Book Reviews

- J. Angerler, Jýrg Schneider, From upland to irrigated rice; The development of wet-rice agriculture in Rejang Musi, Southwest Sumatra. Berlin: Reimer, 1995, 214 pp. [Berner Sumatra-Forschungen.]
 - R.H. Barnes, Janet Hoskins, The play of time; Kodi perspectives on calendars, history, and exchange. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, xx + 414 pp.
 - Karin Bras, Christel Lýbben, Internationaler Tourismus als Faktor der Regionalentwicklung in Indonesien; Untersucht am Beispiel der Insel Lombok. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1995, xiv + 178 pp.
 - Peter Boomgaard, Florentino Rodao, Espaýoles en Siam (1540-1939); Una aportaciýn al estudio de la presencia hispana en Asia Oriental. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientýficas, 1997, xix + 206 pp. [Biblioteca de Historia 32.]
 - Hans Hýgerdal, Winarsih Partaningrat Arifin, Babad Sembar; Chroniques de lýest javanais. Paris: Presses de lýýcole Francaise dýExtrýme Orient, 1995, 149 pp. [EFEO monographie 177.]
 - Els M. Jacobs, Gerrit J. Knaap, Shallow waters, rising tide; Shipping and trade in Java around 1775. Leiden: KITLV Press, 1996. [Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 172.]
 - Roy E. Jordaán, John Miksic, Ancient history. Singapore: Archipelago Press/Editions Didier Millet, n.d., 148 pp. [The Indonesian Heritage Series 1.]
 - Victor T. King, Penelope Graham, Iban shamanism; An analysis of the ethnographic literature. Canberra: Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, 1987 (reprint 1994), x + 174 pp. [Occasional Paper.]
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 - Niels Mulder, Raul Pertierra, Explorations in social theory and Philippine ethnography. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1997, xii + 262 pp.
 - Anthony Reid, Luc Nagtegaal, Riding the Dutch tiger; The Dutch East Indies Company and the northeast coast of Java, 1680-1743 (translated by Beverly Jackson). Leiden: KITLV Press, 1996, x + 250 pp. Index, maps, tables, graphs.
 - Cornelia M.I. van der Sluys, Signe Howell, For the sake of our future; Sacrificing in eastern Indonesia, Leiden: Centre for Non-Western Studies, 1996, xi + 398 pp. [CNWS Publication 42.]
 - Jaap Timmer, Bernard Juillerat, Children of the blood; Society, reproduction and cosmology in New Guinea (translated from the French by Nora Scott). Oxford: Berg, 1996, xxx + 601 pp., glossary, bibliography, index. [Explorations in Anthropology.]
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Book Reviews

Jürg Schneider, *From upland to irrigated rice; The development of wet-rice agriculture in Rejang Musi, Southwest Sumatra*. Berlin: Reimer, 1995, 214 pp. [Berner Sumatra-Forschungen.] ISBN 3.496.02573.5. Price: DM 42.–.

J. ANGERLER

According to Wittfogel's famous (and also much contested) hypothesis, artificial irrigation has been the prime mover in human history towards the formation of states, especially authoritarian, despotic states.¹ In this book Wittfogel's theory does not rate a mention. Rather, Schneider shows how in one particular case it was the formation of the state which led to the increasing importance of irrigation systems.

In Southwest Sumatra (today covering mainly the area of Bengkulu province), the hierarchical institutions of the colonial state were first introduced by the British (1685-1824). British rule was followed by Dutch rule (1824-1942) and then the short but momentous Japanese occupation (1942-1945). Colonialism was abolished during the Indonesian freedom struggle (1945-1949), but Southwest Sumatra remained part of a larger territorial organization, the Indonesian state.

The agrarian situation in Southwest Sumatra in early colonial times was characterized by a quite small population in relation to abundant land resources. Upland *ladang* (swidden) cultivation was the dominant form of agriculture, with rice as the primary crop. Fields were abandoned after one or two periods of cultivation, whereupon new land was cleared from the forest. Land was reclaimed only after an extended period of fallow. Most of the permanent irrigated fields or *sawah* were restricted to specific natural environments, like swamps and river banks, where water was easily available.

This agricultural system, designed for self-sufficiency, was a thorn in the flesh of every colonial government. Most of the British plans to resolve the 'population problem' of this 'underpopulated' region by discouraging swidden cultivation and promoting irrigation were never carried out during their period of rule. The Dutch, however, were to implement measures designed to change the demographic and agricultural situation profoundly.

¹ Wittfogel, Karl A., 1957, *Oriental despotism; A comparative study of total power*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

For them, swidden cultivation was a system of 'predatory farming' (*roof-bouw*) associated with a 'vagrant way of life' (*vagebonderende leefwijze*) which made farmers difficult to control and exploit. Their first attempts at 'sawahization' involved bringing in experienced *sawah* farmers from the Mlnangkabau Highlands to teach the appropriate techniques. When the locals remained unimpressed, West Javanese *sawah* farmers were simply imported *en masse* under a government transmigration scheme instead. Irrigation development was also supported by the use of compulsory labour services (*herendiensten*) for the construction of irrigation dams and canals, and by a special government service called the *Landbouwvoorlichtingsdienst* (LVD) which had the task of initiating and promoting agricultural change. One of their policies was to reduce the huge variety of indigenous rice sorts by substituting fewer, higher-yielding varieties imported from China.

Once the Indonesian state was in the saddle, the transformation process continued. During the PRRI Rebellion of 1958 and in its aftermath, the national army finally abolished what remained of the non-sedentary way of life by demanding that farmers have their swidden fields within walking distance of permanent villages. Forest and swidden cycles consequently had to be shortened and fertility declined. National institutions replaced the LVD, and government transmigration from Java continued. We do not know the exact ratio of indigenous people to immigrants in Southwest Sumatra, because statistics showing the ethnic composition of the population (*penduduk menurut suku bangsa*) are not made available to the public in Indonesia. But it may be significant that none of the sample villages on which the author has based his research belongs to the small group of long-established communities with a dominant Rejang population. The Rejang are now labelled as a minority in their own land. In the Rejang Highlands in 1988, moreover, twice as much land was under wet-rice cultivation as was used for growing the traditional *ladang* rice. Yet swidden farming is still surviving better here than in most other parts of Sumatra, where it has disappeared almost completely.

Schneider's study is based on data gathered during an eighteen-month field study in the highlands of Southwest Sumatra (the Rejang-Lebong area), and on archival research in the Netherlands and Indonesia. The book, a revised version of his doctoral dissertation, is fairly equally divided into a historical part describing the 'making of agricultural development' (as outlined above), and a second part focusing on the present situation of the study area. After an overview of the case-study villages, different strategies and forms of adaptation in relation to the environment are discussed. Another chapter is devoted to rice rituals and the related mythology. The performance of these rituals, once an integral part of rice agriculture, is described as a vanishing practice. The reasons for this decline are sought in agricultural changes and in the attitude of reformist

Islam towards animist practices. Nevertheless, the author was still able to observe some ritual activity and to collect additional background information. His findings certainly add to our knowledge of Sumatran rice rituals and the beliefs integral to them.

The remaining chapters deal with the organization of labour, with cultivation techniques, and with the land use and economic strategies of sample households. A retrospect, four appendices, a glossary, an index and twenty-one black and white photographs complete this edition. There is no doubt that Schneider's book is a sound study covering many facets of rice agriculture in Sumatra.

Janet Hoskins, *The play of time; Kodi perspectives on calendars, history, and exchange*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, xx + 414 pp. ISBN 0.520.08003.3. Price: \$ 42.- (cloth).

