JASO

C O N T E N T S

CONTENTS (continued)

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Editors'Note.   The first three articles in this issue are revised
versions of papers first presented at a Conference, 'Contexts and
Levels', held in March 1983 at St Antony's College, Oxford, under
the chairmanship of R.H. Barnes. The theme of the Conference was
the theories of Professor Louis Dumont concerning the problems of
hierarchy and hierarchical opposition. All the papers from this
Conference are to appear shortly as No. 4 in the *JASO Occasional
Papers* series, under the title 'Contexts and Levels: Anthropological
Essays on Hierarchy', edited by R.H. Barnes and Daniel de Coppet;
price to be announced.

THE THARU HOUSE:
OPPOSITIONS AND HIERARCHY

A central aspect of Dumont's ideas concerning hierarchy is their emphasis on a holistic approach. To avoid 'atomisation', and so as not to decompose the original relations of elements, Dumont (1980:222) urges us to reassemble the contexts or oppositions we encounter by relating them back to the whole of which they are parts. In this way we will be able to see more clearly the dominant principle or principles which are at work. Barnes has suggested[1] that the existence of the hierarchical opposition in which one part stands for the whole at a superior level is an empirical question, and one which it is necessary to study and verify in each particular field. This paper is a preliminary attempt to apply Dumont's notion of the hierarchical opposition to a body of ethnographic material. I shall argue that in this case we are able to point towards something like the hierarchical opposition wherein one part stands for the whole.

Beginning with the Tharu house and then moving outwards to touch on their cosmology we shall meet various oppositions, but in the main the discussion will concern the opposition between

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[1] R.H.Barnes, 'Hierarchy without Caste?', paper presented at Conference on 'Contexts and Levels', March 1983.

north and south.[2] In fact, however, this opposition is an asym-
metric one, and I shall accordingly concentrate on the north.
This may seem to give us a somewhat one-sided view of the Tharu
scheme, but nevertheless I think that this is the correct line of
approach.

The literature on the Tharu as a whole is limited. One sub-
group, the Dangaura Tharu, with whom this paper is concerned,
have been described by several ethnographers, to whom I owe much.
Especially useful have been the reports of Rajaure[3] (1978, 1981a,
1981b, 1982), while Macdonald (1969:71) has earlier noted the
north-south orientation of Dangaura Tharu houses and villages.
This fact was later used as comparative data in an article on
Thulung classification by Allen (1972:87), and this article,
together with one by Sagant on the Limbu house (1973), have
stimulated me to look into the subject of the Tharu house and to
explore further the significance of its north-south orientation.
The detailed description of the Tharu house by Milliet-Mondon
(1981) does not examine the questions I am concerned with here.
Of the literature outside the specifically Nepalese context, the
collection of essays in *Right and Left* (Needham 1973), and
particularly Cunningham's contribution on the Atoni house, have
directed me towards the present analysis.

The Tharu are a tribal people who inhabit the Terai districts
along the border between Nepal and India. Geographically the
Terai forms the boundary between the vast North Indian plain and
the foothills of the Himalayas. It is very flat, but inside the
outer foothills there are some long and broad valleys which com-
prise the Inner Terai, and which though slightly cooler share
many of the characteristics of the Terai proper. Although the
land is fertile, in the past the heavy forestation and the
prevalence of malaria has tended to keep the people of the sur-
rounding plains and hills out of the Terai. Recently defore-
station and the eradication of malaria have brought considerable
change.

Altogether people called Tharu number some 500,000. They are
broadly divided into several named groups which are distinguished
by the territory they occupy, by differences in certain cultural
features, and by language. They speak a number of largely
mutually unintelligible languages, which are structurally related

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[2] It must be made clear that the terms north, south, east, west
are translations of the Tharu words for the cardinal points,
uttar, dakkin, purub, pachiun, which derive from the Sanskrit,
uttara, dakṣiṇa, etc. In this context therefore the cardinal
points do not present the problems to analysis encountered else-
where, as for instance in Barnes 1974:78-88.

[3] I also wish to thank Drone Rajaure for his advice and help in
the initial stages of fieldwork.

to, and to a great extent based on the surrounding north Indian languages, including Nepali. The Dangaura Tharu form one of the largest groups and speak a distinctive language. They take their name from the long Dang valley of the Inner Terai of western Nepal. The term Tharu here, therefore, refers only to the Dangaura group.

The Tharu live in fairly compact nucleated settlements. The village is an important unit, being the focus for much activity and having a bounded and defined territory. Villages are situated a couple of miles apart on average, and range in size from around 150 to 600 inhabitants. The Tharu differ from the surrounding peoples in many respects, three of which are particularly notable. First, their villages exhibit a high degree of communal organization, which centres on the village headman. Secondly, they live in large joint-family households, some of which can contain up to 80 or 90 people. The third difference is the unique style and appearance of the traditional house itself.

Apart from the village and the household, the most important unit in the structure of Tharu society is the clan. The society is divided into an indefinite number of exogamous patriclans. The clan has no overall corporate identity. Its primary function is to provide the negative rules bearing on marriage.

The Tharu are sedentary agriculturalists, cultivating rice, maize, and wheat as staple crops, and some mustard and linseed which are sold into India so as to buy salt, cloth and other essential commodities.

The house (*ghar*) is the fundamental social, economic and ritual unit of Tharu society. This is reflected in the manner in which the house is ordered directly by certain principles, which do not relate to the village, and only in certain specific contexts to other houses in the village. The house constitutes a kind of template or blueprint for ordering and relating certain ideas and social positions. Genealogies, in so far as they are reckoned at all beyond the household, are spoken of in terms of the house. The most closely related local households of a clan are termed *ghar phutlak*, which means 'of the broken house', that is they came from the same original house when it divided. Genealogical links are often reckoned in terms of houses, in that the pattern of house-splitting over time and therefore the links between houses can be remembered, while the individuals involved are soon forgotten. In addition the word *konti*, which is the word for one of the rooms in a house occupied by a man and his wife and children, can also be used to refer to a lineage (Rajaure 1981b: 24). Thus the language of social structure derives from the house

The composition of a joint household consists of a man and his married sons, but often there is more than one man in the senior generation, and so two or more groups of sons in the junior level. The norm of jointness is highly valued in Tharu ideology, particularly that between a father and his sons. When a house divides it will most commonly do so after the death of the men of the senior generation, the link between the remaining brothers being weaker than that between father and sons. Never-

theless we do find instances of brothers remaining together.

Within the household a crucial aspect of the relations between father and sons and between brothers is ranking according to generation and relative age. The seniority of the father is fundamental, and this carries over to relations between brothers, an elder brother being senior to a younger brother, who should obey and respect his senior. This ranking of seniors over juniors is clearly expressed in the rules of food pollution. A younger is able to eat food remaining on an elder brother's plate, but not the other way round. The seniority of elder brothers is also expressed in customary forms of greeting. The term used for someone older is *barā* which also means 'larger' or 'greater', while correspondingly *choṭi* means 'younger' and also 'smaller' or 'lesser'. Of several brothers the eldest, who will become the household head, is called *barkā* while the youngest is *choṭkā*.

In considering the orientation and layout of the house, the first point to note is that all Tharu houses, as already mentioned, are oriented along a north-south axis. In fact it may be more accurate to say that they are oriented to the north.[4] Most commonly villages are made up of houses built in two lines also running north-south, on either side of a central village lane.[5] The internal layout of the house does not vary except in the sizes and number of rooms. The location of the kitchen and the deity room does not vary, so in addition to the north-south axis we find a constant distribution of features on the east and west of the house.

From north to south the house is divided into three sections (as shown in Figure 1). The southernmost area, the *ghāri*, is reserved for cattle and sheep at night. The next section, the *bahari*, is a semi-public area. The northern section called *bhitar* contains the *konti*, that is the sleeping rooms, the kitchen, and the deity room (*deurār*). The terms *bahari* and *bhitar* are derived from words which have the more general meanings of 'outside' and 'inside' respectively. This is understandable since in a physical sense the *bhitar* section is the furthest inside the house, in that to reach it one has to pass through the *bahari* first. The *bahari* thus forms a kind of barrier separating the inner part of the house from the outside (Milliet-

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[4] The houses are not oriented to true north, but are roughly at right angles to the mountains, which lie west by northwest and east by southeast. The houses are therefore oriented to the mountains, but for the Tharu this also means the north.

[5] Most villages consist of two lines of houses, but a few consist of three or four. It seems that when a new village is built, as occurs in the far western Terai districts to which the Tharu have been migrating, first one line of houses is built and then a second line is built to the east of the first. Obviously local topography affects the location and layout of villages to some extent.

N

a
b
c
Deurār
(deity room)
e
Kitchen
d

Konti
(sleeping rooms)

Konti
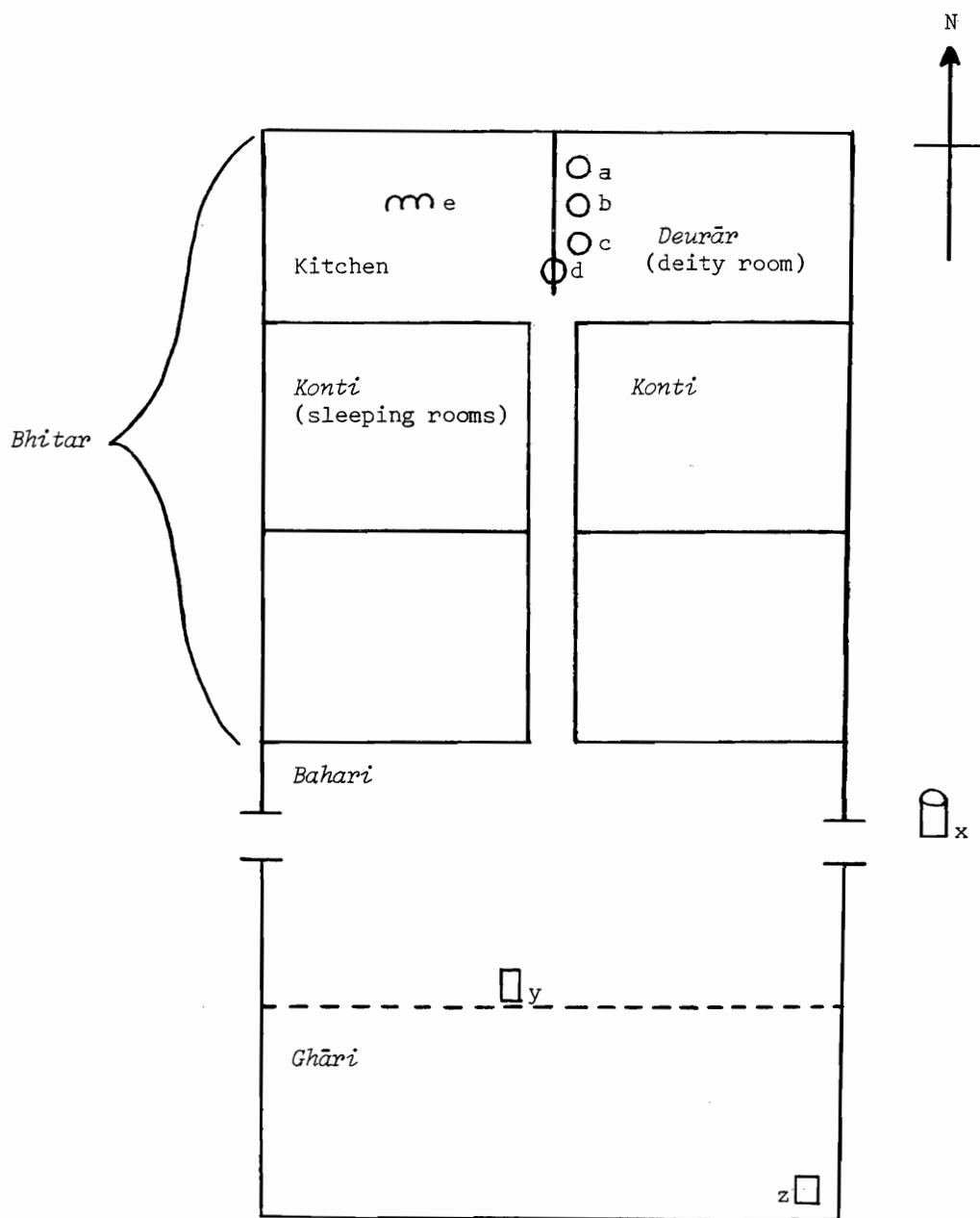
Bhitar

Bahari

x

y

Ghāri

z

Figure 1.   The Tharu House

a,b,c - 'Main' deities;   d - House post *(mannik khamba* or
dulāhā khūṭā);   e - Hearth;   x,y,z - Other deities

Mondon 1981:24). The *bhitar* is entered via a doorway, situated in
the middle of the northern wall of the *bahari*, which gives onto
the central corridor. The two northernmost rooms, the kitchen
and the deity room, are the 'innermost' rooms of the house, and
are thus in the part of the house which is the most private and
separate from the outside world.

The main household deities are located in the northeastern
room, along the central partition separating this room from the
kitchen. These deities face east. There are also deities located
in the centre of the fence separating the *ghāri* from the *bahari*,
in the southeastern corner of the house, and in the eastern
courtyard (see Figure 1). These last three deities are not
always all present, but when they are their location is always
the same. They are all connected with cattle or sheep, and are
not permanently sacred and protected by restrictions as the inner
deities are. The inner deities are hedged around by rules
restricting access to them and sometimes the deity room may be
closed to outsiders. They are the most important deities, and it
is in the deity room that most household rituals are performed.
They are crucial in two further respects. First, these deities
identify the clan affiliation of the household, each clan having
its own deity or unique configuration of deities; and secondly,
the presence of these deities identifies a house as such. With-
out them, the building is not a proper house at all for the
Tharu. Such buildings exist, but always as part of a joint
household. In fact, houses lacking deities are equated with
goth, which are temporary structures built for cattle in the
village or for grazing near the jungle. When a household divides,
one of the first tasks of the new household heads is to make and
install new sets of deities for themselves, each being made in
the name of the new household head.

We have then for the house an orientation along a north-
south axis, with distribution of kitchen to the west and deity
room to the east. This layout does not vary.[6] Therefore, in
terms of its internal space the house is not oriented to other
features such as rivers, the village lane, or other houses.

When a new house is built it is erected in a few days on a
level piece of ground, which forms the floor. Wooden posts are
raised in lines, with a central line of posts called *dhur*,

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[6] There are four clans whose houses are built in reverse order
to all others. The *bhitar* lies to the south and the *ghāri* to
the north. It is only the north-south order which is reversed,
since the deity room remains on the east side of the house and
the kitchen on the west side. The name of these clans is
ulthāwā, meaning 'opposite' or 'reversed', which reflects this
feature of their houses. There is no evidence, however, that
this reversal reflects a hierarchical inferiority for these four
clans.

and two or occasionally three or four lines of shorter posts in descending height on either side. These posts support a large sloping thatched roof which reaches down over the low outer walls, themselves made of wattle and daub. The inner rooms are divided up by partitions consisting of large grain storage containers joined together by thin walls.[7] The only part of house-construction which is marked by ritual is the fixing in place of the northernmost post that falls inside the area of the house. This post is called the *mannik khambā* or *dulāhā khūṭā*, meaning 'the post of Man' in the generic sense, or the 'bridegroom post'.[8] It is the first of the central line of posts to be erected, and both its setting-up and the foundation ritual are carried out near the start of construction. This ritual is quite short and simple, and is performed by the head of the new household with some assistance from his wife. The north, therefore, is stressed, marking the start of the process of construction, and singling out the northernmost of the central posts as distinct. This is also, at least in one appellation, a male post. In certain ritual contexts this post is treated as a deity and is assimilated to the other household deities.

The main feature of the sleeping pattern is that the household head sleeps either in the deity room itself, or just next to it, in the room directly to the south, on the same side of the house. According to some informants the full traditional sleeping pattern for the other married men follows in order of seniority down the east side of the house, and then begins again at the north on the west side, descending through that side. I never met a house where this pattern was rigidly adhered to, and the only constant feature is the location of the household head in the deity room or the room just to its south.[9]

When the household splits, the brothers may each build their own houses, or divide up the original building. In the former case, the eldest brother remains in the original building and keeps the deities, and the new households have to make and install their own deities as one of their first tasks. On the other hand, when the house is divided walls are built east to west across it, splitting it into equal sections, each of which is made into a smaller-scale replica of a proper house, with *bhitar, bahari* and so on. The eldest brother keeps the northernmost part of the deities, and usually these do not move. Again,

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[7] For details of the dimensions of these storage containers, and of other parts of the house see Milliet-Mondon 1981.

[8] I also heard this post referred to as *jethā* or *barkā khambā*, which means the 'eldest post'.

[9] The household head's location in this part of the house was once or twice referred to as   the *sir* or 'head' of the house. The term *sir* was also frequently used to describe the northernmost of the shrines in the deity room.

the other brothers have to make new sets of deities.[10]

To sum up so far, there are four main points. First, the house is divided into an inner area and an outer area, the former being to the north, and the more private. Secondly, brothers are ranked on the basis of age order. This ranking is manifested or worked out in spatial terms in the house, with the eldest brother or household head being associated with the north, and the junior brothers situated to his south. Thirdly, the northern post in the house is ritually marked, and represents a starting point or beginning in relation to which the rest is built. This part of the house is fixed and not usually moved. Fourthly, the north is also the location of the main deities, whose room is the most sacred area. These deities are the main focus for ritual, and they protect and support the household. Their very presence defines a house as such. There are two further points. First, among the deities in the deity room is a centrally placed group which includes the principal characters in the Tharu myth of the creation of the world. Secondly, the spirits of the dead ancestors are ritually seated or given a place in the deity room alongside the other deities. So this is the location not only of the living head of the household, but also of his ancestors.

In an obvious sense the household head supersedes the other members. As master he has certain responsibilities, but equally he has privileges; if sufficient labour is available he need not do some of the heavier agricultural work, and he acts as host for entertaining guests. He represents the household in the outside world, and is also the main ritual officiant from within the house. More than anyone else he stands for the household as a whole, as is suggested by his name, *ghardhurryā*, or 'house-post'. As already noted the central line of high posts supporting the ridge of the house are called *dhur*. Like the house-posts he is the pivotal support of the household, and just as the house is oriented in relation to the north, so the other men of the house are ordered in relation to him.

There is a similar pattern in the context of the village. The village headman (*mahaton*) has various functions, including officiating in rituals at the shrine of the village deities. This shrine consists of several carved wooden boards and pegs, one of which is called *murāhā mahaton*, which means 'headman peg'.

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[10] There was one particularly striking example of the right of the household head to the north part of the house and the deities. A household had decided to split and for various reasons it was decided not to divide up the original house with internal walls. Instead, the house was cut in half and the northern half dismantled and carried to a new site, where it was used for building a new house for the original household head, who also took the deities.

This peg is changed whenever the headman changes, and in some villages is the northernmost part of the shrine.[11]

There are then, a series of ideas and entities which are clustered around the northern end of the house, or which are ordered in relation to the north. Oppositions we have met are senior:junior, inside:outside and north:south, and we have also touched on east:west.

It is true that I have traced only one element, the north. These oppositions are asymmetric - senior:junior inherently so of course. One element is usually superior, and among the configurations of oppositions that between north and south seems to emerge as dominant. It may be that we can see what it is about the north that lends it superiority more easily than we can for other positive elements, and there is no space here to go into the inferior elements of these oppositions. Let us continue to trace this orientation to the north, and explore its dominant role in articulating other oppositions. After all, we must ask why it is that certain deities, the ancestors, and the senior in rank order are all linked with the north.[12]

Let us recall that the ranges of the Mahabharat mountains rise steeply to the north of the Tharu areas, while to the south lies the vast plain. For the Tharu the north means the mountains and is obviously also 'up'. In a general way in the village this is reflected in the terms *tikra* and *tara*. When one walks northwards in the village and its surrounding fields this is described as going *tikrawar* or 'upwards', and conversely to move south is to go *tarawar*, 'downwards'.[13]

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[11] I was told in my base village that this peg was made from the same tree that was used to make the northern house-post of the headman's house.

[12] Space does not allow discussion of the fact that the kitchen, with its close association with women, is also located in the north of the house. This would have to be included in any fuller analysis.

[13] The terms *tikrawar* and *tarawar* respectively mean 'upwards' and 'downwards'. Within the village they were used to describe movement northwards or southwards, even where at first sight there was no obvious slope to the land involved. This is understandable when we bear in mind that the whole valley floor slopes from north to south, and that the village land as a whole does so, though the gradient is slight. On a wider scale the association of north with upwards and south with downwards holds good because the mountains lie to the north and the plain to the south. Where, however, local topography conflicts with this general pattern the terms can be used in their literal meaning, so that when going up the low hills which lie to the south of the valley one moves *tikrawar* or 'upwards', even though one is at the same time actually going southwards.

Certain deities and the ancestors dwell in the house, but
they can also be in other places, especially *harikabilās*. The
ancestors in particular are in *harikabilās* since usually they do
not have their own shrines in the deity room. They come once a
year during the *dasyā* festival, when they are fed with a fine
feast carefully laid out for them in the deity room. The deities
seem to be more evenly distributed between this world and its
houses, and *harikabilās*, and this is because they have fixed *thān*
or places where they are fed on a regular basis. Notions con-
cerning *harikabilās* are vague. It is a nice place, sometimes
described (through the image of a flower garden) as bright,
beautiful, light, and sweet-scented. More significantly it is
situated somewhere to the north and up in the mountains.
Obviously this is a version of Mount Kailās in the Himalayas,
important for Hindus and Buddhists alike as the abode of the
gods.[14]

The relationship between men and deities is complex. The dei-
ties belong to the *sat jug*, the 'age of *sat*', which in the Hindu
context corresponds to the *satya* or *kṛta yuga*. This was an age
of power and purity, when the world was created and the deities
lived in the world. Men now live in the *kal jug* (in the Hindu
scheme the *kali yuga*), which is the present imperfect age in
which the deities have retreated from the world, though they
still sustain and and protect men. From certain points of view
the most important deity is *guru bābā* who created the world and
who now presides in *harikabilās*. He came first in the order of
things. It is not surprising then, that *guru bābā*, represented
by a small leather figure of human shape, hangs separately above
all the other deities arranged on the small platforms on the
floor of the deity room.[15]

The deities, then, dwell at least in part in *harikabilās*, to
the north up in the mountains. They came first with the creation
of the world, and are the source of support and protection for
men today. The ancestors of men are also assimilated to these
deities. Men interact with ancestors and deities through their
shrines or *thān*, which appropriately lie in the north of the
house.

This orientation to the north is, therefore, far reaching.
The north:south opposition always seems to be asymmetrical, and
through several different situations we have gained an idea of

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[14] Two educated Tharu informants explicitly identified *harika-
bilās* with Mount Kailās. It is interesting to note that *dhāmis*
of Bar-khang village in north west Nepal address a deity called
kabilas.'le maitre du kailash' (Bancaud and Macdonald 1982:
notices 59-62).

[15] Literally *guru bābā* means 'teacher-father'. I hope to dis-
cuss the hierarchy of the deities and their inter-relations else-
where.

what the north stands for. It is at once various things, but in cosmological terms it is the direction of *harikabilās*, the abode of deities who created the world, who came first, and who are powerful and superior to men. This pattern is also significant within the house. The north is the location of the household deities, including as already mentioned the main deities of the creation myth. It is the point which marks the core of the house, the point which is fixed, and in relation to which the house extends southwards. It is also the location of the household head, who is at once master of the establishment and the ritual officiant from within the house.

It is not so easy to discuss the south as a pole. Points to the south are appropriate for juniors, for inferiors, and for things of the outside - but this is only so in relation to the north. Perhaps this is a situation similar to that which Dumont has described as the kind of hierarchy wherein the superior pole is coterminous with the whole, and the inferior pole is determined solely in relation to the former (1980:225). In contrast to this type, Dumont refers to the articulate type of hierarchy, where we see reversal and chiasmus clearly manifested, such as that between priest and king or purity and power. In the former type this chiasmus may be obscured, or manifest only at the empirical level. The Tharu scheme is close to this former type, but does not coincide with it entirely.

There are, in fact, certain situations which are marked by reversal. In most ritual contexts the right is superior to the left, and regarding the hands this is true in a general way.[16] In the majority of rituals the right is the place of the senior priest. The officiants face west towards the deities, who face east, and in these situations the right and north coincide. Some situations are marked by reversal so that left becomes dominant. There are also other kinds of reversal, with rituals for household members - normally performed inside the house - being performed outside. In two such contexts it is arguable that there is an assimilation or reconciliation of these reversals by the north, in particular in relation to the deities and ancestors.

First, death itself is marked by numerous reversals. The body is laid out north-south in the *bahari*, the opposite of its usual sleeping position in the *bhitar* section. The corpse is stripped completely naked, wrapped in a shroud, and buried in a grave oriented north-south, with the head to the north.[17]

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[16] The right:left opposition does not seem important in relation to the house, but this would have to be discussed in the context of rituals.

[17] Burial is the commonest form of disposal, but sometimes the body is cremated.

Throughout the associated rituals the left hand is used, and so
on. Eventually, in the course of subsequent purification rituals,
the new ancestor is led back into the house and is seated along
with the other ancestors and deities in the deity room. In a
sense the initial reversals have now been superseded through the
deity room in the north of the house. Perhaps we have crossed
levels in the process.

Secondly, a similar form of assimilation appears in relation
to women. A woman enters her husband's house on marriage, but
her full incorporation is a long-term process. For the first
year, and at frequent intervals thereafter, she spends time in
her natal home on a series of visits. Even after she has had her
first children the woman will continue to visit her natal home,
though as she gets older her visits will become increasingly rare.
For the Tharu, the deities of the woman's natal household, of her
mother's brother's household, and of her mother's mother's
brother's household in some sense continue to follow and affect
her. This is the explanation for a ritual which is performed
twice every year in the marital house for the woman's fertility
and well-being and for that of her children. Since this ritual
concerns the deities of clans different from her husband's, it
has to be performed outside the house. More than this, part of
the essential ritual equipment is kept hanging in the south-
western corner of the house, either inside or outside. The
ritual is actually carried out on the ground, outside the house
and near its southern end. This is in direct contrast to other
household rituals, which take place inside the house, usually in
the northeastern room.[18] Women marrying into the house come from
different clans and are still affected by the deities of those
clans, so they are to an extent separated from the husband's
household and clan deities. If, however, we again follow the

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[18] This ritual for women, called *rath lausarnā*, is performed out-
side the house, and at what we may call the 'back' of the house.
This is the side which adjoins the fields. The 'front' side of
the house, with its large open courtyard, faces towards the vill-
age lane. This means that for houses on the west side of the
village this ritual is performed to the west of the house, and for
those in the eastern line of houses it takes place to the east of
the house. The relation of the house to the village lane, there-
fore, although making no difference to its internal layout and
orientation, seems to affect the spatial location of rituals per-
formed outside the house. We might then have to include in any
fuller discussion a further opposition between 'back' and 'front'
sides of the house. This is also suggested by the fact that when
a corpse is carried out of the house, for those houses to the west
of the central lane it leaves by the western doorway, while in
those to the east it leaves by the eastern doorway. In both cases,
then, it leaves by the **'back'** door, on the side facing away from
the village lane.

sequence of this relationship between a woman and her marital household, we see a kind of progressive incorporation. At death the woman, like any other ancestor, is seated with the other ancestors in the northern deity room. She is finally brought in and finds her place inside and in the north, in a position befitting her final transition to an absolutely senior status.

We have seen two situations which are set apart and marked by reversals, but which in turn are transcended by an overriding organising principle. These contexts are being ordered for us in relation to this principle, and so we can speak of '...different levels hierarchised together with the corresponding elements' (Dumont 1980:225). Within the oppositions encountered, I cannot assign to the elements values which are intrinsic and invariant in all contexts. Nevertheless one can say more about the positively valued elements and in particular the north. North and south are only definable in relation to the whole, and like right and left in relation to the body, they do not have the same relation to this whole. At one level they are opposed, but at a higher level north transcends south. They are, then, hierarchic- ally opposed, and north is more important in relation to the whole (Dumont 1979:810). I cannot say if at the highest level north will always be dominant, since there are further situations and elements to consider. North is associated with seniority, male, inside, ancestors, the deities, and *harikabilās*. Among further aspects to be considered are purity and fertility. By distinguishing hierarchical levels however, I have begun to draw 'the main lines of organization of the ideological whole...' (ibid:813). Perhaps the number of value-ideas clustered around the north may suggest that we are in the 'zone' where 'the fundamental idea, the mother of all others... is hiding' (ibid.: 814).

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HIERARCHY, PURITY, AND EQUALITY
AMONG A COMMUNITY OF BALINESE ON LOMBOK

'All things are double, one against
the other.'
Ecclesiasticus 42: 25

'Opposition unites. From what draws
apart results the most beautiful
harmony.'
Heraclitus

I

This paper considers the three concepts mentioned in the title,
viz., hierarchy, purity, and equality, although it does not deal
with each in quite the same way. To some extent the differences
in the approaches adopted are corollaries of the fact that two of
the concepts - hierarchy and equality - have no direct equiva-
lents in Balinese, although they can be inferred from what the
Balinese do and from what they say about what they do. Purity,
by contrast, is a concept which is Balinese.

Purity is concerned with what the Balinese term *suci*.
Nirmala also refers to purity, but the state to which it refers
is not one which any person, however elevated his status, can

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attain during his material and visible life on earth. Only when
he (or she) is what we call dead (one rendering of which status
in Balinese is *lepas*, free) could a person possibly be termed
nirmala. This state, however, is not a consequence of death, so
that death is a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition for a
person being termed *nirmala*. *Sukla*, further, refers to the pure
in such expressions as *kamben sukla*, a sarong which has not been
worn since its manufacture. This is stored high up in the house,
on the top shelf of the cupboard which many houses contain. Gold,
jewellery, and money (the god Sedana) are similarly stored high
up. *Sajen sukla*, offerings which have been made but have yet to
be given to the gods, are likewise placed high off the ground (on
a table perhaps) until they are needed for prestation. These
facts are in accordance with notions which link what is cleaner
and purer with that which is physically higher and ideationally
superior.

Baturujung is one of the villages which comprise the
administrative *lurah* Pagutan, in western Lombok, the region in
which most of the Balinese on the island live. The village
consists of about 350 people, all of whom can trace relationship
to one another through either males or females and who are
loosely divided into five localised groups, each of which is
descended from one man. The Brahmana of the Gria Taman, a large
compound some two minutes away through the gardens to the west of
Baturujung, have traditional relations with most villagers in
Baturujung. Villagers are *sisia* to the Brahmana Surya. This
relationship means essentially that the Surya performs certain
mystical tasks for the *sisia*, who have certain rights in
relation to their Surya, and certain obligations to fulfil also.
I lived for about the same length of time in the Gria Taman and
in Baturujung.

It has been said (Hobart, personal communication) that the
account (Duff-Cooper 1983) upon which this essay is based is a
Brahmanaical view of Balinese society. It is true that lower
estates (*warna*) are not supposed to know the metaphysical
doctrines (*sarwa-surya*) upon which much of what follows is
premissed, but these doctrines, known or not (and *pace* Forge 1980:
223-5), pervade Balinese life more or less directly. It should
not be thought therefore that there is anything idiosyncratic
about what follows. Indeed, I would claim that were a learned
Balinese asked to expatiate about the levels (*undag*, or *pangked*
in high Balinese) in his society, he might well adopt the
approach which is followed below - which attempts, in Barnes's
words 'to follow the lines of greatest fluency' (1974: 1). If
his account were to be at all complete - a condition for which
the Balinese would probably strive, since that which is complete

is, in Balinese thought, superior to what is not complete[1] - he would surely have to address the matters which are taken up below.

II

Hierarchy has, of course, been the subject of a great deal of work in social anthropology. The work of Professor Dumont immediately comes to mind in this connection, as does that of Professor Needham, although Needham's work on such notions as polythesis and its use in social classification (Needham 1975; 1978: 33, 41, 43, 67) has perhaps been less obviously directed at the topic. However, Needham's important 'Analogical Classification' (1980: 41-62) addresses the matter head on.

It is Needham who has pointed out (ibid.: 41-4) that hierarchy has long been taken for granted as the proper, indeed as the only, form of classification and that this assumption permeates the work of such scholars as Durkheim and Lévy-Bruhl. This fact has implications for the very topic of hierarchy, for it is not obvious that there is anything about 'hierarchy' which should lead some social anthropologists to ascribe it the favoured status which it seems to have achieved in their work. If, indeed, it is merely one mode of classification, then it might be wondered why it has been accorded the pre-eminence which it has in social anthropology, with some social anthropologists spending so much time and expending so much effort in considering the topic.

Be that question as it may, thinking about this mode of classification, which has long been known in formal logic as the Tree of Porphyry - a name which is perhaps less tendentious than 'hierarchy' - is justified by the work of Professor Dumont and his congeners at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris.

