Book Reviews

- B.F. Galjart, S.N. Eisenstadt, Patrons, clients and friends; Interpersonal relations and the structure of trust in society, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1984. X + 343., L. Roniger (eds.)
 - Paul van der Grijp, André Iteanu, La ronde des échanges; De la circulation aux valeurs chez les Orokaiva, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1983, 335 pp.
 - D.C. Mulder, Rita Smith Kipp, Indonesian religions in transition, Tucson, 1987, 304 pages., Susan Rodgers (eds.)
 - M. Schoffeleers, Klaus Hock, Gott und magie im Swahili Islam; Zur transformation religiöser inhalte am beispiel von Gottesvorstellung und magischen praktiken, Köln/Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1987, 214 pp.
 - Ü. Sirk, J.C. Anceaux, Wolio dictionary (Wolio - English - Indonesian). Kamus bahasa Wolio (Wolio - Inggeris - Indonesia). Dordrecht, Holland/Providence - U.S.A.: Foris Publications, 1987. XVIII + 195 pp.
 - A. Teeuw, Henri Chambert-Loir, Cerita asal bangsa jin dan segala dewa-dewa. Naskah dan Dokumen Nusantara/Textes et Documents Nousantariens. Usaha bersama Penerbit Angkasa dan École Francaise d'Extrême Orient V. Bandung, 1985. 177 pp.
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BOEKBESPREKINGEN

S.N. Eisenstadt and L. Roniger (1984), *Patrons, clients and friends; Interpersonal relations and the structure of trust in society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. X + 343 pp.

B.F. GALJART

S.N. Eisenstadt is a prolific author, who has acquired a world-wide reputation, but one whose style of writing makes Talcott Parsons's seem like a model of concreteness and clarity by comparison. I have, I admit, difficulty in understanding what he means. This difficulty may be due, in part, to my slow wits, but in part also, I suggest, to the accumulation of abstractions in Eisenstadt's theorizing. A social phenomenon, it is true, can be explained sometimes as A and sometimes as B, or even as non-A, depending on the context. But to do all this in a single sentence makes for statements that are so vague as to be almost meaningless, and impossible to memorize.

The bulk of the book is an analysis of patron-client relationships (Chapters 4 to 8). Such relationships are regarded as examples of interpersonal relations based on trust, something similar to kinship or friendship. In the first three chapters, an overview is presented of sociological theorizing about these kinds of relationships and the function of trust. This review, which is partly historical and partly according to schools of thought, is a rambling one. Trust, in the authors' view, approaches solidarity and integration, but its meaning is not really defined. Interpersonal relations in which trust is the main element are also regarded as instances of generalized exchange.

A long fourth chapter – of 120 pages – provides short historical descriptions of societies and social structures in which patron-client relations have been found – portrayals of contexts, as it were. The authors – who have been working on this topic, separately or together, for a long time – have compiled an extensive bibliography on patronage, including publications in English, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian and German.

Theorizing about patron-client relations is resumed in chapters 5, 6, and 7. The clientelistic mode of generalized exchange, which is examined in chapter 5, is regarded as a sort of addendum to what is called the central institutional nexus (for example: the ascriptive rights of categories of people). This chapter also provides examples of patronage in modern societies, where some universalistic principle is assumed to regulate access to goods and services.

Chapter 6 poses questions about the social conditions which generate patronage. Answers are sought in the internal cohesion of the major groups of the society concerned, the structure and cultural orientations of élites, and the modes of control they exercise.

Chapter 7 deals with variations in patron-client relations (seen as exchange relations) with regard to features such as durability, and so on. My problem with the text remains. What can a reader do with a conclusion like (p. 268): 'It [i.e., the analysis of cases] has indicated that it is the basic

cultural orientations and characteristics of the structure of elites, and of their control over access to markets and centers and over conversion of resources, that influence the crystallisation of the basic modes of generalised exchange; while levels and organisation of resources, and occupation, by different groups, of positions of power and control within different markets, influence the organisational aspects of the social division of labour and the actual power relations within markets and in the relations between centres and peripheries'?

