukkelijk in te schakelen voor het bewaken van rust en orde, waardoor ruimte kwam voor de anarchistische en atomistische uitzaaiing van de revolutie. Ook weer op basis van het Indiase model legde Engeland aan Nederland, dat op Java bij gebrek aan een troepenmacht geen vuist kon maken, onderhandelingen op die tot een politiek akkoord moesten leiden. Van Mook was gedwongen hierop in te gaan, tot woede van Den Haag, dat de Britse dimensie miskende. Sjahrir, die de Republikeinse onderhandelaars leidde, kreeg nauwelijks de ruimte een akkoord te bereiken dat iets zou afdoen aan de '100% merdeka'. Het gezag van de Republiek was zo gering dat leger en strijdgroepen telkens weer een compromis ongedaan konden maken. Daabij was het gevaar van een staatsgreep of burgeroorlog diverse malen aanwezig. Uit angst voor die extremistische machtsovername speelde Sjahrir op tijdwinst, op internationale erkenning en goodwill en op steun van Britten en Amerikanen tegen de Nederlandse 'die-hards', in de hoop dat zijn positie in de Republiek sterker zou worden. En vaak met succes. De Jong laat voortreffelijk zien hoe de Republiek slechts tot concessies bereid was als Engeland (en later de V.S.) de Nederlandse zijde kozen en de Republiek onder druk zetten. Steun aan het Republikeinse standpunt leidde daarentegen tot een harde, compromisloze Indonesische opstelling. De rol van Van Mook wordt positief beoordeeld; zijn opstelling, tegen de Haagse instructies in, redde de samenwerking met de Britten en bewerkstelligde de vrijlating van duizenden geïnterneerden uit Republikeins gebied. Zijn al spoedige keuze voor een erkenning van het nationalisme was niet opgelegd, maar oprecht, zoals ook de deelstaatpolitiek geen manifestatie was van zijn koloniale of Indische opvattingen. De Jong nuanceert de mislukking van de Hoge-Veluwe-conferentie, maar beschouwt deze toch als een doorbraak, waarbij het Nederlandse kabinet de Republiek de-facto erkende. De verlamming van het Nederlandse kabinet door de volstrekt tegen-gestelde opvattingen van PvdA en KVP is hierboven al aangeduid en wordt door De Jong voor het eerst in zijn juiste verband neergezet. In de verwikkelingen rond de commissie-generaal, het akkoord van Lingga-djati, de 'aankleding' ervan, de moeizame onderhandelingen erna en tenslotte de eerste politieke actie onderscheidt De Jong overtuigend diverse fases en beslissende factoren. Ook hier kregen door uitstel de anti-krachten aan beide zijden de kans het geschikte klimaat te bederven. De Jong verwijt de Nederlandse regering dat door het afbreken van de politieke actie voordat de Republikeinse hoofdstad Djokja kon worden bezet en het accepteren van de inmenging van de Veiligheidsraad de laatste kans op een oplossing van het conflict werd verdaan.

De Jong heeft een prikkelend boek geschreven, waarin hij op tal van plaatsen de oorzaken aanwijst die de gang van zaken bepaalden en niet schroomt om de fouten aan te wijzen die de partijen in het conflict maakten. De Jong maakt zich daarmee kwetsbaar voor kritiek, maar ik denk dat in grote lijnen niet aan zijn overzicht en analyse kan worden

getornd. De tegenstelling diplomatie-strijd, door Anderson als kenmerkend voor de Republikeinse binnenlandse verhoudingen tot de 3-juli affaire van 1946 beschouwd, breidt De Jong uit tot de Britten en de Nederlanders, en terecht. Ook na juli 1946 geldt deze tegenstelling; met het mislukken van de juli-coup had in de Republiek de diplomatie niet gezegevierd. Ter verontschuldiging van Anderson kan worden gezegd dat deze coup wel het meest kritieke punt was in het conflict 'diplomasi-perdjuangan', waarbij volgens De Jong een burgeroorlog dreigde, die Anderson nog omschreef als een paleisrevolutie.

Kritiek zal ongetwijfeld worden gericht op onderdelen van De Jongs analyse. Verder lijkt het er op dat hij in zijn dramatische overzicht te veel en te nadrukkelijk breekpunten en beleidsomslagen identificeert, waarop door de partijen vaak ook prompt werd gereageerd. Gelet op de uiterst ingewikkelde verhoudingen, de slechte communicatie en het gebrek aan informatie over de preciese verhoudingen, komt mij dit niet in alle gevallen geheel geloofwaardig voor. Als een gemis beschouw ik het ontbreken over en analyse van de achtergronden van de hoofdrolspelers in het drama. Uit De Jongs studie blijkt hoe belangrijk de inzet en ideeën van personen voor het verloop van het conflict waren; het is jammer dat hij hierop niet iets dieper ingaat.