It is not clear, though, that Dumont's work on India, particularly *Homo Hierarchicus* (Dumont 1970), is applicable to the Balinese social formation which they call the *warna*. Dumont, after all, has contended (1970: 213-4) that caste can only truly be said to be present where there is a complete disjunction between status and power. He has further contended (ibid.: 215)

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[1] Cf. Howe (1983: 145) who associates odd numbers, i.e. incomplete numbers, with life, and even numbers, i.e. complete numbers, with death. Even numbers are also associated in Howe's analysis (ibid.) with that which is *embet*, closed. A being who becomes *embet* becomes ill or dies, unless expert assistance is called in (ibid.: 155). In Baturujung, I was constantly told by villagers that rites associated with the dead are the most important rites.

that nowhere in Indonesia can this be found because 'nowhere in
Indo-China and Indonesia has the king been dispossessed of his
religious prerogatives', so that he avers that India only
exported quasi-caste. Lekkerkerker (1926: 1) thought that the
caste system of British India was completely unique (*inderdaad
uniek*). It must be a question, therefore, whether the results of
Dumont's analyses can be applied directly to this Balinese social
form or whether the results need to be qualified.

Still, the four great classes which comprise the Balinese
warna and which are termed Brahmana, Ksatrya, Wesia, and Sudra,
are related to one another in different ways. Brahmana, I was
told by one or two old men, do not exist on Lombok. Villagers
consider, though, that Baturujung and other parts of Lombok where
Balinese perform the rites and otherwise live properly are a
part of the former kingdom of Karangasem on Bali. For analytic
purposes it would be enough that there are Brahmana in
Karangasem. This is, of course, similar to India where there
are regions without any Brahmins although they are present, so to
say, ideologically. But in any case those who told me that there
were no Brahmana in the village had a slightly eccentric view of
the matter. There are, in Pagutan, people who are termed Ida
(a Brahmana appellation), who live in *gria*, the name of a com-
pound belonging to a local descent group which is Brahmana (cf.
Swellengrebel 1950: 125), and who say of themselves what is said
of them by others, that they are Brahmana. These Brahmana also
become Pedanda Siwa and Pedanda Boddha, statuses open only to
Brahmana.

These people are of the Brahmana *warna*, but for the most
part they are of the *raga keksatryan* (*raga*, body); that is, they
are allowed, minimally, to get angry, to fight, and to have fun
(*mecanda-canda*), like Ksatrya. Brahmana who have attained the
highest Balinese status on earth through the rite termed *mediksa*
(from **diksa*, rosary), the status of Pedanda, and who are true
or complete Brahmana, should do none of these things (cf. Hobart
1979: 415). Ksatrya are the younger brothers of Brahmana.

There are three kinds of Pedanda in the village: Pedanda
Siwa, Pedanda Boddha, and Pedanda Resi. The first two are always
Brahmana, the last Ksatrya. The former are distinguished from
the latter in the spread of their competence: they have (in
theory) full access to mystical knowledge and may, within certain
limits, use it anywhere on Bali and on Lombok (cf. Forge 1980:
224). The Ksatrya is confined to a part of the knowledge which
is accessible to a Brahmana Pedanda and may use it only for
himself and for his close relations, probably only for his local
descent group. A Pedanda Resi always faces west when seated with
a Brahmana Pedanda, who sits facing east, and in many other ways
a Brahmana Pedanda is superior to a Resi.

Pedanda Siwa, however, are related to Pedanda Boddha as
males are related to females, and as the male (*purusa*) is related
to the female (*pradhana*). The male, in Balinese metaphysics, is
logically and temporally prior to the female and therefore, as in
so many other places, where what is male is superior to what is

female, the Pedanda Siwa is superior to the Pedanda Boddha (cf.
Friederich 1959: 29; van Eerde 1911: 9ff; Rassers 1959: 90;
Swellengrebel 1960: 38). This relation of male to female is
evidenced in very many aspects of Balinese life. A striking
example is the fact, as I was assured by villager friends of
mine, that women never get on top in sexual intercourse; and
grown women also should[2] never ride on the front seat of a horse-
drawn carriage while men sit behind: people organize their
sitting positions so that this does not occur.

Pedanda deal with the mystical, and more particularly with
that aspect of the mystical which is high, white, and to the
right. Should Pedanda be required to officiate in the temple of
death in the south - which is opposed to the north and the
direction of the mountain Rinjani (*kaler* on Lombok) and to the
positions and their associated qualities just mentioned - then in
Pagutan a female Pedanda officates. Brahmana who are not Pedanda
also deal with the mystical these days as teachers of *agama*,
very broadly religion and ethics, in national schools, or as
officials in the regional offices of the Department of Religion,
or, more traditionally, as helpers (*ulaka*) of Pedanda.

Ksatrya, as the estate from which the traditional kings
came before the office was abolished by the Dutch, are even
today associated with the jural, often becoming military men or
Government officials. Balinese Brahmana and Ksatrya are clear
examples of dual sovereignty: the forces to which men are
subject are divided into a diarchy defined as jural and
mystical (cf. Needham 1980: 70-1). Its two aspects are
complementary and opposed in the situation described above and in
other situations, even where Ksatrya become Resi. Pedanda are to
kings as elder is to younger.[3]

The Pedanda is not a hermit; he lives with his local descent
group, he has a wife, either living or dead, and he may have
children. He has traditional relations (as I have mentioned)
with his *sisia*. Should there be a death within his local descent
group, a Pedanda may not become *sebel*, that is, barred from many
mystical activities, although he will not make *palukatan*, a type
of holy water, nor will he go to temples to make offerings,
apart from his own family temple. Other Brahmana become *sebel*,

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[2] This and similar uses of the conditional derive from the fact
that what should happen in the village most often does happen.
Villagers are very good Balinese, as I was often told by others
who had no apparent reason for not saying what they truly
thought.

[3] This is unusual in many parts of southeast Asia, where the
mystical is often associated with the younger brother and the
jural with the elder brother, although this does, of course, vary
in different parts of the archipelago (cf. van Wouden 1968: 30,
115; Barnes 1974: 30, 163).

as do Ksatrya. Brahmana and Ksatrya are, as older to younger, opposed to all others, and this is demonstrated in the etiquette appropriate to them.

Brahmana, Ksatrya, and Wesia, the third estate, are the insiders (*dalem*) in contrast to the fourth *warna*, the outsiders (*jaba*). Belo (1936: 12) writes that the contrast distinguishes those who claim descent from the Hindu-Javanese invaders of Majapahit who conquered Bali in the fourteenth century (insiders) from the indigenous population (outsiders) on whom they imposed their rule. Hooykaas writes (1978: 214) that on Bali the word *triwangsa*, meaning three castes, excludes *jaba*, the Sudra who do not partake of the privileges of the other three estates. Geertz (1967: 51) writes that 'the main status distinction is between the djero and the djaba, the "insiders" and the "outsiders" signifying those who live inside a "palace" and those who live outside.'

'*Wong* Majapahit', people of Majapahit, was not an expression which I ever heard anyone, *triwangsa* or not, use in Pagutan to refer to *triwangsa*. It may also be that the *triwangsa* have 'privileges' which others do not have, of the kind referred to, for instance, by Dumont (1970: 109), but I doubt that the *triwangsa* are considered privileged, especially as the privileges to which Dumont refers are now covered by national laws which tend not to treat one or more *warna* exceptionally. If, moreover, Hooykaas is referring to language and to forms of etiquette, then my doubt is stronger, for these conventional approaches to *triwangsa* are merely the proper ways of behaving. They are no more privileges than are the facts that, for example, men wrap their sarongs from right to left, and that women wrap their sarongs from left to right.

Geertz is essentially right: 'palaces' - *gria, puri*, and *jero*, the compounds of each of the three estates which comprise the *triwangsa* - possess characteristics relative to one another and to non-*triwangsa* compounds which, rather like the inside court of a temple and the inside of the house, are that much closer to a particular centre. In my view, *dalem* and *jaba* refer to the fact that *triwangsa*, like the compounds in which they live, are through birth, through etiquette, through language, and through function, relatively closer to a mystical centre than the outsiders. These are matters of fact, and not privileges, i.e., deviations from a norm, if only because there is no one norm in Balinese thought, unless it be Ida Sang Hyang Widhi, the high god of the Balinese.[4]

A different but related view might wish to argue that the *triwangsa*, as twice born (*dvijati*), are admitted to the ritual, while the Sudra are excluded (cf. Dumont 1970: 109). In Balinese custom, however, all are admitted to the ritual to a

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[4] Everything derives from Ida Sang Hyang Widhi, and is contained in Him.

greater or lesser extent, and all similarly 'participate in initiation' (ibid.). All villagers may in principle order a sacrifice, and all, with only minor conditions, may perform it (cf. ibid.: 107), so long as the sacrifice is not one which concerns marriage or death.

A Pedanda Siwa told me that only those who become Pedanda, and who die and are reborn in the rite re-creating the individual as a Pedanda, are twice born. I suspect that this fact might also apply to kings, or at least that a king would most likely say that it did. It would not in my view, however, be applied to Wesia, who although *triwangsa* are lower than Brahmana and Ksatrya and who are correspondingly less well considered in my experience than the two higher *warna*.

Non-*triwangsa* Balinese are the Sudra. *Anak* Bali, Balinese people, is the appellation most often used in the village and in the Gria Taman to refer to the fourth estate and to the people who constitute it. *Anak* Bali may be classified together or separately according to the criteria chosen, which classify people as being closer to or more distant from the particular centre in relation to which it is wished to classify people. Which centre will be taken as the centre of reference naturally depends upon the circumstances.

Anak Bali, however, may also be of two kinds according to the criterion of whether the person derives from a union between a male and a female after the couple have been through the rites of *nganten,* held at least ten days after a male has taken or stolen a female for his wife. These rites cleanse the union (cf. Hooykaas-van Leeuwen Boomkamp 1961: 25), making it fertile and prosperous like the rice fields. A person who is born to parents of any *warna* who have not been through *nganten* is *astra,* that is, the same as an illegitimate Balinese of the lowest *warna.* This lack of status is shown by rules of commensality which deny the *astra* access to communal meals at all events outside his local descent group and outside compounds where his relations are such as to override the disability imposed by his birth. *Astra* are also disadvantaged in relation to their legitimate co-heirs by the rules of inheritance.

Warna and the statuses of Pedanda, king, *astra,* and so on (cf. Hooykaas 1976a) are all determined by birth, but are not necessarily inherited in the direct agnatic line. The functions of the statuses run hand in hand with birth: only Brahmana may become Pedanda of universal competence, only Ksatrya may become kings and lesser Pedanda. If one is Wesia, then one should deal in the produce of the work of the Sudra, whose *dharma* it is (basically) to work in the fields and to husband livestock and fowl to provide revenue for the kings to support the Brahmana and the realm.

Each estate is essential to *dharma,* the Balinese way of life, and each is related to the others in a series of oppositions of greater and greater generality, to the point where all Balinese of whatever status are opposed to all other human beings at different removes. This fact is shown when Balinese of different

warna climb to the top of Rinjani: the different statuses which
are marked in polite society by the use of language levels, i.e.
finer or coarser language, are minimised to the point at which
it is thought that to use any form of Balinese at the top of the
mountain or on one's way up the mountain, near the top, will
lead to mists descending and to men losing their way and
plunging to their death down the side of the mountain.

As long ago as the early 1890s, Robertson Smith recognised
(1894: 50) that in regard to the concepts of holiness and
pollution the integrity of the categories depended upon
restrictive rules. As Beidelman comments (1974: 63), without
such rules and through 'contagion', social and other moral
qualities become blurred and thereby jeopardised. In the
system of the Balinese *warna*, however, the rules at once
separate the categories from one another and draw them together
into a system, for all the rules are relative. In fact, they
are relative to such an extent that without one of the *warna*
the others could not exist, at least in their proper form. The
dependency of one *warna* upon all the others is stressed by
villagers, and it can only be fully demonstrated by a holistic
account of Balinese life (e.g., Duff-Cooper 1983), for the
dependency is shown in all aspects of that life. I shall
address just one aspect of it here, that   concerned with
purity.

Purity, it has been suggested (Hobart 1979: 404), is a
notion which in Balinese ideology is descriptive, substantive,
and evaluative. Relative height and relative position are
extremely important notions in Balinese thought as many (e.g.,
Swellengrebel 1977: 89, 92) have pointed out, more or less
directly. The centre of the island is the mountain Rinjani,
which is combined ideologically with a section of Gunung Agung
on Bali and with a section of Mount Semeru on Java, and which is
the Mahameru of the Balinese on Lombok.[5] Rinjani is a temple
where all, except of course Moslems, dress in white, and it is
the home of the gods, the eight at eight of the major points of
the Balinese compass, with Siwa or Bhatara Guru at the centre
and slightly higher. Siwa is placed higher in the *sanggah*, the
construction in which offerings are placed for the gods of the
compound (where there is always at least one *sanggah*), or for
the gods of the temple in which the *sanggah* is situated. Wisnu
is placed to the right of Siwa and to his north and Brahma to
his left and south.

That which is low is also that which is closer to the sea
and to the south than to the mountain and to the north and east.

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[5] The Mahameru is thought of as a triangle made up of three
horizontal segments. The top segment consists of that part of
Gunung Agung, the middle segment consists of that part of Gunung
Rinjani, and the bottom segment of that part of Mount Semeru.

In Baturujung, the temple of death and the cemetery are situated south in relation to the other two temples of the *lurah*, as it is in many other Balinese villages (cf., e.g., Goris 1960: 84), and south of all the living quarters of the Balinese. The ashes of those who have been cremated are disposed of in the sea (cf. Crucq 1928: 117) to the west of the village. The area between the sea and the land harbours such harmful beings as the *grèbèk* (beautiful woman at the front, rotting carcass at the back) and *turis* (tourists or Caucasians) who, among, other things, are red and hairy and immoral. Red is the colour of Brahma (cf., e.g., Swellengrebel *op.cit.*). Hairiness suggests comparison with the beings in the forests to the southwest of the island - 'the southwest, kelod-kauh, is the most inferior direction' (*la direction la plus inférieure*) (Berthier and Sweeney 1976: 29). These beings speak only in grunts, are afraid of fire, and are barely human. Comparison may also be made with *raksasa*, giant ogres, whose business it is to disturb the proper (peaceful) order of things. The temple of death is also one of the haunts of witches (*lèak*), usually very ugly women who do everything in the wrong order (cf. De Kat Angelino 1921: 23 n. 15; Howe 1983: 152, 154) or else backwards (cf. Mershon 1971: 55). Witches always only have evil intentions. The black arts which they and other evil beings practise are called *pengiwa*, a word derived from *kiwa*, 'left'.

In Balinese thought 'up' is associated with the north, northeast, white, cleanliness, the right, and order. Down, the south, west, darkness, sullage, the left, and disorder are also classed together. There are, exceptionally in Balinese classification, witches of all colours and directions.

Pedanda and kings sit higher and further to the northeast than all others; no one should allow his head to be on a level higher than the heads of people of these statuses when associating with them. No Sudra should allow his head to be higher than that of a *triwangsa* in similar circumstances (cf. Freijss 1860: 502). All should address those who may sit higher than themselves (excepting non-*triwangsa* pre-pubescent) in high, fine Balinese (Swellengrebel 1950: 124, 127, 128; Kersten 1970: 13-25). Those lower by *warna*, unless *triwangsa*, can expect to be addressed in language which is appropriately less fine and lower. The highest, finest language, which is Sanskrit and which is 'imperishable' (Hooykaas 1964: 37), is reserved to those who are the highest and the finest, the gods (cf. Lévi 1926: 10).

The gods should always be approached with what is highest and cleanest: refined language, offerings made as perfectly as possible, cloths, plates, drinking vessels and other utensils reserved to their use, all of which is stored higher than what is used by others. Balinese should be in an untroubled state of mind when meeting the gods, for anger and such like is caused by *raksasa* and by other beings associated with the low, which render a person 'hot', like fire, with which Brahma is associated.

A Pedanda and a king should similarly be approached form-
ally, in demeanour and in dress, and should be spoken to (and
about) in the highest Balinese. A Pedanda uses special crockery
which is kept higher than that used by others. His clothes are
kept to be worn only by him, have been cleansed with *mantra*, and
are washed separately. A Pedanda is a learned man (cf. Hooykaas
1976b: 242) in continual contact with the goddess Sarasvati, the
goddess of knowledge and beauty, and he daily becomes a seat for
Surya, as Siwa, who enters his body and makes holy water which
among other things is used to cleanse the soul (cf. Goudriaan
and Hooykaas 1971).

Only a Pedanda may serve this function on Lombok. He keeps
himself clean by a complicated toilet, which is accompanied at
each step by *mantra* (see e.g. Pudja 1971: 67, 71, 73), by never
getting angry, by not eating certain foods, especially domestic
pig, and by not taking certain drinks. He may not flirt with
women (although he may have sex with his wife on all but the
most important days, so long as offerings are given to the god
of love, Semara), and he may not gamble.

A Pedanda's way of life is in marked contrast to that of
Sudra, who almost without exception have a passion for gambling
(especially on the cockfight, a blood-offering to spirits which
are associated with the low), who eat pig and drink when they
can afford to, and who flirt with women if they can (unless, of
course, they are women or transvestites, in which case they
flirt with men) until like Pedanda and kings they are old. Most
importantly, perhaps, *anak* Bali speak low, coarse Balinese and
their work in the fields and with animals renders them literally
dirty.

All should try to keep as clean as they can within the
limits imposed by their *dharma*, but all of any estate may go
through a rite appropriate to their station through which they
are rendered to a state in which they can deal with the gods in
the temples - other than those in family temples where, we have
mentioned, all who know how may give offerings to the gods, so
long as only minor conditions be satisfied. The rites render a
man that much more appropriate for dealing with the gods than
his peers; that is, he is made cleaner and finer (more know-
ledgeable), which is an aspect of purity.

The Pedanda is the most *suci*, and his function and the
etiquette and restrictions which we have mentioned - and there
are many more - are what render him such. Inasmuch, therefore,
as the behaviour appropriate to and for each *warna* define the
warna, purity is a descriptive notion.

Is purity a substantive? The *Oxford English Dictionary*
says that of an immaterial subject, 'substantive' means that the
subject is possessed of the quality of an independent existence
or status, and that the subject correlatively is not dependent
upon or subsidiary to, or referable to, anything else.

The first point to notice is that, as I have pointed out,
there is not one purity as it were but different relative
purities, each of which is dependent upon the others for its

existence. It is true that all are aspects of Ida Sang Hyang Widhi, but since Widhi is (among other things) inconceivable, it would be odd to say that purity is therefore a substantive in this sense. The only way purity can be known is through its social forms and these are not independent of one another.

The *OED* also says that, of persons, 'substantive' refers to the quality of independence. Perhaps this is where purity is a substantive, i.e., in the sense that the social facts which combine to create relative purities inhere in persons, and that persons are independent of one another. It is not necessary to go further into this interpretation of the meaning of 'substantive' to say that it does not apply to the Balinese case (cf. Lansing 1974: 4-5; Gerdin 1981: 33 n. 2). The Balinese would also strenuously deny that a true Balinese could be independent in any important sense; and Balinese ideas concerning procreation, birth, sex, character, and emotions, all support this contention. Purity is not, therefore, a substantive.

Is 'purity' evaluative? In the sense that there are people who because of their functions, etiquette, and the other conventional behaviour associated with them are cleaner and higher and more unsullied than others, the notion of purity evaluates people. This however should not be taken to imply that those who are purer are better, in the sense of being more worthy, than those who are less pure. Indeed the Balinese aver that they are all the same, in the sense that each is as worthy *qua* human being as any other, i.e., they compose a *soroh*, a natural kind (Hobart 1979: 400). Nor does more or less purity imply more or less power, in the sense of having political authority and control of economic resources.

In the Balinese case, and insofar as power is concerned, the Brahmana is normally *sakti*; that is to say, he is brought close to the gods in his life, because of his status, and he therefore has mystical efficacy. Other factors determine how far a person is *sakti*, but however prominent a Brahmana's reputation his domain is the mystical. This is one kind of power.

The authority of the king is concerned with the jural. Here, if anywhere, might be found institutionalised inequality. Both the Pedanda's mystical power and the king's jural authority, however, are ontologically of the same kind. Both derive from Ida Sang Hyang Widhi and are aspects of Him. The mystical and the jural are of a different level, but derive from the same point, as Balinese metaphysics teaches.

The jural, it has already been mentioned, is subordinated to the mystical as younger to elder, and the former is less pure than the latter. In Pagutan the *puri*, the compound of the local descent group who would if circumstances were different still be the kings of Pagutan, faces west, while the *gria* of the Brahmana who used to service the kings as Petirthaan, a kind of private Pedanda, faces east. This subordination, however, does not imply (what would be false) that the superior is economically and authoritatively in stronger circumstances than the inferior. This fact is particularly well shown today where *Anak* Bali are

often far wealthier than both Ksatrya and Brahmana.

The system of *warna* is not correlated with any systematic
social deprivation or injustice. The situation in the village
is as follows: those with jural authority are less pure than
those who as a matter of ideology should not use force. These
latter are the Brahmana, who should not get angry and should not
fight. The response of Brahmana to someone who has done wrong
should be to teach that person what is the right way. Brahmana
should not indulge in business activity (i.e., work to accumulate
artha, goods and money) and indeed should not look for any
material gain from their way of life. They are often very poor,
and are admired for their holiness should they not wish to alter
the material circumstances of their lives. Further, villagers
say that it was the Ksatrya who used to own the people and the
whole realm. Although van der Kraan does not accept this inter-
pretation, he reinforces the point that there is no systematic
correlation between the *warna* and deprivation when he writes
that 'the Balinese kings never were the proprietors of all the
land within their realm' (1981: 7). Ownership of the land
within the village territories was vested in the village
communities, in institutions (temples, *subak*, regulators of the
fields) and in private persons. However, only men, not women,
were allowed to own land (ibid.: 15).

The Balinese way of life also includes as a living but
invisible reality gods and spirits. It is the gods who have
ultimate power to grant such things as wealth or poverty, chil-
dren or childlessness, good harvests or famine (cf. Hobart 1978:
74, 80), indeed life and death. The system of *warna* includes
the gods and spirits. From the Balinese point of view this
total system constitutes the unquestioned order of things (cf.
Needham 1981: 76-7). Questions of injustice would be as out of
place in Balinese thought as a red-hot poker would have been in
the mysteries of Demeter and of Bacchus (cf. Lang 1884: 33).

There are, of course, villagers who know that in present-
day Indonesia some have more sway and are wealthier than others.
That these persons are sometimes Moslems is, in the villagers'
view, a reversal of the proper order of things. They are also
usually thought to be *pegawai*, officials in the administrative
hierarchy. The closer to the centre that the officials work -
be it the national, the provincial, or a subordinate centre -
the more sway and the wealthier these officials are likely to be.
Some have achieved authority and wealth through position. This
circumstance is not taken to be proper by villagers, although it
is not the authority and the wealth which they dislike so much
as the manner in which the authority and the wealth are used by
those who possess them. *Pegawai* are generally thought to be
conceited and arrogant, and generally uncongenial. Villagers
often think them stupid and generally know more about agricul-
ture, for example, than the officials who try to tell them how
to run their agricultural affairs.

Others have achieved a position through knowledge; and they
may also have achieved a position through wealth, accumulated

through diligence. This achievement, like the traditional authority of the kings, may not be much liked, but there is no question of it being unfair. Wealth is a gift from the gods. It is as appropriate to those who have it and who gain position through it as the traditional authority of the kings is to Ksatrya.

This description of the Balinese *warna*, which for reasons of space has been greatly truncated, has shown that the *warna* system consists of a series of dyads of increasing generality. Within each dyad, of whatever generality, relative purity in the forms it variously takes in social life defines the terms of which each dyad is composed (cf. Dumézil 1948; 1958; Dumont 1970: 106).

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EQUALITY AND HIERARCHY IN CHEWONG CLASSIFICATION

I wish to take as my starting point for this paper two quotations from a recent article by Dumont, entitled 'On Value'.

> Yet it is only by a perversion or impoverishment of the notion of order that we may believe contrariwise that equality can by itself constitute an order (1980a: 238);

and,

> What I maintain is that, if the advocates of difference claim for it both equality and recognition, they claim the impossible. Here, we are reminded of the American slogan 'separate but equal' which marked the transition from slavery to racism (ibid., p.239).

My purpose will be to test the validity of the foregoing statements by reference to a particular society, the Chewong of

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Peninsular Malaysia, whose ideology is, I shall argue, dominated
by a concern with both equality and recognition; hierarchy, when
it does occur, does so at an inferior level in the ideology,
being an inversion of the dominant value and ordering principle
of equality. As will become clear, the Chewong do not themselves
lay stress on equality, but on recognition, separation, 'differ-
ence'. Equality emerges as a value, or ordering principle, only
by virtue of the absence of hierarchy, together with this
emphasis on recognition.

Before presenting the main body of the argument, I wish,
however, to question Dumont's assertion of a 'Western aversion to
hierarchy' which he claims interferes with contemporary anthrop-
ological studies, preventing the anthropologists from taking
account of indigenous values. He states, 'As moderns we tend to
put everything on the same plane. If it were possible, we would
have nothing to do with hierarchy' (1980b:244). This, and
similar statements to the same effect, I have always found very
baffling, as they do not correspond with my own impression from
the anthropological literature. More specifically, the collect-
ion of essays which discuss the symbolic significance of right
and left (ed. Needham 1973) is singled out by Dumont as a pertin-
ent example of studies of binary classification in which the
elements of each pair are presented as complementary and of equal
value (Dumont 1979: 807). But is this really so in all cases? A
casual reading of the essays reveals that in at least two
instances, the authors are not only aware of unequal value being
attributed to right and left in the ideology under study, but
furthermore that these relative values are conceptually linked to
a whole.

In his essay 'Order in the Atoni House',Cunningham states that
the pertinent point in Atoni symbolism is that of the conflicting
concerns of unity and difference, and that they are continually
being interpreted and re-interpreted. The method most commonly
employed is that of dual oppositions, and in this the right/left
opposition is one that carries much symbolic loading. He provides
a detailed explication of Atoni dual classification in which he
groups together, for example, female, left, inside the house,
land, etc. as opposed to male, right, outside the house, sea, etc.
He thereby implicitly asserts an arrangement of ordered pairs
(see below), i.e. a set of dyadic oppositions, in each of which
the ordering of the elements is relevant. He also discusses the
superordination and subordination of the elements in different
contexts, and suggests that 'a conceptually subordinate pair is
opposed to a superordinate unit' (1973: 219); and later, when
considering reversals in the order of some elements, that the
'apparent inconsistency [of reversal in value] can be understood
... by viewing other Atoni social categorizations and the contexts
in which superordination is expressed' (ibid., p.226).

In another paper in the same collection, Littlejohn specifi-
cally draws attention to a relationship pertaining between the
elements and the whole: 'Since there is no such thing as left
and right "in space", these regions being relative to the direct-

ion an individual faces, the ground of distinction must first be
sought in the human body' (1973: 289). This point is reminiscent
of one made later by Dumont in his criticism of the essays:
'What is lacking here is the recognition that the right-left pair
is not definable in itself but *only in relation to a whole,* a
most tangible whole, since it is the human body...' (1979:810;
original emphasis). Littlejohn proceeds to present an analysis
of Temne symbolic use of right and left showing, despite initial
impressions to the contrary, how left is in fact the dominant
value. He seeks his explanation in Temne ritual behaviour
(1973:297).

All I wish to demonstrate by the above two examples is that
anthropologists, far from having an aversion to hierarchy, find
it hard to avoid employing it in their interpretations. However,
I would agree with Dumont that the *full* implications in *his* sense
of the concept have not been explored by other writers. Since
the above quotations are representative of much of my anthropol-
ogical reading before going to the field, my dismay may be
appreciated when, among the Chewong, I was unable to establish
similar orderings. In their social organization, their cosmol-
ogy, their ritual, and their classification, the Chewong dis-
played a perverse tendency to ignore all implications of differ-
ences. While insisting on distinctions being made between things
or ideas, they did not attach social or symbolic significance to
such distinctions. It is the implications of this that I wish to
explore in this paper.

I must begin by a clarification of the terminology I shall be
using. This, it will be seen, is largely derived from Dumont.
The concept of hierarchy is one that he has taken great care to
define, stressing again and again that it is an abstract notion,
one that informs us about abstract relations - in essence, the
relation is one that involves the encompassing of the contrary
(1979: 809; 1980a: 239). As such, it must not be confused with
social stratification. Such a confusion, he claims, has led to
much misunderstanding of his work by those who are subject to a
'modern tendency to confuse hierarchy with power' (1980a:221:
see also Dumont 1971).

What I am concerned with is something in contradistinction
to hierarchy, which I shall be calling equality. Equality in my
usage can be seen as the obverse of hierarchy. It will be used
as an abstract concept concerned with the relations between
things, people, or ideas. Like hierarchy it must be regarded as
an ordering principle of elements. However, contrary to Dumont's
claim (as expressed in the two quotations at the outset), I
suggest that equality can imply recognition. In other words, the
differentiation of a whole gives rise to parts which must be
recognized, but the relations between these parts may be ones of
equality. Just as hierarchy is not concerned necessarily with
social stratification, so also equality in my sense is a concept
expressing abstract relations of a particular kind, and egalitar-
ianism is only one possible manifestation of it. (I should note
here that Dumont may perhaps have fallen victim to the opposite

error to the one he rightly attributes to many Western anthro-
pologists by which they link hierarchy with power. It seems to
me that his refutation of equality may be based on a confusion of
the term equality with a *lack* of power.)

My suggestion will be that the Chewong ideology is one in
which the dominant value is recognition. The difference between
elements is stressed, but no hierarchical ordering is imposed on
the relation between them, which is therefore necessarily one of
equality. The term 'dominant value' is also derived from Dumont,
and by using it I am not suggesting that Chewong ideology lacks
value, but that equality as opposed to hierarchy is the main
structural principle in their ideology.[1] Distinction, separation,
and juxtaposition are concepts related to those of recognition
and equality, and I shall be using these as well in my exposition.

In order to prove my case, I would need to demonstrate that
although Chewong society and constructions are ordered, they are
not ordered on hierarchical principles. To prove an absence of
hierarchy presents methodological problems, but we may begin by
identifying the means by which the *presence* of hierarchy might
be recognised. To do so, I would suggest that a distinction is
drawn between expressive and implicit evidence. Expressive
hierarchy may be manifest in social relations, in the construct-
ion of classificatory categories of 'things', in cosmological
conceptions, and in ritual performances. Implicit evidence of
hierarchy, in the present context, is to be found in structural
analysis and the listing of binary pairs. I will examine each of
these in relation to the Chewong.

I first turn to an examination of Chewong ideology. I shall
be arguing that a concordance can be discerned in Chewong repre-
sentations between the social and the symbolic, but that this
concordance is expressed on an abstract level in terms of the
structural principle of equality, whereby the elements are recog-
nized and juxtaposed, rather than placed in hierarchical
relationships.

Expressive evidence

(i) Classification of humans

Chewong social organization is marked by an absence of stratifi-
cation and even an absence of permanent group formations. Thus

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[1] I suggest that it would be incorrect to divorce the dominant
ordering principle of an ideology from their value system.
Dumont himself has made the important point that we must not
separate value from idea, nor from fact, although his emphasis in
making the point is slightly different from the one I am making
(see Dumont 1979:813-814; 1980a: 219-223).

there are no lineages, clans, or other formal groups. The kin-
ship system is cognatic, and the terminology - on the whole -
specifies genealogically close rather than classificatory
relations. Marriage rules are negative with no theoretical or
actual preferences. The chief social unit is the nuclear family,
several of which usually live together in a settlement, but the
composition of residential units changes frequently and there are
no structural principles that underlie the formation of any group
or individual social relationships. Furthermore, there are no
leaders of any kind; the nuclear family is a self-sufficient,
self-determining unit which works alongside other such units.
The only category of persons constituting a specialisation, and
thus in one sense transcending the order just described, is that of
of the 'shaman',[2] to whom I will return towards the end of the
paper.
       The task of maintaining and re-creating society as a whole
rests ultimately with the individual, whose behaviour is informed
and regulated by a number of prescriptions and proscriptions
which govern individual conduct and social intercourse. The
transgression of these rules always leads to repercussions in the
form of disease and mishap administered by non-human beings -
never to punishment from other Chewong.
       This emphasis on the individual is further enhanced in
Chewong naming practices. Rather than employing kin terms in
addressing and referring to each other, they always use personal
names. All children are given their personal name shortly after
birth. Later they may be given a nickname as well, but this is
dependent upon individual idiosyncratic circumstances, not on
socially agreed ones such as the occasions of major life-crises.
Furthermore, it is explicitly forbidden to give a child the same
name as someone else - alive or dead. No distinction is made
between male and female names, nor are any of the sources of the
names (beings, objects, or locations in their environment)
thought more suitable for either boys or girls. Thus it can be
seen that all Chewong - men, women, old and young - are individ-
ually and uniquely identified, named, and juxtaposed. They are

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[2] The Chewong word *putao* is here loosely translated as 'shaman'.
However, in their usage, it is not so much a noun as a qualifier
to a noun or a verb, as when they say, 'he is a *putao* man' in the
same way as they would say 'he is a strong man'. Furthermore,
almost every adult Chewong, male or female, is to some extent
putao, by virtue of having at least one spirit guide. I have
suggested elsewhere (Howell in press) that this may be more use-
fully regarded as the last stage in an individual's cognitive
development. There are, however, some persons who display a
keener interest in acquiring esoteric knowledge, and they are
accordingly accepted as more proficient. But it must be noted
that this does not give them any special status, or power, out-
side the specific context of the séance.

not placed in any relative order according to some schema or
other. There is no way of telling a person's actual status from
his or her name.