The difficulty resides in the main questions the authors wish to answer, as well as in the conceptual apparatus they use. Their problem is not so much *in what* circumstances or contexts individuals make use of a patron-client relationship, as *when* societies do so. Patron-client relations are regarded as a mode of generalized exchange. Societies then become the units of analysis. Societies, however, are not classified by type. Although words like 'feudal' or 'modern' are occasionally used, no types are distinguished. Societies evolve by differentiation, structurally and symbolically. The conclusions at which the authors arrive must then be generalized across a wide variety of contexts. This reader, at least, is often at a loss as to how to visualize the setting about which a particular statement is made, the more so as a different statement may be made about another setting in the next sentence, or paragraph. Both statements are correct; they might even be illuminating, if the reader could only find his bearings.

I would have preferred a more schematic, structural analysis, either in terms of class, or in terms of figurations, distinguishing levels of organization, different plays on each level, horizontal and vertical alliances as moves in such plays, or individuals in competition as units of analysis. As it stands, the register may help the reader to locate passages which he may find useful, given his thematic interest. The general reader will not get beyond, let us say, page 25.

André Iteanu, *La ronde des échanges; De la circulation aux valeurs chez les Orokaiva*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1983, 335 pp.

PAUL VAN DER GRIJP

The Orokaiva people live in the Oro Province of Papua New Guinea. André Iteanu considers their exchange system as a cycle, as a *ronde des échanges* (hence the title of his book). His theoretical perspective is inspired by the discussion which proceeds from Mauss via Durkheim to Dumont. The exchange between human beings and spirits, for example, is considered to be a 'total social fact' à la Mauss and Durkheim, because, in the eyes of the Orokaiva, this exchange dominates and includes all other forms of exchange. Marriage transactions between different villages, as well as exchanges between individuals within a village, are subordinate to it.

The spirits are ancestors who wander about in the forest and whose power emanates from manipulation with the most important exchange

item: pigs. Whether a catch consists of a dead pig speared in the forest, or a pig caught alive in a trap at the edge of some vegetable garden, the Orokaiva owe this catch to the spirits. Aware of the fact that all animals belong to the world of the spirits (= the wild), the Orokaiva try to transform the animals into a product of human society through ritual, especially when pigs are intended for use in an exchange with other people. The transformation is represented as an exchange with the spirits.

During initiation ceremonies, people offer their children to the spirits in exchange for pigs. To effect a postponement of the payment of their part in the exchange, i.e. the lives of their children, the Orokaiva practise different kinds of magic, in which the opposite sex sibling link plays a crucial role. Hereby they may gain pigs without immediately losing their children. Only later will the spirits take what they are entitled to; the children will be killed when they become old people (although sometimes when they are still young – the exception which confirms the rule). The body of the deceased must be buried in the forest, where it is transformed into a wild animal. Only then is the score settled. While the exchange may be delayed, ultimately there is no escape from settlement of the debt.

Whereas initiation is, by and large, an exchange between human beings and spirits, in matrimonial exchanges the emphasis is on the relationship between people, taking the form of a circulation of women and dowries between villages. However, this type of exchange remains subordinate to the one between human beings and spirits. The most important part of a dowry is formed by domesticated pigs. These symbolize the debt to the spirits which was incurred during initiation. Thus, a village supplies itself with female matrimonial partners through gifts for which the villagers have not yet paid off their debt.

The system of delayed exchange is also reflected in another way in the marriage transaction. A married daughter or sister is worth another woman as a counter-gift. That other woman, acquired elsewhere by way of the next wedding in one's own village, will only arrive later – or perhaps not at all, in which case there will be war.

The debt to the spirits which came about as a result of initiation is emphasized by the marriage and paid off at the funeral. Then the cycle is closed and order re-established – that is to say, if everybody were to die simultaneously. However, since this never happens, generally speaking, the debt to the spirits remains. One might say that this debt is the 'motor of history' in the Orokaiva universe.