R.H. BARNES

Kodi is a region of 50,000 people at the extreme west of the island of Sumba. Its previous claim to fame was a brief period of field research there in 1951 and 1952 which led F.A.E. van Wouden to abandon his idea that double unilineal descent was an empirical accompaniment to asymmetric marriage alliance. While much of Sumba has single unilineal descent with asymmetric alliance, Kodi lacks organized alliance, but does have double descent. The present work represents the first full ethnography of Kodi. Hoskins takes as her organizing theme conceptions of time, in particular legends, calendars, history and 'heritage'. This is as good a way to organize a general ethnography as any, and she carries it off with lucid sympathy to ethnographic context and detail and with sureness of analytic argument. Her ultimate aim is to explain what Kodi mean by saying 'time is value' and 'the present turns to the past'.

Exogamous local resident groups, houses, are organized patrilineally. Kodi also belong to exogamous dispersed matrilineal, 'flowers'. Affinity provides patrilines and matrilineal the 'flow of life' which ensures continuity. The ancestors of the Sumbanese migrated from 'Java' by crossing over a stone bridge, but 'time' itself was invented on Sumba. Kodi has abstract terms for sequence and duration. The origin of the day was connected to events which also brought death and birth. The organization and naturalization of the calendar is accounted for by a series of competitive narratives about the past. These narratives relate to the harvesting of sea worms and to the harvesting of rice and generally describe the transfer of a sacred object or site from an earlier to a later owner. Ritually the calendar oscillates between the constraint of the bitter months, a time of intense agricultural activity, and the freedom and

rejoicing that begins with the full moon preceding the swarming of the sea worms, usually in February. The day of the swarming is also marked by ritual combat.

Time is value because it is the standard for evaluating the animals used as bridewealth payments, funeral sacrifices and contributions to feasts, but concerns the values of life, not just those of work. Representations of the past are contested within the Kodi community, but increasingly Kodi representations have been challenged by missionaries and the national government. Kodi have responded by various forms of accommodation, resistance and reinterpretation. Hoskins gives a particularly interesting account of the attempts of the government to wrest control of determining the months of the calendar from the priest of the sea worms and their consequences, an issue which turns on the occasional need for intercalary months.

Eastern Indonesia is increasingly blessed with first-rate modern ethnographies, and this is among the finest. The interpretation is individual, but evidently faithful to her experiences. The book is very clearly written and argued and attractively illustrated.

Christel Lübben, *Internationaler Tourismus als Faktor der Regionalentwicklung in Indonesien; Untersucht am Beispiel der Insel Lombok*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1995, xiv + 178 pp. ISBN 3.496.02596.4. Price: DM 49.-.

KARIN BRAS

Lübben's book deals with the possibilities and limitations of tourism development on the Indonesian island of Lombok. She pleads for an 'integrated' tourist industry which directly benefits the local population, and which she argues can only be achieved through a high level of local participation. 'Endogenous regional development', which Lübben characterizes as diversification of the regional economy on the basis of available resources and potentials, is a key concept here, formulated as a criticism of more centralized regional development strategies which promote spatial division of labour and regional specialization. The author believes that such centralized strategies often lead to inequality because of lack of integration within the regional economy (p. 29). According to Lübben, tourism should be regarded as an additional tool for regional development and should be accompanied by the creation of local linkages to spread the benefits of growth.

The choice of Lombok as the site for this study was based on the fact that various types of tourism occur on the island. In order to determine to what extent these different types of tourism have become integrated into the regional economy, three tourist areas were selected: Senggigi, a mainly

up-market beach resort, Gili Air, a small island with low- and medium-standard accommodation, and Kuta, a low-budget settlement on the south coast. For each location, the tourism-related aspects of labour, agriculture and handicrafts are discussed. Findings from two handicraft villages in rural areas in Central and East Lombok are also added (Chapter 5).

Lübben's general conclusion is that external interests will not usually favour integration of tourism into the local economy. Rather, a high level of local participation is a prerequisite to attain this integration. This is the case on Gili Air, where locals participate in all aspects of tourism development including planning, decision-making and implementation. Fifty percent of the entrepreneurs here come from Gili Air itself and another 30 percent from the nearby mainland (p. 92). A high degree of social control keeps ownership almost entirely in local hands. The demand for high-quality facilities, services and supplies in the up-market tourist village of Senggigi, by contrast, only results in very small regional and local benefits. In the star-rated hotels only 6.3 percent of the employees come from Senggigi and 20 percent from the nearest town, Mataram (p. 86).

Lübben shows how tourism has increasingly been cut off from the regional development process as a whole, and how the emphasis on 'quality' tourism and the standardization of services and facilities in national policy has led to excessive interest in large-scale, up-market resorts. After reading the book, I was not left with questions regarding the regional or national level. However, I would have liked Lübben to examine the local situation at some of the field sites in more depth, instead of providing a superficial overview of levels of local participation in five locations. Besides establishing whether people participate or not, why not also analyze the choices and considerations involved? How does local participation take shape? The author concludes that villagers in Kuta participate only marginally in the local tourist industry, but the reasons for this remain unclear, especially since Kuta is an area of mainly low-budget accommodation requiring relatively small investments. Is it possible that they judge limited participation to be more profitable or less risky than deeper involvement? Again, why does Gili Trawangan, with the same type of accommodation as neighbouring Gili Air, show an increasing up-market tendency?

Lübben's plea for an integrated regionally-oriented tourism, anticipating a growing demand for 'alternative' destinations, is of course justified. Recommendations such as these, however, are not new. The harsh fact is that at the national level, priority is given to building resorts with star-rated hotels, swimming pools and golf courses. This will lead to further land-price rises and more land-ownership disputes, especially in areas like those described by Lübben, where small-scale entrepreneurs are (or were) exploiting attractive beaches with success.

Florentino Rodao, *Espanoles en Siam (1540-1939); Una aportación al estudio de la presencia hispana en Asia Oriental*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1997, xix + 206 pp. [Biblioteca de Historia 32.] ISBN 84.00.07634.6.

PETER BOOMGAARD

In 1897 the king of Siam (now Thailand), Rama V Chulalongkorn, visited various European countries. In Russia the centennial of the king's visit was celebrated in July 1997, culminating in the exact reconstruction of the dinner given by Czar Nicolas II in honour of Chulalongkorn. In Spain, also visited by the king in 1897, there were, to my knowledge, no festivities. Instead, a book was published on the Spaniards in Siam from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries, but this seems to have been a coincidence.

The book opens with a bang and ends with a long-drawn-out whimper. The first two of the four chapters, in fact, offer more than the title of the book suggests. As Spain and Portugal were united under one crown between 1580 and 1640, the author has decided to throw in a fair amount of information on the Portuguese and their empire in Asia as well. Moreover, the involvement of the Spaniards in the affairs of Siam is not only presented against the background of the Spanish Empire of that period, particularly the links between Spain, Mexico, and the Philippines, but also positioned amidst the power-struggles between 'Burma' (Arakan, Ava, Pegu), Malay states such as Patani and Ligor, Siam, Cambodia, Laos, Champa, Cochinchina, and Tonkin.

During the second half of the sixteenth century the Spaniards cherished hopes of conquering parts of continental Asia, among which figured China and Siam, and individual Spaniards took part in wars between the above-mentioned states. By the seventeenth century, when it had become clear that hopes of territorial conquest outside the Philippines were not realistic, the Spaniards limited themselves to more peaceful, predominantly commercial relations. They were interested in rice for consumption in the Philippines, teak for shipbuilding, and products such as sappanwood, benzoin, and tin. These were shipped in the annual Manila Galleon from the Philippines to Acapulco, Mexico, and then sent on to Spain. Silver coins, the only 'commodity' of the Spaniards which the Siamese were interested in, came back from Mexico in return. For a number of reasons the commercial (and missionary) contacts between Spaniards and Siamese became less important after 1688, although various attempts were made to revive them.