Dit alles doet niets af aan de waardering voor deze studie. De Jong heeft een standaardwerk geschreven, dat niemand die in de toekomst de Indonesische revolutie wil bestuderen of erover wil publiceren zich kan veroorloven te negeren.

D. C. L. Schoonoord, *De Mariniersbrigade 1943-1949; Wording en inzet in Indonesië*. 's-Gravenhage: Afdeling Maritieme Historie van de Marinestaf, ISBN 90-71957-13-6. Prijs f 25,- (te bestellen bij de uitgever, Van der Burchlaan 31, 2597 PC 's-Gravenhage).

HARRY A. POEZE

Dit proefschrift, verdedigd aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam, beschrijft de organisatie en militaire inzet van de Mariniersbrigade. Deze brigade was bedoeld om een daadwerkelijk aandeel te leveren aan de strijd tegen Japan, die naar de verwachting in 1943, toen het oprichtingsbesluit werd genomen, nog geruime tijd zou voortduren na de geallieerde overwinning op het Europese front. Dankzij ruimhartige steun van het Amerikaanse marinierskorps bij de training en materiële uitrusting, zou zeer snel na de Duitse overgave de brigade – ruim 5.000 man sterk – inzetbaar zijn. De voorbereidingen wat betreft training, uitrusting en vooral recrutering – alle manschappen waren vrijwilligers – verliepen moeizaam, en toen deze eindelijk waren afgerond capituleerde Japan en kon de onontbeerlijke Amerikaanse steun nog maar met grote moeite worden verkregen. De in Amerika opgeleide onderdelen werden overhaast getransporteerd naar Indië, waar de Nederlandse

autoriteiten zeer verlegen zaten om militaire eenheden die konden worden ingezet om het koloniale gezag te herstellen. Na een aantal verwickelingen met Britse autoriteiten en militairen, die het geallieerde gezag uitoefenden in Indonesië, mocht de brigade landen. Ze werd, onder de nodige Britse beperkingen, gelegeerd in Soerabaja. De goed getrainde en uitgeruste brigade werd met succes ingezet bij de uitbreiding van de zone rond Soerabaja naar Modjokerto (maart 1947) en bezette tijdens de Eerste Politie Actie Java's Oosthoek. De door personeelsverloop en bezuinigingen al ingekrompen brigade nam ook deel aan de Tweede Politie Actie, waarbij o.a. Tjepoe en Madioen werden bezet. Uit militair zicht waren deze operaties geen succes. Enkele maanden later werd de eenheid opgeheven. De brigade vormde als marine-eenheid een vreemd element tussen de landmacht- en KNIL-eenheden. Tussen de staf van de A-divisie en de brigade deden zich dan ook de nodige geschillen voor wat betreft de competentie en lijnen van bevelvoering. Het Nederlandse ministerie van marine zag zich tot zijn ongenoegen genoodzaakt een flink deel van de begroting te besteden aan een eenheid die in vrijwel alle opzichten als een landmachtonderdeel functioneerde.

De auteur heeft al deze ontwikkelingen zeer gedetailleerd beschreven, en daarbij geput uit vooral legerarchivalia. Uit deze vaak slecht geordende archieven heeft zij een zeer compleet beeld gereconstrueerd van de geschiedenis van de brigade. De auteur heeft geen pogingen gedaan Indonesische archieven te raadplegen, die gegevens zouden kunnen verschaffen over de militaire tegenstander van de brigade. Zij neemt aan dat deze er niet zullen zijn; ten onrechte want vooral over de jaren 1948-1949 bevat het archief van het Indonesische leger in Bandung een verrassende hoeveelheid materiaal. Hoe voorzichtig de auteur ook interpreteert, haar eenzijdig gebruik van Nederlandse archivalia leidt niettemin tot enige vertekening hier en daar. Hoewel Schoonoord zich concentreert op de brigade-historie verschaft zij de nodige en nuttige informatie over de algemene politieke verwickelingen, waarvan de militaire acties een gevolg waren. Helaas gaat zij nauwelijks in op de ervaring en belevingswereld van de individuele marinier. Ook blijven mannen als M. R. de Bruyne en E. J. Lewe van Aduard, zonder wie waarschijnlijk nooit een Mariniersbrigade tot stand zou zijn gekomen, qua persoonlijkheid en drijfveren schimmig. Datzelfde geldt voor andere hoofdrolspelers. In een vaak opsommend verhaal over voor niet-ingewijden niet overmatig boeiende zaken, zouden zulke persoonlijke details niet alleen het verhaal verlevendigen, maar ook duidelijk maken dat organisatie en actie in grote mate werden bepaald door individuele inzet en motivatie.