Seen in this light, it is comprehensible that the *value* of exchange objects in the gift circulation with spirits and other people is not determined by something like the 'intrinsic nature' of these, but rather by the route these objects cover in the exchange circuit. This goes for pigs, as well as for taro and feathers. What matters is not a single isolated exchange, but the whole cycle of gifts – past, present and future – a whole that is continually kept in mind by the mythological discourse.

Iteanu seems to keep his promise, as the book is an attempt to lay bare the logic of the Orokaiva universe. However, after reading it, one question remains: why did he fail to incorporate his own field material into it? After the completion of this book, but before its publication, Iteanu completed

one and a half years of anthropological field research among the Orokaiva. This fieldwork, he states, confirmed his analysis and conclusions. Moreover, he points at the 'excellent quality' of the library sources on which he based his book. Especially the works of F.E. Williams in the twenties and thirties and of Eric Schwimmer in the sixties and seventies proved solid pillars on which the author was able to base his analytical construction.

While all this may well be true, why did Iteanu not put his own field data and excellent library material 'on trial', so that the reader could have checked the confirmation claimed by the author for himself? At the same time, Iteanu leaves another question unanswered, namely as to what the additional value of his own field observations may have been. Could it have been that of a detailed comparison of his own recent findings with situations in the past, as described by others, and thus the development of a historical perspective on Orokaiva society? By this I mean a well argued view on the degree to which the circulation of gifts and related aspects of Orokaiva society have changed because of internal developments and/or outside influences.

If the processes of colonization, Christianization, and monetarization of (a part of) the economy, and the recent process of state formation in Papua New Guinea have had no influence on Orokaiva society at all, we may expect an explanation from the author. Iteanu could, for example, have given specific reasons for the recent revival of the initiation rite, which contrasts with the abandonment of that same ritual earlier this century. In spite of the intelligent way in which the author reveals patterns of 'socio-logic' and 'ideo-logic' in Orokaiva society, his analysis has the historical depth of a pancake.

Rita Smith Kipp and Susan Rodgers (eds), *Indonesian Religions in Transition*, Tucson 1987, 304 pages.

D.C. MULDER

This volume brings together a number of articles on Indonesian religions. These range from tribal religions in Timor, Toraja country, and South Kalimantan, to Islam, while the politics of religion in Indonesia are also discussed.

Indonesia is a most interesting field for the study of religions. While it has a large majority of Muslims (approximately 85% of the population), it is not an Islamic state. There is full religious freedom for all officially acknowledged religions (Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Protestantism, Catholicism). The tribal religions, which are not officially recognized, are confronted with problems and, remarkably, individuals have no real freedom to be without a religion. This readable book provides a good impression of some of the many religious phenomena in Indonesia.

The authors have opted (in my opinion rightly so) for a holistic view of the subject and have not reduced religion to a desire for political legitimation. I must say that I have a problem with the titles used in the book. Especially in the first part (under the heading 'Indonesian Religions and

their Transformations'), there are several articles which do not deal with either transition or transformation, as, for example, the article on the Tetum religion in Timor, and, more especially, the article on the twelfth-century Javanese poem *Arjunawiwaha*.

As is fairly usual in publications on religions in Indonesia, Christianity is somewhat neglected here, despite the fact that it is Indonesia's second-largest religion and has a history going back to the sixteenth century. The author states on p. 13 that a small number of mountain peoples and groups in isolated interior regions and the small eastern Indonesian islands have become converted to Christianity. This assertion does not take into account such strong Christian churches as those in Tapanuli, Sumatra (the Batak churches), and the remarkable conversion to Christianity of hundreds of thousands of people in Central and East Java (a transition, indeed!). To speak of church attendance on the seventh day of the week (p. 143) or prayer to Christian deities (p. 146) does not reveal the knowledge of Christianity one would expect of a scientist of religion.

Transition or transformation as experienced by Indonesian religions in our century has been brought about by at least two factors – one, the spread of modern (Western) education, science, statehood, bureaucracy, etc., and two, the very specific religious policies of the Indonesian government since independence. Some of the articles in this publication describe the struggle of tribal religions to obtain recognition as an official religion (*agama resmi*), others deal more specifically with the politics of *agama* (religion). All in all, they make interesting reading.