This fact leads me to the question of the relationship bet-
ween the sexes. While the physiological differences between men
and women are of course recognized, these are not made the basis
for further symbolic orderings. Although certain activities tend
to be carried out by men, and others by women, both may, and
frequently do, participate in all. Relative status is not
associated with any particular task. Whenever gender-based
differences in abilities are manifest, such as child-bearing or
superior physical strength, these do not carry any value beyond
their particular context. Furthermore, there is a virtual
refusal to acknowledge differences in abilities within the same
activities, and an accompanying absence of competition in matters
of achievement. All adults are said to be equally proficient in
their performance of the various traditional tasks, and instances
of manifest superior competence, including hunting, are conspic-
uously ignored. Children's games are co-operative or parallel.
There are thus no means by which individuals or groups can
achieve prominence *vis-à-vis* the rest. All the examples given so
far do, I would argue, display a consistent preoccupation with
distinguishing persons and activities while at the same time
refusing to order these in terms of relative value.

(ii) Classification of non-human beings and the environment

I have argued elsewhere (Howell 1984) that at one level of dis-
course, Chewong society is co-extensive with their cosmos. I
am referring here to the numerous non-human beings to whom con-
sciousness is attributed, all of whom are said to be 'our people'
or 'people like us'. Humans maintain permanent or short-term
relationships with these beings, drawing them into most of their
activities, and feeding the relationships through processes of
exchange. As a result, no useful distinction can be drawn with
regard to Chewong society between sacred and profane activities
(or ritual and mundane; cf. Bloch 1977), a fact which from the
point of view of formal analysis can be taken as further evidence
for a reluctance to create hierarchical oppositions.

Although there are many different kinds of these non-human
beings, we again find that each is named and juxtaposed alongside
the rest rather than being organized and classified according to
relative importance and/or status, or to the qualities attributed
to them. Each is allocated a particular place in Chewong cosmol-
ogy, and they are not compared with each other in any way. The
'self' of each category is perceived as identical to that of
humans, and identical motivations, intentions, as well as con-
straints on actions are attributed to all of them. However, the
actual manifestation of the attributes of the self may in some
cases differ. For instance, each species of conscious non-human
being has eyes, but the quality of these differ according to the

species. The result is that each perceives reality, or parts of
it, in ways different from the rest; that is, they look at the
same object, but perceive it differently. The following example
should elucidate the point. When human beings look upon a monkey,
they perceive it as potential meat. When *bas* (a species of harm-
ful non-human beings) look upon a *ruwai* ('soul', 'vital prin-
ciple') they see this as potential meat. Thus both humans and
bas have to eat, and they both go out hunting for their meat. It
is only what they perceive as meat that differs. This particular
example has further ramifications, for when *bas* hunt for *ruwai* it
is the human variety that is likely to be caught - an occurrence
which results in illness and sometimes death. However, whenever
this does occur, *bas* are not described as evil, or bad; rather
their activities are acknowledged as being 'natural' from the
point of view of *bas*. To avoid the attack of *bas*, or other
potentially harmful non-human beings, humans have at their dis-
posal various rules prescribing behaviour.

Again, each rule is linked to specific species of non-human
beings and activities, which in turn are juxtaposed rather than
clustered according to perceived shared attributes. The breach
of any rule is potentially fatal, and so a classification accord-
ing to severity is not made. Concomitantly, no grading of help-
ful beings is made either, and the distinction between who is
helpful and who is harmful is often dependent upon specific
contexts. It would not occur to a Chewong to suggest that any
one being, or category of beings, is more important than the rest.
They are simply not compared with each other. Rather, they all
fulfil roles external to the narrow confines of Chewong human
society, but internal to the wider social universe of humans and
non-humans.

At this point a brief mention must be made of the organizat-
ion of the Chewong cosmos. Conceptually it is centred upon the
human world. This is the yardstick whereby each of the non-human
worlds is described.

The spatial orientation of the cosmos is simple. There is
an above/below axis, and to a lesser extent an east/west one, but
these do not form a nucleus for a further set of dichotomies,
nor are they incorporated into other such sets. Within the cos-
mos numerous different worlds are identified, each being assoc-
iated with a different species of non-human beings, as already
mentioned. There are also several different worlds inside the
human one, but invisible to the human inhabitants. My attempts
at establishing a pattern of correlations between the various
beings (their attributes and activities), their worlds, and their
location in space, were unsuccessful. (For details of this
analysis, see Howell 1984). Rather than thinking of these
different worlds and beings in terms of relative value or status,
the main concern discernible in Chewong ideology is that each is
kept separate from the rest - that is from all that is deemed
different. Uncontrolled crossings of boundaries between them
invariably entail catastrophe. As long as each different species
remains in its allocated place, harmony obtains in the human

world. For instance, should the so-called Original Beings from the world above decide to come down to have a look at life on the human earth, they would bring with them terrible storms which would cause havoc to human existence. Should the Original Snake underneath the human earth move, water from below would flood the earth and drown everyone. Thus, the continued maintenance of order in the human world is dependent upon sustaining the separateness of the different worlds and beings. However, such crossings of boundaries only take place if humans have failed to observe particular prescriptions or proscriptions. It is only when this is done that the beings directly associated with the rule are activated, as it were, and interfere with humans, as in the case of *bas* referred to above. All Chewong carry a heavy load of responsibility with regard to their own and the society's well-being. Whenever order is upset, it is imperative upon humans to restore it by returning objects and/or beings to their correct location. I return to this point later.

An examination of some of the rules which govern Chewong behaviour revealed that what is most forcefully forbidden is to mix elements which are said to be different. For example, no two different species of edible animal may be cooked over the same fire or eaten at the same meal. The explicit reason given for this is that they are 'different' (*masign*). This factor brings us to Chewong classification of natural species. It will probably come as no surprise to be told that the Chewong tend to enumerate and juxtapose the natural species (animal and plant) of their environment, rather than classify them into taxonomic pyramids. There is, for instance, no overall word for animal, and with the exception of bird, fish, and snake, I could find no other category word which was used as a labelling device for denoting the clustering of different animals somehow perceived to share common attributes. In the three exceptions mentioned, the ensuing pyramid is extremely shallow, constituting just two levels, e.g. 'bird' at the top with all the different kinds individually named underneath.

This situation is directly analogous to the classification of non-human beings. Furthermore, I would suggest that these examples are also analogous to the way in which social relationships are classified. In all these instances there is an absence of hierarchical ordering. Instead, the Chewong tend to separate ideas, 'things', animals, beings, and humans by naming each, whether as individuals or groups; and instead of placing them in some organized way which can be interpreted as representing relative value, they simply juxtapose them . This method of ordering calls into question the validity of the famous statement of Durkheim and Mauss in their essay *Primitive Classification*, in which they propose that among the 'essential characteristics' of both symbolic and scientific classifications is that 'they are systems of hierarchical notions' (1963: 81). As I have shown, this is not borne out by the Chewong situation. Here the emphasis is on maintaining relationships of distinction, but without employing the principle of hierarchy. I do not, however,

wish to suggest that as a result Chewong society is to be under-
stood in terms of a static model. Social relationships of all
kinds (in this instance including cosmological ones) are dynamic
relations, and they have to be re-created by all those concerned.
Exchange relations re-create and feed the cosmological life-
giving order. Order thus indicates a coherence of ideas and
values. It must be understood that it is within this context
that I am suggesting the Chewong make distinctions without alloc-
ating value.

Implicit evidence

In what follows I shall be examining in some detail the question
of dual classification, since this is one that Dumont frequently
uses to demonstrate his notion of hierarchical relations. Leav-
ing aside for the moment the possibility of the encompassing of
the contrary, the question which arises is the following: is it
possible to have binary pairs which are not necessarily in a
hierarchical relationship such that one element is superior, the
other inferior? My first point is that to name something in a
dual fashion does not necessarily establish an unequal relation-
ship between the two concepts. I would argue that naming right
and left as the only two directional points with reference to
the body does not in itself entail an interactive relationship.
It is only by loading one as opposed to the other that value
enters, and right and left acquire the capacity to be used
symbolically as vehicles for other ideas. Right and left are not
inherently value-laden concepts, although they are named. Even
when they are value-laden, their order is manifest only when one
can elicit from the society under study other pairs whose
relationship entails analogous relations. Thus a pair cannot
stand meaningfully on its own. A relation man/woman is not one
which produces reverberations unless another pair is placed next
to it, e.g., left/right.
    They are thus radically different from another pair, also
referred to by Dumont as an example of a hierarchical opposition,
namely that of good and evil (1980a:224); or from another
commonly found in the anthropological literature, auspicious and
inauspicious. Such terms, I would argue, are of a different kind,
being in themselves value terms. They do not require a symbolic
application for this dimension to be manifest.
    To return to the first kind of dyadic pair. If we are to
accept that some such pairs are value-laden, we must agree with
Dumont that their relative positioning is not arbitrary. Thus,
the relation a/b is not necessarily the same as the relation b/a,
and the kind of meaning generated by the dyadic pairs

              man   :   woman
              right :   left

is not identical to

```
woman    :    man
right    :    left
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nor is it identical to

```
man    :    woman
left   :    right.
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An abstract relation a/b may be not simply a pair, but an ordered
pair. A dyad such as right/left may generate meaning, and as such
its order must be consistent. I think that one must in such
instances accept the introduction of value.

The two elements of a pair may be of unequal value when
embedded in a social situation. If this were not so, no further
or new meaning would be created. My argument with regard to the
Chewong is that while they make distinctions, which can sometimes
be presented as binary pairs, such as male/female, older/younger,
they are not vehicles for meaning beyond themselves. Thus to
link them all into a long table of pairs would be at best unin-
formative, at worst, misleading. My claim is therefore that a
binary opposition can be a vehicle for symbolic thought by virtue
of its being value-laden, that is because the relation between
the two elements is asymmetrical. However, if a dyadic opposit-
ion is symmetrical, while not conveying meaning with respect to
the actual elements and their relationship, it can nevertheless
be said to convey a different kind of meaning, namely that of
equality as defined earlier. Thus a list of symmetrically
opposed dyads can be said to communicate the principle of equal-
ity.

It will be noted that I have been using the term asymmetri-
cal rather than hierarchical. Dumont's definition of hierarchy
as 'the englobement of the contrary' is *one* example – perhaps
the most powerful - of an asymmetrical relationship. I prefer to
use the term asymmetrical here, a term I suggest is somewhat
wider than, but not in contradistinction to, hierarchy.

A list of dyads may be seen as a list of relationships.
Each relationship is necessarily one of distinction, possibly but
not necessarily asymmetrical distinction. Where the distinction
is asymmetric the order in which the dyad is presented is
necessarily material (a/b differs importantly from b/a). Where
the distinction is symmetric, the order is immaterial. Let us
suppose for a moment that a long list of dyads is drawn up and
divided into two shorter lists, the first containing the
asymmetrically-related dyads and the second the symmetrically-
related (non-value-laden) ones. In the first list, the first
column will contain the element of each dyad which is, in most
contexts, more highly valued. It will therefore be entirely
correct to say that all the elements in this column have some-
thing in common, namely that each is more highly valued than the
corresponding elements in the other column. There need be no
other common factor between them. The list is thus a list of
asymmetrical relations, each presented in the order 'more valued/

less valued'.

What of the second list? It is of course theoretically
possible that it is empty. I suggest, however, that it is almost
inevitable that a number of dyads are recognized in a society
without the relationship between them being value-laden. Such a
relationship, of recognition without hierarchy, would therefore be
be one of equality, contrary to Dumont's expectations. This
second list of relations would, therefore, simply have in common
the fact that each is not value-laden. Thus, paradoxically,
they are in effect manifestations of equality as a value.

Whereas I fully accept that in many cases, perhaps in the
majority, the important ideas of a society can be presented in
terms of the subordination and superordination of values in a
dyadic fashion, I would claim first, that the degree to which
this occurs varies between societies, and secondly, that the
degree to which a correspondence of such manifestations can be
elicited at different levels of the symbolic and social order
also varies - finding its most extreme expression in some
societies with prescriptive marriage systems, as can be found in
Eastern Indonesia. I would also suggest that there are societies
where value-laden oppositions exist, but that these are not
necessarily representative of the dominant value of the ideology.
One such society is the Chewong. As will become clear, there is
one instance where asymmetrical oppositions can be found, but I
shall argue that these are not representative of the main order-
ing principle of the ideology, which is that of equality.

Hierarchy as inversion

The question which immediately presents itself is whether the
fact that at least one asymmetrical relation does exist refutes
my claim that equality constitutes the dominant ordering
principle and value. I suggest that Dumont's own theoretical
framework provides· the answer and contradicts this apparent
refutation. Of course, Dumont may consider that I am misunder-
standing the point that he is making. Nevertheless, my own
interpretation of his theory has provided me with the tools I
needed for coping with the conundrum of the Chewong situation to
my own satisfaction.

The key concept that I shall be focussing upon is that of
inversion, or reversal, to whose analytical significance Needham,
among others, has also drawn our attention (e.g. 1973, 1983).
Within the context of his discussion of hierarchical relations,
Dumont makes the point with regard to non-ordered pairs (or
symmetrical opposition) that 'a symmetrical opposition may be
reversed at will: its reversal produces nothing. On the contrary,
the reversal of an asymmetrical opposition is significant.... If
the reversed opposition is encountered in the same whole in
which the direct opposition was present, it is evidence of a
change of level'(1979: 811; original emphasis). Of course, I

have already suggested that the reversal of symmetrically opposed
pairs can produce something, namely the *value* of symmetry, i.e.
equality. However, the pertinent point for the moment is that
when reversals are encountered in the same whole we confront a
change of level. From this I shall suggest that not only is
equality the main ordering principle within Chewong ideology, but
also that this is in itself a meaningless statement unless one
can show that its opposite, in this case hierarchy, can also be
found to be present. The one is only significant when viewed in
relation to its opposite. Equality and hierarchy as abstract
relations between 'things' then stand in asymmetric opposition,
with equality being the dominant of the two. It is then perfect-
ly consistent for the inferior value to become in some contexts
the superior, but following Dumont's argument, when this occurs,
it would be at an *inferior* level.

There are many examples in the ethnographic literature of
what may be said to be the inferior value becoming in some
contexts the superior. It can be found for instance, in those
societies where the left and the right hands are used symbolic-
ally as vehicles for thought, as I mentioned at the beginning of
the paper. What Dumont argues is that when the normally inferior
value appears as the superior one, it does so at a different, and
subordinate level. This is an economical way of indicating that
the level encountered in a situation of reversal is clearly to be
regarded as different from the others in the indigenous ideology.
To coin a phrase, inversions are good to think. If we accept
Dumont's argument, both in the specific case of asymmetric dual
classification, and in the general one of the total value system,
then we may be able to account for the instances of hierarchical
orderings that do occur in Chewong ideology.

There is one distinction made by the Chewong in which
relative value is present, and emanating from this are several
other oppositions, generating analogous value relations. This is
the distinction hot/cool. Except for one instance, to be
returned to below, cool is superior to hot. The cool state is
associated with health and curing. It is epitomized by certain
categories of non-human beings, mainly those on Earth Six above
the human earth, and by the leaf people of the forest, both of
whom are immortal and associated explicitly with the cool state.
Their food consists exclusively of cool dew and fruits, their
blood is cool, and their worlds are cool, due to the presence of
cool suns. In all these respects they are contrasted with humans,
whose diet consists of meat, a hot food, whose blood is hot,
whose eyes are hot, and whose environment is hot due to the hot
sun. Human existence is characterised as hot, and there is a
direct link between this and human mortality and susceptibility
to disease. At times when human frailty needs to be explained,
the various hot properties of the human condition are contrasted,
derogatorily, with the cool ones of the inviolable beings.

Whereas the leaf people become spirit guides of individual
Chewong (men and women), the people of Earth Six do not. (It
must be stated that many other categories of non-human beings,

not associated with the cool state, also become spirit guides.)
The people of Earth Six are said to abhor the hot state of the
human earth to such an extent that they refuse to descend. Heat
can thus be seen as contagious, and the inviolability of these
beings can only be maintained if they do not come in contact with
heat. In this sense their inviolability is not absolute. They
are, however, willing to act as initiators of those individuals
who wish to further their esoteric knowledge. These fly up to
Earth Six where they are transformed by its inhabitants into one
of themselves. This is done by slashing at the shaman's wrists
to let all the hot blood run out, and so replace this by cool
blood. The person is now immortal. His (her) eyes are also
changed to cool ones, as a result of which the shaman is able,
in all the different non-human worlds that he (she) travels to in
trance or dreams, to 'see' in the identical way to each world's
inhabitants. This is an enormous asset in the shamans' quest
for lost 'souls' (*ruwai*) during healing ceremonies, as they can
see the various non-human beings in their true form, and can also
see through any   ceptions the latter may erect against them.
They can also see the true nature of objects, animals, and plants
in their own environment, many of which are conscious beings.
When such shamans die, they remove themselves, in conformity with
their transformation, from the world of the living, but do not go
to the Afterworld of the majority; rather, they join other such
shamans of the past and keep a benevolent eye on the living.

As I stated above, the cool beings cannot contact the human
domain for fear of being adversely affected. Whenever humans
wish to make contact with the leaf people, the 'dead' shamans of
the past, or the people of Earth Six, they must first make every
effort to create a cool environment. They bathe in the fast-
flowing rivers (said to be cooler than the small streams), they
refrain from sexual intercourse, they 'bathe' the face and body
in special 'cool' incense smoke. If a healing ritual is being
performed, the patient is also cooled in the incense smoke. In
some cases the house is abandoned and the ritual performed in the
forest, a place said to be cooler. As a result of creating a
cool state, the meeting between different categories of beings
does not lead to disaster, as I suggested normally occurs
following the crossing of boundaries. By making themselves and
their environment cool the Chewong are symbolically drawing the
different worlds together, eliminating that which sets them
apart.

In summary, the hot/cool opposition is clearly value-laden,
and capable of bearing symbolic meaning in certain situations.
At such times other oppositions analogously become value-laden;
they become ordered pairs. In what situations does this occur?
The answer is times of crisis, and crises occur when the cosmol-
ogical order is somehow upset. It will be remembered that this
is caused by illegitimate crossings of boundaries, in other
words, when the various elements are not kept distinct. At such
times the elements cease to be equal, and they stand in a
hierarchical relationship to each other. Order can be restored

only by emphasizing the hierarchy, and hence a reversal in the ordering principle is introduced. It is introduced, however, as a response to an actual situation. Beings, who when all is well should not be able to tamper with human existence, are, through human omission in observations of the rules, allowed to interfere detrimentally in human affairs. They thus *acquire* the ability to harm humans, and as a result, the ideal state of equality is upset. In order to re-establish this state, other unequal relations are invoked. Health (a major manifestation of 'order') can be restored only by an inversion of values, by the symbolic manipulation of asymmetry. It is thus only with reference to particular contexts, those in which the life-giving order no longer pertains, that hierarchical relations are dominant. The employment of hierarchical principles can in itself be interpreted as a demonstration of the abnormality of the situation.

Within this discourse of asymmetry, it is interesting to note that one finds what may be termed a double inversion. Not only is the equality/hierarchy relation reversed, but the specific relation hot/cool is similarly reversed. Whereas cool is, in the contexts described, always superior to hot within the human/non-human relationship, we can find one example when hot is regarded as superior to cool, thereby introducing a change of levels within the particular discourse. At times of birth, the newborn child and its mother must be exposed to heat. They spend all their time lying next to the house fire, they remain within the house, they wash in heated water, and they are covered in cloth. These conditions are all representative exclusively of the human domain. Coolness, being the symbol of the inviolable non-human world, is nevertheless available to humans, albeit to a limited degree, but sufficient at least to establish productive contact with other worlds. It represents the meeting point of all the different worlds within the wider social universe. The hot state, by contrast, is not accessible to the various non-human beings associated with coolness; or rather it is destructive to them. Thus by exposing the newborn child to the human domain only, the Chewong emphasize a single part of their social universe: the human one at the exclusion of every other. The child is incorporated into the human social world. One may conclude that by reversing the usual order of the asymmetrical hot/cool dyad, the Chewong are conveying a different message. The reversal indicates a different level, one which can be said to be inferior in so far as it concerns only one part - the human - of the total social universe.

My concern in this paper has been to provide a case study to demonstrate that 'equality can by itself constitute an order' (see Dumont quoted at the start of this paper). Equality, I have suggested, can be both a structural principle for ordering relations, and a value. I have shown that from a formal point of view dyadic pairs, as elicited from an ideology under study, can be either symmetrical or asymmetrical. Furthermore, I have suggested that symmetrical dyadic pairs may in themselves generate the abstract value of recognition without relative value.

Or, to put it another way, equality as opposed to hierarchy may be the principle on which relations are organized. The Chewong represent one example of people who hold such an ideology. The emphasis throughout is on recognition, separation, juxtaposition. However, if 'to posit a value is at the same time to posit a non-value' (Dumont 1979: 813), then the opposite of these principles, in this case hierarchy, should be expected to be present, and I have shown that in particular contexts a hierarchical ordering of relations does indeed become the dominant one. However, when this does occur, it does so at a lower level in the total discourse of Chewong ideology.

<div align="center">SIGNE HOWELL</div>

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BYWAYS IN OXFORD ANTHROPOLOGY

T. S. ELIOT, LAWRENCE OF ARABIA,

AND OXFORD ANTHROPOLOGY, 1914-1915

The uses to which anthropological knowledge can be put are
various. In the early years of this century anthropology could
be connected with anything from criminology to Montessori
schools. It was this breadth and indefinability of the subject
which caused the publication of Gieserud's *Science of Anthro-
pology*, a book which the New York *Nation*'s reviewer on 2 July,
1908 wrote of as the 'outgrowth of an earlier effort to alleviate
the worries and perplexities haunting the classifier of books as
well as the amateur scientist, taking up this most unsettling and
vaguely limited field of study'. But that very vagueness of out-
line attracted many non-anthropologists towards the emerging
discipline. So Yale's W. G. Sumner moved from economics to the
writing of *Folkways*, while Rancke, who became Professor of
Anthropology at Munich, had come to the study via physiology. In
the arts, writers from Edith Wharton to Aldous Huxley were
interested in anthropology, while the study as well as the
production of literature was being altered by the material which
anthropologists presented. In May 1914, Gilbert Murray was
lecturing to the Oxford University Anthropological Society on
'Folk-Influence in Early Greek Literature'.[1] Those who were
students at that time realized the significant effect which
anthropological knowledge was making in the field of classical
scholarship.

[1] The author is grateful to Dr R.G. Lienhardt for permission to
examine the records of the Oxford University Anthropological
Society.

> Few books are more fascinating than those of Miss
> Harrison, Mr. Cornford, or Mr. Cooke, when they burrow
> in the origins of Greek myths and rites; M. Durkheim,
> with his social consciousness, and M. Lévy-Bruhl, with
> his Bororo Indians who convince themselves that they
> are parroquets, are delightful writers. A number of
> sciences have sprung up in an almost tropical
> exuberance which undoubtedly excites our admiration,
> and the garden, not unnaturally, has come to resemble
> a jungle. Such men as Tylor, and Robertson Smith, and
> Wilhelm Wundt, who early fertilized the soil, would
> hardly recognize the resulting vegetation; and indeed
> poor Wundt's *Völkerpsychologie* was a musty relic before
> it was translated.
>   All these events are useful and important in their
> phase, and they have sensibly affected our attitude
> towards the Classics; and it is this phase of classical
> study that Professor Murray - the friend and inspirer
> of Miss Jane Harrison - represents. The Greek is no
> longer the awe-inspiring Belvedere of Winckelman,
> Goethe, and Schopenhauer....[2]

T.S. Eliot, who wrote these words in 1920, did not hear Gilbert
Murray's lecture to the Oxford University Anthropological
Society. He did not arrive in Oxford until later in 1914, when
he matriculated as a graduate student of philosophy at Merton
College. But it has been argued most plausibly that as an
undergraduate at Harvard, Eliot had attended Murray's Gardiner
Lane Lectures on Homer which were published in extended form as
The Rise of the Greek Epic, and that 'For the young Eliot one of
the most significant things in Murray's lectures must have been
Murray's interest in anthropology'.[3]
     In this article I wish to concentrate on Eliot's stay in
Oxford in 1914-15, the anthropological material with which he
came in contact at this time, and the repercussions which that
contact had in his work. But I shall also glance at two other
noteworthy figures whose reading of anthropology in Oxford in
1914-15 has not been remarked on, and whose interest in
anthropology again indicates how diverse were the attractions of
of the subject.

Eliot was not the only famous twentieth-century English writer

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[2] Reprinted by permission of Faber and Faber Ltd. from 'Euripides
and Professor Murray' in *Selected Essays* (Third Enlarged
Edition, London: Faber and Faber 1951), by T. S. Eliot,
pp. 62-3.

[3] David Ward, *T. S. Eliot Between Two Worlds*, London: Routledge
& Kegan Paul 1973, p. 46.

to have been acquainted with the work of Robertson Smith. In
1914 his work may have been read more ardently for its theoret-
ical speculation than it is today, but it could also have its
practical applications. On September 7   of that year a young
man sat in the Bodleian reading *The Religion of the Semites*.[4]
The young man was in the habit of reading archaeological material,
mainly dealing with the Middle East, but he also studied works
of anthropological interest. A couple of months earlier he had
been examining the maps and photographs of Alois Musil's three-
volume *Arabia Petraea*. But now he read about communion rites in
Robertson Smith. This anthropological knowledge would stand him
in good stead in the years to come when he ceased to be simply a
student and went on to make history beyond the Bodleian. The
young reader's name was T. E. Lawrence.

Around the time when the future Lawrence of Arabia was
leaving the Bodleian, an older man was enrolling as a reader.
This was Charles Ellwood, Professor of Sociology at the Univer-
sity of Missouri, who had come to Oxford to further his knowledge
of sociology and anthropology, and his application to become a
reader at the Bodleian had been sponsored by R. R. Marett, the
Reader in Social Anthropology. Ellwood was concerned with one
of the contemporary groups which commonly drew on anthropological
materials to propound their arguments: the eugenics movement.
In the year before coming to Oxford he had lectured in America
on 'The Eugenics Movement from the Standpoint of Sociology', but
if his interests were more sociological than anthropological,
then the distinction between the two, particularly in this
period, was difficult to draw, and while in Oxford Ellwood did
not look solely at sociological pieces. Reading through the
recent copies of *The Sociological Review* which he requested to
see in the Bodleian on October 19,   1914, he came across pieces
on 'The Mentality of the Australian Aborigines', and on
'Professor Westermarck's Jubilee'. Edward Westermarck was an
anthropologist who had conducted his fieldwork in Morocco. In
1906 he had followed his earlier massive *History of Human
Marriage* with the first volume of an even more comprehensive
work, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, which had
earned him the title of 'the Darwin of moral science'.[5] There
is no evidence that Charles Ellwood met T. S. Eliot when the two
were in Oxford, but it is not impossible that such a meeting
took place. Both men were from Missouri, and they would have had
anthropological interests in common, one of which would have been
the work of Edward Westermarck.

T. S. Eliot, however, never joined the Anthropological

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[4] I am grateful to Ms Susan Shaw of the Bodleian Library for her
help in locating entry books for the period.

[5] A. E. Crawley, 'Professor Westermarck's Jubilee', *The
Sociological Review*, 1913, p. 55.

Society, though he was familiar with several of the topics which were being discussed there at the time. These topics included Durkheim and his school, and *The Golden Bough*, a critical appreciation of which was delivered by Dr Farnell, Rector of Exeter College, when the Society met for its seventy-fifth meeting on 15 January 1915. It is possible but unlikely that Eliot attended this meeting as a guest. The Merton graduate student did not take a great part in the social life of Oxford. He did not even join the Bodleian, doing much of his Oxford reading in his room at Merton. Oxford as a whole he disliked, commenting in a letter of 1914 to Conrad Aiken that, though it was very pretty, he did not like to be dead.[6] At Merton he took out few books from the College Library. But on Saturday, 27 February 1915 he took away to his room the two large volumes of the first edition of Westermarck's *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*. Eliot returned these books to the College Library on 10   March.[7]

It should not be surprising that Eliot was reading Westermarck's work. At Merton the young American was studying Aristotle with Harold Joachim, the 'Greats' tutor in philosophy who later became Professor of Philosophy at New College. Westermarck's study was of philosophical as well as anthropological interest. But Eliot would relish its anthropological as well as its philosophical content. The year before, as a graduate student at Harvard, he had written his paper on 'The Interpretation of Primitive Ritual', a paper recently rediscovered by Piers Gray in the Library of King's College, Cambridge. Gray discusses and quotes liberally from the paper in his book, *T. S. Eliot's Intellectual and Poetic Development, 1909-1922* (Brighton 1982). This paper shows Eliot's anthropological reading to have been wide, and demonstrates how early he was acquainted with writers such as Durkheim, Lévy-Bruhl, Frazer, and Gilbert Murray. Though Cornford's synthesis of anthropology and classical scholarship, *The Origin of Attic Comedy* (which would be   of   crucial importance for Eliot's play, *Sweeney Agonistes*) appeared in 1914, when Eliot was studying Greek philosophy in Oxford, I have found no evidence that he read it at this time. But his reading of Westermarck in Oxford shows that his anthropological interests were continuing.

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[6] Quoted by Conrad Aiken in 'King Bolo and Others', in Tambimuttu and Richard March (eds.), *T. S. Eliot* [1948], London: Frank Cass 1965, p. 23.

[7] For information about Eliot's borrowings from Merton College Library I am grateful to Dr Roger Highfield and Mr J. Burgass of Merton College. The copy of Westermarck remains in Merton College Library where I have examined it. Eliot made no marginal annotations and in Volume II pages 516-17, 540-41, 604-5, and 636-37 are uncut.

Evidence of such interests is present also in his other writings of 1914-15. Eliot was disenchanted not only with Oxford, but with academic life in general. One of the poems, written during his year at Oxford, 'Mr. Apollinax', demonstrates this clearly, and also shows signs of Eliot's anthropological interests as the reader is allowed to glimpse, for instance,

... Priapus in the shrubbery.[8]

Later in the poem there would seem to be another anthropological prompted section. Eliot was a visitor of museums, having written about the Peabody Museum at Salem, Massachusetts in the *Harvard Advocate* of 25 May 1909, and, in an unpublished poem of about 1915 set in the British Museum, about ladies disappearing behind Assyrian sculptures (Assyriology was flourishing in Eliot's student days). It is probable, though records do not survive, that he visited the Pitt Rivers Museum while in Oxford, as Yeats was to do later when he was living in Oxford. But where the Irish poet was attracted to the Japanese Noh masks, the young American may have gravitated more towards the Oxford museum's splendid collection of shrunken heads. Certainly in 'Mr. Apollinax' the speaker himself turns head-hunter in the lines:

> I looked for the head of Mr. Apollinax rolling under a chair
> Or grinning over a screen
> With seaweed in its hair.[8]

Head-hunting was a subject which continued to interest Eliot throughout his career as a writer. Probably his interest had begun before he came to Oxford, but his Oxford experiences no doubt furthered it. The theme surfaces again, for instance, more than thirty years later after Eliot has been reading John Layard on life in the New Hebrides and writes of how:

> It is obvious that among the more primitive communities the several activities of culture are inextricably interwoven. The Dyak who spends the better part of a season in shaping, carving and painting his barque of the peculiar design required for the annual ritual of head-hunting, is exercising several cultural activities at once - of art and religion, as well as of amphibious warfare.[9]

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[8] From 'Mr. Apollinax' in *Collected Poems 1909-1962* by T. S. Eliot, copyright 1936 by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., copyright © 1963, 1964 by T. S. Eliot. Reprinted by permission of the publisher. Reprinted also by permission of Faber and Faber Ltd from *Collected Poems 1909-1962* by T. S. Eliot (1969).

[9] Reprinted by permission of Faber and Faber Ltd from *Notes towards the Definition of Culture* (1948: repr. London: Faber and Faber 1962) by T. S. Eliot, p.24.