Chapters three and four describe, more than anything else, the paucity of relations between Spain and Siam in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In 1821, where chapter three begins, Spain had lost Mexico and the Manila Galleon trade no longer existed. To be sure, the Spaniards were

still interested in the rice and timber of Siam. They also wanted to use coolies from Siam for the sugar plantations of one of their few remaining colonies, Cuba. Nevertheless, commercial and political contacts did not amount to much, and Chulalongkorn's visit to Spain was an exceptional event. They would amount to even less when, at the end of the nineteenth century, Spain lost both Cuba and the Philippines. This last episode is dealt with in chapter four. Personally, I query the wisdom of dedicating so much space, an entire chapter, to the description of something that hardly existed. I have to admit, though, that Rodao certainly knows how to present astonishing and amusing stories illustrating the two countries' almost total lack of interest in each other.

To me, the value of the book lies in the first two chapters. It could be argued, though, that the fascination with Siam started in the nineteenth century, which therefore had to be included. Apparently Siam, the only Southeast Asian country that remained independent throughout the period of colonialism, continues to capture the imagination of Westerners. After the British, the Dutch, the French, and the Portuguese in Siam, we now have the Spaniards in Siam: everyone his own 'The King and I'.

Winarsih Partaningrat Arifin, *Babad Sembar; Chroniques de l'est javanais*. Paris: Presses de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient, 1995, 149 pp. [EFEO monographie 177.] ISBN 2.85539.777.4.

HANS HÄGERDAL

In spite of the best efforts of Brandes and Pigeaud, the easternmost part of Java, Blambangan, has received relatively scant interest from serious historians. This area, once the seat of Java's last Hindu polity, underwent dramatic upheavals in the early modern period, upheavals which, to a large degree, have abrogated chronicular traditions and complicated the task of historical reconstruction. It is therefore the more welcome that Arifin has ventured into this scarcely-trodden field of study.

Babad Sembar is a text dating from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century and dealing with various episodes from East Javanese history. It contains 365 strophes, ending abruptly in the middle of a genealogic digression. It appears to have been written at the residence of Jayanagara, *bupati* of Prabalingga. The interesting question of its origins, purpose and possible legitimizing function is not neglected by Arifin. The main ambition of his monograph, however, is much more problematic: to use the text as a means of reconstructing the history of the Blambangan realm in the period between late Majapahit and the early eighteenth century.

The text was composed at a time when Blambangan had lost its former importance. After the Dutch takeover in the 1760s and 1770s the region quickly declined into an impoverished, depopulated backwater and lost its former Hindu identity. During the eighteenth century Prabalingga, to the west of the former kingdom, was governed by regents who claimed descent either from Buleleng on Bali or from a side-branch of the house of Blambangan. Balinese functionaries played an important role in this regency, and it is probable that the author of *Babad Sembar* himself belonged to this ethnic group. This is apparent from the very marked presence of Balinese individuals and points of view. The treatment of recent Blambangan history displays considerable anachronisms, and Arifin suggests that the text should be seen as a '*Babad Prabalingga*' in which the direct ancestors of the *bupati* Jayanagara are treated in a distinctly more accurate way.

The latter assumption is controversial to say the least. The alleged split between the main ruling branch and the junior branch of the Blambangan house would have taken place in the mid-seventeenth century, at about the time when we begin to receive slightly fuller information on East Javanese affairs through the contemporary Dutch records. For the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries our knowledge of the 'Oosthoek' is disturbingly fragmentary, leaving plenty of room for flighty hypotheses. As we have it, the *Babad Sembar* provides only a very brief treatment of the first seven generations of the family in its opening lines, and these nine precious strophes form the frame around which Arifin builds his investigation. This opening appears to have a referential purpose, giving a succinct catalogue of princes who governed various East Javanese towns and realms. Some of these are depicted as rulers of the whole of Blambangan. The detailed genealogical information seems to have a ring of authenticity about it, but very little is said regarding the acts of the individuals mentioned.

Now, Arifin observes that two chronological anchor points are provided by a comparison with European sources. Menak Pentor (generation 4) is mentioned by Tomé Pires as Pate Pimtor or Pijntor, ruling in 1513, while Tawang Alun II (generation 8) passed away at an advanced age in 1691. Other points of reference are provided by a number of complementary genealogies pertaining to East Java collected by Hageman, Brandes, the Tjondronegoro family of Surabaya and others. These display a rough correspondence to the *Babad Sembar* genealogy in terms of names and numbers of generations.

As we know, Javanese history between Tomé Pires and the first Dutch voyages is shrouded in a thick veil which the lengthy investigations of De Graaf and Pigeaud could lift only in part. Of the few existing European sources from this period, however, several do pertain to East Java, particularly those connected with the Franciscan missions. Central Javanese and

Balinese *babad*, and local East Javanese traditions, provide some further data, as do the sparse archaeological remains. The latter, to which Arifin devotes a chapter, were largely ploughed down or used as building materials during the colonial period, and he makes a worthwhile attempt to collect the available data on them from scattered writings of the last two centuries. On the other hand, there are also a few gaps in the list of sources consulted by Arifin. The extensive nineteenth-century manuscript on East Javanese history by Johan Hageman, accessible at the KITLV, for instance, has not been used, and nor have the original Balinese *babad* texts, some of which are nowadays available in Indonesian translation.

From fragile material, Arifin valiantly sets out to reconstruct the vicissitudes of the Blambangan realm - from the local princes of Puger in the fifteenth century, through the power of Menak Pentor in the early sixteenth and the struggles against Balinese, Central Javanese and Pasisir Muslims later in the same century, to its unenviable role as a bone of contest between Bali and Mataram in the mid-seventeenth century and its subsequent fate as a dependency of the Balinese Mengwi kingdom. While several of his conclusions seem plausible, one may discern two weak points in his line of argument.

First, his view of how *babad* accounts and oral traditions can be used seems much too uncomplicated. The traditions concerning Balinese interference in Blambangan in the sixteenth century are a case in point. Arifin makes the important discovery that traditions collected by Johan Hageman and H.J. Domis in the nineteenth century have bearing on figures mentioned in the early part of the *Babad Sembar* that are otherwise little more than names to us. The main event described by these traditions concerns the *raja* of Panarukan, Jebolang, a nephew of Menak Pentor. Jebolang's son refuses to marry the daughter of the Balinese paramount king, provoking Balinese incursions and finally conquest and forcing him to take refuge in Puger. A *babad* tradition conveyed by Raffles (in his *History of Java*) also makes mention of a Panarukan king in the sixteenth century who has to flee before the onslaught by the Balinese in conjunction with a chief of East Blambangan and warriors from Sulawesi. And Balinese chronicular traditions, finally, relate a story of a Blambangan princess who declines to marry a Balinese king, likewise provoking a successful invasion and conquest while members of the royal family flee westwards.

While Arifin wishes to see these three stories as separate, more or less fully historical events, I think there is every reason to see them as variations on a theme. The motif of an invasion provoked by an abortive marriage deal is also known from other areas in the region like Lombok, and there is little reason to view it as more than a literary device. The variety of traditions concerning the incursion as such nevertheless suggests that it may ultimately refer to a historical event.

Secondly, there are deficiencies in Arifin's handling of the limited European data. An example is provided by the following quotation.

'Lorsque Thomas Cavendish jette l'ancre en 1588 devant Blambangan, il apprend que le roi de ce pays s'appelle Santa Guna. En 1575, celui-ci a reconquis Panarukan sur les Muselmans' (p.52).

Nothing in these sentences accords with the original sources at our disposal, and the consequences for the chronological framework constructed by Arifin are dire. According to Raffles, who is our only authority on this point, Santa Guna was the chief of East Blambangan who attacked Panarukan. But nothing is stated as to the date of this attack (the year 1575, mentioned by some textbooks, depends on a doubtful conjecture), or whether any Muslims were involved. Above all, Cavendish does not refer to the *raja* of Blambangan as Santa Guna or by any other name. The mistake, however, compels Arifin to revise part of the seventeenth century account of the Franciscan missions to East Java, which seems to depict a royal succession in the period 1584-1588. In a somewhat forced solution, he links this event instead with the conquest of Blambangan by Pasuruan in 1597.