Klaus Hock, *Gott und Magie im Swahili Islam; Zur Transformation religiöser Inhalte am Beispiel von Gottesvorstellung und magischen Praktiken*, Köln/Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1987, 214 pp. (Paperback, DM 48.—.)

M. SCHOFFELEERS

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Gott und Magie is an attempt to reconstruct some of the transformations resulting from the interaction between East African coastal Islam and the traditional religious beliefs and practices of local African communities. The product of that interaction is Swahili Islam, which received its definite shape towards the middle of the nineteenth century.

The study focuses on two fields of research in particular, viz, conceptualizations of God and magical practices. As far as the first of these subjects is concerned, the Swahili Muslims make use of two divine names in particular: Allah and Mungu. Allah appears to convey the notion of transcendence and absolute uniqueness, whereas Mungu represents a variety of concepts ranging from the idea of an impersonal power to that of a 'High God' in the traditional, Islamic or Christian sense. Yet, the more distinctive notion attached to the term Mungu appears to be that of 'master of the spirits' (referring to the all-important role played by spirits in traditional African religions), while Allah is best characterized as 'lord of

the world', highlighting his sovereignty over all creation. This does not mean that the two terms have retained their original meaning, whatever that may have been. Such contrasts as exist between them have been formed in a continuous process of defining 'God' in relation to different areas of human experience. Although the author does not say so explicitly, the impression is definitely given that Mungu bears a special relation to the microcosmic world of day-to-day relations, whereas Allah should rather be associated with the macrocosmic world of long-distance trade, international Islam and the modern bureaucratic state.

The second part of the book deals with magical practices relating to the human life cycle, the climatic and economic cycle, and the occurrence of witchcraft. Here, too, we encounter a dual terminology, represented by the appellations *mwalimu* and *mganga*, referring to ritual specialists operating within an Islamic and in a traditional context respectively, although the boundaries between the two are notoriously vague. *Mganga* is translated by the author with 'medicine man'. It would have been more correct, however, to render it as 'medicine person', since there are as many women functioning in that capacity as there are men. Although this may seem a minor point, it is not, for one of the major effects of the spread of Islam (and of Christianity) has been an increasing 'masculinization' of religious offices. Against this background it is important to note that women have been able to hold their own in the *mganga* role, whereas they have been kept out or forced out of other religious functions. It would do *Religions-geschichtliche* studies such as *Gott und Magie* no harm to spend a little more time on the social context in which religious transformations occur. Concepts such as those explored in this book are defined not only by what native informants have to say about them, but also by their *Sitz im Leben*.

J.C. Anceaux, *Wolio Dictionary (Wolio — English — Indonesian). Kamus Bahasa Wolio (Wolio — Inggris — Indonesia)*. Dordrecht, Holland/Providence — U.S.A.: Foris Publications, 1987. XVIII + 195 pp.

Ü. SIRK

The book under review is the result of research on the Wolio language carried out by Professor Anceaux over several decades. His first book, *The Wolio Language: Outline of Grammatical Description and Texts* (VKI 11), appeared in 1952. Since then, several Austronesian comparative linguists (including the reviewer) have more than once turned to this book to obtain data on the Wolio language. However, until Anceaux's 1987 publication, no dictionary of Wolio existed. Therefore, the publication of this long-awaited book is all the more appreciated.

The first thing to attract our attention in Anceaux's Wolio Dictionary is that, in contrast to most other dictionaries of Western Austronesian languages, the lexical material is not arranged according to derivational clusters. Derived forms are given their own place in the general alphabetical listing, while cross-references are provided to all words containing the