If Eliot's longlasting interest in 'primitive' cultural practices as part of a society, and as patterns underlying 'society' in his own day, was in evidence in his Oxford career, then so were other of his less peaceable concerns. As well as sections on 'The Killing of Women', 'The Subjection of Wives', and a passage (II, 592) on the general religious veneration of thunder, Westermarck's book had lengthy considerations of 'Cannibalism' and 'Homicide in General'. Eliot's study of such themes may have formed a dubious apprenticeship for a future employee of Lloyds Bank, but it furnished him with material which might be of interest to the poet who would write *Sweeney Agonistes* with its

> Every man has to, needs to, wants to
> Once in a lifetime do a girl in[10]

and who would, in *The Family Reunion*, deal with a man obsessed by the thought that he had murdered his wife. Incipient in the reader of Westermarck at Merton was the Eliot who would in 1939 accompany Virginia Woolf to a London fancy dress party while wearing the costume of a fellow Englishman of American origin, a physician called Doctor Crippen.[11]

In his Oxford correspondence, as in parts of the private nonsense epic, 'King Bolo and His Big Black Queen', Eliot parodied anthropological discourse. Immediately before arriving in Oxford he had written to Conrad Aiken on 30 September 1914 of his fear of boredom there, and had used the Frazerian image of a man whose corpse has been cut up into bits and who remains to see if the pieces may sprout.[12] This image would become the lines of *The Waste Land*,

> 'That corpse you planted last year in your garden,
> 'Has it begun to sprout? Will it bloom this year?[13]

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[10] From 'Sweeney Agonistes' in *Collected Poems 1909-1962* by T.S. Eliot, copyright 1936 by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., copyright © 1963, 1964 by T.S.Eliot. Reprinted by permission of the publisher. Reprinted also by permission of Faber and Faber Ltd from *Collected Poems 1909-1962* by T.S.Eliot (1969).

[11] See *Leave the Letters Till We're Dead, The Letters of Virginia Woolf, Vol. VI: 1936-1941*, London: The Hogarth Press 1980, p. 313, letter to Elizabeth Bowen [29 January 1939].

[12] Eliot's letters to Aiken written at this time are in the Henry E. Huntington Library, California.

[13] From 'The Waste Land' in *Collected Poems 1909-1962* by T.S.Eliot, copyright 1936 by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., copyright © 1963, 1964 by T.S.Eliot. Reprinted by permission of the publisher. Reprinted also by permission of Faber and Faber Ltd ᶠrom *Collected Poems 1909)1962* by T.S.Eliot (1969).

Eliot's Oxford themes of prettiness and death through boredom were
to reappear years later in *Sweeney Agonistes* where again Wester-
marck's topics of murder and cannibalism are recalled in the
'Fragment of an Agon':

> SWEENEY: I'll carry you off
>   To a cannibal isle.
> DORIS: You'll be the cannibal!
> SWEENEY: You'll be the missionary!
>   You'll be my little seven stone missionary!
>   I'll gobble you up.   I'll be the cannibal.[10]

Sweeney Agonistes combines anthropology and jazz. The play is full
of popular notions of 'savage' life; its sources are combined in a
complex fashion. But it had an immediate and scholarly anthropo-
logical stimulus. As *Sweeney Agonistes* combines modern urban and
primitive life, so Eliot had made this combination earlier in his
prose when in 1922, writing about his enthusiasm for the city music
hall of Marie Lloyd, he suddenly switches to a theme at first sight
far removed from London life.

> The working man who went to the music-hall and saw Marie
> Lloyd and joined in the chorus was himself performing part
> of the act; he was engaged in that collaboration of the
> audience with the artist which is necessary in all art and
> most obviously in dramatic art. He will now go to the
> cinema, where his mind is lulled by continuous senseless
> music and continuous action too rapid for the brain to
> act upon, and will receive, without giving, in that same
> listless apathy with which the middle and upper classes
> regard any entertainment of the nature of art. He will
> also have lost some of his interest in life. Perhaps
> this will be the only solution. In an interesting essay
> in the volume of *Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia*,
> the psychologist W. H. R. Rivers adduced evidence which has
> led him to belive that the natives of that unfortunate
> archipelago are dying out principally for the reason that
> the 'Civilization' forced upon them has deprived them of
> all interest in life. They are dying from pure boredom.[14]

Eliot goes on to foresee a future where 'the population of
the entire civilized world rapidly follows the fate of the Mela-
nesians'. His important notion of 'collaboration' in art owes
much to his reading about the primitive ceremonies which he be-
lieved to lie at its origins and, in particular, at the origins
of drama. In this prose piece the life of the Melanesians prior
to the coming of 'civilized' men is seen as far preferable to the
situation produced by contact with 'Civilization'. Eliot's passage
is surprisingly Rousseauesque, and one wonders what his teacher at

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[14] Reprinted by permission of Faber and Faber Ltd from 'Marie
Lloyd' in *Selected Essays* by T.S.Eliot, pp. 458-9.

Harvard, that fierce opponent of Rousseau, Irving Babbitt, would
have made of it. But the poetic correlative of the prose specul-
ations is very different in tone, showing life on the supposed
'paradise island' to be every bit as frighteningly boring as life
in the city. Though the correspondences between 'Marie Lloyd' and
Sweeney Agonistes have been hinted at by Herbert Howarth,[15] the
effect is very different:

<div align="center">

SONG BY KLIPSTEIN AND KRUMPACKER

SNOW AND SWARTS AS BEFORE
</div>

> *My little island girl*
> *My little island girl*
> *I'm going to stay with you*
> *And we won't worry what to do*
> *We won't have to catch any trains*
> *And we won't go home when it rains*
> *We'll gather hibiscus flowers*
> *For it won't be minutes but hours*
> *For it won't be hours but years*

diminuendo ⎰ *And the morning*
⎟ *And the evening*
⎟ *And noontide*
⎟ *And night*
⎟ *Morning*
⎟ *Evening*
⎟ *Noontime*
⎱ *Night*

         DORIS: That's not life, that's no life
                Why I'd just as soon be dead.
       SWEENEY: That's what life is. Just is
         DORIS: What is?
                What's that life is?
       SWEENEY: Life is death.[10]

This is far less 'Romantic' writing. The statistical tables of the
volume of Melanesian Essays emphasised to Eliot that, as he wrote
in *Sweeney Agonistes,*

> That's all the facts when you come to brass tacks:
> Birth, and copulation, and death,[10]

but the matching of sophisticated urban life with primitive culture,
of 'civilized' with 'savage' boredom also looks back with bitter
irony to Westermarck's title *The Origin and Development of the
Moral Ideas* whose themes persist in the fragments of the play which
Eliot wrote about eight years after his stay in Oxford.
    If Westermarck's book made a contribution to Eliot's thinking,

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[15] Herbert Howarth, *Notes on Some Figures Behind T.S. Eliot,*
     London: Chatto and Windus 1965, p. 239.

it also seems to have contributed at least one odd item to his
vocabulary. This Westermarckian word is 'ju-ju' which Eliot used,
in the context of the bringing of thunder, in a review of books by
Herbert Read and Ramon Fernandez in 1926.[16] This word 'ju-ju' is
used on various occasions by Westermarck, as when, in his section
on 'The Killing of Women', he quotes from Moor and Roupell on the
people of Great Benin who, when there was too much rain, would pray
to the king

> to make juju, and sacrifice to stop the rain. Accord-
> ingly a woman was taken, a prayer made over her, and a
> message saluting the rain god put in her mouth, and then
> she was clubbed to death and put up in the execution
> tree so that the rain might see....[17]

Of course, it would be wrong to attach too much importance to
Eliot's reading of Westermarck in Oxford in 1915, since Eliot's
poetry is a palimpsest of sources and influences, but it is of some
interest to be aware of the poet's previously unrecorded familiarity
with the work of the great Finnish scholar, and of its repercussions.
Eliot's time in Oxford was a bridging period between his writing at
Harvard on primitive ritual and his later published and private
writings on anthropology. Eliot's year in Oxford also contributed
towards his continuing interest not only in the anthropological
material held by Oxford libraries, but also his interest in material
produced by Oxford anthropologists. The first of those whom he had
read was E.B.Tylor, and he read Oxford anthropology at least until
the time when he praised 'a valuable article by Professor Evans-
Pritchard on "Social Anthropology" in *Blackfriars* for November
1946'.[18] Here Eliot read about *The Golden Bough*, the Torres Straits
Expedition, Durkheim, the Melanesians, and other subjects with which
he was already familiar. But he also read of the changes which had
taken place since the anthropology of his youth. Evans-Pritchard
wrote that:

> The respective spheres of social science and moral
> philosophy are well defined and the anthropologist
> has the double advantage that he can pride himself
> on his single-minded pursuit of truth and can shift
> all responsibility from his own shoulders - for
> judgment on the moral philosopher and for action on
> the man of affairs. It is not so simple in reality,
> nor so convenient. When dealing with such practices
> as polygamy, the levirate, cannibalism, magic, and

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[16] 'Books of the Quarter', *Criterion*, Vol. IV, no. 4 (1926), p.757.

[17] E. Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*,
London: Macmillan   1906, 1908 (2 vols.), i, p. 444.

[18] Reprinted by permission of Faber and Faber Ltd from *Notes
towards the Definition of Culture* by T.S.Eliot, p. 69.

so on, which are remote from live issues in our own
society, it is easy for anthropologists to be detached
observers and recorders, but as soon as what they
describe hinges on religious and political issues
in modern Europe they are never entirely impartial,
though, naturally, they refrain from deliberately
distorting facts or drawing biased conclusions.[19]

Eliot's poet's mind had allowed him to see cannibalism imaginat-
ively as not so far removed from his own society. Anthropology
appealed to him because of its wide scope, and it helped him to
adopt the panoramic vision which led him to write that:

the actual religion of no European people has ever
been purely Christian, or purely anything else. There
are always bits and traces of more primitive faiths,
more or less absorbed....[20]

In Oxford in 1914-15 the elements of the man of action, the
academic, and the creative writer were combined in different
proportions in T.E. Lawrence, Charles Ellwood, and T.S. Eliot.
If it was Eliot who was to make the greatest impact on our culture,
then part of the reason lay in his own innate gifts. But another
important part of the reason lay in his discipline and training,
one area of which was in anthropological study. It was Eliot who
most fully appreciated and criticized the meaning of the concepts
latent in Westermarck's title, *The Origin and Development of the
Moral Ideas*.

ROBERT CRAWFORD

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[19] 'Social Anthropology', *Blackfriars*, November 1946, p. 413.

[20] Reprinted by permission of Faber and Faber Ltd from *Notes
towards the Definition of Culture* by T.S. Eliot, pp. 31-2.

BOOK REVIEWS

MEYER FORTES, *Rules and the Emergence of Society*, London: Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland 1983, [Occasional Paper No. 39]. iv, 46 pp., References, Index. £3.60.

The late Meyer Fortes, one of the most distinguished anthropologists of his generation, has been generally regarded as a direct heir to Radcliffe-Brown, taking over in particular the latter's 'structural-functionalism', his penchant for the synchronic, and his rejection of the search for origins. And indeed Fortes has himself written disparagingly of 'the historicist urge' in anthropology (*Kinship and the Social Order*, p. 33). It may seem paradoxical, then, that he should have left, as his last word on his subject, a densely-textured and closely-argued attempt to answer the most crucial of all questions about 'origins', how did man become and remain 'critically distinguished from the other primate species'?

But perhaps we should not be too surprised. Fortes was a psychologist before he was a social anthropologist, and throughout his life he retained a concern with (and for) individual human beings and their development, both biological and social. In this he followed Malinowski rather than Radcliffe-Brown; human beings and their 'roots' (a word which recurs several times in the work under review) were a basic concern, though certainly he took account of Radcliffe-Brown's 'networks of actually existing relations' too. Indeed, even in the 'evolutionary' context adopted here the (social) structural dimension is very much in evidence. Ultimately the social and the biological complement each other, and Fortes takes both of them into account.

His problem is twofold. First, are humans and the other primates really all that different from each other? And second, if they are, how was the transition from one to the other actually, or likely to have been, accomplished?

First of all, people have 'culture', the rest of the animal world does not - at least not in any anthropologically acceptable sense of the term. And culture is shared; it is a 'social possession' and 'exists only in society' (p. 2). Fortes acknowledges the importance of language as a component of culture, but he suggests that as far as origins are concerned we should rather look for these in man's material achievements, that is, in material culture. Thus regarded, language is 'a kit of tools'. And like everything cultural, it is transmissible and transportable, both from generation to generation and from society to society. Fortes goes on to state his central thesis, the essentiality of 'rules'. 'Everywhere and in all our ways of

life rules constrain, shape and order our behaviour, beliefs and values' (p. 7). This will not come as a surprise to social anthropologists, though probably most of them are more at home with the even broader category of 'order'. 'Rule' is, of course, as Fortes recognizes, a rather tricky word, and there are obvious dangers in assimilating the rules of a grammar, say, to those implied in the obligations of lineage membership, a set of marriage regulations, or a game of chess. Both classes of rules may express or sustain order, but Fortes is concerned with rules in the second sense, i.e. as morally binding; not regularities but precepts. It is in this sense that 'having rules' distinguishes man from other animals, which do not (*malgré* Kipling and *The Jungle Book*) sit down and legislate for themselves or for one another. It was, Fortes concludes, 'the emergence of the capacity to make, enforce and by corollary, to break rules that made human society possible' (p. 6).

These reflections lead, unsurprisingly perhaps, to a reconsideration of the incest taboo, said by Lévi-Strauss, and others, to mark 'the transition from Nature to Culture', and being generally regarded as in one form or another universal. The theme of sibling incest, in particular among gods and between 'superior' humans, is familiar, but evidence has recently been forthcoming (from a study of Roman Egypt) of the existence and acceptability in at least one culture of brother-sister marriage among ordinary people. But there have to be *some* rules, for without them 'orderly social life would be impossible' (p. 14).

Next Fortes takes issue with those 'biological anthropologists' (including Robin Fox) who recognize that rule-making is distinctively human, but do not fully understand that it is precisely this that marks off humans from the other primates. Fortes writes:

> Monogamy, polygyny and polyandry are conjugal relationships freely attributed [to non-human species] by ethologists and socio-biologists....But these are no more than metaphorical attributions. An African polygynist has more than one wife by legal entitlement, and in virtue of customary rules...not by reason of physical dominance....This difference is crucial (p. 17).

It is indeed. Fortes returns to further consideration of Fox, and of another 'biological anthropologist', P. Wilson, in a substantial Postscript to his essay (pp. 35-9), where recent work by these two authors is discussed, and substantial convergences shown.

There follows (pp. 18 ff.) a discussion of lineage, motherhood and (especially important in this connection) fatherhood. Non-human primates do not have 'lineages', at least not in the sense in which social anthropologists understand the term, for the very good reason that for people lineages are systems of ideas as well as systems of action; as Fortes puts it, 'human lineages are groups of people conceptually rather than physically

distinguished'. And there is no evidence that such conceptual
distinctions are made and acted upon at the infra-human level.
Is it conceivable, Fortes pertinently asks, that two chimpanzees
of opposite sex would refrain from mating because they recog-
nized each other as kin through a common grandmother or great-
grandmother?

The theme of fatherhood has a key role in Fortes' argument.
'There is nothing in monkey or ape behaviour patterns that is
homologous with the recognition of institutionalized paternity
in human society' (p. 19). More than that, Fortes suggests,
institutionalized fatherhood is

> associated with the emergence and existence of [human]
> society, as the bridge between...the domestic domain...
> and the extra-familial spatial and temporal relationships
> that make up the socio-political structures distinctive
> of humanity....Fatherhood is a creation of society, a
> social status marked out to serve, figuratively speaking,
> as the fount of the rule-making and rule-following that
> is the basis of social organization (p. 20).

And this is true of the father whether the social organization in
a given society is predominantly patrilineal, matrilineal, or
neither. Fortes returns to this theme also in his Postscript,
there taking account of recent work by P.J. Wilson, whose
analysis of fatherhood as a creation of society not of "nature"'
represents a 'basically common approach [with that of Fortes] to
the problem of the transition from non-human primate to societal
man' (p. 39).

The rest of Fortes' long essay (pp. 22 ff.) is mainly
concerned with another of his principal interests, the emergence
of what he has elsewhere called 'the axiom of amity', now desig-
nated 'the rule of prescriptive altruism'. This 'underpins the
institutions of social control in all societies'; the capacity
for it is 'continually generated in the ['core'] relationship of
mother and child', and thence it is extended to siblings and so
to the other recognized categories of kin (pp. 23-4). Thus, in
evolutionary process, and through motherhood as well as father-
hood, the transition from 'biographically rooted bond' into
'prescriptive rule', and so into specifically human society and
culture, takes place.

There is much more in this concentrated monograph than can
be considered here, but one further issue must be mentioned.
Some of Fortes' readers may gain the impression that, for him, it
is man's capacity to *make* rules, rather than the nature of the
rules themselves, that is all-important. And indeed in a logical
sense the capacity must come first, the content second. But, as
Fortes is well aware, rules have to be *about* something, they
must have content as well as form, and at the end of his essay he
tells us, in terms reminiscent of Tylor's famous definition of
culture, what that content is. It comprises 'the needs, wants,
relationships, emotions, desires, aptitudes, thoughts and beliefs

of men, women and children as defined and ordered by their culture' (p. 34). Pre-eminent are rules calling for the promotion of altruism where this is appropriate, and, the corollary of this, for the containing of aggression. And the 'structural machinery' for achieving these ends can be seen as having 'evolved', on the lines which Fortes has indicated, in response to the desiderated needs. As befits his human material, Fortes' 'evolution' is forward-looking and problem-oriented; in a fundamental sense his interest is in human social organization and its conditions and implications, rather than in precisely what happened, where, and when.

Perhaps Meyer Fortes would have developed some of these themes further if he had had the time to do so. Certainly he would have incorporated (rather than adding as a lengthy post-script) his consideration of the new and relevant work of Fox and Wilson which, on Fortes' own showing, goes a long way towards providing a forum for a new rapprochement between social and biological anthropology. Meyer Fortes' last work, in spite of the constraints of time and ill-health under which it must have been written, is itself an important and original exercise in bridge-building. It leaves us more than ever in his debt.

JOHN BEATTIE

VERONICA E. VELARDE TILLER, *The Jicarilla Apache Tribe: A History 1846-1970*, Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press 1983. viii, 248 pp., Maps, Illustrations, Bibliography, Index. £19.20.

This book ends on an optimistic note, but tells a melancholy story. The Jicarilla Apache were at one time regarded as one of the most troublesome groups on the southern plains. Never more numerous apparently than about 1,000 individuals, the Jicarilla are one of several Apachean-speaking tribes and were divided into two bands of plains people, Llaneros, and mountain-valley people, Olleros, ranging freely through the central and eastern reaches of the present northern New Mexico and southern Colorado. Subject to hostilities from other Apaches and from Comanches, the Jicarilla maintained mostly peaceful and friendly relations with the Spanish in the eighteenth century. Under Mexican juris-diction from 1821 to 1846, New Mexico began to fill with whites travelling the Santa Fé trail in response to Mexican offers of free trade and land grants. The Mexican government awarded eight private grants and five town grants from Jicarilla lands without knowledge or permission of the Jicarilla. In 1846 at the close of the Mexican War, the United States army took control of New Mexico. Under continuous pressure in their homeland from

travellers and settlers, the Jicarilla participated in several
raids, which brought them into conflict with the army. Through
the rest of the century efforts by interested parties with the
participation of the Jicarilla to arrange a suitable and peace-
ful settlement failed through mischance, ignorance, interested
opposition and above all through the indifference and bad faith
of the United States government. Reservations arranged for them
in 1874 and 1880 were abrogated for a variety of reasons,
including in the first case Jicarilla opposition. Only in 1887
did the tribe finally achieve the security of its own reserve.
By then several whites had illegally established themselves on
portions of the reservation, causing long-lasting problems.

    The new reservation was to be allotted for individual
possession in accordance with the new Dawes Act of 1886. Perhaps
fortunately this provision was applied with a lack of coordin-
ation, energy and commitment which had become a familiar aspect
of the Jicarilla's treatment by the government. The allotment
was not successfully made until 1909, by which time evidence was
accumulating from other tribes that the chief effect of the Dawes
Act was not the aimed-for self-sufficiency of American Indians,
but large-scale loss of their remaining lands to whites. Tiller
sets out the other avoidable hardships of early reservation life.
A large portion of the reservation intended for Jicarilla live-
stock was initially leased by the government to non-Jicarilla
for nominal fees and the promise to develop water resources, so
that the Jicarilla could not use most of their own land. Funds
from the sale of timber, which were intended to provide livestock
for the tribe, were instead deposited in their name in a non-
interest-bearing account of the United States Federal Treasury.
The tribe meanwhile suffered from poor housing, poor sanitation
and poor health. Tuberculosis became a major health problem. The
population declined steadily from 853 in 1896 to 588 in 1920.
The tribe's search for adequate schools was met with bullying and
harassment from outside agencies until the government met a long-
standing promise to establish a boarding school in 1903 and two
day schools in 1908 and 1909. But the schools themselves were
overcrowded and were instrumental in spreading tuberculosis.

    Slowly these and other difficulties were rectified. A
major change resulted from the Wheeler-Howard or Indian Reorgani-
zation Act of 1934, which reversed the philosophy of the Dawes
Act. As a result of this legislation, individual allotments were
surrendered to the tribe in return for the right of beneficial
use, and white-owned land on the reservation (often resulting
from illegal occupation in the first place) was bought back.
Freedom to practise Jicarilla custom and religion was guaranteed.
A tribal council was established and a co-operative store set up.
For a time these measures helped to bring prosperity, especially
through sheep and cattle raising, but national economic changes
in the 1950s caused further dislocations. The store was brought
to an end by mismanagement, and the market for sheep products
collapsed.

    In the 1960s, the lot of the tribe improved, partly through

independent economic initiatives by the tribe, partly due to increased revenue from oil and gas. Also important was the settlement in 1971 of a $9,950,000 land claim against the United States government for the land taken from the tribe during the nineteenth century beyond the bounds of the reservation. Unfortunately, the original Mexican grants of about 4.8 million acres were excluded from this settlement on the grounds that they had never become a part of the public lands of the United States. In the same year the Indian Claims Commission determined that the government had failed to pay proper interest on the Jicarilla trust account.

Tiller describes the tribe in 1970 as gathered in the town of Dulce with schools, modern housing, tribe-owned services, an increasing population, a variety of tribal enterprises and a growing prosperity. Of the land claim settlement, $1.5 million was invested in public facilities and $3 million was invested in various developments with commercial potential. The reader may doubt though whether the tribe made the best decision in dispersing the remaining $4.5 million in per-capita payments amounting to a mere $2000 per person.

Other than a chapter summarizing Jicarilla culture, the work of anthropologists does not loom very large in this book, though many anthropologists would be pleased to have a historical study of this calibre available as an aid to their own researches. Of interest nevertheless is the role various anthropologists have played in Jicarilla history. The infamous Dawes Act was the end-result of a well-intentioned political campaign to secure for Indians citizenship and the means for economic independence. The act was modelled on the Omaha allotment carried out in 1883 by the anthropologist Alice Fletcher and expressed her political philosophy. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs enlisted the anthropologist Oliver La Farge in 1934 to explain to the tribe the Indian Reorganization Act reversing the Dawes policy when that bill was pending in Congress. Recommendations made in the same year by another anthropologist, Morris Opler, influenced the implementation of the new Act in respect of the Jicarilla. In 1956 the tribe itself hired another anthropologist, Frank Hibben, to help in preparing its land claim. They subsequently also hired two historians and a geographer. Nothing in this book except the Jicarilla family name Valarde indicates that the author has any connection with the tribe. She denies that her book is written from the Indian point of view and generously acknowledges that the cultural background derives largely from the publications of white authors. That the tribe can now employ anthropologists and other scholars for specific and limited projects is a minor sign of a larger success in gaining self-determination as well as a telling indication of the shifting relation between anthropology and the people it studies. Tiller's brief description at the book's close of the tribe's new economic security leaves the reader wondering how fragile it may prove. Surely with their many disappointments over reservations, schools, health care, land management and so on, the Jicarilla more than most people know from first hand the truth of the observation

that what the government gives it can also take away, though
they have often had little choice. The book is attractively
produced and illustrated, and it is clearly written.

R.H. BARNES

VIRGINIA KERNS, *Women and the Ancestors: Black Carib Kinship and
Ritual*, Urbana etc.: University of Illinois Press 1983. xv, 197
pp., Appendixes, Bibliography, Index, Illustrations. £14.40.

The charge of concentrating on the male spheres of activity at
the expense of the female can least be levelled at those anthro-
pologists working in the Caribbean. This characteristic,
however, is not the result of a peculiarly enlightened approach
by the Caribbean ethnographer in contrast to the perspectives
adopted by their contemporaries in other geographical areas.
Rather it is the result of the absence of any readily identi-
fiable areas of male community-based activity for analysis.
Formal economic and political processes are physically removed
from these localities and the indigenous male population
generally appears peripheral to them. These essentially
residential communities have fostered the study of household and
kinship by the anthropologist who has found females to be all
powerful in this sphere.   The term 'matrifocal' has been coined
to describe social relations in this context.
     Kerns' work is a study of Black Carib village life in
Belize. In common with communities studied in the Caribbean
these are residential communities characterised by the out-
migration of men and younger women owing to the lack of locally-
available sources of remunerative employment. The focus of the
study is upon the way in which mature females in these communities
organise rituals which serve to perpetuate Black Carib culture
in the face of an uncongenial socio-economic climate. In her
study of this ethnic group, Kerns attempts to synthesise the
approaches taken by her two most eminent predecessors in the
field. She combines the essentially historical explanatory
framework of Douglas Taylor with the more synchronic analysis
characteristic of Nancie Gonzalez's work.
     It is with an account of the historical antecedents that
her study begins. The present-day characteristics of Black Carib
culture are firmly located in their sixteenth-century origins
with the amalgamation, in St Vincent, of the native Carib
population and the shipwrecked black African slave. It traces
the development of the culture and the movement of the population
from the West Indian island to the South American mainland. This
historical chapter is one of the many in the book which does not

deal specifically with the topic of kinship and ritual. Kerns argues that the early chapters of the book prepare the ground 'not in overzealous pursuit of holism but in order to clarify the nature of ties between females' (p. 2). It is only in the final five chapters of the book that the reader obtains a detailed account of household and kinship, death and ritual.

I have said that Kerns' work is in keeping with the Caribbean anthropological tradition in that it concentrates upon the activities of women. I would suggest that where she differs is in her perspective for analysing such spheres of activity. Kerns rejects the idea that women attain a central position in families merely as a result of men's inability to fulfil their gender-prescribed roles. Such polarisation of gender-specific 'spheres, roles and modes of action' is replaced in her account by a perspective which looks at the relationships between women *per se*. She also rejects explanations of the importance of these relationships between women as solely the result of emotional intimacy. Women are not seen as confined to home and family but are recognised as contributing to community solidarity through more public activities.

Kerns argues that it is the links between women as mothers that provide the stable framework of social life. The mother-child bond is the most enduring and strongly reciprocal of all relationships, especially that of mother and daughter. She quotes an informant who says that 'a son gives [to people] outside, a daughter brings into the home' (p. 1). This relation-ship is carried on even in death with the remembrance of deceased lineal kin. Older women, mothers of the living and daughters of the dead organise the requisite rituals, mobilising community resources in order to finance them and taking the most prominent parts in the ritual process. Among the Black Carib motherhood is strength.

Kerns' major contribution is the isolation of various stages in the life-cycle of women. She achieves this by determining the power and autonomy specific to each. The position of women varies most according to their procreative capacity. Where this capacity is present, then the female is usually under the control of others, most often, her 'husband' or her mother. Where such potential is seen to be absent, then her autonomy is enhanced. This is most commonly achieved with old age and it is therefore later in life that the female usually maximises her power and consequently her social status. Conformity with gender-specific and age-related behaviour on the part of females is ensured, not so much by the weight of domestic duties, the possibility of supernatural intervention on the part of spirits, or as the result of male expectation, as by the opinion of other women.

It is in the field of gerontology that Kerns' work is most convincing. I feel, however, that she has missed an opportunity by limiting her analysis to women only. While realising that fieldwork constraints may have influenced her choice of subject (it is difficult enough for the male ethnographer to research male areas of activity in the Caribbean, as the dearth of

literature on the subject illustrates),I cannot help but point out her reluctance to give any causal validity to male economic marginality in the shaping of Black Carib domestic relations. Kerns rejects the idea that 'men [in Caribbean societies] fail and women make do' (p. 3).

Let me illustrate this point with reference to her explanation of 'matrifocality'. She argues that girls learn about their responsibility to lineal kin from a young age. Females are socialised into motherhood and learn to 'bear a comprehensive and lifelong duty to protect lineal kin' (p. 4). For Kerns this pattern of behaviour is not to be seen as merely an outcome of the inability of males to support a wife and family. This pattern of behaviour is transmitted from generation to generation through women and is therefore a part of Black Carib culture. It is not the product of the prevailing socio-economic climate. What Kerns fails to stress adequately, although she provides ample evidence to support the view, is that Black Carib communities have always existed on the periphery, first of colonial, and then of national, society. Prolonged male absence from the community and inability in most cases to fulfil the role of regular provider to the domestic unit has a long history. Such norms and values are transmitted from generation to generation by women in the context of the expectation of the domestic marginality of men in the community. Culture and prevailing economic conditions interact to produce an enduring pattern of behaviour. I would suggest that Kerns is able to propose the determinant role of culture only by ignoring the position of men in the community. Both they and younger women who seek remunerative employment provide the link between Black Carib society and the wider national society of which it is a part.

Kerns devotes much of the work to preparing the ground for her analysis of ties between women. This preparatory section includes much information on men without which her analysis of women would be incomplete. She seems to have fallen into the very trap of which she accuses other ethnographers, selecting only that information for analysis which is of particular interest to her. Relationships between men, and between men and women, clearly influence relationships and ties between women. Yet only ties between women are analysed.

To be fair to Kerns it is not only she who has failed to integrate men into an account of lower-class community life in the Caribbean. Yet it is much more disappointing in her work, since she appears to have attained a position from which she might have achieved this task. Her concentration upon the life-cycle is clearly an important contribution to the analysis of Black Carib community life which appears to be applicable to other areas of the Caribbean. However an examination of the male life-cycle remains to be presented, and in a work on the scale of Kerns' some conclusions could have been reached. Women may not be 'making do' but the question still remains, if men aren't failing, what are they doing?

P.L. HARDING

ROBERT A. PAUL, *The Tibetan Symbolic World: Psychoanalytic Explorations*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press 1982. x, 304 pp., Bibliography, Index, Diagrams. £9.50.

In this book the author makes an analysis of Tibetan cultural symbolism from a position which is described as integrating psychoanalytical theory with aspects of structuralism and symbolic anthropology. He brings this approach to bear on a wide spectrum of Tibetan culture. Following the introduction there are chapters on Sherpa and Tibetan Concepts of Descent, Sherpa Religion (Cosmology and Pantheon, Religious Roles, Rituals and Pawa Cherenzi and the Maternal Imago). There follow chapters on the Life of Padma Sambhava, Four Tibetan Dramas, the Life of Milarepa, the Tibetan Epic: Gesar of Ling and Tibetan Royal Traditions.

The fundamental premise on which the book is written is the unargued (one gets the impression that from Paul's point of view it is unarguable) Freudian concept of the Primal Horde and the Oedipus Complex.

> It will be the thesis of this book that political and sacred authority (which I take to be aspects of the same thing, the 'centre' of society) are always accompanied by Oedipal symbolism, which is itself concerned directly with the problem of the succession of generations.

Four characters are identified as playing out the drama of succession: the Order figure, the Usurper, the Avenger and the Innocent. The first and fourth are the father and his son and heir, and the two intermediary figures are necessary to play out and consume the animosities and guilt inherent in the situation. Paul utilises this model to interpret four examples of the transference or process of power: Royal succession in Ancient Tibet, family succession among the Sherpas, the interplay of power in the Sherpa pantheon and among Sherpa religious specialists. According to the theory behind the model, the opposition between father and son (or of wider application, between 'senior male' and 'junior male'), poses the impossible imperative that senior males must kill and not kill junior males and vice versa. Paul takes examples from Tibetan popular and religious literature with the expressed aim of illustrating Tibetan culture's response to this contradictory demand.

The analysis unfortunately appears to depend on the task of discovering as much sexual symbolism in every aspect of Tibetan culture as possible. A religious monument such as the *chos-rten* becomes 'a breast with a nipple', the heart becomes 'an internalised genital organ'. Even Buddha himself gets the treatment:

> There is psychological truth in the idea that it was the sight of his [Buddha's] own son at his wife's breast which aroused his deeply buried fundamental anxieties, forcing him to abandon his parental responsibilities and take to the forest.

Determination to make the point over and over again takes up over a hundred pages of the book and unfortunately we do not learn much about the Sherpas, let alone the Tibetans. Paul claims that his analysis 'has the strength of showing formal unity in a wide corpus of materials'. The formal unity, however, is only evident in the symbolic construct which has been created by the anthropologist. The anthropologist in this case has further fallen into the trap of picking out examples of how the generative rules of the system have been obeyed. As Paul himself says:

> While I believe it [gLand-dar-ma's assassination] is generated by the model I have proposed, it has an entirely different meaning for the Tibetans and Sherpas themselves in their own conscious reflection.