These points may seem minor, but they point to the need to scrutinize original sources with a great deal of care, especially when they are as rare and as ambiguous as in this case. The abovementioned mistakes are already found in older works by De Graaf and Pigeaud and others, which illustrates the hazards of relying on established textbooks, however authoritative.

Having said this, I wish to emphasize that this is a useful work in spite of certain problematic points. Arifin has succeeded in collecting a vast array of writings on East Javanese history, culture and geography, and summarizing the sparse facts and statements that have survived to our time. The book is amply provided with genealogies and tables, together with a map and a very detailed chronological chart running from 1403 to 1769. Though many of its conclusions are open to discussion, it seems evident that anyone wishing to approach this neglected corner of Javanese history must start with this text.

Gerrit J. Knaap, *Shallow waters, rising tide; Shipping and trade in Java around 1775*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 1996. [Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 172.] ISBN 90.6718.1021. Price f 50.-.

ELS M. JACOBS

Although the title suggests a poetic account of seafaring life, this study is in fact a thorough analysis of a mass of quantitative data on indigenous trade and shipping in Java around 1775. By that time the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) had assumed sovereignty on the entire northern coast of the island. As elsewhere, the Company tried to regulate all trade and shipping in line with its own interests. Private merchants, for instance, had to obtain VOC permission for every single voyage. The harbourmaster at the port of departure, a Company official, issued these so-called sea passes, which were restricted in many ways. Private merchants were not allowed to deal in products in which the VOC itself conducted a profitable trade. Neither could they sail to destinations where the Company collected dearly-won monopoly goods like Moluccan spices. The harbourmaster was expected to register the details of all passes.

A whole shipload of these harbourmasters' registers must once have existed, but only a few have survived. Knaap selected only the most complete series for analysis, covering fourteen ports on the north coast of Java in the period 1774-1777. Even so, he had to cope with many statistical deficiencies. The rate of underregistration, for example, turned out to be very high, and the data on the volume and value of the cargoes lacked uniformity. For these reasons, Knaap emphasizes, all analyses of the more than 20,000 ship movements included in the records have to be considered as indicative only. Confusingly, however, the figures are presented to a number of decimal places, suggesting a higher level of exactitude.

Knaap exploits his data intensively. He analyses the types of ship, their appearance and origin, the arms they carried, their volume and destination, the time they spent at sea and in the roadstead, their skippers and crew. He examines ownership, investment and the value of cargoes. He reconstructs the trade in and around Batavia, the flow of goods east of Batavia (both as VOC commerce and within the private sector), and the fiscal regulations affecting it (such as sea passes and customs duties). The results of this painstaking exercise are complex and hard to summarize. A skipper-owner of Javanese ethnicity, sailing a *mayang* manned with a Javanese crew, emerges as the typical private trader in Java around 1775. He made one single voyage along Java's north coast annually, carrying rice, timber, gambir, fish and tobacco. These typical private merchants, however, had only a small share – less than fifteen percent – of the overall volume of trade (VOC and private sector combined), and in fact even within the private sector their share was still only about one quarter.

What can we conclude from these findings? Do they demonstrate that the role of the Javanese in international trade was declining? Are they proof that Javanese society had lost its potential to generate economic development by the end of the eighteenth century? Knaap is cautious.

Naturally, he feels the need for additional research even more strongly than we do before conclusions can be drawn regarding long-term developments in indigenous trade and shipping. May Knaap's penetrating analysis inspire others to venture similar projects.

John Miksic (ed.), *Ancient history*. Singapore: Archipelago Press/Editions Didier Millet, n.d., 148 pp. [The Indonesian Heritage Series 1.] ISBN 981.3018.26.7. Price \$ 60.-.

ROY E. JORDAAN

This book on ancient Indonesian history is the first of a 15-volume illustrated encyclopedia embracing the natural and cultural heritage of the Indonesian archipelago. Each of the volumes deals with a separate subject (for instance: ancient, early modern, and contemporary history, religion and ritual, architecture, performing arts, languages and literature, plants, wildlife, seas, volcanoes), presented in an attractive way with a strong emphasis on visual material. According to the press release by Editions Didier Millet, the series is 'aimed at a general readership, and with the intention of educating people about a diverse and complex nation'. The volumes are arranged in chapters consisting of a general introduction followed by a series of thematic double-page spreads written by specialists in the field. With its rich illustrations, ranging from old prints to striking photographs and newly-commissioned paintings and drawings, maps and diagrams, the Indonesian Heritage Series serves as a visual as well as a textual reference work.

Ancient history was prepared under the guidance of dr John Miksic of the University of Singapore, who acted as volume editor. Miksic has done an admirable job. The themes of most of the chapters are well-chosen and clearly set out. Twenty-five specialists of various nationalities contributed, most of them prominent in their fields. Apart from the considerable input by Miksic himself, we find for instance contributions by J.G. de Casparis on the development of Indonesian scripts and calendrical systems, Peter Bellwood on the distribution of Austronesian languages in Southeast Asia, population movements in prehistoric times, and early cultivation, Jan Christie on the early Indonesian economy, Pierre-Yves Manguin on Sriwijaya, Edi Sedyawati on the kingdoms of Kadiri and Singasari, R. Soekmono on *candi*, Jacques Dumarçay on palaces and gardens as well as Buddhist and Hindu temple structures, Hasan M. Ambary on early mosques and tombs, and Denys Lombard on early Islamic cities. Happily, a fair number of younger Indonesian archaeologists (and illustrators) were also invited to join the project; the contributions by I Wayan Ardika on

prehistoric Bali and Java deserve special mention. Appended to the book are a glossary, bibliography, and index.

Intended for general readers and students, the book will certainly meet existing demands and expectations. Professionals and *cognoscenti* in the field of Indonesian archaeology, however, may find the book less useful. Although they will enjoy the attractive, newly-commissioned paintings, drawings and maps, there is not much that will be new to them in the textual parts of the double-page spreads. What are presented here are the generally accepted views. This is partly the result of the design and the limited space available to the authors, which has forced them to be concise and leave out otherwise interesting details. Regrettably, however, some authors have presented too neat and simplified a picture of the Indonesian past, particularly with respect to Central Java during its 'classical' period. Furthermore, no mention is made of alternative views and the increasing discontent with the dominant paradigm. With respect to ancient Central Javanese history, for instance, it is the old 'tale of two dynasties' (Miksic 1991:35, 54, 56-7), the Buddhist Sailendras and Hindu 'Sanjayas', that is recounted. However, as I have argued elsewhere (Jordaan 1993), this theory or model oversimplifies history in that it assumes too close a connection between political and religious affiliations, an assumption probably derived from European (or rather, Dutch) history which does not generally accord with Southeast Asian realities.

Unlike the sections on Indonesian prehistory, those covering ancient Javanese and Sumatran history do not say enough about the uncertain and hypothetical character of our knowledge regarding the period in question. Names like Mataram, Sriwijaya, and Majapahit are used in such a way as to convey the impression that these were distinct and clearly demarcated political entities. Too much confidence is also placed in the use of the seriation method by which the sequence in which temples were built is reconstructed on the basis of their mouldings and finials (pp. 12-3), even though later in the book another author (pp. 42-3) admits that the seriation method is subject to complications (such as the problem of archaism). In view of the long-standing controversy about its position in the development of Javanese temple architecture, I would recommend that the seriation method be applied especially to the finials and mouldings of Candi Prambanan. This would not only serve as a test for the validity and reliability of the method, but could also help to establish the veracity of various mutually conflicting theories about the date and the religious-political background of this monument. Prambanan is also an ideal site to evaluate the rash statements about the Javanization of Hindu-Buddhist art made by Edi Sedyawati (pp. 80-1).