Deze opmerkingen doen echter niets af aan de waardering voor deze indrukwekkende studie op het schaars beoefende terrein van de militaire historie, die ook qua redactionele verzorging (kaarten, registers) lof verdient en voor een haast onvoorstelbaar lage prijs verkrijgbaar is.

Edmundo Magaña and Peter Mason (eds.), *Myth and the Imaginary in the New World*, Amsterdam: CEDLA, Latin America Studies no. 34, 1986. 500 pp., 64 ill. Dfl. 49.50.

R. DE RIDDER

In this new volume in the CEDLA series, sixteen articles of a diverse nature, by 12 authors, are presented under a broad title. The book opens with a well-documented introduction, in which the editors try to relate all the different articles to a single theme. There is further an extensive bibliographical guide to Latin American mythological studies and to the works of Lévi-Strauss and his critics. Part I consists of four articles under the subheading *Ethno-ethnology*. This section is 'primarily concerned with those ideological constructs that are related to the representation of men that apparently have no empirical anchorage' (p. 14). Imaginary landscapes and animal and botanical species are also included in this category. These ideas are elaborated upon in Mason's introduction; in Reichel-Dolmatoff's study of Desana myths; in Magaña's study of different Ge tribes; and in Jara's study of the Kalina.

Part II consists of eight articles under the subheading *Mythanalysis*. The term 'mythanalysis', which is analogous to 'psychoanalysis', is taken from the article by Vázquez, in which the author argues for the necessity of studying symbols as they occur in myths, together with the context of these myths, i.e., the society and culture in which they have originated. He applies this method to a Witoto story. The result is a highly formal and, quite frankly, not very enlightening exegesis. The Guajiro Indians' view of writing in relation to shamanism is analysed by Perrin. Loveland, in two articles, explains the relationship between several Rama myths and their social order. The Inca, or Inkarrí, are examined twice. López-Baralt makes a very thorough and convincing analysis of a part of *Atawallpa's Elegy*, an anonymously written source from about 1800, while Weiss traces the Inca in contemporary myths. Van Zantwijk's interesting article on Quetzalcoatl and Huemac is of a different nature. The Aztec texts on the legendary city of the Toltecs seem to have been modelled on the complicated Aztec social structure. Van Zantwijk's method consists in re-translating and comparing different sources. Preuss' analysis of the deity Huraqan as he appears in the 16th-century Maya text, the *Popol Vuh*, has, at most, a heuristic value.

The three concluding articles are grouped under the subheading *Ethno-astronomy*. The subject is introduced by Magaña, while Wibert draws an interesting comparison between Warao cosmology and Yekuana roundhouse symbolism, tracing the common origin of both symbolic systems. Robiou-Lamarche interprets some Taino myths from an astronomical point of view; however, he overreaches himself when he refers to Aztec and Maya data in order to conclude that there must have been some form of contact between the Taino from the Greater Antilles and the pre-Columbian cultures of Mexico and Central America.

The title of this book partly reflects the broad subject covered by all the articles taken together. These deal, however, with myths and the imaginary not from the New World in general, but from Latin America.

in particular. Many of these studies could have been incorporated into Lévi-Strauss' *Mythologiques*, and can be regarded more or less as refinements of and/or additions to this monumental work. From this point of view, none of the authors can claim to have adopted a 'post-structuralist' approach (p. 17) – it seems to be rather a 'post-*Mythologiques*' approach.

Although I am aware that the CEDLA publications are primarily directed to Latin Americanists, for whom the need to read Spanish presumably poses no problem, I would have preferred, in this case, English translations of the five Spanish-language articles. In this way, a book of this scope would also have provided a valuable contribution to the study of myth in general. By this concluding remark I mean to say that this is indeed a very worthwhile book.

Edmundo Magaña, *Contribuciones al estudio de la mitología y astronomía de los indios de las Guayanas*, Dordrecht-Providence: Foris Publications. 1987.