Is it not the task of the anthropologist to seek out the meaning events hold for the people he is studying? Paul relies heavily on secondary sources for his materials on Tibetan culture and literature. His own fieldwork among the Sherpas is not much in evidence. Anyhow, a study of a literate culture such as that of the Tibetans (and by cultural extension, that of the Sherpas) demands a knowledge of literary Tibetan. What is welcome is Paul's tracing of Sherpa words back to their original Tibetan. If it were done thoroughly, the scope of the book would be vast. Perhaps for this reason there have been some errors in judgement. How can two brothers form a polyandrous union with five hundred women? (p. 219)   How true is it to say that there was ever British power in Tibet? (p.287)   *The Tibetan Symbolic World* follows in the wake of Sherry Ortner's *Sherpas Through Their Rituals* (1978). The earlier book was a disappointment, and Paul has not improved on bringing anthropological insight to the Sherpas due to the rewardless limitations of a psychoanalytic analysis.

CRYSTYN CECH

BRIAN MORRIS, *Forest Traders: A Socio-Economic Study of the Hill Pandaram*, New Jersey: Athlone Press 1982 [London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology 55, Man.ed. A.Gell]. xiii, 210 pp., Figures, Maps, Tables, Index.   £18.00.

One of the problems in the study of tribes in India is the nature of their relationship to the surrounding caste society. This problem is one of Morris's main concerns in this study of a group of hunters and gatherers of the Ghat forests in South India. Earlier writers have either treated such groups as a pristine culture, a 'survival', or as a part of the caste system of the plains, interpreting their cultural features as the result of harassment by plains people or as adaptations to their specialised role as gatherers of marketable forest products. Morris seeks to combine these 'internal' and 'external' factors, seeing Hill Pandaram culture as syncretic, to be explained both in terms of the imperatives and possibilities of their food gathering economy, and as the product of a long history of adaptation to pressures from the surrounding culture. In regard to the latter, he emphasises the significance of the influence of government agencies and especially the contractual system associated with urban traders. The gathering economy is now geared to satisfy the urban market economy rather than local village needs, and this has had important consequences.

     The first two chapters provide background on the history and nature of the links between the exploitative and hostile caste environment and the forest tribes, showing that they cannot be seen as isolates. The Pandaram suffer from disabilities in the 'village' context and see the 'forest' as a refuge from exploitation, but they do not avoid the outside entirely since they depend on it for basic commodities. Clearly they are part of a wider economic system, but their isolation from village life has left them untouched by the ideological aspects of caste. From a detailed description of their economic life, it emerges that trade is more important than food gathering itself, and linked to this trade, their 'fragmentary' and 'individualistic' culture is seen as an adaptive response to external pressures and their economic enslavement in the wider economy of a pre-industrial state. In describing their 'patterns of social inter-action', Morris is refreshingly frank about the difficulties of characterising the apparently amorphous and formless nature of their society. He argues that the predominance of 'personalistic' criteria, the normative stress on the self-sufficiency of the individual and on symmetrical relationships, and the transience of relationships are functions of their economic system, which demands nomadism and flexibility. Despite this general looseness in social organisation, however, affinal relationships structure interpersonal links to an important degree, and the system of cross-cousin marriage links all the local groups into a cohesive whole, making them essentially an endogamous group. The impor-tance of affinal links is made clear in the last chapter, which

analyses group formation. Explanatory theories based on external economic dependence, or on inter-cultural pressure and harassment, contain some validity but are not sufficient. Ultimately the reason why camp aggregates consist of two or three families is because honey-collecting requires two or three men, and with few exceptions men associating together are invariably affines. The book ends with a discussion of why recent attempts to settle the Hill Pandaram have failed.

Focussing as he does on socio-economic life, Morris leaves out material that could be included in a fuller ethnography. For instance, it would be interesting to know more about the Hill Pandaram's 'warm feelings of attachment' for the forest as reflected in their songs and conversation, but the lack of such material does not detract from the force of the argument itself. The production of the book is good, and the various maps, figures, and tables are well laid out, with the exception of the table on p. 183 where the second column of figures does not add up. The book, however, is a useful addition to the study both of hunters and gatherers, and of tribes in India.

CHRISTIAN McDONAUGH

DHIRENDRA NARAYAN MAJUMDAR, *Culture Change in Two Garo Villages*, Calcutta: Anthropological Survey of India 1978. xii, 153pp., Appendixes, Bibliography, Illustrations.

B.B. GOSWAMI (ed.), *Cultural Profile of Shillong*, Calcutta: Anthropological Survey of India 1979. vii, 183pp., Map. (Paper).

SUKUMAR BANERJEE, *Impact of Industrialisation on the Tribal Population of Jharia-Ranigunge Coal Field Areas*, Calcutta: Anthropological Survey of India 1981. 136pp., Appendixes, Bibliography.

These three books all concern change of one sort or another - respectively agricultural change, urbanization, and industriali- zation. The middle volume is the least rewarding, but the other two have some interest for specialists without developing any considerable theoretical perspectives - workmanlike rather than inspiring, hovering in the grey area between sociology and anthropology that is typical of so much of the work of the Anthropological Survey of India, and relying at least as much on statistics (which are ample in both cases) as on the attitudes and statements of the people being studied.

The Garo are a Tibeto-Burman speaking tribe living in the Garo Hills of the State of Meghalaya. Majumdar's monograph is a

comparison of the economic changes brought about by the pressure
of increasing population in two different villages of the western
hills, both of which originally pursued shifting cultivation as
their main economic activity. One, being relatively isolated, has
increasingly adopted permanent, wet-rice cultivation for its
greater year-round productivity. The other, nearer the district
headquarters of Tura and other markets, has retained swiddening
to a greater extent, and has also been able to enter the money
economy, through labouring and producing cash crops. These
economic changes have not as yet produced much in the way of
radical social change. In Matchakolgiri, the village near Tura,
there has been some atomization of society, with the total
decline of extended or joint families as the economic and domes-
tic units, and a decline in village co-operation and the authority
of the headman and elders, as well as in the security of property;
while in the remoter Wajadagiri there has been a shift in the
division of labour, with agriculture becoming relatively male-
dominated. But in both villages the traditional matrilineal
descent and inheritance have survived, little status difference
has arisen, and income remains precarious. Surprisingly, perhaps,
Wajadagiri seems to be the more prosperous of the two; it has
retained greater economic self-sufficiency and is able to attract
families in search of wet-rice land to settle within it. It is
doubtful, however, whether other changes have much to do with
these economic developments. One change is the breakdown in
the traditional exogamy of the *chatchi* or clan-groupings, which
seems to be due simply to their unequal growth, rendering
strictly exogamous unions impracticable. Also, the desire of a
lineage to avoid its obligation to provide a replacement spouse
in the event of the death or illness of the first may not be a
recent phenomenon, though it is more likely to survive where
property is involved - the husband-giving lineage has effective
day-to-day control of this, despite the matrilineal system of
descent and inheritance. But while in Wajadagiri the traditional
system of residence - uxorilocal for one daughter and her husband
(or *nokrom*), neolocal for the rest - has survived, providing at
least the *nokrom* with access to land, in Matchakolgiri this is no
longer the case, since with the cash economy access to land is no
longer imperative; here the *nokrom*'s position has come to be
associated less with prestige and benefits and more just with the
onerous responsibilities that go with it. One line of escape from
this, and possibly from expensive ritual lineage obligations
also, is the adoption of Christianity, but we are given only a
tantalizing glimpse of this interesting phenomenon.

Eastern neighbours of the Garo are the Khasi, also matri-
lineal, though in many other respects quite dissimilar, not least
in speaking an Austroasiatic language. They form the original,
and still most numerous segment of the population in the area of
Shillong, though Bengali, Assamese, Nepali, etc., dominance is
today evident in the town itself. Shillong, a creation of the
British Raj, remains an administrative and military town, under
Independence as in colonial days a symbol of non-tribal dominance

in a tribal area. The *Profile* contains a disparate clutch of papers from an inter-disciplinary seminar held in 1973 in which anthropology was only one of many disciplines represented, and accordingly there is little here of interest to anthropologists. The papers are divided into three groups: 'Shillong as an Urban Centre'; 'Cultural Core and Diversities'; and 'Emerging Cultural Features of Shillong'.

Another Indian tribe speaking an Austroasiatic language is the Santal, though their connection with the Khasi is quite remote, and they have little else in common with them. They are found chiefly in Bihar and West Bengal, and since at over three million strong they are one of the largest tribes in India they have received their fair share of ethnographic attention. Banerjee's monograph studies them in an industrial situation, and as such may be compared with Martin Orans' studies of Santal workers in the Tata steel plant at Jamshedpur in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

The coal-miners of the Jharia-Ranigunge coalfield are drawn from many areas of caste and tribal society, and only a certain percentage, on which the study concentrates, are Santal. Banerjee divides them into three classes: those long resident on the coalfield; those living in nearby villages, who come in as daily or weekly commuters; and those who have migrated from other parts of Bihar and West Bengal, and even further afield, to settle and work, usually on a temporary basis, near the mines. All three groups continue to cultivate land in their spare time. Indeed, few Santal seem to regard mining as their sole source of income, though traditional hunting and gathering activities have sharply declined (perhaps in part through government forest restrictions). The changes that this industrial environment has wrought on these three groups vary, but they clearly concern traditional political organisation, which has become considerably attenuated, more than fundamental social attitudes in respect of kinship, marriage, ritual observances, etc. (This contrasts strongly with Orans' experience in Jamshedpur, especially as far as marriage is concerned.) The author rightly points out the desire of Santal of all groups to preserve as much as possible of their traditional culture in the face of industrialization, but he does not really hit on the most likely cause. The fact is that this is not merely an industrial environment, but a Hindu-cum-caste-dominated one, and the conscious identity that the Santal preserve of themselves as a tribe, and their decided opposition to the Hindus ('Dikus' as they call them), from whom they wish to mark themselves off most firmly, is well known and well developed. In the penultimate chapter, Banerjee examines the fact that the Santal have not fully accepted, nor been fully accepted by, the mining industry, despite decades of involvement in it and their reputation as efficient miners when actually on the job. The last chaper is devoted to the Santal reaction to this state of affairs, which has taken two forms: withdrawal from the industry in favour of unskilled labouring; and political organization, not in the established trade unions, which are

Hindu-dominated and ineffectual, but in 'social uplift' types of
organization, such as the *Sanot Santhal Samaj* ('Cleaner Santal
Society').

In respect of all three books one can criticise their idio-
syncratic English, which is occasionally totally obfuscating,
and made worse by inadequate proof-reading. As far as the two
monographs are concerned there is also the fact that although
they are supposed to deal with social change - a topic demanding
a certain promptness in writing up research - they are based on
fieldwork up to twenty years old. Then there is the question of
the outmoded and/or inappropriate theoretical assumptions on
which all three volumes rely. One could go into reams about such
matters in connection with these and many other Indian anthro-
pological books, but to do so would hardly be either kind or
fruitful. They are best regarded - as they were presumably
intended - as ethnographic records, pure and simple.

                              R.J. PARKIN

NIGEL J.H. SMITH, *Rainforest Corridors: The Transamazon Coloni-
zation Scheme*, Berkeley etc.: University of California Press
1982. xvii, 186 pp., Appendixes, Bibliography, Index. £18.75.

Nigel Smith's account of the Transamazon colonization scheme is a
lucid, succinct description of the dangers to both humans and the
environment engendered by over-rigid central planning in an area
characterised by complex and varied micro-ecological conditions.
This book suffers badly however, in comparison with its recent
predecessor, E. Moran's *Developing the Amazon* (Indiana University
Press 1981). Moran's is a much more detailed analysis of the
same scheme and while Smith acknowledges his debt to Moran, he
shows little appreciation of the importance placed by Moran on
the human factors which contributed to the complexity and ultimate
failure of this massive enterprise.

The most interesting and important contribution of Smith, a bio-
geographer and naturalist, is his chapter on the interaction of
humans who act as hosts to pathogens in an environment trans-
formed by deforestation and the effects of the construction of
the Transamazon Highway. This newly created environment provides
hospitable conditions in which vectors - both natural ones and
those introduced into the area with imported seeds, vegetation
and other raw materials - proliferate. These vectors - mosqui-
toes, worms, beetles, snails, etc. - acquire pathogens from
disease-carrying migrant settlers and roadbuilders and transmit
them to others in the area, establishing a relentless and,
according to Smith, uncontrollable spread of disease. While
these diseases are not necessarily fatal they are always

debilitating, contributing to the lack of productivity of the settlers and thus their inability to achieve the standard of living necessary to combat the conditions which promote the disease cycle.

Regrettably Smith omits any reference to the indigenous peoples of the area, the Amazon Indians. He mentions them only once, referring to their hostile reception of the early road-builders and settlers. It is central to Moran's thesis that the loss of indigenous knowledge of the site, and of the specific, microecological systems of Amazonia, resulting from the death and dispersal of the Indians, contributed significantly to the poor planning and maladministration of the scheme. Moran appears naive in ascribing the failure of the scheme to lack of information, problems of communication and bureaucratic ineptitute, but Smith appears equally naive in totally ignoring the wider national and international political and economic issues which initially led to the adoption of the scheme by the Brazilian government, and which despite more than a decade of destruction and failure to attain that government's goals, encourage its continuation unabated and unmodified. As an example of that failure, Central Independent Television's recent production of the documentary film *Decade of Destruction*, filmed in 1982 and 1983, presents a vivid, graphic and comprehensive description and compelling analysis of the effects of the Transamazon scheme in Rôndonia, the area most recently opened for colonization. In it many of the issues which Smith has ignored and to which Moran has only alluded are debated in depth. One suspects that neither are as naive or as ignorant as their conclusions suggest, but that they have chosen not to enter the political arena.

ANN ELIZABETH FINK

BERARD HAILE, *Women Versus Men: A Conflict of Navajo Emergence* (Edited by Karl W. Luckert [American Tribal Religions, vol. 6]), Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press 1981. viii, 118 pp.

BERARD HAILE, *Upward Moving and Emergence Way* (Edited by Karl W. Luckert [American Tribal Religions, vol. 7], Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press 1981. xv, 238 pp., Illustrations.

These two volumes present previously unpublished Navajo texts left by the Franciscan Father Berard Haile. The first was collected in 1932. Haile says it describes only part of the emergence story, having to do with the separation of the sexes, a resulting flood, and flight from the lower world to the habitat at present occupied by humans. The book is divided into two parts, the first comprising an English translation, while the second reproduces the Navajo text. Not only does Haile comment that the account is brief and incomplete, but he asserts that important details are told better in the Emergence Way. This more extensive story is the subject of the second book. The editor describes an English version of Haile's text, published with his acquiescence by Mary Wheelwright in 1949, as 'very abbreviated and stripped of many of its original Navajo characteristics'. Haile recorded it in 1908 before he had become expert in the language. He was dissatisfied with the text and with irregularities he perceived in the narrative. The book offers only Haile's original English version. There are also many informative illustrations. The narratives are rich and valuable, but only a Navajo expert could hope to cope with the many interpretative problems deriving from the manner and circumstances in which they were recorded. Despite helpful notes supplied by the editor, neither book stands by itself. They are best approached only after extensive reading elsewhere in Navajo ethnography.

<div align="right">R.H.B.</div>

PAULA BROWN and DONALD TUZIN (eds.), *The Ethnography of Cannibal-ism,* Washington: Society for Psychological Anthropology 1983. 106 pp. $7.50.

This collection of seven papers, including a preface and a con-clusion, is the product of a symposium held at the AAA Meetings in Washington in 1980. In part the symposium was convened as a reaction to Arens' *The Man-Eating Myth* that had been published in the previous year. However, for most of the contributors to this volume his work might never have appeared, and even those who are concerned with points raised by Arens make no mention of him. This is true both of Gillian Gillison writing about the stereo-typing of women as cannibals among the Gimi of Papua New Guinea, and of Carol MacCormack's discussion of accusations of cannibal-ism as a political manoeuvre among the Sherbro of Sierra Leone. More interesting though is the total lack of concern among the authors about whether cannibalism existed or not. It quite clearly did occur in Fiji, which Marshall Sahlins writes about, but Donald Tuzin can find no evidence that it was practised among the Arapesh of New Guinea. He stresses that he is interested in the image rather than the practice of cannibalism, and a similar position is adopted by Fitzjohn Porter Poole with regard to the Bimin-Kuskusmin. This approach raises the study of cannibalism to a new level of sophistication, because the understanding of anthropophagic ideas is at least as interesting as that of the practice itself, and there is no arguing that the *former* do not exist.

P.G.R.

G. HUBERT SMITH, *The Explorations of the La Vérendryes in the Northern Plains 1738-43* (edited by W. Raymond Wood), Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press 1980. xvii, 152 pp., Illustrations, References, Index. £8.40.

This volume is an excellent reappraisal of the contributions of the La Vérendryes to our knowledge of the ethnography of the northern great plains Indians at the time of their first contact. The historical background to the La Vérendrye explorations is clearly laid out. All of the available documentation is examined and new translations of critical documents are presented. The evidence is carefully sifted and criticism and cautions in inter-pretation are well explored. Previous faulty interpretations of the evidence are presented and errors exposed. The conclusions reached are sound and based on the use of all possible valid forms of evidence. This is a fine example of critical scholar-

ship that will be of value to all those interested in early North
American history.

C.J.W.

MOHAMED A. ALAWAR (gen. ed.), *A Concise Bibliography of Northern
Chad and Fezzan in Southern Libya,* Wisbech, Cambs.: Arab Crescent
Press 1983. xxiv, 229 pp., Author Index, Maps. £19.00.

This bibliography is not merely an academic exercise - though it
is that too - but an attempt to bring together all the major
items that concern the border issue (i.e. the Uzu strip) in the
Chad-Libya dispute. Documents concerned with Libyan-Chadian
relations in general, and materials relating to the geographical,
historical, economic and political backgrounds of northern Chad
and Fezzan in southern Libya are included. The maps do not mark
the boundary between these countries.

The editor and his contributors (Charles Gurdon, George
Joffé, Katherine Leclercq, Keith McLachlan and Geoffrey Parkes)
have surveyed the English- and French-language sources, as well as
principal works in the major European languages but Arabic sources
are not included. In a bibliography containing 4732 entries
(1741 on Chad and 2991 on Libya) there are bound to be errors,
but in this case they seem to be few and minor. Some items in
the Sudanese literature relating to peoples who live in both
Sudan and Chad are missing - presumably for reasons of space -
and only one Sudanese bibliography is included. Reference to the
various bibliographies published by the National Council for
Research, Economic and Social Research Council of Khartoum,
Sudan (in particular its *Bibliography of Bibliographies* published
in May 1982) would have obviated these limitations. The biblio-
graphy is well and clearly arranged (one suspects that biblio-
graphies are the forte of the word-processor), and covers maps
also. There are, therefore, no quibbles other than minor ones,
and this work will aid all students of Libya and Chad immeasur-
ably in coming to terms with a complex and otherwise unco-
ordinated literature.

J.C.

KATRIEN POLMAN, *The North Moluccas: an Annotated Bibliography*
[Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Bibliog-
raphical Series 11], The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff 1981. xx,
192pp., Maps, Indexes. No price given.

KATRIEN POLMAN, *The Central Moluccas: an Annotated Bibliography*
[Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Biblio-
graphical Series 12], Dordrecht: Foris Publications Holland 1983.
xxvi, 324pp., Maps, Indexes. No price given.

These brief and handy bibliographies list publications on the
North and Central Moluccas in Dutch libraries from the years 1849
to 1940 and 1800 to 1940 respectively, as well as some later
works. These are the third and fourth in a series beginning with
Madura and Minahasa. Further bibliographies on Flores and South
Moluccas will appear later. The chief virtue of these biblio-
graphies is that the entries are annotated in English. Scholars
able to read Dutch will find Ruinen and Tutein Nolthenius's two-
volume *Overzicht van de Literatuur Betreffende de Molukken* (1927,
1935), from 1550 to 1933, more comprehensive. (W.A. Seleky has
brought the latter work up to 1964 in an Indonesian language
supplement at the Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam.) Both of
Polman's books include historical introductions by Ch. F. van
Fraassen.

<div align="center">R.H.B.</div>

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Dear JASO,

    You kindly offered me the 'right to reply' to the report
(*JASO* XIV, no. 3) on the GAPP training workshop held at LSE. May
I say therefore that the report seems to me to be a very fair
reflection of what went on and I agree with your conclusion that
the workshop conveyed, as intended, an idea of what a post as an
anthropologist outside the university might entail. You also
rightly say that we ran out of time for a full discussion of some
of the more general issues but I hope we managed to correct this
fault at the Salford and Goldsmiths workshops by changing the
structure of the last sessions.
    There are a couple of minor points in the report which
require comment. 'GAPP *staff*' gives an impression of an elabor-
ate organisation, when it is just a network of interested people
giving their time voluntarily. 'Applied anthropology' in the
sense that there is a distinction from 'pure anthropology' is of
no interest to any member of GAPP but we do feel that anthropology
can be used in areas of policy and practice. Perhaps you will
allow me to set out some further reflections on the workshops:

1.   As I moved from one workshop group to another I became very
conscious of the way in which the dynamics of the groups them-
selves determine the ways in which problems are approached. This
is an obvious point for teachers but it needs to be stated;
there is an obvious relevance to some of the issues that Mr Parkin
raises. In one group at LSE the participants were discussing
'the overturning of existing [indigenous] relationships with
perfect equanimity'; in the other group the ethics of such a
consequence of the development scheme were discussed at great
length and eventually a technical reason for ruling out the
tropical forest as a subject of study was found. One point about
the workshop was that we were able to discuss actions to be taken,
and that no harm would come to anyone, but I hope that in the
proper reflection on the experience the participants would be
aware of what would be at stake. In the workshop we have the
chance to think about what is right and what we would do about it,
and how we would present our views in order to influence others.
Each group finds its own answer to the problem of acting to
implement theory.

2.   It was not the intention within the workshop to resolve the
question whether it is possible for the anthropologist to have an
influence on events, though I would hope that in seminar dis-
cussions later participants would at least be aware of the issues

and the sorts of strategies available. I feel it is important
that anthropologists do their thinking *before* they enter the
field; learning about such issues whilst on a contract (and hand-
ling them ineptly) is potentially damaging for the profession as
a whole. Mr Parkin comments that there was no attempt to 'con-
vert' participants: far from it, I would hope to make people aware
of issues and *dissuade* those who are unable or do not wish to
tackle them from entering this field.

3.   In setting up the case study on development I was aware of
three contentious issues. The forest tribes were the first con-
cern. Eventually all the groups realised this was a red herring;
there was no way that, in the foreseeable future, the forest could
be exploited to solve the energy crisis in the hills. The second
issue was the lower salary of the anthropologist, and the differ-
ential between that paid to the development specialist compared
with the researcher in the social services. This is a proper
concern for a workshop even if we did not reach conclusions.

    The third issue was the one which I considered of real
importance for the case: was £¼m justified for a study of energy
utilisation anyway? No one questioned this in the workshops,
perhaps because anthropologists are committed to the idea of
'doing studies'. In my review at the end I tried to show that the
foresters disputed the morality of the whole enterprise: we have
enough general studies of energy and the conclusions are that
people need more fuel-wood; with that much money quite a few
forest nurseries could have been started and Zingali would have
been well on the way to solving the rural energy problem; to
spend the money on another study of this kind was a gross waste.
This does not mean no study at all was required; the woodlots
programme of the Forest Department in Zingali had been a failure
and the reasons should have been studied with the aim of improv-
ing the programme or finding a viable alternative. In this an
anthropologist could have done a useful 3-month study for
relatively little money, perhaps in collaboration with a forester
and local researchers.
    What are the issues in the above? Such a study would have
implications for the hill people, especially the women. At
present in Zingali they are going further and further afield to
find firewood, fodder and water, so any attempt to bring wood
closer would be beneficial. (Strange how the workshop partici-
pants were worried about the tribesmen but forgot about the hill
women.) A small study would have to ensure that the women par-
ticipated in the design of any scheme. But how would the firm
react to such a small study proposal which cuts out many of the
other disciplines and costs much less? The Atlantis Development
Bank's cost is the firm's salaries. How are we to present such a
study proposal to the firm? As a component of a larger survey?
And how does the Bank react to it? As an entrepreneurial anthro-
pologist I have to hope that no other firm has the idea, and that
the proposal strikes the right chord with the Bank's advisers so

that at least this small study, which I believe in, is funded.
Nor would I feel guilty about being paid a decent salary whilst
saving Zingali millions of pounds on misplaced investments!

In conclusion I do not feel that we have to do something
which is not anthropology; nor do studies necessarily become
immoral. However, the context in which we work is different and
there are different approaches to the study. The above (at 3) is
not a 'correct' solution but it is an approach to the problem
which developed as I went from one group to another. I hope that,
as Mr Parkin states, people can make up their own minds about
their ability to take on this kind of work and that discussion in
university seminars can be informed by such simulation exercises.

SEAN CONLIN
Group for Anthropology in Policy and Practice (GAPP)
c/o Royal Anthropological Institute, London

Dear JASO,

May I add a couple of observations to the report you included
in your last issue (*JASO* XIV, no. 3) about recent research in the
Sudan, as some readers might get the impression that the discussions
we had last November constituted a formal conference. In no way
were we attempting to cover all aspects of recent work, nor did we
plan to invite a representative range of participants. The seminar
was originally intended as an informal meeting between two or three
students who had started fieldwork in the Sudan last year, so that
they could exchange ideas before returning to the field. At the
last moment the plans for the seminar snowballed, as several others
(including historians) let us know that they were interested in
attending. All came at their own expense, since we had no special
funding.

Had the seminar been planned on a substantial scale from the
start, or been intended as a definitive conference, we should have
made every effort to include participants from such centres of Sudan
research as Hull and Durham in this country, and Bergen, in Europe;
and from Khartoum and Juba.

WENDY JAMES
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University of Oxford

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JASO

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C O N T E N T S

CONTENTS (continued)

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Editors' Note. This special *JASO* issue on Japan arose out of an international conference of anthropologists that was held in March 1984 at the Nissan Institute of Japanese Studies, University of Oxford, and organised by Dr J. Hendry. The Conference was devoted to the themes of time and space, religion and the life-cycle, economic and leisure activities, as well as general considerations regarding the social anthropology of Japan. Of the papers to be found in this special issue of *JASO*, only one however was actually delivered at the Conference - that by Ok-pyo Moon Kim; the complete collection of the conference papers themselves will, it is hoped, be published by JASO in 1985 as No. 5 in the *JASO Occasional Papers* series, under the title 'Understanding Japanese Society: An Anthropological Approach', edited by Joy Hendry and Jonathan Webber; price to be announced.

ONE OVER THE SEVEN:
'SAKE' DRINKING IN A JAPANESE POTTERY COMMUNITY

Introduction

Anyone who spends any length of time in Japan soon discovers
that drinking is an indispensable social activity. It is almost
as if two worlds exist side by side in Japan's cities - one with
its department stores and office blocks, peopled by housewives
and 'salarymen'; the other with its less permanent buildings in
which these same businessmen carouse away the hours of darkness,
soothed by the murmured sweet nothings and occasional caresses of
attractive hostesses who pour their drinks. There is a world of
light and a world of darkness (known as *mizu shōbai*, or the
'water trade'), the Siamese twins of Japanese industrial capital-
ism. Foreign businessmen recount (not without a trace of
nostalgia) tales of how they have been taken to expensive bars by
their Japanese hosts and of how it is in the friendly, informal
and sexually suggestive atmosphere of these bars that they have
been able to conclude many a business deal. If our politicians
would only take the Japanese hint, 1984 might yet prove George
Orwell (or Zamyatkin) wrong.[1]
 When I went to do fieldwork for the first time in Sarayama,
a community of potters in Kyushu, I soon discovered that people
drink more seriously in the country than they do, perhaps, in
cities.[2] As a newcomer to a rural community, I was feted at

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[1] For the record, we might note Sir William Harcourt's words in
1872: 'As much of the history of England has been brought about
in public ale-houses as in the House of Commons.'

first almost every night as the local inhabitants began checking
out my weaknesses. Could I hold my liquor? Was I able to sing
and dance? Was I really what I pretended to be - an anthro-
pologist - or was I, perhaps, a government spy or local tax
inspector in disguise? Above all, was I a good drinking compan-
ion?

Before describing these drinking sessions, I wish to make
two points by way of introduction, both of them concerning a
person's behaviour while 'under the influence'. It has often
been suggested that, in Japan, what is said during the course of
a drinking session is soon forgiven and forgotten. Drinking acts
as an outlet for repressed feelings, seen to be brought on by the
way in which the individual is expected to subordinate his own
interests to those of the group in Japanese society. It is only
while drinking that a junior may forcefully critize a senior to
his (or her) face, and only while drinking that a senior will
accept such open criticism. Drinking is seen to break down all
social barriers. It is a 'frame'[3] for egalitarian relations
which nicely counter-balances the hierarchy of everyday life.

In the valley in which I lived and studied for four years
between 1977 and 1982, I soon discovered that this was *not*
exactly the case. Of course, people occasionally *said* that it
did not matter what you told them while you were yourself under
the influence of drink, but this was just an ideology designed
to pull the wool over the eyes of an unsuspecting anthropologist.
In fact, local residents not only remembered what was said during
drinking sessions; they stored this information away, to use for
their own political ends. Nothing was forgotten, since anything
said under the influence of alcohol might, at some time or other,
prove useful to people involved in the competitive reality of
community life.

This disparity between ideals and reality became more
obvious when I considered the way in which people would speak to
one another while drinking together. The Japanese in general
make a vital distinction between what they call *tatemae* and *honne*,
or *honshin*. *Tatemae* refers to the language which is used in
public as a matter of 'principle'; *honne* to words that 'come from
the heart' and express an individual's innermost, private feel-
ings. It is this distinction which ultimately clarifies the
relationship between group and individual in Japanese society,
for *tatemae* is the language of out-group, and *honne* that of in-
group, communication.

I soon discovered that it was during drinking sessions that
my informants shifted from *tatemae* to *honne*, from - to use
Bernstein's distinction[4] - 'public' to 'private' language. There
appeared to be no taboos concerning subject-matter and, as the
evenings wore on and the *sake* flowed faster, so I found myself

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[3] See C. Nakane, *Japanese Society*, Berkeley: University of
California Press 1970.

[4] B. Bernstein, *Class, Codes and Control*, New York: Schocken Books
1971.

listening to men talking about subjects which, during daylight
hours, they had either refused to discuss or had evaded with an
embarrassed laugh. At the same time, I discovered that some of
the answers which I had received during the normal course of
interviews were directly contradicted by these same informants as
we drank together. As a result, I soon found myself paying
frequent visits to the lavatory so that I could jot down in my
notebook revelations which oncoming alcoholic inebriation
threatened to - and sometimes did - erase.[5]

The Pottery Community of Sarayama

Sarayama is a small community (*buraku*) of fourteen households,
of which ten make and fire a form of stoneware pottery known as
Ontayaki, or Onta ware. Situated at the top of a narrow valley
in the mountains to the north-west of the town of Hita, in
central Kyushu, the community has become famous over the past
three decades for a style of pottery which closely accords with
the ideals of *mingei*, or folk craft, put forward by a scholar-
critic, Yanagi Muneyoshi, from the late 1920s.[6] Sarayama's
potters have been praised in particular because they have stead-
fastly kept to traditional techniques of production - digging
their own clay and glaze materials locally, using kick wheels
to throw their functional wares, decorating the finished forms
with certain old Korean techniques, and firing their pots in a
wood-fired cooperative climbing kiln. In 1975, these techniques
were designated an Intangible Cultural Property (*mukei bunkazai*)
by the Japanese government's Agency for Cultural Affairs
(*Bunkacho*).
  Sarayama's fourteen households consist of four name groups
(Kurogi, Yanase, Sakamoto and Kobukuro) and are organized along

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[5] It would, perhaps, be tempting providence to declare that the
whole of my Ph.D. thesis (and the book which derived from it)
were written on the basis of information given under the benign
influence of *sake*. I would, however, be attempting to delude all
and sundry were I to suggest that I could have begun to write a
thesis without participating regularly in the *sake* parties held
so frequently in Sarayama. Those interested in the general topic
of anthropologists doing fieldwork might like to glance at my
forthcoming *A Country Diary: Portrait of a Japanese Valley*, to be
published by John Weatherhill, Tokyo, 1986. (Title provisional!)