Whether Majapahit was in fact 'the largest empire ever to form in Southeast Asia' (p. 107) is open to dispute as long as we do not know the

exact relationship between Central Java and Sriwijaya in the period 775-850 during the reign of the Sailendra dynasty. Contrary to what is suggested about this relationship in the introductory part of the section dealing with early classical history (p. 56), there is no evidence of frequent clashes between Central Java and Sriwijaya during this period. Even the existence of a centralized kingdom of Mataram in Central Java before the year 850 is questionable. While Mataram was the name of the unified kingdom that came into being with or after the expulsion of the Sailendras from Javanese soil, it is not at all certain that the title *Rakai/Ratu Mataram* referred to a paramount ruler before that date; it could equally have indicated the regional head of a lower administrative domain or a minor king. The introduction and subsequent adoption of the *maharaja* title by the Javanese coincides with the arrival of the Sailendras in Java.

Both the arrival and the departure of the Sailendras were accompanied by important societal changes. Their advent coincided not only with the rise of Mahayana Buddhism (as reflected in the number and magnificence of Mahayana temples), but also with the introduction of a new script (pre-Nagari or *siddham*) and a new currency (the so-called Sandalwood Flower silver coinage), and with a temporary move of the Javanese capital to East Java (as reported in Chinese records). Their departure was marked not only by the fall of Buddhism from royal grace, but also by a transition from silver to an indigenous gold coinage, a transfer of literary functions from Sanskrit to Old Javanese, and an increasing preference for the Mahabarata over the Ramayana. Some scholars have even suggested that the second shift of the *kraton* from Central to East Java in the tenth century was connected with fear of an invasion by Sriwijaya, under the leadership of the Sailendras. Indeed, the clashes referred to above probably started not earlier than the year 855 and may well be attributed to the fact that a leading member of the ousted Sailendra family, Prince Balaputra, became king of Sriwijaya.

More careful examination of historical details which had to be omitted from the book for editorial reasons will show that the picture of ancient Indonesian history presented here needs drastic revision. Among other things, there is a need for continuing research on the origins of the Sailendra dynasty. It is possible that the Sailendras were related to the (unidentified) junior Indian princes who, according to ancient Indian sources, sought their fortunes in Java and Sumatra (pp. 44-5).

My final point concerns the bibliography. Keeping in mind the educational aims of the series I find the bibliography, again only a double-page spread, much too short and somewhat limited. The interested reader should have been given access to titles of books and articles other than the publications written or intensively used by the contributors. For instance, the information given by De Casparis on calendrical systems and

scripts and by Hasan M. Ambary on Islamic tombs could have been supplemented with references to relevant publications by Louis-Charles Damais. Similarly, in I Wayan Ardika's contribution on kettledrums no mention is made of the magnum opus by Bernet Kempers on the same subject. Bellwood's discussion on the distribution of Austronesian languages in Southeast Asia and beyond relies heavily on the linguistic theories of Nothofer and Blust, but fails to mention the work of K.A. Adelaar. References to the work of Kenneth Hall are also conspicuously absent in the discussions of economic life in ancient Java and Sumatra.

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VICTOR T. KING

I find it a rather curious experience to be reviewing the same book I reviewed eight years ago for the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*. What else could I possibly say? Well, I am led to believe it was in part a result of the encouraging reviews of the first edition of this small volume that the Australian National University has decided to reprint it. Apparently there has continued to be a steady stream of inquiries about the book and orders for it. The information on the order form provides extracts from previous reviews, all of them attesting to the importance of the study for those 'interested in the comparative sociology of the Austronesian peoples', and for 'students of Borneo, Southeast Asia, and the anthropology of medical and religious systems'. More ambitiously it was thought that the book should also satisfy those concerned with the relations between the cultural logic of ritual (in this case those practices surrounding healing rites and shamanic performances) and concepts of gender, social action, self and other.

Am I to be implicated in a decision to print the book for a third time? I happen to be one of the earlier reviewers whose praises have been extracted for promotional purposes on the flyer for the reprint. Perhaps, because I am pleased to say that my favourable opinion of the book has not changed since its first appearance. I continue to use it for reference, teaching and research. Part of the strength of the book, which has not diminished with time, is that the author had access to the field notes and guidance of Derek Freeman, the doyen of anthropological studies of the Iban. Graham also used material from the doctoral theses of Freeman's students Michael Heppell, James Masing and Motomitsu Uchibori. In addition, she relied on the advice of other distinguished students of Austronesian cultures, among them James Fox, Geoffrey Benjamin, Clifford Sather and Douglas Miles.

To rehearse briefly her contribution: Graham locates shamanism within Iban cultural discourse and the wider literature on shamanism; she examines and analyses chants presented in curing rites, shamanic practice and initiation, and she explores the relations between the transformed shaman (*manang bali*) and gender categories as well as those between the human and spirit worlds, and the individual and the community. Concepts and principles investigated are to do with vitality, continuity, solidarity, restoration, defence, separation, interlinkage, articulation, transformation and transcendence.

I do not detect that her work has been subject to any major criticism and deconstruction since its first publication. Indeed, more recent excursions into the analysis of the cultural phenomenon of Iban shamanism by such observers as Robert Barrett, Rodney Lucas and Clifford Sather, which draw attention to other dimensions of healing rites and associated practices, confirm the quality and insight of Graham's original exposition. Invariably later writers remark admiringly on its usefulness as a relatively comprehensive review and analysis of the then available literature.

Overall I welcome the reprint. The author must be delighted that her work continues to excite interest. My one disappointment is that Penelope Graham remains silent about this edition. For whatever reason, the author has not provided a preface to the reprint or suggested possible amendments and additions. Perhaps the publisher (and author?) felt that the sustained popularity of the volume needs no further endorsement. Yet it would have been most instructive to have had a postmortem; some reflections from Graham about the volume ten years on. Has she changed her mind on any substantive issues or matters of detail? Did she get anything wrong? Has she not been moved by later field-based studies of Iban shamanism to comment on them and consider them in relation to her library-based research? Or is she no longer much interested in a piece of work that she undertook some years ago and which she has left for research pastures new?

I happen to think that the book has stood the test of time. It would have been interesting to establish whether or not Penelope Graham agrees with me.

Simon Rae, *Breath becomes the wind; Old and new in Karo religion*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1994, viii + 306 pp. ISBN 0.908569.61.0.

RITA SMITH KIPP

This book relates the history of religion in Karo society, one of North Sumatra's Batak peoples. It begins with a description of the traditional religion, goes on to tell the circumstances under which Islam and Christianity made their appearance, and offers a general discussion of religious change. Rae lived and worked in Indonesia from 1972 to 1978, when his research on contemporary religion took place, but he draws also on published literature in Dutch, Indonesian, and English, especially in reconstructing the traditional religion and the past.

Rae aspires to present the traditional religion as it is or was known and practiced by ordinary people, rather than as a ritual specialist might understand it. He is well aware of the risk of over-systematizing this religion, which was not codified in texts and whose practitioners were not part of a unitary organization. Kinds of supernatural beings, well-known myths, and the major rites of passage are the subject of one large chapter. Because Rae wants to see how this baseline contrasted with the new religions, he also discusses the traditional view of sin, a concept that was barely present if at all.

Rae contextualizes the change to the new religions within the great shifts of power and economy that occurred in the region - the economic and political relation of the Karo to lowland sultanates, the plantation economy that came with the colonial era, the penetration of capitalism in the region, and the expanding reach of the colonial state. Rae continues the story through the Japanese occupation, the revolution for independence, and the unsettled years of the early Republic of Indonesia. Because the Protestant missionaries were identified with the hated plantations and the colonial government, converts remained few throughout the colonial period. Likewise Islam, associated with neighbouring peoples who felt themselves superior to the Batak, had little appeal. The dislocation of war and revolution, and afterwards, rapid urbanization and education began to undermine the old certainties, however, and to make the new religions look more attractive. In recent decades, the Indonesian government has discouraged animistic religions as backward, and since the abortive coup of 1965 has encouraged people to join

one of the five officially approved religions as a palliative against communism. The old religion is now practiced only by a minority.