P.G. RIVIÈRE

This volume contains the reports of work carried out by the author among three groups of Carib-speaking Amerindians in Surinam and French Guyana over a period of six months in 1985-86. The groups concerned are the Wayana, Tarëno (Trio), and Kaliña. Two chapters are devoted to each group – one to their mythology (about half being devoted to synopses of the myths collected), and another to their astronomical notions. Each chapter has its own bibliography and glossary. The chapter on Kaliña astronomy is shorter than the others, and contains additional material to that previously published by the author. There are two appendices containing lists of names of natural species supplied by Apalai (Cariban) and Emerillon (Tupian) informants respectively.

The work is very much a collection of reports. It is often repetitious and lacks the polish of a finished monograph. Whatever may be its failings in this respect, it does contain a great deal of information about the three groups. In view of the limited length of time the author spent in the field, he must have worked very hard while he was there. At the same time, the brevity of the fieldwork period does prompt some questions about the nature of these contributions. Roberto Da Matta, in his preface, comments on the need to integrate this material into some sort of social context. One is indeed surprised to find that the author knows so little about the Tarëno as to deny that they use peppers in their cooking (and misquotes the present reviewer in support of this contention). There are also some wider questions that arise, but a short review only offers enough scope to indicate them rather than go into them.

Magaña states with reference to the Kaliña, amongst whom he had done fieldwork in 1980, that some of the material he collected in 1985 conflicts with what he reported earlier. He claims – probably quite right-

ly, in view of the cases he cites and the interpretation he places on them – that both accounts may be equally correct and valid. However, this problem will be more difficult to solve in the case of Trio mythology. Later this year a book entitled *The Oral Literature of the Trio Indians of Surinam*, by C. Koelewijn, is to appear. The one hundred texts included in this volume were collected by Koelewijn after 1980, and a great many of them originate from the same informant as the one used by Magaña. Although it is impossible to be certain, because Magaña only provides summaries of the relevant myths, the differences between the two versions of the myths recorded by these two authors in some cases are quite startling, and go a long way beyond the variation that is normally to be expected. The question of why this is so cannot be tackled here. I hope to return to the matter when the Koelewijn volume is published, however, since it gives rise to some interesting questions concerning the collection, quality and interpretation of ethnographic data.

P. E. de Josselin de Jong, *Generalisatie in de culturele antropologie* (Afscheidscollege ter gelegenheid van het neerleggen van het ambt van hoogleraar in de sociale wetenschappen aan de Rijksuniversiteit van Leiden op 12 juni 1987), 1987, Leiden: E. J. Brill.

A. DE RUIJTER

In his highly readable and clearly formulated farewell lecture, P. E. de Josselin de Jong raises the question of what keeps anthropology united (p. 26), or, in other words, what are its communal traits (p. 23). De Josselin de Jong characterizes the actual subject of his lecture as 'an attempt to sketch cultural anthropology as a science which, while itself being subject to changes, has to come to terms with its own internal coherence' (pp. 16-17). In doing so, he refers back to his inaugural lecture of 1957, in which he scrutinized two essential problems of anthropological practice, namely: (1) to find a way out of the dilemma of description versus generalization/explanation (p. 9); and (2) to develop a valid and reliable set of instruments (p. 12). Then, as now, he points out the 'fertility' of the programmatic tradition initiated by J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong, without, however, losing sight of the importance of other perspectives. Two core principles of his programme are: (a) the idea of an (Indonesian) anthropological field of comparative studies ('etnologisch studieveld') as a means of meaningfully combining both description and generalization (or, as the case may be, of overcoming the tension between description and generalization in a meaningful way), and (b) the search for underlying structures, which consist of combinations of core elements. Quite rightly, De Josselin de Jong next emphasizes that the 'Leiden school' may be said to be traditional – after all, it has been productive for over fifty years – but can by no means be described as stagnant, because we see here a conceptual refinement, a

broadening of perspective, and a shift of focus. Refinement is obvious in the specification and elaboration of concepts, and is also apparent in the rise of the so-called polythetic concepts. The expansion of the field of enquiry and the change of focus are evident from: (a) the choice of subjects within the Indonesian field of study; (b) the analysis of other fields of comparative anthropological study (see, e.g., the collection of essays edited by Karremans and De Ridder on the occasion of De Josselin de Jong's retirement); and (c) the increasingly strong emphasis on the view of the participants, in contrast to that of the outside observer, or, in other words, the shift from rule-to-ideal principles, with representations (*l'ordre conçu*) and institutions (*l'ordre vécu*) being regarded as being mutually constitutive, or, as the case may be, interacting.