[6] Cf. B. Moeran, 'Yanagi Muneyoshi and the Japanese Folk Craft
Movement', *Asian Folklore Studies*, Vol.XL no.1 (1981), pp. 87-99;
idem, 'Japanese Social Organization and the *Mingei* Movement',
Pacific Affairs, Vol.LIV no.1 (1981), pp. 42-56.

the customary lines of main house/branch house relations. Cross-
cutting ties between name groups have been established through
marriage, residential and cooperative labour groupings, together
with a seniority system of age-grades whereby the oldest men have
generally been in charge of community affairs.[7]
    Until approximately 1960, there was little demand for Onta
ware; the potters were primarily farmers who turned to pottery
in their spare time or when the weather was too bad for them to
work in the fields. In the 1960s, however, there began what came
to be called the 'folk craft boom' (*mingei bumu*). Potters found
that, for the first time ever, they could sell whatever they made.
This increase in market demand happened to coincide with a
Government policy curtailing the production of rice (*gentan
seisaku*) and, during the next fifteen years, potting households
began one by one to give up farming entirely. By 1979, ten of
Sarayama's households were specializing full-time in pottery
production, while the other four pursued such occupations as
carpentry, plastering, rice farming, the cultivation of oak mush-
rooms (*shiitake*), running a noodle shop, a *sake* shop and a family
inn (*minshuku*).
    Occupational specialization has been accompanied by a con-
siderable disparity of incomes between potting and non-potting
households. Prior to the folk craft boom there was not that
great a difference in the incomes of all households in Sarayama.
Because they shared a cooperative kiln, potters fired and
marketed approximately the same number of pots and earned more or
less the same amount of money from them. Twenty years later,
however, potting households were earning on average almost twice
as much as non-potting households (Y8 million as opposed to Y4
million). This disparity was accompanied by an ever-widening
income gap among potting households, for increased demand led to
some potters leaving the cooperative kiln and setting up private
kilns which they could fire as and when they pleased (household
incomes ranged from Y16 to Y5$\frac{1}{2}$ million in 1979).
    Every rural Japanese community is ideally organized in such
a way that the individual subordinates his or her interests to
those of the household to which s/he belongs, and each household
its interests to those of the community as a whole. A set of
historical incidents has led to the Japanese rural community
forming a closed social group whose inhabitants tend to see the
outside world as starting a few hundred yards down the road.
Sarayama is no exception to this ideal, but the recent develop-
ment of the Japanese market economy has led to a number of strains
in the residents' notion of community solidarity. In particular,
we find that the hitherto accepted division between elders and
younger men is being challenged, while the emerging economic
differentiation between potting and non-potting households has
further upset the much valued emphasis placed on harmony. It is

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[7] See B. Moeran, *Lost Innocence: Folk Craft Potters of Onta,
Japan*, Berkeley: University of California Press 1984.

when Sarayama's men start drinking that these strains tend to
break out into the open. At the same time, it is through drink-
ing that they try to patch up their differences and recreate a
feeling of 'togetherness'.

Sake drinking parties

Drinking in Sarayama occurs on any number of pretexts and may in
some exceptional circumstances start from as early as 9 o'clock
in the morning. A pottery dealer, for example, may visit a
potter's workshop after a kiln firing and be invited into the
house for 'refreshments' at the conclusion of business. Alter-
natively, a forester from a nearby hamlet may drop by on his way
home from work and invite one of Sarayama's inhabitants down to
the local *sake* shop for a few bottles of beer. A potter may
have to discuss firing schedules with other potters sharing the
cooperative kiln, and they may decide to share a few drinks to-
gether at one of the potters' home, in the community noodle shop,
or even down in one of the bars of the local town, 17 kilometres
away. Here, however, I wish to discuss formal drinking encounters,
when either the community as a whole, or the ten households form-
ing the potters' cooperative, gather together to celebrate
Sarayama's ceremonial occasions. Some of these ceremonies in-
volve fixed amounts of *sake*: the Mountain God festival (*Yama no
kami*), for example, is limited to one *gō* of sweet sake (*amazake*)
per household; on New Year's Day, only one *shō* of *sake* is drunk
at the villagers' annual greeting. Most ceremonies, however, do
not limit the amount of alcohol to be consumed, and it is these
which I shall discuss here.
     Such ceremonial occasions tend to follow a general pattern.
Community gatherings rotate among households and are usually
attended by one man (and sometimes one woman) from each household
in Sarayama, the time of day being announced over the community's
loud-speaker system. Special ceremonies, such as the potters'
celebration of *Ebisu-sama* (God of Trade), held only once a year,
are initiated by the sound of a conch shell, blown by the 'duty
officer' (*sewa motokata*), whose job it is to look after community
affairs for the year. At the appointed hour, representatives
from each household gather at where the ceremony is to be held.
On arriving, each representative takes off his shoes and steps
up into the hallway, before making his way to the *nando*, or
kotatsu room, an informal living room where the household's
family gathers to eat, socialize and watch television. There he
will be served green tea and be asked to help himself from a
tray of candies or bowl of fruit. Idle conversation will ensue,
centering mainly on the host's family, with comments on how big
the children are growing, how well they are getting on at school,
and so on. The emphasis here is on household members, or on
events occurring in the outside world. Community affairs as such

are not discussed.[8]

Once everyone is assembled, the host will ask people to move into the main guest room (*zashiki*), where low tables have been laid out in an inverted U-shape. The *zashiki* in fact often comprises two rooms, separated by sliding screens which can be removed when many visitors are present. Tables are lined down each side of these rooms as well as across the top. I say 'down' and 'top' and 'inverted' U-shape for a reason. Behind the lateral row of tables is to be found the *tokonoma*, a slightly-raised 'sacred dais' which is built into every country house. The *tokonoma* is considered to be the most important part of the whole building and so only the most important people are placed with their backs to it along the top row of tables. In the event of casual visiting, a guest will always be placed with his back to the *tokonoma*, while the host will sit opposite him in an inferior position. On community occasions, the eldest household representative present is placed at the centre of the top table, the second eldest is placed to his right, the third to his left, the fourth to the second eldest's right, and so on right down the two lines of tables to the most junior men present. When women participate, they are placed below the men and adopt a similar order of seating by seniority. Younger women, however, seem to be less particular about the seating order and occasionally younger housewives find themselves 'above' somebody who is their senior by a year or so. In general, it can be said that the older a man or woman becomes, the more strictly he or she adheres to seating by age seniority, and that men tend to be stricter about seating order than are women.

Once everyone is settled and kneeling formally in front of his place (each place being marked by a side saucer, chopsticks and empty *sake* cup, together with a small covered lacquer bowl of clear fish soup, a porcelain bowl of boiled vegetables or *niimono* and a side dish of raw fish), the host, who is not included in the age seniority seating order but kneels at the bottom of the room, formally greets and welcomes his guests. The most senior member of those present then replies in a speech which is highly formalized, consisting of a number of set phrases thanking everyone for taking the trouble to gather together at such a busy time, and praising the elements for being so kind as to favour the occasion with good weather (this bit may be dropped when the weather is not so benign, or substituted by comments on how people must be suffering from the cold, snow, rain, wind, or whatever).

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[8] This format of conversational niceties is, of course, not limited to a remote Japanese valley community. I have noticed that English suburban dinner parties tend to go through a similar shift in conversational style as guests proceed from cocktails to food.

Having made these initial comments in reply to the host's greeting, the eldest man proceeds to blur the in/out group distinction hitherto present by informing everyone about why they have gathered together on this particular occasion. The rarer the occasion, the more detailed this information is likely to be and the more the occasion stressed. The host household will then be thanked for providing a place for everyone to gather. Everyone is thanked again for taking the trouble to come, and a toast is proposed. At this point, the women will get up and move away from their places at the bottom of the room to fill everyone's *sake* cup from the bottles of heated alcohol that stand already on the tables. The speaker raises his voice: '*Kanpai*!' (Glasses dry!') - or, on less formal occasions, '*itadakimasu*' ('for what we humbly receive'). The cry is taken up by all present as they, too, raise their cups and drink. For a few seconds there is silence as everyone drinks together. The contents of each cup are downed. There is a sudden exhalation of breath as people express their satisfaction with the *sake*.

This marks the end of the initial stage of the ceremonial gathering, and participants now find themselves slipping into informality as they shift from a kneeling to cross-legged position and refill their cups. They will start sipping soup and eating some of the food spread before them, but not too much, for drinking is the important activity and it is a man's capacity to drink and talk which in the end marks him out from among his fellows. The first cup or two of *sake* is poured out for him by those sitting on either side and he in turn will fill his neighbours' cups, since it is considered impolite to serve oneself. Frequently, the women will remain on the inner side of the inverted U-shape of tables and serve the men with rice wine as they join in the casual conversation. This starts with somewhat formalized exclamations on the weather, food and others' business, before shifting to more informal gossip and a discussion of recent community events. It is at this stage that a man proceeds to exchange cups with his neighbours.

What does an exchange of *sake* cups consist of? When his cup is empty, a man will pick it up and, holding it by the foot rim balanced between the tips of his fingers, he will present it to someone sitting nearby. As he presents the cup, he will call the other's name and raise the hand with which he is holding the cup very slightly once or twice, in order to attract the other's attention. This gesture is at the same time a sign of humility from a man offering a gift. The receiver will take the cup - usually with an exclamation of slightly feigned surprise - bow his head slightly, again raise the cup in his hand in a gesture of humble acceptance, and allow the donor to fill it for him from one of the bottles on the table between them. The receiver then downs the *sake* and almost immediately returns the cup with a similar set of formal expressions and gestures.

When a man exchanges cups with his immediate neighbours, the flow of conversation is not immediately affected in any appreciable way. However, the first exchange is a signal for

those concerned to shift from informal gossip to somewhat more
intimate conversation about how events, previously touched upon,
affect those concerned. When a man has exchanged cups with those
sitting immediately next to him, he will proceed to pass cups to
others sitting further away. Each time, the same formalities are
gone through, but here the purpose of the exchanges is for the
donor to take the opportunity to initiate a conversation with
someone else (or, possibly, to draw him into a continuing con-
versation). A man may well have to go through a preliminary
round of formal pleasantries but will, with a second exchange of
cups with the same person, proceed to informal and more intimate
conversation.

Provided that the people with whom he is exchanging cups are
within arm's reach, a man will tend to remain seated in his
initial position according to age. However, as the gathering
gains a certain alcoholic momentum, men will find themselves
exchanging cups with others several feet away, since it is con-
sidered rude to drink on one's own without exchanging cups and
since every man wants to spread and reinforce his web of contacts
as widely as possible. In this case, a man may have to pass a
cup along the table via his neighbours; or he may prefer to get
up and walk along behind where everyone is sitting in order to
exchange cups. Sometimes, he may step across the low table in
front of him into the middle of the room and proceed to exchange
cups with a fellow drinker from the inside of the inverted U-
shape (previously occupied only by the women). This point in the
cup exchanges can be said to mark the third stage of the cere-
monial gathering, and it is usually by this time that the women
will have withdrawn to talk, drink and eat among themselves at
the bottom of the room.

This third stage usually begins within ten to fifteen
minutes after the proposal of the formal toast, and it is from
this time that the gathering starts to become a 'serious' drink-
ing session. It is marked by complete informality of speech,
with virtually no restrictions on who says what to whom. Whereas
the initial formal opening was probably conducted in standard
Japanese (or as closely approximating the standard as local
elders can manage), both the second and third stages are charac-
terized by use of dialect. Potters and other residents of
Sarayama speak in their own language, not in some idiom imposed
on them by ephemeral outsiders in Tokyo or wherever.

In the past, it is said (a vague term which can refer to any
time between ten and fifty years previously, depending on the
speaker's age), a man could exchange *sake* cups only with someone
sitting below him. He was strictly prohibited from passing his
cup up the table to anyone older than himself. This meant that,
to some extent, the shift from the second to third stage of the
gathering was determined by the elders, since it was they who
made the first move in getting up to exchange cups with others
junior to them who were sitting out of arm's reach lower down the
tables. It was, of course, possible for a certain amount of
lateral movement to occur, since people of very similar ages

found themselves on opposite sides of the room as a result of formal seating arrangements and they were permitted to cross over to exchange cups with one another. Nowadays, however, it is possible for a man to pass his cup 'up' the table to someone his senior, although it would still be slightly presumptuous for a man of - say - thirty to exchange cups with his neighbours and then step across the table, walk up to the top of the room and present his *sake* cup to one of the elders at the top table. He would be expected first to present cups to at least one or two of the older men sitting between him and those at the top. Once the third stage has begun, however, and has been continuing for five or ten minutes, a young person can suddenly break away from his drinking group and walk straight up to the top of the tables to exchange cups with men there. The breakdown of formality permits this. At the same time, many of the oldest men will have 'come down' to sit in the middle of the room, so that a younger person can join and exchange cups with an elder much more unobtrusively by first presenting his cup to - say - a forty-year-old man and talking with him (although codes of politeness presuppose an elder to be accorded first cup when he is talking in a small group).

I have used the word 'unobtrusively' here for a reason. People do not just exchange cups during these drinking sessions; they talk. And they do not talk just about local gossip and other trivia. As the *sake* flows, they tend to talk about those affairs which are closest to their hearts and which rankle in their minds. Hence, conversation is political in the context of the community, and a man is constantly alert during the course of drinking, weighing up who is talking to whom, putting two and two together from his background knowledge of local affairs, and frequently using the custom of cup exchanges to join a conversation in which he feels that he might well have a vested interest. To a certain extent, those who really wish to make use of the gathering to further their intra-community political interests will do their best to move about unobtrusively and to make their membership of certain drinking groups seem as casual as possible. They will decide what they want to talk about and who the best person would be to talk over the matter. They then proceed to plan a route towards drinking with that person in as 'natural' a manner as possible, so that when they do meet, their conversation will not attract the attention of others. This may prove difficult, especially when both men concerned are moving about the room independently, perhaps with completely different strategies, but during the course of the third stage (which can last for an hour or more) they are bound to get together sometime and the matter in hand will be discussed. There are, after all, only fourteen households in the community and, even when both father and son attend a drinking session, there are rarely more than twenty-five men present at any gathering.

As I mentioned earlier, so far as the formal organization of Sarayama is concerned, it is the elders who officially hold the reins of authority in the community. It is the men over sixty

years of age whose opinions are publicly respected and whose
commands are generally obeyed. These men still remain heads of
their households, even though they may have sons living and work-
ing with them who are in their mid-thirties and in the prime of
life so far as their physical strength is concerned. The point
of interest about drinking sessions, therefore, is that when the
third informal stage is reached, it is not the elders but the
middle-aged men who are the most active in the exchange of *sake*
cups. The first to get up from their seats and move about the
room are almost invariably younger heads of households, aged
between forty and sixty. Some men are slower to get up than
others, perhaps, but in the end it is the middle-aged group of
men who are talking, arguing and consuming the most *sake*. The
oldest men remain more or less rooted to the top tables with
their temporary visitors seated before them.

In the meantime, potters up to their mid-thirties generally
form their own drinking groups at the far end of the room, very
often sitting with the women. This means that the centre of the
zashiki becomes completely empty, so that the third stage in the
drinking session is marked by a complete separation of partici-
pants into two groups. Those at the bottom of the room keep their
conversation light and trivial; they discuss such things as local
and professional baseball games, fishing, popular music and their
occasional outings to bars in Hita (and appraise the hostesses
working there). Those at the top of the room generally discuss
community affairs, local valley politics, problems surrounding
Sarayama's pottery production and other matters seen to be
important for the community as a whole (see figures 1, 2 and 3
on the next page).

By this time the women will have begun clearing some of the
unoccupied tables of dishes, and use kitchen work as an excuse
to retire from the main room to the back of the house (where they
indulge just as earnestly in their own gossip and political
manoeuvering). A number of men will be getting very drunk. (The
only thing that prevents them from getting drunk sooner is the
fact that they are provided with large ashtrays, into which a
man will tip out much of the *sake* poured for him when his inter-
locutor is not looking. Although frowned upon by those who can
hold their drink, this 'bad' habit is generally accepted since
complete drunkenness is not thought to be conducive to a good
party.) There is a tendency at this point for many of the eldest
men to retire quietly (frequently by way of the lavatory) to the
kotatsu room. There they will sit and watch television over a
cup of tea, talking once more in restrained voices about the
nothing-in-particulars of life in a country valley. One of their
peers or juniors may stagger in and make an attempt to drag them
back into the main room and then use their refusal as an excuse
for himself to stay in the *kotatsu* room and drop out of the
drinking. It is generally at this point that the gathering enters
its fourth stage.

This stage is marked, then, by the departure of the elders
and by the introduction of singing, and sometimes dancing. Sing-

Key	Households	Potting		Non-potting	
1-4 = 60+ years		Kaneichi	1, 19	Yamamaru	2, 9
5-7 = 50+ "		Yamani	3, 14	Kaneyo	18
8-11 = 40+ "		Yamasai	15	Maruta	8
12-16 = 30+ "		Irisai	10	Yamamasu	16
17-21 = 20+ "		Kanemaru	7, 21		
		Yamasan	6, 20		
x = women		Irisan	5, 13		
		Yamaichi	11		
		Iriichi	12		
		Yamako	4, 17		
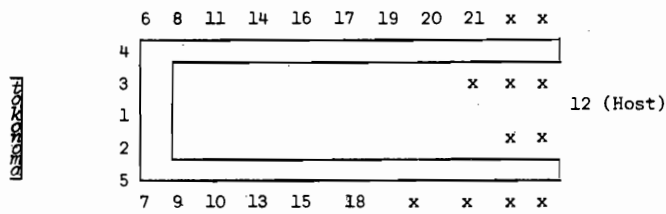
Figure 1: Formal Seating Arrangement (Stage 1)
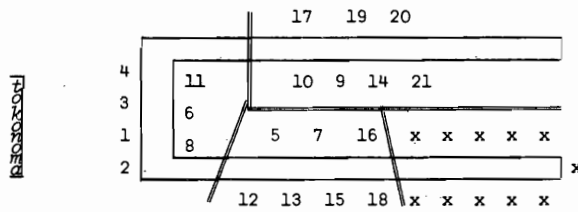
Figure 2: Informal Seating Arrangement (Stage 2)
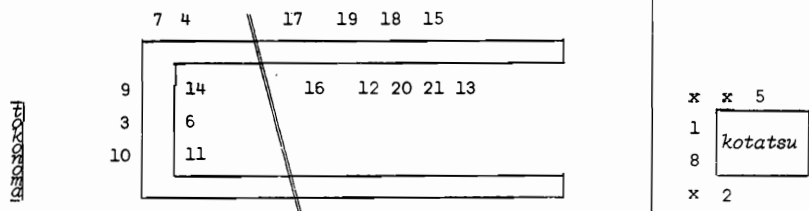
Figure 3: Informal Seating Arrangement (Stage 3)

ing is important for it enables one man to claim the attention
of others. This means two things: not only do men break off
their conversations in order to listen to one man singing, but a
man's ability to attract attention by standing up and singing may
well stand him in good stead later on during his own political
arguments with others. Singing in itself livens up the party.
A successful singer will find himself at the centre of attention,
and he may well be able to turn this attention into support in
order to help him present, and win, an argument at a later stage
when a quarrel breaks out.

In general, people tend to listen to the first songs that
are sung, but to ignore later singers and continue their conver-
sations uninterrupted. This means that it is to one's own
advantage to initiate the fourth stage of the gathering by being
the first to sing. The problem, though, is gauging when people
are likely to want to listen to a song and timing one's own
exuberation to coincide with the general mood of the gathering,
for once a man has drunk too much he tends not to sing well, and
if he has not drunk enough he may well be too self-conscious to
put over his song effectively. The precise point when a man
gambles on singing is a matter of delicate political finesse.
Sometimes someone will suddenly decide to start singing, raise
his voice in the hope of catching the attention of everyone
present and find that in fact people are not yet ready for a song
and ignore him entirely. The man who can stand up, claim the
attention of one and all in a loud voice, and then keep that
attention focused on him right to the end of his song, is also
likely to be able to claim their attention when it comes to
arguing community affairs. An effective singing voice is in some
respects essential to winning an argument, and winning an
argument is the prerequisite for a community leader.

Here we should note that it is the men in the middle age-
group, and not the elders, who generally successfully initiate
the singing. If a younger man starts singing, he is almost
certain to be ignored. This is partly, perhaps, because younger
men tend to sing popular songs, rather than the more 'classical'
and accepted forms of *utai, shigin* or *minyō* folk-songs favoured
by the older men. Men from the middle age-group have come to be
known for their singing prowess: Shigeki (11) for his Shimazaki
Tōson songs, Moriyuki (9) for his *minyō*, and Toshiyasu (7) for
his *utai.* Those who want to get ahead in community life have a
tendency to perfect a certain style of singing which is accept-
able to, and praised by, other villagers.

As the singing gathers atonal momentum, so do conversations
among drinkers become more earnest. Men will by now have downed
their quota of seven *gō* of *sake* (the amount considered equivalent
to our 8 pints of beer)', and their speech will be slurred as they
no longer hold back on topics which they hold most dear to their
hearts. One potter will accuse another of selling his tea bowls
at five times the agreed retail price; another will upbraid a
neighbour for maltreating his daughter-in-law and forcing her
back to work immediately after a miscarriage; a group of potters

will get at one of their number who has arbitrarily had a wood-
shed built on a piece of land over which the bulldozer must pass
to dig out all the potters' clay. It is at this point that
major arguments, quarrels, even fights occur. Almost invariably,
it is those in the middle age group (nos. 5 to 11 in the figures)
who are most voluble, particularly potters, who are jostling for
position as next leader of the cooperative and hence, in time,
of the community as a whole. Frequently they fight amongst them-
selves and it is the junior age groups or those who (like 9) are
not potters who act as intermediaries and try to stop the men
concerned from coming to blows.[9]

It is about this time that most men make up their minds
about whether they are really going to make a night of it, or
whether they will slip away. Younger men in particular tend to
leave now and soon there is only a handful of men left in the
zashiki. By common consent, they may all move to the *kotatsu*
room where they will continue to drink *sake*, or turn to tea. One
or two men who, like the **dormouse** at Alice's tea party, have
fallen asleep, may well be roused and made to join in what is
left of the party. This is the fifth and final stage of the
drinking session, and can be marked by more anger and quarrell-
ing, or by a general sobering up of all concerned. Sometimes,
when everyone is feeling in a particularly good mood, someone
will phone for a taxi and the men will go down to Hita for
further, more expensive, frolicking in the town's bars.

Conclusion

I have shown here that *sake* drinking parties in the community of
Sarayama follow much the same pattern as that described for
drinking among the Subanun.[10] Drinking sessions can be divided
into five discourse stages, each of which has a separate focus
of speech act and separate language type (see figure 4). Among
both the Subanun and the residents of Sarayama, drinking talk
takes on importance in the context of the assumption of authority.
Among the Subanun, verbal skills during drinking encounters

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[9] It should be pointed out here that there are some songs which
are consciously sung in order to avoid or stifle quarrels and
that these are folk-songs, like the *Tankō bushi* or *Kuroda bushi*,
which immediately create a sense of community and harmony. It is
not surprising, therefore, to find that it is frequently the man
who is good at singing these folk songs (Moriyuki (9)) who acts
as mediator in arguments which get out of control.

[10] See C. Frake, 'How to Ask for a Drink in Subanun', *American
Anthropologist*, Vol.LXVI no. 6 (1964).

enable a man to act as legislator in disputes and thereby to gain status in the eyes of his fellow men. Among the potters of Sarayama, the ability to talk and to sing well ensure a man a position of power in community affairs. The more mobile a man and the better able he is to talk to all, the more likely he is to assume authority. Drinking is thus a political activity.

The point to be made about the community of Sarayama is that drinking encounters would appear to reflect the growing loss of power of the elders and the increasing influence of the middle-aged group of men in community affairs. What should be stressed here is that, although on *formal* occasions the eldest men assume authority through formal speeches and through such overt marks of deference as being seated at the head of the table at drinking parties, *in*formally it is the group of men below them who wield most power. It is those between the ages of forty and sixty who manipulate to their own ends the conversations which occur during drinking sessions, and who argue out vital community matters. I would suggest that it is this middle age-group - in particular two or three articulate men - who covertly influence formal decisions overtly made by the elders. The loss of power of the latter can be seen in the fact that, firstly, the elders no longer determine the overall pattern of a drinking encounter, because they no longer have the prerogative to dictate the course of *sake* cup exchanges; and secondly, the elders cannot sing well and tend to remove themselves somewhat rapidly from major drink-ing encounters, leaving their immediate juniors to discuss and virtually to decide important community matters. Elders retain their authority in official *ex cathedra* statements, but in practice these comments are influenced by those junior to them.

Of course, it could be argued that the elders are able to leave *sake* parties early precisely because their sons are often present as well. They remain secure in the knowledge that in-formation will be relayed to them from a trustworthy source. The trouble with this argument is that there are several drinking encounters where only *one* member from each household is present and yet the elders still leave early. In such cases, there is no guarantee that they will learn, let alone be able to influence indirectly, what happens in their absence.

Another criticism might take the line that, in fact, it is *usually* the middle-age group which is most influential in any small-scale society, and that the notion that the elders used to be in control of community matters is a typical idealization of a state of affairs which has never in fact existed. This is possible. After all, the elders have never been able to sing well, so did they leave drinking sessions early in the past? I cannot be sure about this, of course, but potters in Sarayama used to stress that in the past the main activity of the elders was drinking (*hikari*) and that they would frequently gather over a few bottles of home-made *sake* and come to decisions about community affairs without bothering to consult the younger house-hold heads. It is claimed that one reason for this was that younger men were too busy farming to be able to get together very

Figure 4: Analysis of Drinking Parties

Encounter Stages	Discourse Stages	Focus of Speech Acts	Language Type
1. Formal Gathering	Formal opening speech & toast	Role expression	Standard
2. Immobile cup exchange	Semi-formal introductory talk	Context definition	Dialect
	Local gossip; Intimate level discussion	Topic (household)	Dialect
3. Mobile cup exchange	Intimate level discussion	Topic (community affairs)	Dialect
4. Song drinking	Singing as verbal art;	Stylistic	Dialect/ Standard
	Discussions and quarrels	Topic (community affairs)	Dialect
5. Informal separation	Incoherence (?)	Context closure	Dialect

much. It is here, perhaps, that the farmers' conversion to full-time pottery may have affected drinking habits, for the middle age-group of men are now always at home in their workshops, rather than scattered in distant fields up to three kilometres from Sarayama, and can gather at a few minutes' notice. Not only this, but the development of a market for folk craft pottery, together with the emergence of a notion of 'artistic talent' as a result of the external criticism of Onta ware, has enabled younger potters to have more say in the running of the potters' cooperative.[11] All in all, therefore, it would seem that the pattern of drinking parties described here reflects fairly the

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[11] I have discussed, at some length, the way in which younger potters have gained control in the running of community affairs in my monograph (*Lost Innocence, op.cit., pp. 150-181*).

general pattern of the erosion of the power of the elders over
the past quarter of a century.

A second point to be made in this connection is that drink-
ing *per se* is not what really counts. By this I mean that it
does not matter if a man is too old, or not physically strong
enough, to hold his alcohol. Provided that he is prepared to
stay with his drinking companions and not go home early, a man
can still wield a lot of influence. In other words, drinking in
itself is a desirable, but not essential, prerequisite for power.
This point is best illustrated by one potter, Shigeki (11), who
at one stage during fieldwork was suffering from a bad liver and
had been advised by his doctor to stop drinking *sake* for a few
months. This he did. But rather than delegate his wife or even
son to go along to community *sake* parties, Shigeki himself
attended them (complete with a supply of tomato juice). Not only
this, but he used to stay until the fifth and final stage of
almost every drinking session, and so participated in all the
major discussions that took place. He even went so far as to
feign a certain drunkenness and exclaim that tomato juice made
him 'happy' because he drank it out of used *sake* cups. What I
wish to stress is that Shigeki had no need to attend these
gatherings in the first place; alternatively, he could have put
in an appearance and left early at about the third stage (this
is precisely what another man from a non-potting household, Osamu
(8), who complained of a bad liver used to do - a fact which
illustrates, I think, the way in which potters are more concerned
with power than are non-potters). The fact that Shigeki chose to
remain to the bitter end shows the importance he attached to the
way in which community affairs were discussed during these
gatherings. To have missed them would have meant a considerable
weakening of his own position of power within the community.
Drinking is thus the idiom in which decisions are made, and not
necessarily their cause.

Which brings me back to my original point about drinking
acting as a licensed outlet for repressed frustration. When in-
sulted on such an occasion a man is supposed to behave the next
day as if nothing had happened. All is forgiven and forgotten,
it is said. But to suggest this is, in my opinion, to take an
extremely naive view of Japanese (or indeed any) society. It is
clear from my fieldwork in Sarayama that people were offended by
quarrels picked during the course of drinking sessions and that,
although they did their best to pretend that they had not been
offended, the old adage that what is said under the influence of
alcohol is always forgotten was simply not true. I soon learned
that people in Sarayama, even people who appeared at the time to
be very drunk, remembered very clearly who had said what to whom
and why during drinking parties. Not only this, but these
discussions and disputes, which were not openly discussed during
the course of everyday activities, were weighed and *used* in
further arguments. Drinking arguments thus formed a covert dis-
course which people proceeded to draw on for the advance of their
own political interests. There were, in other words, two dis-

courses in action in Sarayama. One was the overt daytime dis-
course, conducted mainly by the elders and in fairly formal
situations. The other was a covert night-time discourse entered
into by the middle-aged group of men, mainly under the informal
influence of *sake*. It was vital for any man who wished to gain
access to authority and power to be aware of the night-time dis-
course and to make use of it as and when appropriate. In other
words, if he was to gain any position of authority in the
community, a man was bound to drink, or at least keep company
with drinkers.

    Much of the discussion of drinking parties in Sarayama ties
in with work done on political oratory in traditional societies.
The way in which potters use informal occasions such as those
described here to hammer out community problems is paralleled,
for example, by the Maori in New Zealand, who make use of inform-
al meetings to decide local and inter-tribal matters. In each of
the two societies we find that some questions are perennial
favourites for debate - the arguments about the production,
marketing and aesthetic appraisal of Onta ware in Sarayama, the
teaching of the Maori language and preservation of Maori culture
in New Zealand *marae* - and also that these questions are never
really settled, *because none of the participants wants to settle
them*. We find, too, thot the distinction between *tatemae* and
honne is similar to the distinction made by Salmond between
'tight' oratory and 'loose' plain speaking, and to that made by
Rosaldo between 'crooked' and 'straight' speech. Indeed, it ties
in with the more generalized distinction made by Bloch between
'formalized' and 'everyday' speech.[12]

    Bloch's notion that there is a correlation to be made
between types of political oratory and types of political system
has been shown to be wrong, and it has recently been reformulated
by Borgstrom who has suggested that the mode of political address
correlates with the type of power relationship pertaining between
speaker and audience.[13] In general, types of speech have been
seen to reflect power relations between superior and inferior,
and in this respect, perhaps, *tatemae* and *honne* are not so
different. But they also encompass a second, frequently per-
ceived distinction between *omote*, the 'open' where surprises
should not occur, and *ura*, the 'back' which shrouds the wheeling

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[12] See A.Salmond, 'Mana Makes the Man: A Look at Maori Oratory
and Politics', in M.Bloch (ed.), *Political Language and Oratory
in Traditional Society*, London: Academic Press 1975, pp. 62-3; M.
Rosaldo, 'I Have Nothing to Hide: The Language of Ilongot Oratory',
Language in Society, Vol.II no.2 (1973); M.Bloch, 'Introduction',
in *Political Language and Oratory*, op. cit.

[13] B.-E.Borgstrom, 'Power Structure and Political Speech', *Man*,
Vol.XVII no.2 (1982).

and dealing which lead up to decision-making.[14]   What goes on in
the Japanese Diet, for example, is *omote*; the real political
bargaining amongst factions is all *ura*. This makes oratory as
such unnecessary.[15]

The fact that *tatemae* is linked with *omote* also ties in with
the Japanese sociological idea that the individual should sub-
ordinate his interests to those of the group,[16] for *tatemae* is
the expression of group ideology. In this respect, then, it is
not simply a form of 'authority' speech, but a means by which an
in-group shuts itself off from the outside world. *Tatemae* and
honne represent both authority and power, public and private,
politeness and intimacy, form and content, out-group and in-
group. In other words, Japanese data suggest that we should not
see relations of authority and power only in terms of a hier-
archical structure, but also as a function of social distance
(cf. politeness forms and Bernstein's restricted and elaborated
codes) which extends *horizontally* between in-groups and out-
groups.

BRIAN   MOERAN

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[14] See C.Johnson, '*Omote* (Explicit) and *Ura* (Implicit): Translat-
ing Japanese Political Terms', *Journal of Japanese Studies,* Vol.
VI no.1 (1980).

[15] For further discussion of spatial metaphors in Japanese, see
B. Moeran, 'Inside Out: Spatial Metaphors the Japanese Live By',
Unpublished paper given at the first Japan Anthropology Workshop,
Nissan Institute, Oxford, April 1984.

[16] Cf. B. Moeran, 'Individual, Group and *Seishin* - Japan's
Internal Cultural Debate', *Man*, Vol.XIX no.2 (1984).