While most of Rae's attention goes to the Protestant majority and to the ethnic church that plays such a large role in Karo life, he also describes the Catholic and Islamic minorities. The book is not written from a missionary perspective, in that Rae does not speak as an advocate of one of the new religions but rather as a scholar interested in the phenomenon of change. As a scholar of the Karo myself, I have already had occasion to site this work, and I am sure I will do so again. Rae's history of religion in Karo society basically accords with my own in its substantive and interpretive outlines. Like me, other scholars of the region will surely benefit from this useful volume that brings together a broad range of materials about religion in Karo society and presents them in straightforward, lucid prose.

Raul Pertierra, *Explorations in social theory and Philippine ethnography*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1997, xii + 262 pp. ISBN 971.542.134.2 (paperback).

NIELS MULDER

This book brings together four essays in which Pertierra explores the history of ideas that resulted in a science of the social. Through these closely related meditations, in which we encounter a smattering of ethnographic data, he discourses extensively, and reiteratively, on the relationships between the local, the national and the global, and how the first is gradually 'colonized' by the latter two.

The problematic which the author addresses is felicitously chosen. Modernity, or development, means that people everywhere are confronted with encompassing public worlds, dominated by market and state, that are at odds with their experience. They are caught between communal and societal existences; they move from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft*; from a morally-constituted lifeworld to an artefactual society; from a taken-for-granted private world to the anonymity of life in a wider society. These two sorts of existence are, typologically, very differently constituted.

This is indeed a timely issue. We do need to theorize the public world and its relationship to lifeworldly existence. Life is no longer confined to locality and yet, as Habermas has argued, private, or traditional, existence, with its important moral and identity functions, fights back and will not be lost in this globalizing world. In this way, globality promotes locality.

So far so good. The author's willingness to attack this vast field of issues is truly heroic. By evoking what sometimes seems like all the gurus

of the past four centuries – from Descartes to Donzelot, from Kant to Lyotard and Luhmann – he tries to draw lines that, to my feeling, often get entangled and sometimes blur. This is not necessarily disappointing. To me, the question is not so much whether Pertierra has succeeded in illuminating his problematic in any definitive manner. The important thing is that his discussion stimulates us to reflect on the condition of the social sciences, and on contemporary global transformations and the way we apprehend them.

When Pertierra addresses less lofty subjects, things get less stimulating. When, for instance, he argues in his chapter on religion and morality that everyday life, including politics, pervades religious practice and vice versa, he is merely stating the obvious. It is equally clear that the outside world – nation, state, migration, market – penetrates the lives of the people at his field site. What one would expect, however, is an analysis of consequences and mechanisms, and unfortunately this is not forthcoming.

Pertierra's pedestrian treatment of his Philippine ethnographic data reflects unfavourably on his high-flying theoretical excursions. If the latter had been put into tighter perspective and handled with more historical awareness, perhaps unconvincing statements about the systematic loss of trust in public life could have been avoided. In the Philippines, public life itself needs to be problematized. In the experience of the majority of people, the public world is a very recent phenomenon; its culture still in the making and, most interestingly, (still) strongly informed by the private sphere. Although this much does become clear, the character of the emerging public culture and the processes shaping it are lost here in postmodern vagueness.

Luc Nagtegaal, *Riding the Dutch tiger; The Dutch East Indies Company and the northeast coast of Java, 1680-1743* (translated by Beverly Jackson). Leiden: KITLV Press, 1996, x + 250 pp. Index, maps, tables, graphs. Price: f 50.–.

ANTHONY REID

Nagtegaal's book is an extremely welcome addition to the recent revival (unfortunately almost entirely by non-Indonesians) in the literature on Indonesia's fascinating early modern history. It is not only a translation but a substantial reworking of the author's 1988 Leiden thesis of the same (Dutch) title, presenting a stronger argument which makes the book a stimulating read. The new insights appear to have resulted from a rereading of the copious evidence he has culled from the VOC records, not from the substantial new writing by others over the last decade, little of which is listed in the bibliography.

The book has both a political and an economic argument. Politically, Nagtegaal attacks the model he attributes to Clifford Geertz, Ben Anderson and Soemarsaid Moertono of Mataram (the dominant kingdom of seventeenth century Central Java) as a 'ritual state', in which all power flows outward from the sacred royal centre, where it is generated by essentially ritual and supernatural means quite different from those of Europe. This model, he argues, has been influenced too much by concentration on Javanese court-centred chronicles, but still more by orientalist assumptions of the spiritual nature of power in the east. He prefers to see Mataram as a 'network state', based on a pyramid of personal patron-client ties (pp. 51-5). It had the advantage of great flexibility which enabled it to rebound in new forms after each crisis, but a grave lack of institutional structure, the area in which the VOC was a world leader.

Relations between the VOC and the Javanese state can in no way be characterized as 'divide and rule', Nagtegaal argues. The Javanese elite was inherently divided thanks to 'the extreme decentralization of both state and society' (p. 230). 'Many north coast regents failed to accept the notion of Mataram as the natural centre of Java' (p. 35), but saw their subordination as the result of forced and improper occupation by Sultan Agung. Because all parties in the constantly fluctuating system of alliances perceived the VOC as militarily and commercially effective, they actively sought its intervention on their side. The Dutch themselves, misled by their own orientalist assumption that eastern kings ought to rule despotically, began by perceiving the Susuhunan as their natural ally. This attitude turned to contempt for his lack of power, but was not finally exploded until the 1740-1741 Chinese rebellion which ends the story. The VOC repeatedly propped up the Susuhunan against his rivals, becoming in effect his 'military arm' and turning Mataram into its own 'instrument of colonial oppression'.

Economically, Nagtegaal has rethought the scepticism of his 1988 thesis about the argument that VOC intervention contributed to Java's impoverishment. He presents persuasive evidence that Java's exports fell dramatically after the VOC conquests of Surabaya (1679) and Banten (1682) established an effective Dutch monopoly of trade. Since much of the remaining export was provided for nothing, as the compensation demanded by the VOC for its costs in the Java wars, imports to Java dropped even more dramatically. Most spectacular was the drop in the imports of Indian textiles by private traders, from 58,000 rixdaalders in 1685 to 1,909 in 1740. Opium became the only remaining import of significance, representing 84 per cent of the private trade by 1740, but it too was on a declining path after 1695. Nagtegaal therefore concludes 'that the VOC contributed significantly to the underdevelopment of Java' (p. 141).

Thus robustly put, the argument necessarily contains some weaknesses and

contradictions. Nagtegaal's dismissal of the dualism thesis does not square with his demonstration of the widening gap between the Chinese and Javanese economies after 1680. His notion of a VOC reluctantly drawn into Java's elite rivalries conflicts with his evidence for Cornelis Speelman's determination to subject Mataram in order to draw a heavy tribute from it (pp. 21-5). His mistaken idea (p. 149-50) that Javanese never wore the Indian cloth they massively imported before 1680, but merely hoarded it, has been effectively disposed of by Ruurdje Laarhoven's 1994 dissertation.

Nevertheless the publication of this book in English is a very important opening up of the question of Java's political identity and the complex relations between Javanese, Chinese and Dutch. It undermines whatever excuse there may have been for the blatantly ahistorical assertions on these matters which continue to be made by observers of contemporary Indonesia.

Signe Howell (ed.), *For the sake of our future; Sacrificing in eastern Indonesia*, Leiden: Centre for Non-Western Studies, 1996, xi + 398 pp. [CNWS Publication 42.] ISBN 90.73782. 59.7. Price: f 50.-.

CORNELIA M.I. VAN DER SLUYS

The main topic of this unique collection of articles is the symbolic and political analysis of the ritual sacrifices, involving a victim's blood, which are performed in eastern Indonesia.