De Josselin de Jong concludes his lecture with the observation that there has been progress, but he does so in a circumspect and hesitant way and, actually, with a feeling of discontent:

'If anthropology, or any other science, has to base its inner coherence and its real character on its attempts to formulate universal laws and to improve its conceptual apparatus, then that science is in a deplorable state. We have come back to the question which was posed at the beginning: what fundamentally is cultural anthropology, and what, if anything, keeps anthropology together as a unified whole?' (p. 29).

We may remark here that De Josselin de Jong finds it difficult to treat this problem adequately because, true to the principles of structuralist methodology, he is only concerned with internal analysis.

In order to define anthropology, we should look not only for intradisciplinary similarities and differences, but also for the characteristics of the surrounding disciplines external to anthropology. Only this combination of comparison – within a given system, and between systems – of similarities and differences can yield an adequate picture.

Actually, De Josselin de Jong only gives the real answer in his epilogue, which contains a *wish* for the future:

'Whoever becomes acquainted with cultural anthropology generally gains an experience which quite drastically changes the way in which he experiences the world around him; he can no longer consider the way of feeling, thinking and acting of his own society as a matter of course, but learns to see them as varieties in the midst of all kinds of other possibilities to be found elsewhere. Now, it is strange to see how rarely anthropologists continue to build upon this drastically new view and take it as a point of departure for their scientific elaborations. Should we not consider this as one of the most important tasks for the practitioners of our discipline?'

I honestly think it regrettable that De Josselin de Jong did not start his valedictory lecture with this thesis, as he himself is precisely the right

person to take this task upon himself. From the very beginning of his academic career, he has defined anthropology as the study of intercultural communication and has pointed out the problems which arise from this. Already in 1956, he drew attention to the problematic relation between the models constructed by researchers and those used by participants. He has always looked for common factors behind empirical variation. In this respect, he has been very much involved – pursuing the course set by the first generation of 'Leiden' anthropologists – in attempts to develop a method for reducing manifest cultural variations to underlying general structures without falling into the traps of either the atomistic and context-denying correlation studies of Murdock and his followers, or the reductionistic Lévi-Straussian perspective which defines cultural products as expressions of universal processes of thought. From this very perspective, De Josselin de Jong could have demonstrated the fundamental social and scientific relevance of cultural anthropology. For, indicating that 'elsewhere things are otherwise' can undoubtedly contribute to mutual understanding and social tolerance. The dependence of culture, including knowledge and science, on context, as demonstrated by anthropology, directly gives rise to problems of comparability, commensurability, and translatability of scientific paradigms. In this way, anthropology is a key discipline in the scientific, philosophical debate on cognitive relativism.

Yoe-Sioe Liem, *Überseechinesen – eine Minderheit: Zur Erforschung interethnischer Vorurteile in Indonesien*, Aachen: Edition Herodot im Rader-Verlag, 1986. (ISBN 3-922868-70-0).

MARY F. SOMERS HEIDHUES

In this study of the Chinese minority in Indonesia, Liem has cast his net as widely as possible, beginning with human settlements in Indonesia in prehistoric times, following early history and the late pre-colonial period (evidenced in sources from China), and ending with changes in colonial times or since independence which have restricted the freedom of the Chinese minority. He presents material on this minority's economic roles, legal limitations, values, acculturation, etc., from numerous, mostly secondary, sources, including well-known field studies by Donald Willmott, Tan Giok Lan and Go Gien Tjwan. As a member of the minority himself, he also speaks from personal experience, although he is careful not to let this influence his argument.

The result is a long book (626 pages, with appendices and a bibliography, but no index) with a great deal of material that is now partly out of date, which represents Liem's doctoral dissertation in sociology for the University of Cologne. This book is identical in every way, except for the title and cover, to the author's *Die ethnische Minderheit der Überseechinesen im Entwicklungsprozeß Indonesiens* (Saarbrücken: Breitenbach, 1980). Obviously, it would be unreasonable to expect the author to have used sources

which were not yet written in 1980, but it would be unfortunate if readers were led to use the book under review to gather 'facts' about contemporary conditions or historical circumstances which are now better understood.