BECOMING JAPANESE:
A SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL VIEW OF CHILD-REARING

Introduction

Studies of child-rearing have proliferated on the other side of
the Atlantic but, apart from a couple of classic works in this
country, the subject has been at least neglected if not positive-
ly scorned. As Philip Mayer pointed out in the ASA monograph on
socialization, this avoidance applies to the topic of sociali-
zation as a whole,[1] and even this book focussed on one aspect -
the socialization of adults and youth rather than that of young
children. Audrey Richards suggested in the same volume (ibid.,
p.7) that this general neglect could well be related to the
scorn poured by British social anthropologists on the early
American culture-personality school and what she calls 'the
traditional British fear of psychology'. Some interest has been
taken in this Journal in the possibility of an anthropology of
children as a self-contained group, and in the consequent
problems of classifying 'children' as a group opposed only to
'adults'.[2] However, most studies of the role of adults in

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[1] Philip Mayer, *Socialisation: The Approach from Social
Anthropology* [ASA Monograph 8], London: Tavistock 1970, p. xiv.

[2] Charlotte Hardman, 'Can there be an Anthropology of Children?',
JASO, Vol. IV (1973), pp. 85-99; and 'Children in the
Playground', *JASO*, Vol. V (1974), pp. 173-188; Elizabeth Munday,
'When is a Child a "Child"? Alternative Systems of Classification',
JASO, Vol. X (1979), pp. 161-72.

rearing children are almost exclusively psychological or
psychological-anthropological, and largely carried out by
Americans and their followers in other countries, including
Japan.

This paper is an attempt to illustrate that, at least in the
Japanese case, it is possible, as Mayer claims in the ASA volume,
'to study socialization by regular social anthropological means,
without special recourse to psychology, and ... that it is also
possible to draw in psychological concepts, where desired, with-
out necessarily distorting anthropological explanation.' Mayer
points out that if the reluctance on the part of British social
anthropologists to study child-rearing is based on the adherence
to Durkheimian social fact, it is ignoring one of the very
examples used by Durkheim in illustrating his definition of the
concept, namely 'the way in which children are brought up'.[3]

There is, of course, considerable variation in the way in
which 'socialization' is defined. Some definitions emphasize the
role of the recipient of socialization, others that of the agents
involved. Those writers who follow Mead insist that the term to
be used in the case of a particular society is 'enculturation',
whereas 'socialization' is a universal phenomenon.[4] My concern
here is quite simply with the system of classification being
passed on - with the social categories into which the world is
divided and by which social life is therefore constrained. A
child in any society learns to perceive the world through lan-
guage, spoken and unspoken, through ritual enacted - and indeed
through the total symbolic system which structures and constrains
that world. Since much social learning takes place in the first
few years of life, which are not easy to recall as one grows
beyond them, many categories which are in fact socially relative
are perceived as quite natural and normal. Thus for an outsider
trying to make sense of another society, such basic differences
may not come easily to the surface.

Indeed, the Japanese-American anthropologist Harumi Befu has
recently attributed what he sees as a persistence on the part of
Westerners to interpret Japanese society in terms of what he calls
a 'partial model' to the fact that foreign academics have 'not
been socialized from infancy to develop tentacles sensitive to
cultural cues which are essential for evaluating cultural

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[3] Mayer, op.cit., p. xvi.

[4] See, for example, David F. Aberle, 'Culture and Socialization',
in Hsu (ed.), *Psychological Anthropology*, Homewood, Illinois: The
Dorsey Press 1961, p. 387; J.A. Clausen, *Socialization and
Society*, Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1968, pp. 3-4; Mayer, op.
cit., p. xiii; T.R. Williams, *Introduction to Socialization:
Human Culture Transmitted*, Saint Louis: C.V. Mosby 1972, p. 1.

propositions (e.g. meaning) at the gut level'.[5] While Westerners evidently cannot rectify this deficiency entirely - nor, indeed, would it be considered advantageous by all to lose the outsider's view - it seems likely that a study of adults' interactions with small children could in any society add an important perspective to an understanding of its fundamental principles. In looking at what adults choose to impart to children, one sees also what values adults emphasize in their efforts to mould the new generation.

In the British case the neglect of this area could reflect an ethnocentric attitude to the early period of development. Care of small children is a low-status activity in this country and one which receives little public support. In Japan, in contrast, men as well as women launch into long discussions on the subject at a theoretical level, innumerable books are published by a variety of prestigious people - a head of the Sony Corporation having contributed a volume entitled *Kindergarten is Too Late* - and speeches and classes are arranged locally to aid mothers and others who are actually involved. The otherwise rather poorly developed welfare system provides care vastly superior to that of many European countries, including day nurseries and pre-school educational facilities, which are available to nearly all Japanese children. There are also more rites and ceremonies accompanying pre-school development than in the rest of the life-cycle put together.

The native term for child-rearing - *shitsuke*, which is written with a Chinese character with the literal meaning of 'beautifying the body' - is translated in Japanese folklore dictionaries as 'inculcation in the child of patterns of living, ways of conduct of daily life, and a mastery of manners and correct behaviour', all with the aim of creating 'one social person' - a person who can take a full place in society.[6] Homonyms of the word are used to apply to other acts of creation or 'making-up', such as the 'tacking' or 'basting' used to form the shape of a kimono before it is sewn firmly, and the careful attention to young plants, including rice seedlings and *bonsai*, so that they grow in a desired way. Another word which is often associated with *shitsuke* is *kitaeru*, which may be translated as 'to discipline', but which is also used for 'to forge' in the sense of heating, beating into shape and strengthening by subsequent hardening a metal object, a process particularly associated with the traditional production of the culturally important Japanese sword. Thus the forming of people may be compared to the moulding and perfection of objects of great symbolic importance in Japanese culture, and the business of

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[5] H. Befu, 'A Critique of the Group Model in Japanese Society', *Social Analysis*, no. 5/6 (1980), p. 42.

[6] *Nihon Minzokugaku Jiten* [Japan Folklore Dictionary], 1979.

child-rearing is regarded as a socially vital activity involving
skills to be cultivated with the same investment of time and
careful attention.

Adults involved are expected to put the child's training
before any other activities, and the methods they use may involve
considerable modification to their previous lives. The
maintenance of a congenial atmosphere is considered of prime
importance and much is taught by means of example - definitely
different from the English phrase 'do as I say, not as I do' -
and repetition. There is thus a great deal of ritual activity
which lends itself conveniently to social analysis. Praise and
punishment, while not totally lacking, are consciously tempered
in the interest of maintaining an atmosphere of expectation of
compliance - a 'good' child is not one who obeys authority of a
Western variety, but one who knows how to behave properly and
does so spontaneously. The ritual activity involves surrounding
adults as well as the immediate caretakers, so that the cate-
gories being emphasized are reinforced throughout the life-cycle.

To analyse some aspects of the system of classification
being presented to the child, what follows is divided into three
stages of pre-school development, as perceived in an indigenous
view. This should show how the important categories emerge and
are reinforced, as the child is gradually introduced to a wider
and wider circle of social experience in preparation for entry to
primary school. The first stage is literally the 'suckling'
stage, which is ideally spent largely in the home; the second is
a period when the child is encouraged to play outside and
gradually form relationships with other children in the neigh-
bourhood; and the third is introduction to the more formal
relations of social life as experienced in the nursery or
kindergarten. While moving through these stages, I want to
borrow and bear in mind a typology drawn up by Befu in his
efforts to counteract the 'partial model' of Japanese society and
show how this approach may contribute to a more complete under-
standing of this society. His chief criticism of Western
interpretations is that they place too much emphasis on what he
refers to as a group model, contrasting this with the individual-
ism of the United States and other Western countries. He points
out that this is not a proper comparison since it pits an
ideology of collectivity against one of personhood, and totally
ignores that of interpersonal relations.[7] To avoid such
criticisms I have considered each of his 'culturally defined
conceptual elements' as they are presented to the child in the
Japanese case. The order in which he has schematized them
happens to correspond to the order in which they are emphasized
during a child's development, although it will be seen that one
is not neglected just because another is introduced (see Figures
1 and 2 on the next page).

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[7] Op.cit., p. 40.

Figure 1. Befu's Diagram: 'A Typology of Culturally Defined Conceptual Elements and Some Ideology Definitions'

CULTURALLY DEFINED CONCEPTUAL ELEMENTS FOUND IN ANY SOCIETY	IDEOLOGICAL DEFINITIONS	
	U.S.	JAPAN
Personhood (self)	'Western individualism'	
Interpersonal relationships		
The collectivity		'Japanese groupism'

Source: *Social Analysis* [Special Issue: Japanese Society, Reappraisals and New Directions], No. 5/6, December 1980.

Figure 2. My Gloss on Befu: The Stages at Which Befu's 'Conceptual Elements' are Emphasised to a Child

HOME	NEIGHBOURHOOD	NURSERY/ KINDERGARTEN
Self	Self	Self
	Interpersonal relationships	Interpersonal relationships
		Collectivity
1st Stage	*2nd Stage*	*3rd Stage*

The First Stage: Home

The chief emphasis during the first period is on the creation of security. This actually begins even before birth, when a pregnant mother is told that her moods may affect the foetus in her uterus, so she should try to establish a calm atmosphere in which to live. Once the baby is born this atmosphere should be upheld, where possible, and the baby should be shielded from fears and anxiety. If it cries it is assumed to be expressing a need, even if only that of loneliness, and it is usually attended to swiftly. Indeed, a good mother is supposed to be able to anticipate her baby's requirements, the beginning of the art of non-verbal communication which she should later pass on to her children for dealings with other people. Early interpersonal relations include a good deal of physical contact, and should be characterized by the comfort and care of the familiar and practised members of the immediate family. The stated concern is with the baby's developing emotions, which should be exposed in these early stages only to calm, security and happiness.

Once these principles have been established the details of early care may well be rather variable, and mothers may or may not feed regularly, may or may not use bottles rather than the breast, may or may not buy a cot and a push-chair. The first aim is to understand the baby's pattern of expectation and form a relation of trust with the child. Western practices which have been rejected are opposed to this general principle. It is unlikely, for example, that a baby will be given its own room away from the rest of the family, or entrusted to relatively strange baby-sitters. If a mother must work outside the home, and there is no grandparent to take care of the baby, then she will try to find one regular, individual caretaker in the immediate neighbourhood, so that the baby's home routine may be interrupted as little as possible. The few nurseries which accept babies under one year old usually allow only very small numbers in familiar enclosed surroundings. Ideally, however, such a baby should be in its own home, surrounded by the familiar and attentive faces of its own family.

During this period the baby's awareness of self-identity is encouraged in various ways. Amongst the first words that it hears constantly is its own name, and an early response, eventually articulated with the word *hai*, is praised as an accomplishment and encouraged as an important element of *shitsuke*. This unique ability of the baby to reply to its own name is noticeably related to the establishment of self-identity, since children only a little older are often addressed by role terms such as elder sister or bother. Other words that the baby soon becomes familiar with are concerned with bodily functions, often associated with the boundaries of its physical self, such as feeding, crawling, walking, dressing, washing and bathing. In each case the training involves the gradual encouragement of self-control. A baby in any society will eventually attain the ability to take care of itself in these respects, but in most

cases Japanese caretakers do not wait for these things to happen naturally. They carefully guide the child in the proper way to do things, often through clearly-defined physical aid, and the child learns to impose a cultural order on its physical development.

Another way in which this cultural order is imposed at this early stage, largely though some of the same activities, is on time and space. Again, distinctions are made linguistically, but they are also emphasized in non-verbal ways, including a great deal of ritual. The baby's life is divided into several clearly-defined periods of different activity. Even if they are not situated at regular intervals during the day, as used to be thought desirable in Western manuals of child-care, the periods associated with eating, playing, bathing and going out are separated from other parts of the day in ritual ways. To consider only the last of these introduces one of the most important dichotomies for understanding Japanese society.

A word with the literal meaning 'going-out', also used to apply to clothes reserved for such occasions, is accorded an honorific prefix 'o', which lends a ritual air to the very word. The child is often washed before it is dressed in such garments, the hair is brushed, and there is a doorway ritual of donning shoes and pronouncing special phrases of departure. On return there is a different phrase, the shoes are removed, and the child may well be washed again to remove the dirt (or pollution) of the outside world. An older child is encouraged to gargle on coming in, a skill one manual of child care expects earlier than the ability to clean teeth. The mother's language and whole attitude is likely to change while they are out, even in her treatment of the child, for she must put on her public face to the outside world and deprecate members of her own family relative to others she might meet.

This distinction between the inside and the outside of the house is emphasized in many other ways. As a baby begins to move about by itself it will learn that there are certain definite limits to its freedom, and one of the most clearly defined boundaries is that marking the space separating the normal floor level from the outside door. There is often a steep drop down to the place where shoes are kept, so that an approach in that direction will be diverted or discouraged with the word for 'danger' (*abunai*). Even if there is no great fall, the area is regarded as 'dirty', and will still be out of bounds unless shoes are donned. In fact, while children in Japan are allowed to get away with many things - as long as the mother feels they know what they *should* be doing - one of the few things they *must* do is take their shoes off when they come in, and put them on when they go out.

The Second Stage: Neighbourhood

In contrast to the security which is fostered in the very early
period the child is now, at this second stage, deliberately
introduced to the notions of danger and fear. Where we might use
a more positive phrase, such as 'be careful', the word *abunai* is
heard frequently as adults go about with small children in Japan.
At first, the word is associated with dangers in the home, such
as hot stoves or places where a child might get its fingers
caught, and mothers sometimes use a sharp smack to warn a child
away from such things, as well as introducing the association of
unpleasantness with them.   Gradually, however, smacks are
replaced with threats of punishment which tend to emphasize the
inside/outside dichotomy. A variety of supernatural beings are
invoked for this purpose, but so are strangers passing by,
policemen and other unspecified outsiders, and a well-known, if
only rarely used punishment is to lock a child outside the house,
particularly after dark. The dirt and danger associated with
even approaching the outside door is the beginning of the
important distinction which is being developed between the
security and safety of the inside of the home, established by
early attentiveness, and the dangers and associated fears of the
outside world.

Of course, the larger world may be safely negotiated if the
child remembers certain rules. At first it remains close to its
caretakers, who will protect it from any danger. The American
commentators, Ezra and Suzanne Vogel, noted that whereas American
mothers reassure a child that it need not be afraid, Japanese
ones acknowledge the danger but reassure by offering their own
protection.[8] They thus remain on the child's side, and maintain
this position by attributing threats of retribution for misbe-
haviour to outside agents.

At the age of about three, however, a child is usually
allowed to play outside with its friends. By this time it will
have acquired an understanding of places to play and places to
avoid, and it will have built up an outside area safe to play in
as long as it follows the adults' directives. It gradually
establishes a new inside group of friends in the neighbourhood,
and if such children stick together, mothers tend to rely on each
other to be available in case of emergency. It is important to
note terms used here: the terminology applied to children and
adults encountered in the neighbourhood is borrowed from the
family, so that older children's names are suffixed with terms
for 'elder brother' or 'elder sister', and other parents are
addressed and referred to as aunts and uncles. The terms for
grandparents may also be applied to other elderly people living

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[8] Ezra and Suzanne Vogel, 'Family Security, Personal Immaturity
and Emotional Health in a Japanese Sample', *Marriage and Family
Living*, Vol. XXIII(1961), p. 163.

in the neighbourhood.

All this would seem to blur the inside/outside distinction, but for the ritual associated with stepping across the threshold of the house. The phrases articulated at such a time by members of the family are quite different from those used by callers. When the latter leave the child is encouraged to invite them to come again, quite a different phrase from that used to see off a house member. A behaviour change in its mother will indicate to a child when a member of the outside world has provoked a public face inside the home, and certain parts of the house may be reserved for formal and less formal visits. The members of the house thus become a clearly-defined 'inside' group, distinguished ritually from others even though similar terms may be used to address them. The identity of this group is given the commonly used term *uchi*, which while literally meaning 'inside', stands for the people, belongings, customs and idiosyncracies of the entity. It is contrasted with terms meaning 'outside' and 'other' in reference to other people, their belongings and customs.

The terminological categories supposedly based on family relationships may in fact be defining the wider 'inside' group of the neighbourhood and more distant relatives, for which spatial boundaries are more difficult to discern. In rural communities and other close-knit neighbourhoods there are a number of groups to which adults belong, and children form such groups once they enter primary school, but for younger children these familiar terms of address are probably the clearest way they have of acknowledging known members of the wider world. In any case, these form a more nebulous entity than that of the household.

Rather more important for the teaching of principles of interpersonal relations at this stage is the way relationships also distinguish people according to age and generation. These distinctions work towards achieving an ideal of harmony and happiness amongst the children at play. Thus as soon as a quarrel develops over toys, the older child is encouraged to demonstrate its superior age and experience by giving in to the younger one. Privileges associated with superior age help to make this palatable, and possibly help to reduce sibling rivalry, since there is a fixed pecking order when each of the younger and older may benefit. In the neighbourhood, the whole group will support the ideal of benevolence from older to younger child. The use of the terms for older brother and older sister as a suffix to the names of any children older than oneself makes clear at all times the relative ages involved. When a new child joins the group it is always important for others to establish relative ages before play can proceed. Linguistic distinctions of this kind are necessary when a younger child asks an older to play, the phrase used implying that the older child is offering the favour of playing, and the same terminology is used when adults ask older children to play with younger ones. There is an implicit obligation for the older child to help the younger one, if

necessary, which entrusts the older child with a degree of responsibility.

This training in interpersonal relations is geared towards the maintenance of harmony and the congenial atmosphere which parents try to create for their children. The ideal amongst children playing is that they should be *nakayoku* - on good terms, at peace, harmonious, and able to play happily with anyone. This is emphasised by adults as important training for smooth social relations in later life, and much time is taken to establish the source of discord when children quarrel. Great pressure is then put on the recalcitrant child to apologize, and 'sorry' is one of the few phrases that mothers insist that their children pronounce clearly. The injured party must also accept the apology so that a state of harmony may be restored.

Crying is no longer indulged, and once an apology has been secured children should return to being cheerful and *nakayoku*. Indeed, a crying child is now laughed at, scorned into being 'brave' or 'strong', and adults actually encourage other children to ridicule a cry-baby as *okashii* - 'strange' or 'peculiar', different from the happy, cheerful child who represents the ideal. The force of this insult is greater when we consider another ideal often expressed that children (as indeed all people) should be *jūninnami* - 'ordinary', 'like everyone else'. In extreme cases, however, adults will eventually give in to a child who is unable to achieve control, again in the interest of maintaining harmony and trust.

The development of the self continues in this second stage. For example, when a child is deemed able to understand reason it is encouraged to consider how it would like to be at the receiving end of the antisocial behaviour it might be handing out, or to put itself into the position of other people to see how they might react in certain situations. This is part of the training in non-verbal communication, developing in the child a self-awareness in order to understand how others might feel. The concept of individual ownership is implicit in phrases often used, such as: 'That toy is yours, but lend it to the baby who isn't old enough to understand that yet', or 'Lend that to your friend! How would you like it if she didn't let you play with her toys?' It is also said to be important at this stage to teach children to look after their own things and to do things for themselves. Parents also encourage children to formulate views and express their opinions, although too much forcefulness in this respect is seen as a problem. The aim is self-knowledge rather than self-assertion, and an understanding must be gained of the limitations of self-interest. Parents seek to correct selfishness in their children; the word used for this concept implies an untrained state - in other words, children are expected at first to be selfish, but should be taught to recognize this and control it.

The Third Stage: Kindergarten/Nursery School

The third stage in the child's pre-school development introduces the formal social relations of kindergarten or nursery school. For some weeks or even months before a child is ready to enter such an institution adults will try to prepare for a smooth transition to this new experience. The words which recur frequently in this preamble are *tomodachi*, which may be roughly translated as 'friends', and *tanoshii*, which means 'fun'. The child is said to be lucky because it will have the chance to make lots of new friends with whom it will be able to have fun. There is no doubt about this abundance of 'friends' because everyone in the class will be referred to constantly as a 'friend', so that the child needs to make no effort in this respect. The friend here is not someone you choose, or who chooses you, but is the name given to the large number of children who now share a new 'inside' group in the kindergarten or day nursery.

The characteristics of all these children, which distinguishes them from those one has known in the neighbourhood, is that they are all deemed equal in the eyes of the teacher and other adults in the establishment. Amongst themselves the children may well know their exact relative ages, especially when they have celebrated one another's birthdays, but, symbolically at least, they are regarded as equally entitled to the teacher's attention. Sex differences are played down too, since the uniforms are usually identical for boys and girls, and few activities are differentiated or even allocated on the basis of gender. In some kindergartens the form of address may differ - the suffix *san* being used for girls, and *kun* for boys - but in others the affectionate term *chan* is still used for both sexes.

The emphasis laid on the 'fun' one will have continues at the kindergarten or day nursery, so that a child who is reluctant to go there, or to stay when its mother leaves, is regarded as most strange and peculiar - *okashii*. It is quite inappropriate, then, to cry at such places, and if a child fails to control itself in the early stages the teachers may encourage it to come in and enjoy itself. Most caretakers expect to spend about a week at the beginning of each new school year giving special attention to new children. If crying persists, however, the child will find itself ignored, as the teacher must attend to the important matter of making life *tanoshii* for all the other children in the class - often as many as forty. There is really nothing for a reluctant child to do but join in and have fun with the others. It may take some time, but since little attention is paid to a crying child, it eventually learns to gain the self-control required.

The chief object of these establishments, and the new experience they provide, is to introduce the child to *shudan seikatsu* (group life) in preparation for subsequent entry to school. Among the most important new rituals to be learned here are those which initiate and end the day, and these seem to have

an important role in defining the group as it gathers each day. The routine of changing shoes and clothes on arrival is similar to that practised at the entrance to the home, and marks off the inside of the classroom from the rest of the world. This is followed by considerable ritual activity, varying from one place to another, but usually including some movements in time to the teacher's piano playing, a song sung lustily in unison, greetings, and the reading of the register.

Again, the inside is associated with the group which gathers there and the fun they have together, so it is appropriate that a child who is reluctant to join in may stand alone outside. The children often play outside, or attend special classes in other rooms, but they go together on these occasions. Thus to threaten to send out a child who misbehaves is again a very effective sanction. As at home, the inside is made secure and attractive, this time with the concept of 'fun', so that the outside can be effectively opposed as an unattractive and 'strange' place to want to be. Thus the child who has been much fussed over as an individual now finds itself among a large number of other children, all equally important in the teacher's eyes. This entity of the whole class is referred to and addressed by the teacher with a personalized collective term, *mina-san*; and children are urged to take care of kindergarten property because it belongs to *mina-san* - everybody.

Co-operation should characterise behaviour within this group, and the aim should again be harmonious interaction. As far as possible the adults encourage children to put pressure on each other to co-operate in the activities for them, so that stragglers are urged to pull themselves together for the sake of the group. For ritualized activity, such as that preceding meals and snacks, the teacher sits down and plays a tune at the piano, signalling the time for preparations, and hungry children make sure that the others respond quickly. The discipline thus enforced is close to that described by Piaget in *The Moral Judgement of the Child* - bound up with mutual agreement and co-operation, rather than constraint imposed by unilateral authority.[9]

The ideals of co-operation are also advocated in stories and television programmes which constantly reiterate the theme that co-operation can achieve so much more than individual endeavour. The Japanese modification of the story of *Three Little Pigs* illustrates this very well. In a popular English version the first two little pigs, who it will be remembered build their houses of straw and wood, are eaten up by the wolf, who is finally outwitted by the clever third little pig who not only builds his house of bricks, which withstand the huffing and puffing of the wolf, but also single-handedly entices his predator down the chimney to his death in the boiling water of

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[9] J. Piaget, *The Moral Judgement of the Child*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1932, p. 365.

the cooking pot. The same end meets the wolf in the Japanese
version, but not until the first two little pigs have escaped
from their flimsy homes and joined the third pig, with whom they
co-operate to catch the wolf, and with whom they live happily
ever after.

Even this modified version did not satisfy some four-year-
olds whom I saw watching a hand-puppet play of the story at their
day nursery. As soon as the mother pig sent her charges off
down the road, a couple of smart boys at the back began shouting,
'Why don't you build a house together? It's much better to
co-operate, you know!'

The results of co-operative efforts are used to express the
collective identity in various ways. In the classroom there are
often grand illustrations to which each child has contributed,
such as a sea full of individually fashioned fishes, a wood full
of trees, or a train full of people. Many establishments teach
the children the rudiments of music and rhythm, and concerts and
displays demonstrate class co-operation in this respect. One
kindergarten I studied had an eighty-piece orchestra for children
in their last year (i.e. aged five or six), which played
classical pieces by Mozart and Vivaldi. The same group rehearsed
an impressive drumming display for the annual sports day, when
one could also witness the value placed on co-operation by
parents, in the long line they formed to take pictures of the
grand tug-of-war. In southern Japan hundreds of children who
attend one kindergarten put on a complicated marching display,
during which they create tableaux and form words, an event often
televised and always attended by a large audience.

Potentially hierarchical roles within the class are distri-
buted in strict rotation, which introduces the child to the
principle of democracy in its strictest sense. Every day two or
three members of the class will have their turn to serve the
food, to order the others into line, or to represent the class in
some ceremonial activity, so that each child experiences all
sides of this interaction. Thus when a child is asked to do
something by another whose role he or she will eventually also
have to play, he co-operates in the hope that others will co-
operate when it is his turn.

Other manifestations of hierarchical principles continue in
interpersonal relations in the institutional setting, since
children have plenty of time for free play, inside and outside,
as well as for organized activities. Usually, children in the
same class, who are in principle equal, know each other's ages
well, for interaction in the playground, which then follows rules
similar to those in the neighbourhood, although physical strength
and force of character have parts to play here too. Certainly,
relations between children in different classes follow the age
lines, and there is a definite hierarchy between classes at
gatherings of the whole unit.

Finally, it should be reiterated that a child does not
disappear as an individual into this new collective entity. As
Piaget pointed out, it is 'the essence of democracy to replace

the unilateral respect of authority by the mutual respect of the autonomous wills'.[10] Co-operation, then, far from denying the development of personhood, actually implies autonomy, or, in Piaget's view, 'personalities that are both conscious of themselves and able to submit their point of view to the laws of reciprocity and universality.'[11] This is precisely what is overtly sought by Japanese parents entering their children into kindergarten - self-awareness sufficient for the understanding of others, self-knowledge in the interest of maintaining harmonious social relations. As Durkheim pointed out long ago in *L'Education Morale*, 'the attachment to social groups...far from checking individual initiative...enriches personality'.[12]

Raum argued a similar point based on his observations of Chaga children. He takes issue with Rousseau's idea that the *amour de soi* of the 'tendency towards the unfolding of the self in a spontaneous manner' is opposed to and restrained by the relations of social life. Raum argues that juvenile spontaneity does not work itself out *in vacuo*, but defines itself by reference to the cultural environment. He argues, therefore, that individual nature and society are not at educational poles: 'Society exists only in individuals and individuals realize themselves only in society'.[13]

Children in Japanese kindergartens and day nurseries spend long hours with each other, and they come to know each member of the group very well. During the course of the day the teacher also picks out individuals for praise and reproach. Representatives have to be chosen for races at sports day or special performances in concerts, and there is also time for children to speak in front of the class about their own personal experiences and thoughts on particular incidents and events. The teacher also has the benefit of a detailed personal form filled out by the parents for each member of her class, and she visits all their homes soon after they arrive at the start of the year.

As well as experiencing 'group life', children in these establishments are expected to develop qualities of character such as perseverence and effort, independence and self-reliance, 'creative expression' and the ability to know and express one's own mind.

Thus children in the third stage come to develop in a new sense as members of a group whose identity they learn to appreciate, and for whose benefit they realize they must sometimes control their own personal interests. Through such

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[10] Ibid., p. 366.

[11] Ibid., p. 372.

[12] Quoted ibid., p. 356.

[13] O.D. Raum, *Chaga Childhood*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1940, p. 386.

training they achieve a new identity of their own as members belonging to, co-operating in, and enjoying the benefits of a collective organization. This gives them an important extra dimension in which to operate, a dimension which is less developed in the West; and I suggest that it is because of this lack that Western observers may tend to lose out on some of Befu's 'cultural cues' mentioned above. For, as several anthropologists and linguists have pointed out, although the terminology I borrow here is that of Basil Bernstein, the closer the identifications of speakers, and the greater the range of shared interests, the more restricted and predictable is the speech they employ.   Much of the intent of communication can be taken for granted so there is less need to raise meanings to the level of explicitness, or what Bernstein terms 'elaboration'. Thus a speaker wishing to individualize his communication, Bernstein argues, is likely to do it by varying the expressive associates of the speech, so that more concern may be found with how something is said and when, its metaphoric elements, and the interpretation of silence. The unspoken assumptions are not available to outsiders.[14]

We are all aware of this type of communication in close personal relationships, but socialization in Western societies seems to involve variable amounts of experience in interpreting non-verbal cues, which are anyway picked up in a much less self-conscious manner. In Japan, where speech is often quite accurately predictable and thus 'restricted' in Bernstein's sense, meaning in relationships must often be sought elsewhere. Early socialization in anticipating the needs of others through self-awareness, reciprocity in inter-personal relationships, and the experience of group identity, provides a firm basis for skill in this respect.

Summary: Some Structural Principles

It seems possible to summarize some of the important aspects of a child's early upbringing by drawing up a series of oppositions which emerge as important in the system of classification being presented. First of all, there is an opposition set up in the early years between the security and trust of the inside of the home and dangers and associated fears of the outside world. It is not a completely clear-cut distinction, since there may be dangers in the home, and the outside world is made safe as long as certain conditions are fulfilled, but the clustering of associations would seem to support the scheme:

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[14] Basil Bernstein, *Class Codes and Control*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1974.

Security (*Anshin*)   Danger (*Abunai*)
Trust (*Shinrai*)   Fear (*Shinpai*)
Inside (*Uchi*)   Outside (*Soto*)
Family (*Kazoku*)   Others (*Yoso no hito*)

It is especially apt when we realise that the Japanese term *uchi*
refers not only to the inside of the house, but also to the
people who belong to that group, so that if one goes outside with
members of that group the distinction is anyway somewhat blurred.
It is also with these people that one's relations of trust are
first established and one's fears allayed in a situation of
potential danger. However, there are other people, possibly
close relatives or neighbours at first, in whom children are
gradually also encouraged to place their trust, and the outside
world becomes more manageable as the child grows up a little and
begins to experience other 'inside' groups, such as the
neighbourhood and kindergarten.

The first simple set of oppositions widens out, then, to
incorporate a larger group of friends, relatives and potential
caretakers, and a larger number of principles comes into oper-
ation in interpersonal and collective behaviour with these people.
The principles first established in the neighbourhood seem to be
reinforced more formally in kindergartens and day nurseries, and
it seems possible to draw up another set of oppositions based on
the ideals of behaviour and their alternatives:

Cheerful Child (*Akarui*)   Cry Baby (*Nakimushi*)
Harmony (*Nakayoku*)   Quarrels (*Kenka*)
Having Fun (*Tanoshii*)   Strange (*Okashii*)
Like Others (*Juninnami*)   Peculiar (*Okashii*)
Compliance   Ridicule
Belonging   Left Out
Cooperation   Ostracism
Inside   Outside

The alternatives are discouraged at first, as the opposite of the
ideals, and the Japanese words given are used in these contexts;
but as one proceeds down the list, they become so unpleasant that
there becomes less and less need for discouragement and the
oppositions represent my interpretations of behaviour. In fact,
there is really no alternative at all. Ultimately it is not a
matter of co-operating with the group or being individualistic,
as Befu sees the Western view representing things,[15] it is rather
co-operation or being left out, being happy like every one else
or being laughed at, a choice between compliance and ostracism.
The only alternative to joining in at kindergarten is to stand
outside, either because one has not yet summoned up the self-

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[15] Op.cit.

control to participate, or because one has been sent there for
interrupting the harmony of the class. It is a matter of being
one of the group, or being nothing at all. In the end it is not
really a choice. It's the way of the world.

A parallel set of oppositions which is being developed is
that concerning the relationship between the self and the rest of
the world. Early training has gradually made it possible for the
individual child to define itself as a discrete identity, but it
also teaches it about the control it must exercise over the will
and behaviour of this being. Although the difference has
probably not yet been clearly articulated, it will eventually
learn that there is behaviour appropriate for the outside world
and behaviour appropriate for the various groups to which it
belongs. In fact, the self is becoming a complicated being with
a face and appropriate behaviour for each of the arenas in which
it operates.[16] Again, we seem to return to the important basic
distinction between the inside and the outside, this time that
of the individual being:

Self (*Jibun*)	Others (*Yoso no hito*)
Selfish (*Wagamama*)	Kind, Thoughtful
	(*Yasashii, Omoiyari*)
Own thoughts & feelings	Face shown to the world
(*Honne, Kokoro, Hara*)	(*Tatemae, Kao, Kuchi*)

In this case the inside and outside of the individual being is
distinguished, and as may be seen in the last line, there are
various Japanese words used to refer to the inside self as
opposed to the 'face' shown to the world. These are translated
in various ways, including 'private' and 'public ', 'informal'
and 'formal', and more literally for the second and third of each
set, 'heart' and 'face', 'belly' and 'mouth'.[17] The self is
distinguished, but it must be controlled in the various represen-
tations of itself required by the outside world. The mechanisms
governing inter-personal relations and collective activity
require selfishness to be suppressed and an appropriate face to
be presented.