The study of sacrificing was of special interest to founding fathers of cultural anthropology like Hubert and Mauss, Tylor, Frazer, Robertson Smith and Durkheim, who, in the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, sought a general theory of the phenomenon which would be applicable to all times and all places. More recently, however, this topic has by and large been neglected by anthropologists, including those who study the cultures of eastern Indonesia, where the killing of a victim during rituals is a common practice. In an attempt to fill this gap in ethnographic knowledge, Signe Howell and Olaf Smedal organized a conference on sacrificing in eastern Indonesia at the University of Oslo in June 1992. No less than 26 papers were presented, of which 18, covering 19 different societies in the region, were finally selected for publication.

Although the common point of departure for the discussions was a description of sacrifice as 'the ceremonial taking of life as part of the relationship between humans and spiritual beings', it soon proved extremely difficult to find a more specific common denominator for the

many varieties of sacrifice practised in the region. McKinnon and Barraud, for example, argued that even the ceremonial hunt of wild pigs performed on Fordata and Kei as part of ceremonies associated with the agricultural cycle should be interpreted as a form of sacrifice. Their view was shared by several other anthropologists working in the Moluccas, including Ellen and Valeri for the Nuaulu and the Huaulu respectively on Seram, and Friedberg for the Bunaq in Central Timor. This and other points of discussion led Howell to conclude that the concept of 'sacrifice' is probably not a useful analytic tool, although it can still be used for descriptive purposes within any socio-cultural context. She therefore suggested using the term 'sacrificing' instead.

An interesting common finding in this collection of articles is that despite the increasing influence of Christianity in eastern Indonesia, pre-Christian belief systems retain a strong influence on the respective cultures. Relationships with ancestors and other spirits are regarded as important in all of the societies concerned, and in some, such as the Nuaulu (Ellen), Huaulu (Valeri) and Wemale (Grzimek), cultural ideas associated with former headhunting practices also continue to prevail. Throughout the region the deliberate taking of life and the flow of blood (actual or symbolic) still play a pivotal role in various rituals promoting human prosperity and fertility.

In agricultural societies, the blood that flows from cutting into a victim's flesh is also meant to ensure the fertility of the crops. In Flores, Sumba and Timor sacrificial practices involving the spilling of (often human) blood on the ground are closely associated with rice cultivation. Howell shows that for the Lio of Central Flores the blood taken from a living victim has a special ritual significance, and presents some evidence that the blood of human victims may have been used in former times.

The collection is preceded by a detailed introduction which aims to familiarize the reader with the many possible ways in which 'sacrificing' can be analyzed and interpreted. This consists of three parts. In the first, the editor discusses some of the problems involved in defining the term. The second is devoted to an elaborate discussion of old and new theories of rituals involving sacrifice, including those of Hubert and Mauss, Robertson Smith, Tylor, Frazer, Evans-Pritchard, Levi-Strauss, Beatty, De Heusch, Detienne, Girard, Bloch and Jay. Robertson Smith is singled out because of his emphasis on the significance of blood sacrifices. Surprisingly, the important work by Victor Turner on ritual and symbolism is left out of the discussion. In the final part of the introduction, the editor distils the most significant themes emerging from the articles and relates them to the theories discussed. These emergent themes include the relationship between myth and ritual, the opposition between sacred and profane and between sacralization and desacralization, the questions of expiation, exchange and commensality, the specific sacrificial significance of par-

ticular animals, occasions and performers, and the meanings of violence, invocation, divination and blood.

It would be unfair to single out a few outstanding contributions for discussion here, as all are of high quality and bear testimony to serious study. I have therefore chosen to present a short summary of each piece. The articles are grouped along geographical lines into three sections.

Part I: Flores and Lembata.

Maribeth Erb's 'Talking and eating; sacrificial ritual among the Rembong' begins by focusing on two characteristics of traditional rituals in northeastern Manggarai, West Flores: the addressing of the ancestors and other spirits through the victims, while reciting traditional invocations, and the communal meals that conclude the rituals. Her main argument is that both the 'talking' and the 'eating' promote commensality. She then compares Rembong ideas of sacrificing as a community affair to the far more individualistic concept of sacrifice in Catholic theology.

'Conquest and comfort; A Ngadha "bad death" ritual', by Olaf H. Smedal, presents a case study of such a ritual performed by the Ngadha (western Flores) for a fifteen-year-old boy who had committed suicide. Smedal relates his analysis to the theory of Bloch (1992) on ritual and sacrifice, and is especially critical of this author's insistence that ritual displays 'rebounding violence'.

In the third article, 'Blood, sacrifice and efficacy among the Nage of Central Flores', Gregory Forth analyses several examples of blood usage in and beyond the context of sacrificing, and argues that the major principle involved is vitalization.

The next article, 'A life for a life; Blood and other life-promoting substances in northern Lio moral discourse', is by Howell herself. She argues that through the concept of *bhisa* (sacredness), Lio sacrificing is set apart from the more mundane aspects of social life. It can be explained as the reconstitution of a moral universe shared by human and transcendental participants, manifesting the foundations of their interdependence and obligations.

In 'Invocation, sacrifice and precedence in the Gren Mahe rites of Tana Wai Brama, Flores', E.D. Lewis gives an elaborate description of the phases of oration and ostension involved in these rites, as well as transcriptions of various standardized texts used in the main ritual, which is performed to secure the continued benevolence and protection of the deity. He pays special attention to the different symbolic meanings involved in the selection of pigs and goats for ritual use.

The sixth paper, by Karl-Heinz Kohl, is entitled 'A union of opposites; The cosmological meaning of sacrifice in East Flores Lamaholot culture'. Kohl argues that Lamaholot sacrifice should be seen as a total social

phenomenon embracing almost all aspects of the culture. By drafting an ideal model of the sacrificial ceremonies and analysing the structural oppositions, such as that between the sky god and the earth goddess, which are embedded in them, he endeavours to show that the essence of their cosmological meaning is a *coincidente oppositore* which has an invigorating effect on the society, and that death is a prerequisite for the perpetual flow of life.

'Enacting sovereignty; Sacrifice and the power of outsiders in Lewomela, Flores' is a contribution by Penelope Graham, who did research in the same area as Kohl. Her main argument is that rites which involve the taking of life are embedded in a complex social system of clans and clan relationships. Her focus is on sacrificing as a performative ritual and her analysis reflects a political point of view. Having examined the relationship between the exercise of power and the right to sacrifice, she argues that Lamaholot sacrificing affords social recognition to 'outsider' groups.

The last paper in this section, by R. H. Barnes, is 'Occasions of sacrifice; Attenuated forms in a Christian village in Indonesia'. This author did fieldwork in the village of Lembota in Lamalera, which has been completely converted to Catholicism since the 1920s. His focus is on the traditional rituals performed at the beginning of the large-scale fishing and cetacean-hunting season. He argues that despite certain transformations such as the present-day use of holy water instead of blood from sacrificial animals, these rituals are still vital community concerns in which the ancestors play a prominent role.

Part II: Sumba and Timor

The first article in this section is 'Sacrificing of the Wewewa of West Sumba; dialogue with the ancestors, relations with the living', by Brigitte Renard-Clamargirard. This author analyzes several rituals and tries to show how certain contrasts in values prevail between the relationships of the living with the supernatural on the one hand and relations amongst the living themselves on the other. Her argument is that with regard to the former the rituals are a means to solicit the ancestors' general benevolence, whereas with regard to the latter an element of competition is involved.

'In honour of the seaworms in West Sumba', by Danielle Geirnaert, aims to discover the cultural ideas and values which underpin the need to spill human blood on the ground during the mounted combats which conclude festivals organized to greet the emergence of a special type of edible seaworm. This worm, actually the reproductive matter of *Lycidice* or *Eunice*, is associated with rice cultivation.

In 'Sacrifice and Sexuality; The triumph of the Buffalo's daughter in a Kodi folktale', Janet Hoskins uses personal narratives to probe into the

female perception of sacrifice, especially with regard to the exclusion of females from certain sacrificing rituals, and to reveal problems relating to polygyny and other major concerns in Sumbanese women's lives.