For example, Liem argues that Western researchers have ignored the contribution of Chinese culture to the Indonesian heritage, and insists that Dutch colonial policy was designed to limit or eliminate the Chinese minority as economic rivals. While this is uncontested, works on Peranakan literature and on Chinese influences on Islam in Indonesia have since appeared. With regard to the second point, James Rush has shown in *Opium Farms in Nineteenth-Century Java* (Dissertation, Yale University, 1977) that, despite the hated pass and quarter systems of the 19th century which restricted the freedom of movement of the Chinese, the traders associated with the opium farms travelled freely in Java. It would seem that the influence of colonial policy on the Chinese minority was more differentiated than is admitted here.

Furthermore, there is a large number of errors or misprints in the work that will undoubtedly irritate the reader and may, in some cases, lead to misunderstandings. So dates are misprinted, Kwangtung (or Guangdong) is spelt Kwan-Tung, statistics are confused, and in a statement like 'among the women in 1960 only about 25% had a university degree' (p. 296) the figure 25 probably stands for 0.25%. Finally, on p. 554, a report from 1972 is used to illustrate 'current' (*heutzutage*) discriminatory regulations which have since been liberalized.

In the introduction, and more especially in the final hundred pages, the author gives an analysis of anti-Chinese feelings and activities in Indonesia which is of considerable interest and which would, in my opinion, have been better presented in a shorter study without the wide-ranging and sometimes irrelevant historical ballast. I do not know why Liem (or his publisher?) chose to reprint this work unchanged, but to my mind this was a decision designed to dilute an important message.

Beach, H. (ed.), *Contributions to Circumpolar Studies*.
Uppsala Research Reports in Cultural Anthropology No. 7,
1986. 181 pages.

N. J. M. ZORGDRAGER

The three articles of this booklet have common roots in the area of circumpolar studies. They deal with native rights over northern resources, the ethno-history of northern native peoples, and both traditional and modern resource utilization. The third, and shortest, article, 'Traditionel Reindeer Husbandry among the Evens of Kamchatka in the Beginning of the 1920's', was written by the Swedes Ingvar Svanberg and Leif Lindin. The data for this article were collected by the Swedish zoologist Sten Bergman and his wife while visiting the Evens (Lamut) in the winter of 1921-1922. The description of a number of central elements of traditional reindeer husbandry of the Evens forms a welcome

addition to the scanty material about this people available in the English language.

Hugh Beach, an American by birth, has contributed an article on 'The Saami in Alaska: Ethnic Relations and Reindeer Herding'. This article portrays the ideals of Sheldon Jackson, head of the Alaskan Missions and general agent of education for the territory. From 1890 to 1902, Jackson brought Siberian reindeer to Alaska. In 1894 and 1898 he contracted Saami (Lapp) herders from northern Norway to herd the reindeer for the mission stations and to instruct Inuit apprentices in herding techniques and reindeer management. What strikes the reader are Jackson's high ideals. Rooted in the ideology of Social-Darwinism, they permeated both his fund-raising arguments and the programme's policy in often contradictory ways. To Jackson, Alaskan reindeer herds offered the means to solve the problems of the white man in developing the North, to solve the problems of the Inuit on their road to civilization and to solve the problems of the Saami in coping with overpopulation of both reindeer and people in their home country. But ultimately, historical events departed from the paved, narrow road to civilization as visualized by Jackson.

The article by the Canadian Nancy Weeks focuses on 'National Parks and Native Peoples'. Weeks sees the national park ideal as an important element in the survival of the earth and mankind. Development and industrial societies are threatening both nature and the ways of life of indigenous peoples who are directly dependent on the environment. Where the man-land relationship is seen as a continuum ranging from exploitative to protectionist, man is a dependent variable and exploitation a slow form of suicide. The ecologically desirable alternative is symbiosis. 'The future depends on our ability to restore, *at a higher technological level*, the old man-nature continuum' (emphasis added). In contrast to industrialized, 'biosphere people', indigenous, 'ecosystem people' do not destabilize their ecosystem. Ecosystem people are therefore able to guide us. Weeks has a tendency towards a we-they opposition, and her ideological exposition may easily lead to the assumption that 'they' *want* to go on living in their traditional way, as ecosystem people. This ignores the fact that most of them desire access to 'our' (the biosphere people's) technological 'blessings'. From ideology, she turns to the reality of the legislation and policy approaches adopted in Australia, New Zealand, Scandinavia, Alaska and Canada. This section leans heavily on law texts, which makes it difficult reading for persons not versed in legal phraseology. Weeks does not touch on questions of way of life and standard of living as a matter of personal choice for both 'traditional native' and 'industrial' people. Clearly it will be a long and difficult road if mankind begins to take the matter of saving itself seriously.