same root morpheme (except those which immediately follow). This mode of arrangement is fully justified, since it is clearly handier in terms of the practical use of the dictionary, particularly when reading texts, than is the traditional 'cluster arrangement'. Furthermore, the author's fear that comparative linguists may 'find some difficulties in the organization of the dictionary' (p. VII) seems to be groundless. True, when looking for Wolio cognates of root words in related languages (or for Wolio reflexes of reconstructed roots), we may not be able to find them in the affixless form. For example, Anceaux's dictionary does not contain any headword directly comparable to Bare'e *oge* 'exceedingly', but this etymon is represented by the words *maoge* 'big', *kaoge* 'largeness', and *pekaoge* 'make big', all of which are presented as separate items. Thus, a number of productive affixes must be constantly kept in mind. This, however, is hardly a difficult task for anyone even superficially acquainted with the system of the language involved. In any case, the 'cluster arrangement', which not infrequently keeps real cognates concealed in the depths of inappropriate clusters (as the result of an incorrect etymological analysis), is no better. In addition, the Austronesian comparative linguist is forced to constantly keep even more intricate phenomena in mind, such as: fossilized affixes, various infixes (whose positions in the root morpheme show greater variability than one might conclude from the wellknown (-)in-), prenasalization of medial consonants, specific patterns of reduplication, intensive forms, *krama* forms, *Streckformen*, unusual vowel changes, metatheses, metanalysis, fusion, etc.

In Anceaux's dictionary, the search for cognates is greatly facilitated by the cross-references, which indicate the derivational (in the author's terminology: 'morphological') relation. This cross-referencing apparatus is carefully elaborated and seems to be, in general, quite reliable. Here I would like to call into question one point. The dictionary contains a single headword *bulua*, which is treated as a polysemantic word and translated as follows: '1. (head of) hair. 2. Nephelium lappaceum' (further on I will address *bulua* 1 and *bulua* 2 respectively). Anceaux relates the entire entry *bulua* to *bulu* 'hair'. However, *bulua* 1 and *bulua* 2 are homonyms. While *bulua* 2 undoubtedly goes back to the compound '*bulu* + the suffix *-an*' (but may be a loanword in Wolio, cf., e.g., Balinese *buluan* id.), *bulua* 1 poses some knottier problems. It seems to represent an areal lexical element that is widely spread in the southern and central parts of the Sulawesi region. Regarding the etymology of *bulua* 1, it is fairly safe to assume that it does not derive from a suffixal compound; and even its historical connection with *bulu* is not entirely beyond question. Therefore, the cliché 'related to' is not appropriate here, and when referring to *bulu* from *bulua* 1, the author ought to have made use of the other cliché which is common in his dictionary, viz. 'compare also' (evidently covering a range of more or less hypothetically related words, the latter cliché involves no claims of any derivational relation).

In compounds and phrases given in dictionary entries, one sometimes comes across words that are not to be found among the headwords. Of course, the author is entitled to make his own choice of headwords, excluding words of limited occurrence from the list; and a medium-sized

dictionary cannot be expected to be exhaustive. But it should be noted that at least some of these 'hidden' words seem to be interesting from a comparative linguistic point of view, e.g. *pariama* (s.v. *aulewae*) and *wana* (s.v. *labu II*).

Apart from filling a major gap in our linguistic knowledge of the Sulawesi region (where so many gaps still remain!), Anceaux's Wolio dictionary will also prove useful to historians and cultural anthropologists. In its various entries, the dictionary contains a significant amount of data concerning the former Sultanate of Buton and its state system, history and traditions, as well as the Wolio culture. Though unavoidably fragmentary, all this information is certainly welcome when so little is presently known about these subjects.

In short, the dictionary under review here is a highly valuable book.

Henri Chambert-Loir (ed.), *Cerita Asal Bangsa Jin dan Segala Dewa-Dewa*. Naskah dan Dokumen Nusantara/Textes et Documents Noutsantariens. Usaha bersama Penerbit Angkasa dan École Française d'Extrême Orient V. Bandung, 1985. 177 pp.