The section closes with an article by H.J. Seram entitled 'Hakserat; The rites of sacrificial offerings among the Belunese of Timor'. Seram gives a detailed description of the various rituals involving sacrifice which are performed by the Belunese. He shows how some relate to the human life cycle, while others are intended primarily to maintain good relations with supernatural entities that dwell in springs and forests, as well as with the ancestors, who play the role of mediators during communication between the living and the Supreme Being.

Part III: The Moluccas

The first of the six contributions on the Moluccas is an article by Roy Ellen on 'Cuscus and cockerels; Killing rituals and ritual killings among the Nuauulu in Seram'. Ellen's aim is to explain why cuscus and cockerels are the specific animals sacrificed during life-cycle and clanhouse-cycle rituals. He presents an elaborate structural analysis of the symbolic meaning of various animals in different contexts (hunting for meat, ritual hunting and the domestic domain) and describes the special positions of cuscus and cockerels in the Nuauulu classification system.

Valerio Valeri's 'Those who have seen blood; The memory of sacrifice in Huauulu tradition' describes the interconnection between access to male cults, traditionally marked by the bestowal of a ritual loincloth to an adept on the occasion of his circumcision, and access to sexuality. This, Valeri claims, is to be understood as an interconnection between the symbolic meanings of two kinds of blood in the traditional Huauulu world-view. The blood which flows during human sacrifice (in the form of head-hunting) is seen as a prerequisite for giving form to the blood in the womb of women during sexual intercourse.

In 'Sacrificing to authority; From ancestors to the Protestant Tuhan Allah', Bernard Grzimek investigates how the Wemale of western Seram, formerly headhunters, have preserved their belief in the importance of maintaining a good relationship with the ancestors despite the prevalence of Protestantism from the beginning of this century onwards. He argues that for the Wemale, Protestantism is a continuous submission, and therefore a form of permanent sacrifice to a stern God who is perceived as a kind of super-ancestor. This type of submission, however, does not culminate in a celebration of a renewal of fertility as was the case in traditional Wemale sacrificing.

'The healing gift' is a contribution by Jos Platenkamp, who questions the validity of the distinction, first made by Durkheim, between 'sacrifice' and 'magic'. Platenkamp explores this issue by examining acts of healing and the ways in which the ability to perform these acts is

obtained by healers among the Tobelo of Halmahera. He argues that because a connection between human beings and cosmological origins permeates all facets of Tobelo culture, Durkheim's distinction is not meaningful here.

In 'Hot death and the spirit of pigs; The sacrificial form of the hunt in the Tanimbar Islands', Susan McKinnon presents an interpretation of the hunt as a form of sacrifice. The indigenous representation of the forest as the abode of ancestors, the manner in which men engage into the hunt, the nature of the victim and the ritual offering of part of the kill to the ancestors all provide support for this analysis.

The last and longest article, 'Life-giving relationships in Bunaq and Kei societies', is a combined endeavour by Cécile Barraud and Claudine Friedberg. Their aim is to compare the main sacrificing rituals of the Bunaq in Central Timor with those of the Kei islanders. Among the Bunaq these rituals are held during the (re)construction of a house, while in Kei they are performed during the millet harvesting ritual. The authors argue that in both societies these rituals bring into play the totality of socio-cosmic elements connected with the renewal of the founding relationships of the society. In both cases the hunting of animals, and consequently the flow of the animals' blood, are also associated with crop growth and are therefore of utmost importance for the well-being of the society.

This volume will prove to be of immense interest for a long time to come, not only to those anthropologists who study eastern Indonesia but also, thanks to the possibilities for comparative analysis which it offers, to a wider anthropological audience. With its wide scope of theoretical applications, it will also be extremely useful to other social scientists interested in the symbolic and socio-political meanings of ritual sacrificing.

The addition of an index might have been helpful to the reader, but this is a minor shortcoming in a valuable and highly recommendable collection of articles on a hitherto scantily researched subject.

Reference

- Bloch, M.
1992 *Prey into hunter; The politics of religious experience*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bernard Juillerat, *Children of the blood; Society, reproduction and cosmology in New Guinea* (translated from the French by Nora Scott). Oxford: Berg, 1996, xxx + 601 pp., glossary, bibliography, index. [Explorations in Anthropology.] ISBN 1.85973.161.9 (hardcover). Price £ 49.95.

JAAP TIMMER

In view of Juillerat's interesting contributions to debates concerning leadership, ceremonies, rituals, and mythology in the West Sepik societies of Papua New Guinea, it is to be applauded that his major ethnography of the Yafar, *Les enfants du sang; Société, reproduction et imaginaire en Nouvelle-Guinée* (1986), has now been made accessible to those who do not read French. This monography of Yafar society is a pioneering effort to describe and analyse the cultural richness of the peoples in the West Sepik area. It is also beautifully written, rich in ethnographic detail and well produced, with many plates and figures. The decision by the editors of Berg's Explorations in Anthropology series to include this book in their list of outstanding works is fully appropriate.

Although the bibliography has been updated with a few new titles, Juillerat has not chosen to modify his original analysis in the light of recent developments in Melanesian anthropology. What he regrets, however, is that he has not been able to update the book with regard to recent developments in Yafar society. In a note he writes that a total revision of the book could not be envisaged because he has not visited the Yafar since 1986. Letters from the field indicate that 'the society seems to have changed somewhat as the older generation has given way to younger men concerned more with possibilities for local development [...] than with maintaining tradition'.

Children of the blood is an impressive structural analysis of Yafar culture whereby (secret) myths, which Juillerat takes as 'true' and of central importance, provide the key to explaining all social and cultural practices of the Yafar. After many painstaking endeavours, certain paradigms and orientations abstracted from the myths appear to reveal a single, logically complete Yafar world view. There is much emphasis on integration, coherence of meanings, and functionality of structure and symbolic organization. However, this order is a timeless picture that appears impossible to change and leaves us with the question of how these principles and this cultural logic work in empirical reality, in the social interaction of human beings.

When he returns to cultural change in the final section of the book, the consequences of his synchronous analysis become apparent. Here Juillerat maintains that processes of change set in motion by government and missionary activities and by long stretches of plantation work have not

altered the traditional social structure, the socio-economic system, the organization of exchanges or the function of the bulk of ritual. At that point there are only ten pages left to discuss the impact of a millenarian movement originating from a Melanesian uprising against Indonesian power over the border in Irian Jaya in the early 1980s. When the millenarian ideology, promising piles of wealth and the return of the Messiah, became active in Yafar society, people began to examine the ethical values pertaining to social relationships in a critical way. According to Juillerat, this self-questioning did not affect the ethical values underpinning social structure.

In this context, however, he overlooks the importance of observations he himself made during his 1981 visit to the Yafar. From the time of this millenarian movement (and probably earlier), the young generation could think of nothing but escaping from the closed circle of the subsistence economy and from a social space which seemed to be shrinking in an ever-vaster world. Moreover, as a result of a moral restoration of society sparked by the ideology of the cult leaders across the border, women began to speak out in public for the first time and began to participate on an equal footing with men. Juillerat assures us that although this new female identity seemed set on abolishing sexual discrimination, it did not affect men's control of knowledge. He would have us believe that because secret knowledge was safeguarded, the cultural logic and social structure of the Yafar are still as he observed them at the beginning of his fieldwork in 1974. His treatment of young people's search for opportunities and mobility within the modern state suggests that he worries too much that the beauty and authenticity of the Yafar (and ultimately the validity of his structural analysis of their culture) will be lost.

Juillerat's treatment of these modern developments highlights the fact that his analysis of Yafar culture is too functionalist and too structurally oriented to acknowledge processes of culture in actual practice. But if this ethnography depicts an imaginary situation in which order reigns and change is unlikely, it still makes for fascinating reading. The book is rich in detail and thanks to Juillerat's creative mind the reader enters a world of symbolic meaning, full of complex signifiers derived from beautiful myths and fascinating metaphors taken from nature.