A. TEEUW

This book is centered around the edition of a Malay historiographical text or, as the editor himself puts it, a dynastic myth from the island of Bima. The text is relatively short (only twenty quarto pages). The author's edition is based on one manuscript. He has critically compared it with two other available manuscripts, and has added many variant readings with ample notes. He includes in his research other source materials on the history and historiography of Bima. Among these are a number of oral traditions from the island, the curious *Hikayat Sang Bima*, written by a 'Malay dalang' who came to Bima around 1700 and created a syncretistic mixture of his own of a Javano-Malay wayang story, and a Bimanese 'history'. An extensive summary of the *Hikayat* text is provided in Annex III. Other annexes contain additional fragments from comparable texts, and genealogical tables of the Bimanese royal dynasty according to the various sources. A number of illustrations present reproductions of two maps, as well as of facsimile pages from the different manuscripts discussed in the book.

All in all this is another exemplary text edition by the author whose reputation as a philologist was established with the publication of his *Hikayat Dewa Mandu* (1980) and *Syair Kerajaan Bima* (1982). However, the book offers more than just a text edition. The chapter '*Cerita Asal dalam Perkembangan Sejarah*' (La *Cerita Asal* dans l'histoire) presents a lucid analysis of this text within the framework of Indonesian historiographical texts or dynamic myths. The editor convincingly argues that this written text is a typical palace text, 'karya orang-orang terdidik yang ingin meleburkan mitos setempat dalam sejarah alam semesta serta mengaitkan wangsa raja Bima kepada satu sumber kekuasaan yang lebih tinggi'. This local tradition, still not quite forgotten in Bima, is mainly found in the

second part of the text. It is placed within the framework of Indonesian and universal history, which occupies the first part of the text. This local tradition consists of an amalgam of Jawa-Hindu and Islamic traditions. Here one encounters well-known literary traditions and figures from many sources, such as the Pendawas and other figures from the Javanese wayang and other literary traditions (after all, the name Bima is derived from the second Pendawa). These include Boma from the *Hikayat Sang Boma*, Iskandar Zulkarnain, and figures from the *Hikayat Amir Hamzah*, the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, and even the *La Galigo* story from South Sulawesi. The genealogy is strongly reminiscent of the combination of *sajarah panengen* and *sajarah pangiwa* in Javanese royal genealogies. The manuscript edited by Chambert-Loir contains a long, dogmatic digression, which may have been inspired, as Chambert-Loir points out, by Nurudin's *Asrar al-insan* or his direct Arabic sources.

In spite of the variety of personalities and sources, this text is certainly not an 'uncritical farrago' of mythical, legendary and historical material. The editor demonstrates the inner coherence of the various parts, and one cannot but conclude that this text, in all its variety, is the result of highly conscious creative activity by well-read, erudite intellectuals at the court of Bima. One remarkable example is the role of Alexander the Great (Iskandar), which differs considerably from his role as it is recorded in other historiographical texts in Indonesia, but is consistent with the major theme of the text: the *cerita asal bangsa jin dan segala dewa-dewa*. Chambert-Loir also rightly observes that in editing and studying a text like this, the proper attitude of the reader is not the classical philological approach of discovering the 'corruptions', or the deviations from one absolute norm: 'Variansi teks itu tidak dianggap sebagai penjumlahan kesalahannya, yaitu penyimpangan terhadap suatu kaidah, tetapi justru sebagai keseluruhan teks yang mungkin terwujud' (44). The variations of the text in its various readings reflect the diverse stages of its elaboration, and are a function of the different socio-cultural contexts in which it was continuously rewritten. The text published is not an historically or literarily normative text, but just one particular form of the *Cerita Asal*. In a proper study such as the one carried out by Chambert-Loir, all the variants have their function and meaning.

Altogether, this book is an important contribution to the study of Indonesian culture and literature for three reasons:

1. It adds considerably to our knowledge of the history and culture of the sultanate of Bima and the view of its cultural élite of their past and present.
2. It presents us with yet another remarkable kind of dynastic myth, perhaps the most typical and original Indonesian literary genre.
3. It provides another most interesting specimen of Malay as the vehicle of culture in Indonesia, long before the ideal of *bahasa Indonesia* as the national language was expressed. In fact, ever since the Islamization of Bima, Malay has been accepted as the religious, political, and cultural language of the kingdom of Bima – as was the case in many other regions of Indonesia.