This summary provides some elements of the system of
classification presented to small Japanese children by those
adults involved in their care, and reinforced by other children
around them. The oppositions presented here are embodied in the
language used to speak to small children, the ritual surrounding
their everyday life, and the structured activities of the first

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[16] Cf. Shumpei Kumon, 'Some Principles Governing the Thought and
Behaviour of Japanists (Contextualists)', *Journal of Japanese
Studies*, Vol. VIII no. 1 (1972), pp. 16-17.

[17] Takie Sugiyama Lebra, *Japanese Patterns of Behavior*, Honolulu:
University Press of Hawaii 1976, pp. 159-60.

educational establishments they attend. They seem to represent a Japanese view of the world which is thought appropriate to present to children, apparently varying little from family to family, or from school to school. It may be that amongst children themselves a different set of values is shared in the way that Hardman has described for English children. The set described here has been obtained mostly by observing adults and the way they interact with children, often taking advantage of the children's inclination to co-operate with one another, but nevertheless they are the values of the adults. I hope that this paper has illustrated that these child-rearing activities do provide legitimate and revealing material for social anthro- pological analysis, which make for a more complete understanding of one particular society.

JOY HENDRY

WOMEN IN THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE RYUKYU ISLANDS:
STRUCTURE AND STATUS

Introduction

The Ryukyu Islands, having for centuries enjoyed some kind of independence, are now part of Japan. Inspired by the work of Yanagita Kunio, Japanese folklorists have started to record some of the surviving traditions of the area, not only for their intrinsic interest, but also for the light these may throw on the culture of 'mainland' Japan. Works in Western languages are relatively few, and the area has been largely neglected by social anthropologists.

The Ryukyu archipelago includes more than seventy islands, of which the largest is Okinawa. They are scattered along an arc of about 700 miles lying east of China, between Kagoshima Prefecture (in southern Japan) and Taiwan. Korea, The Philippines and island groups of the Pacific are within reach by sea. Storms and coral reefs made sea travel hazardous until recently; despite this, Okinawa's position gives it great strategic significance. While this has opened the Ryukyus to a variety of cultural influences and useful trading contacts, it has also exposed them to less benevolent incursions.

Ryukyuans have long been aware of the vulnerability of their small islands to violent forces from both the natural and the human environment. The poverty and unpredictability of resources and a history of intervention from foreign powers has not only fostered a sense of the fragile and transient quality of life, but has also encouraged a conciliatory approach in external relations. The values of co-operation and mediation are respected in dealings between villagers, between Ryukyuans and foreigners, and between mortals and supernatural beings.

While Ryukyuan culture and social structure are closely

related to that of the rest of Japan, significant differences can
be seen in the development of religious traditions. In particu-
lar, women have long held a special position in the Ryukyus; they
traditionally have a dominant role in dealings with the super-
natural. Indeed, in many contexts concerned with the sacred
women are traditionally regarded as superior to men. This con-
trasts with the relationship commonly seen in neighbouring
regions of the Far East.

While the indigenous religion is by now obscured in large
part by successive overlays of ideas from overseas, certain
traditions have evidently been maintained from early centuries.
One such is the ritual pre-eminence of females, expressed in
their nearly exclusive hold of the traditional religious offices,
and in the belief in the spiritual ascendancy of the sister.

Today the ritual superiority of females is qualified or
restricted in its scope. Historical events have mainly brought
a dilution of the authority of women, and their power and freedom
in general has been eroded.

This paper is concerned with the religious and the secular
status of women in the Ryukyus, with reference to the structural
role played by women in that society. In particular, the focus
will be on the part women have been regarded as playing in the
broader structure encompassing both the mundane and the super-
natural worlds.

Religion and the Status of Women

There has been extensive cross-cultural research devoted to the
association between women and religion.[1] Ryukyuan material can
usefully contribute to this fund of information, and may be part-
icularly pertinent to two empirical observations noted in that
research concerning the status of women:

(i) Over much of Asia and Africa there is a high correlation
between religious localism and the status of women. The 'world
religions' usually value women as inferior on several counts,
and, as areas converted from local religions to world religions,
women tended to suffer from lowered status (where high status is
defined here as involving such factors as the possession of more
property, marital and inheritance rights, access to jobs and
education, more mobility and general freedom).

(ii) The way woman is conceptualised in terms of a society's
religion has an intimate association with her secular status.

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[1] See for example Janet Zollinger Giele and Audrey Chapman Smock
(eds.), *Women: Roles and Status Countries*, New York: John Wiley
1977; J. Hoch-Smith and A. Spring (eds.), *Women in Ritual and
Symbolic Roles*, New York and London: Plenum Press 1978; E. Bould-
ing, 'Women as Role Models in Industrializing Societies', in M.
Sussman and B. Cogswell (eds.), *Cross-National Family Research*,
Leiden: E.J. Brill 1972.

The favourable social status normally found alongside religious
parity is maintained even after that religion has lost much of
its relevance to everyday life in the changing society. Smock
writes, ' ... religious symbolism retains considerable potency
in shaping evaluations of women's nature even after these images
have otherwise ceased to embody compelling truths.'[2]

Today in the Ryukyus the official religions are supposed to
be Buddhism and Shinto, as is the case all over Japan. Yet, in
reality, it is common to find in the same village (perhaps in the
same individual!) beliefs and practices linked to both these
persuasions, along with those characteristic of the indigenous
religion. At the same time, one might see people consulting a
local shamaness or a Taoist fortune-teller. Christianity has
made few real inroads, but a blanket dismissal of all the various
beliefs as superstition would not be rare. This last might come
even from a man who keeps in his wallet a piece of cloth given
to him by his sister as a protection.

The Ryukyus offer to the observer the opportunity to examine
religion and the position of women both synchronically and dia-
chronically. A cursory survey indicates that, as the predominant
religion becomes less local, so the religious status of women
declines. This decline seems to be linked with progressively
less direct contact with the supernatural.

Closer examination shows this summary scheme to be over-
simplified, partly because of the interaction of different
religious styles. Not only is there great regional variation,
but also there is a significant element of ambiguity in the way
women are regarded (ambiguity is an element which commonly
emerges in studies of religion, of women, and of Japan). A
structure that is dynamic or tolerant of ambiguity may be more
suited to accommodate the status of women in Ryukyuan society
than one which has fixed terms, rigidly defined.

Mythological Beginnings

The origin myth of the Ryukyuan people illuminates the study of
Ryukyuan women, for the principal versions reveal structural
features which are echoed in traditional Ryukyuan society. The
myth, as set down in the Ryukyu Shinto-ki, is as follows:[3]

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[2] Giele and Smock, *op.cit.*, p. 388.

[3] The Ryukyu Shinto-ki ('Account of the Ways of the Gods in
Ryukyu') was written at the request of the Okinawan leaders by a
Japanese priest, Taichu Ryotei (see Shunzo Sakamaki, *Ryukyu: A
Bibliographical Guide to Okinawan Studies*, Honolulu: University
of Hawaii Press 1963, p. 23).

Two deities, brother and sister, built huts side by
side. After a while Amami-kyu, the woman, became
pregnant by her brother, Shineri-kyu. This took
place with the aid of a passing wind, not through
sexual intercourse. Three children were born. The
eldest, a son, became the first ruler; the second,
a girl, became the first priestess; the third, another
boy, became the first commoner. The establishment of
these first settlers was ensured by the bringing of fire
from the palace of the Dragon-god at the bottom of the
sea.[4]

The pairing of brother and sister in this story has some
aspects which are characteristically Ryukyuan. The original sib-
ling deities are equal in status, and enjoy an intimacy which
borders on incest.[5] The first two offspring are brother and
sister, each with high status and authority in the secular and
the sacred realms respectively. This type of sibling partnership
could be seen in the traditional Okinawan state, with a similar,
complementary sharing of temporal and spiritual authority
operating at all levels of society. At the head was the ruler
and the high priestess; under their authority came regional
governors and priestesses and their assistants at increasingly
local levels. At one time these positions were to be filled by
male and female siblings. Even at the level of the family unit
it was a man's sister who should deal with spiritual
matters, while he concerned himself with temporal welfare.[6]

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[4] Contact with the dragon-god (*ryugu*) is a theme found in myth
from many parts of Japan (**cf.** Cornelius Ouwehand, *Namazu-e and
Their Themes: An Interpretative Approach to Some Aspects of
Japanese Folk Religion*, Leiden : E.J. Brill 1964). Both the
dragon-god and the supernatural realm itself - often placed under
the sea or the earth - are viewed with ambivalence in the Ryukyus.
They are mysterious and feared, but also the source of good things.
There is a suggestion of a similar ambivalance attaching to
people regarded as having spiritual power.

[5] Masako V. Tanaka (*Kinship and Descent in an Okinawan Village*,
University of Rochester, New York: Ph.D. Thesis 1974) sees a
structural overlap of the brother-sister relationship and the
husband-wife relationship, as expressed in origin stories and in
Okinawan social structure. The Ryukyuans themselves will say of
a happy marriage: 'they are as happy as brother and sister'.

[6] The complementary division into spiritual and temporal welfare,
seen to by females and males respectively, is not supposed to be
clean-cut. Males do have a (small) part to play in ritual
affairs, and women have a very large part to play in household
economics. Without their labour, survival in the Ryukyus would
probably have been impossible.

According to this source, women had charge of the valuable hearth fire, as indeed they still do. This duty has both practical and spiritual significance, for associated with the hearth is a supernatural being (*fii nu kang*) of much importance in the traditional religion of the Ryukyus. That this fire was said to have come from below - or beyond - the sea is significant. It suggests contact between women and a supernatural source, whereby women could keep and use a powerful element for the good of their community. Furthermore, it may refer to the actual importation of cooking and other skills from overseas.

The origin myth suggests that the status of women may not be considered in the same terms as that of men. There appears to be a kind of structural imbalance, which can also be seen in other versions of the myth.[7] While there are two male offspring, a ruler and a commoner, only one girl is born, a sacred specialist. Tanaka (*op.cit.*) notes that this difference in rank is comparable to the structural non-equivalence of brothers that is found in Ryukyuan society (and expressed, for example, in matters of succession within a lineage). In contrast, there is no distinction made in the myth between women with spiritual authority and those without: the one daughter is a priestess, and there is no mention of a strictly secular female role.

Traditional Ryukyuan society echoes this structural asymmetry. While there was a lack of social mobility between commoner and noble classes, which were differentiated in temporal terms, every woman was regarded as having the potential to contact the supernatural realm, and as having sacred power to some degree. In other words, *all* women were religious specialists, and all had a part to play as mediators on behalf of particular males, and of the community as a whole.

Historical Background

In contrast with many of the regions studied by anthropologists, Japan as a whole has accessible a rich, recorded history. In the Ryukyus, historical developments have had direct and indirect effects on the religious role of females. When documentary records concerning the Ryukyus begin, there is ample evidence of a history of frequent and varied contact with overseas. Both Chinese and Japanese texts from early in the seventh century AD mention visits to populated islands that were probably the Ryukyus.[8] In the following centuries there was an increase in

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[7] A second version of the origin myth appears in the formal history of Okinawa prepared in 1650. A translated abstract can be found in Charles S. Leavenworth, *The Loochoo Islands*, Shanghai: North China Herald 1905.

[8] See Sakamaki, *op.cit.*

the frequency of these and other contacts, as trade came to con-
tribute more significantly to the Ryukyuan economy. This inter-
course centred on Okinawa, and its port, Naha, flourished. At
some time during this period (and certainly before the late
thirteenth century) Buddhism had been introduced into the Ryukyus.
However, while mainland Japan was strongly influenced by Sino-
Buddhist culture in the period AD 618-907, the Ryukyus received
their main Chinese influence in the thirteenth century, when
Confucianism was dominant. While these influences were mainly
felt in the capital and by the nobility, they were also to pene-
trate into rural communities. Both Buddism and Confucianism at
this time tended to denigrate the status of women. While this
factor may have actually inhibited the spread of Buddhism through
the Ryukyus, the foreign ideas were to affect the position of
women in local social and religious life.

In the early seventeenth century, the power of Japan was to
dominate, even to oppress. Okinawa's relationship with Japan
(that is, Japan north of the Ryukyus) has its beginnings in pre-
history, and continues through times documented more or less
reliably. An early, formal history of the Okinawan kingdom tells
of the birth of the heroic king, Shunten, in the twelfth century.
While the documentary source is itself clearly influenced by
political considerations,[9] the tale is relevant to the subject of
this paper.

Shunten was said to have been the son of a lady of the
Okinawan nobility and Tametomo, of the famous Minamoto clan.[10]
Tametomo deserted his wife and child in order to return to his
native Japan. The story is revealing for a number of reasons.
One is that it suggests the ambiguous quality of Ryukyuan contact
with outsiders: Tametomo brought benefits, but also sorrow.
Another feature of the account is that it puts a woman in the
role of mediator; Tametomo's abandoned wife is the link between
Okinawa and the outside world and the medium who bore a Ryukyuan
hero. The woman is important, but not for her own sake.

One of the rulers of Chuzan (the central kingdom of the
three into which Okinawa was at this time divided) to follow
Shunten was Hashi. He unified the whole island and saw it pros-
per until his death in 1439. The next two kings were not so
successful, but in 1469 the capable Sho En was installed, and
appointed his sister as chief priestess. On his death the queen,
Yosoidon (who had a reputation for strong-mindedness), wanted to
see her young son take over the throne. Instead, Sho En's
younger brother was made king. However, after about six months
the chief priestess - now Sho En's eldest daughter - received a

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[9] See George H. Kerr, *Okinawa: The History of an Island People*,
Rutland and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle 1958, p.46.

[10] There is actually no historical evidence that Tametomo ever
visited Okinawa, much less sired a child there.

'divine message' advising the new king to abdicate. This he did, in favour of Sho Shin, the son of Yosoidon and Sho En.

Sho Shin's reign was long and prosperous, and he consolidated central control over the Ryukyuan kingdom. Among the measures he took was the reorganisation of the traditional Ryukyuan priestess system. This action added to his political security, partly because it brought the influential priestesses under the supervision of the Shuri court, and partly because it disrupted the traditional sibling-based alliance of temporal with spiritual power.

The Ryukyuan priestesses were powerful at all levels of society; indeed, Sho Shin himself may have owed his position to the influence of such women. Hitherto, the rank and prestige of the chief priestess was equal, or even superior, to that of the king himself.[11] Now her residence was removed from the palace enclosure, and was itself enclosed by high walls. There, with female attendants, she was supposed to devote herself to ritual duties for the good of the country, conserving her energy and avoiding pollution. In effect, this new arrangement would have eroded the woman's real political power and freedom. Later, the rank of chief priestess was placed below that of the king's wife.

As indicated above, it was previously customary for men of authority at all levels to be paired with a spiritual specialist, normally a sister. Sho Shin abolished the position of *chimi*, the priestess who was paired with a territorial lord (*aji*), tightening his control on the local lords by this interference with their support.

At the village level priestesses (*nuru*) were also found, with much influence in their communities. A certain number of these were confirmed in their office by the chief priestess, with the authority of the Shuri court. The king, or one of his local administrators, now assumed the responsibility of appointing the *nuru*, but did not try to interfere with the election of ritual specialists at the household level. Other appointments were made at intermediary levels in the religious hierarchy, and the whole structure came to have a strongly political flavour, along with the formal organisation on a nationwide basis.

While it is far from clear what constituted ancient religion in the Ryukyus, clues are to be found in surviving practices and in the *omoro* (archaic songs, often with a religious content). From these sources, it is at least clear that women were seen as having the potential for great spiritual power, and that a man's sister was traditionally able to help him by her control or influence over some sort of supernatural force or forces. Any man in a position of leadership would have been particularly dependent on this supernatural assistance for the maintenance of his own physical and charismatic power. Nakahara conjectures that

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[11] See William P. Lebra, *Okinawan Religion: Belief, Ritual and Social Structure*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press 1966, p. 102. This work contains a full description of the material summarised in the following paragraphs.

originally these religious specialists (sisters) were shamans, who had undergone lengthy preparation for the task of controlling *shiji* (an impersonal supernatural power). With the formalisation of a national religion, within which such offices were subject to political or hereditary appointment, ' ... possessional shamanism gave way to a hierarchy of priestesses'.[12] This organisation itself came to be increasingly under the control of secular government, centralized in Shuri and composed of males.

Religious women were subject to a steady reduction in their status throughout the documented history of the Ryukyus, especially after the sixteenth century. They were devalued by the influences of Confucianism and Buddhism (both of which reached the islands through China and Japan, and which were felt most strongly in central Okinawa), and restrained by the secular intervention in their relationship with society. Women gradually lost their importance as mediators: as they became less likely to have shamanic characteristics, they could not contact supernatural forces so directly; at the same time, men were encouraged not to feel reliant on women in matters of authority. Ancestor worship, of such importance in both China and Japan, became organized around the patriline, and adopted features from Buddhist practice alongside indigenous traditions. A great complex of changes took place, affecting religious offices, rites, the treatment of birth, illness and death, places and modes of worship, etc. It all altered slowly, and most of the changes had implications for the status of women, previously so crucial to the structure of religious life in the Ryukyus.

The influence from Japan was not present simply because of geographical proximity. While the political arrangement between Okinawa and China remained undemanding, Japan had ambitions to consolidate the claims it had long been making on the Ryukyus. In 1609 a punitive force sent by the Shimazu family invaded Okinawa, which had little ability to resist. The following centuries saw a time of covert control by Japan, via Satsuma, during which time the Ryukyuan economy suffered and the rulership had but restricted power. In 1879 the Ryukyus were forcibly annexed as a Japanese prefecture. This condition still stands – to the satisfaction of most Ryukyuans today - apart from a period after World War II (until 1972) when the USA controlled the islands.

In the American battle for Okinawa, which inflicted heavy casualties on both sides, traditional settlements were seriously disrupted, and many of the religious office-holders were killed or left without successors. As the old religion fell into decline, so did the importance of women as religious specialists. However, most researchers still report a clear difference in the way women are regarded in the Ryukyus, as compared with mainland Japan. It does seem as though Smock's observation noted above

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[12] Ibid.

holds out in this case - that a long tradition of high religious status is still finding expression in the positive way females are regarded in the society today.

Religious Specialists

In the household, in the local community, and in the old Ryukyuan state, women have been the prime actors in dealings with the supernatural. To some extent, every woman can be considered a religious specialist, even though her religious performance may comprise little more than tending the household hearth, providing occasional ritual services for her brother, and participating in community festivals or ceremonies. To fulfil this role requires no special course of training, no elaborate paraphernalia, and no unusual personal qualities.

As the spiritual specialist in the sibling pair the sister traditionally has high status. Her status is measured in terms different from those of her brother, for it rests in part on her predominance in dealings with the sacred and her power to protect him from evil influences. For her part, a sister should be able to rely on her brother for protection in secular life. A sister is regarded as having the power to bless her brother (and also the power to curse him), while he is expected to help her economically, if necessary, even after she is married. Children at the beginning of this century were still being taught to behave nicely to their siblings for these reasons.[13]

The spiritual power of the sister is called *unai-gami* (or some variant of this Okinawan term). Belief in it is found throughout the Ryukyus, although it has practically disappeared in the Miyako islands. However, in the Yaeyama islands and some parts of Okinawa there are recent reports of the sister returning to her natal family to take an important part in certain agrarian rituals. In other areas, she only has ritual significance during critical times in her brother's life.

The *unai-gami* has a significance greater than that of benefactor for her brother. A woman may assume this role for more than one brother, or just one; whichever is the case, her structural role does not end here. The sister, as *unai-gami*, corresponds in a sense to the original female ancestor (see above for an account of the myth). While her brother, in the same way, corresponds to the male originator, and, by extension, to the male ancestors in the patriline, she corresponds structurally to the lineage sisters. Despite the fact that, for Okinawans, the more salient aspect of the original couple is that they are man

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[13] See Toichi Mabuchi, 'Spiritual Predominance of the Sister', in Allan H. Smith (ed.), *Ryukyuan Culture and Society*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press 1964.

and wife, it is evident that the pairing can reasonably be
regarded as expressing '... the complementarity of the male and
female roles in agnatic contexts, rather than the personification
of the real first ancestor and his wife'.[14]

Tanaka goes on to point out that women play a linking part
in the structure of Ryukyuan society; not only, in being both
wives and sisters simultaneously, do they join families within
the community, but they link brothers with ancestors within the
family. 'The *unai-gami* in this sense epitomizes the corporate
unity of the household, or of whatever group she is the *unai-gami*
of, because only through her do the members of the group have
access to the source of supernatural power'.[15]

While women in the family can provide access to supernatural
realms, as sisters and attendants to *fii nu kang*, the hearth-fire
deity, the expert specialist in this field is the shamaness, *yuta*.
Unlike the priestesses and the ritual specialists of the house-
hold, the shamaness works outside the context of any organisation
or formal group. She still holds a major place in the rural
communities of the Ryukyus, and is still consulted concerning the
causes and remedies of misfortune. Since everything is attri-
buted to supernatural causation, the shamaness has a crucial part
in village life, and is often considered central to the treatment
of ill-health (even since familiarity with modern medical
science). Most families consult the shamaness at least once a
year; Lebra found all social classes represented among her
clientele, usually by the females of the household.[16]

The shamaness is addressed respectfully by her clients, and
her role is well-established in Ryukyuan society; yet there is
some ambiguity in people's attitude towards her. Lebra suggests
that there may be some fear of her power, but also notes ' ...
an impression of Okinawan ambivalence toward power figures in
general'. The reference terminology itself may betray some am-
biguity in the status of the shamaness. While the most commonly
heard term is *yuta*, this has a derogatory connotation for the
shamaness herself, who resents this name, and prefers the more
general term *kaminchu (kami* person, someone with spiritual power),
which is also used to refer to priestesses.

Although the shamaness has a well-established place in
Ryukyuan society, there is ambiguity attached to her structural
position, as well as to her status. She is able to act not only
as a therapist, but as an agent of social control, for she is
intimate with local society and with the individuals there in.
Yet despite this centrality to community life, there are other

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[14] Tanaka, op. cit., p. 251.

[15] Ibid., p. 253.

[16] William P. Lebra, 'The Okinawan Shaman', in Smith, *Ryukyuan
Culture,* op. cit., pp. 93-8.

senses in which she is decidedly peripheral. Her very ability to make contact with supernatural forces or to take on marginal states of being set her apart from normal life. Furthermore, she may often have personal qualities at the present time or in her past that could be considered a deviation from the prevailing norms. Indeed, it is characteristic of the history of shamanesses that they undergo a period of extreme suffering, mental or physical, which is known as *taari*. This is regarded as a kind of supernatural insistence that the individual thus inflicted should take on the role of *kaminchu*, and only after this commitment has been made is there any chance of a cure. This traumatic period can be avoided if the individual is able to respond to earlier indications from the *kami* that she is destined for service as a *kaminchu*. To recover from the discomforts of *taari* it is necessary for the prospective shamaness to find her *chiji*, the particular *kami* who will enable her to carry out the demands of a shamaness's role.

Some shamanesses continue to suffer from ailments throughout their lives; Lebra found that the few male shamans he encountered were characterized by some sort of disability. Maretzki considered that shamanesses are typically disturbed personalities,[17] and Lebra's studies confirm that shamanesses frequently have a record of intra-familial relationships that is at odds with what is considered socially desirable. However, this observer also noted that shamanesses tend to be more articulate and more intelligent than average, and that it is inappropriate to consider deviant a class of people who are so prevalent and so much relied upon.

There is some interaction between shamanesses and the other major category of religious specialist in traditional Ryukyuan religion, the priestesses. A shamaness may be called upon to advise in the succession of a candidate to the office of priestess, or may have a role as intermediary between the priestess and the supernatural on certain ritual occasions.

In the most ancient Ryukyuan settlements there may have been a less clear distinction between the priestess and the shamaness. Ceremonies seem to have taken place which were directed towards the supernatural power supposed to frequent the sacred grove (*utaki*). During these, a woman called *kami* or *kimi* mediated between the supernatural and the mortal world. 'The *kami* was at the same time the priestess when she said prayers (*otakabe*) to the power on behalf of the *maki*, and the supernatural power itself when she revealed, often in trance, the divine will (*miseseru*).'[18]

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[17] Thomas W. Maretzki and Hatsumi Maretzki, *Taira: An Okinawan Village*, New York: John Wiley 1966.

[18] Tanaka, **op. cit.**, p. 32.

This woman was likened to the sister-deity of the origin
myth, and was ideally (and probably really) the sister of the
'big man' of the *maki* (the early village), providing him with
her spiritual protection, so vital to his effectiveness and
authority. This sibling pair would be of 'the house of the first
settler' of the *maki*, and probably constituted the earliest
niigami and *niitchu*. These titles are still preserved to refer
to the senior woman of a village's founding lineage and her
brother, respectively. The *niitchu* was in religious matters sub-
ordinate to female religious specialists, but in charge of the
male religious assistants.[19] 'The office of the *niigami* ...
should be transmitted from the eldest daughter of the same house
in the next generation'.[20] This ideal pattern was not always
adhered to; generations may have been skipped (since the office
was held for life), or an otherwise appropriate candidate may
have lacked sufficiently high ritual quality (*saa-daka*). This
quality should be notified by divine agency, which may express
itself through physical or mental disorder, or revelatory dreams,
and would normally be confirmed by a shamaness.

By the fourteenth century, with the increased differentiation
of the Ryukyuan society, there were many levels of male authority,
each paired with a (sibling) female religious specialist. The
unai-gami principle had been extended and adapted to the more
hierarchical structure of society, creating priestesses of vary-
ing ranks. The king was paired with the *chifijing ganashii mee*,
regional governors with *chikasa*, local hereditary lords with
chimi and the village head with *niigami*. Within individual
households, the head's role was complemented by that of a senior
woman of the family who controlled domestic ritual affairs. When
Sho Shin made his changes to the country's governmental and
religious organisation, he altered both the structure and the
status of the female priesthood. Not only did he restrict the
power of the higher-ranking priestesses, but he demoted the
niigami to the level of assistant of the *nuru kumui*, the official
village priestess. She was often from a family politically
favourable to the ruler, rarely from the founding house of the
village. The demotion of the *niigami* would have affected not
only her status and power, but also that of the dominant kin
group in the community.

Priestesses clearly played a significant part in religious
life before their office became an organised institution; they
were able to rely on their local communities for material support
before they were officially awarded lands and incomes to accom-
pany their post. Even as part of 'state religion' and with a
nation-wide organisation, the Ryukyuan priestesses remained an
integral part of their community, essential to its ritual life

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[19] Lebra, *Okinawan Religion*.

[20] Tanaka, **op. cit.**, p. 175.

above the level of the household. Many *nuru* continued to hold real influence into the present century: ' ... in the town of Itoman the principal of the primary school, not a native of the town, stated that measures which he suggested, and which met the opposition of the townspeople, were accepted at once if he could get the local *noro* [*nuru*] to sponsor them'.[21]

However, by 1944, when the last high priestess died, there were few *nuru* left. Although Sho Shin's articulation of religious with temporal authority had given some *nuru more* power at the time, it was then that the *nuru*'s position became *less* certain for the long term. Instead of men being dependent upon women's spiritual power, religious women at this time became increasingly dependent upon political men. The Japanese overlords tried to suppress all kinds of female religious operatives, even attempting (quite unsuccessfully) to outlaw the *yuta* in 1736. However, neither the *yuta* nor the *nuru* were easily suppressed; both the independent, peripheral shamanesses and the organised group of priestesses, so central to community ceremonial, continued to exert strong influence. 'Satsuma's conquest would find its last barrier in the conservative female religious hierarchy.... '[22]

Direct political action has only been part of the foreign influence on the status of women in Ryukyuan religious life; also powerful have been the imported religious and social philosophies. Neither Buddhism nor Confucianism, as it reached the Ryu yus, said much that was favourable to the status of women. In Japan itself, Chinese ideas had a detrimental effect on the status of women.[23] Influential treatises published in Japan over the last few centuries exhorted females to be self-effacing and servile, and generally excluded positive consideration of any female role that could not be related in a subordinate fashion to men. According to certain Buddhist sources, women were an impediment to spiritual progress.

It was due partly to this contrast of view that Buddhism was slow to become popular in the Ryukyus, where people were accustomed to females having the dominant role in spiritual matters. Indeed, although there were some subordinate ritual posts which were traditionally held by males, men had a minimal role in dealings with the supernatural, and their presence was considered polluting in the sacred groves and at certain rituals. Slowly, and with the patronage of the Okinawan court and Japanese overlords, Buddhist temples became established in the Ryukyus. There were some anomalies: Takanoya, in 1896, commented that no local

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[21] R.S. Spencer, 'The Noro or Priestesses of LooChoo', *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,* series 2, Vol.VIII (1960), pp. 94-112; at p. 109.

[22] Ibid., p. 108.

[23] Cf. Joyce Ackroyd, 'Women in Feudal Japan', *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol.VII (1959), pp. 31-68.

found it odd that Naze city had a female priest in its Buddhist temple, despite the fact that this arrangement was not found any-where else in Japan.[24]

The Buddhist religious officiants were normally male, and they often had low status in the traditional settlements.[25] Once the Japanese had firmly established themselves, however, the importance of Buddhism grew. Now most families have in their home a Buddhist altar devoted to their ancestors, and will often use the local Buddhist priest for funeral ceremonies, as in the rest of Japan.

Religious life in a typical Ryukyuan home today is an amalgam of indigenous beliefs with ideas or practices from Taoism, Buddhism and Confucianism. These contrasting approaches have brought with them an attitude to women that is fundamentally more negative to that previously held in the Ryukyus, and this can be seen in the detrimental effect on the status of women in general, and on the reduced dominance women have come to have in religious roles.

Concluding Discussion

In the structure of Ryukyuan society women have still an active place, a dynamic part to play; they are not defined solely by their relation to the society's male members. While the economic contribution of women in the Ryukyus has long been of great importance, this has not constituted the sole factor in maintain-ing their status, which is high in comparison with that of women in neighbouring societies. In accordance with Giele and Smock's cross-cultural observations cited above, in the Ryukyus high status in general for women has accompanied their pre-eminent role in religion, and has lasted even after that traditional religion began to decline in importance.

In both secular and sacred realms females are the traditional prime mediators. This feature may be central to the status of Ryukyuan women, a status which has remained high throughout periods of social change, yet which has its own ambiguities. These characteristics are possible because women do not have a unitary role in the society, and do not constitute the fixed points in structures which could be used to describe Ryukyuan society. Rather, the role of women here can include acting as religious specialist, economic provider, household representative, sister, wife and mother - obviously, this list is not exhaustive,

[24] Takanoya, translated in Douglas G. Haring, *Okinawan Customs, Yesterday and Today*, Rutland and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle 1969.

[25] Basil Hall, *Account of a Voyage of Discovery to the West Coast of Corea and The Great Loo-Choo Island*, London: John Murray 1818.

nor are its categories exclusive. Which role is most salient at any one time depends partly on the context, as determined by both immediate and long-term conditions.

A broad framework which can be used to discuss different levels of Ryukyuan society is a tripartite structure, where there is a middle term, which has a dynamic relationship to both the others. This mediatory term may not necessarily be a discrete category, but may also be included in one (or both) of the other two, albeit a peripheral inclusion.

Thus within village society, married women mediate between families; they connect their natal households with those into which they marry. The households themselves comprise female and male members, including the mediatory female herself. While she normally goes to live in her husband's home, she retains ties with her natal household, and there is some variation and confusion in the Ryukyus concerning which family she is part of from then on. These days she is usually buried and worshipped as an ancestor along with her husband. However, as Tanaka points out, 'The unity of husband and wife as it is expressed in the recent mortuary customs seems to be the result of the influence of the official Confucian philosophy, the objective of which was, among other things, to transform the Okinawan woman as a ritually superior, independent "sister" into an obedient "wife" in the patriarchal family.'[26] Despite such trends, women in the Ryukyus have managed to maintain a large degree of the influence and independence which accompanies this dual role in kin relations.

At a different level in the Ryukyuan universe women act as mediators, particularly if they are shamanic persons, but also if they hold some kind of ritual office, whether it be a state appointment or a domestic duty. Females are the traditional mediators with supernatural forces; they have this structural position, whatever the details of the structure as it is perceived by a particular observer (native or foreign).

During the course of history the details have changed in the structures representing the world as seen from the Ryukyus. Nevertheless, overall patterns have retained their validity, as have certain dominant themes in Ryukyuan culture. Co-operation is still an ideal which is valued, and the role of mediator still an important one. The more easily the traditional mediator can adapt to new circumstances, the more likely it is that she (or he) will survive with maintained status. As basic social institutions, such as the family and local community, undergo restructuring and revision of their needs, so the traditional priestesses of the Ryukyus have become increasingly dysfunctional. Lebra notes the contrasting response of the shamanesses: they

> ...lack any group or organizational affiliation, which
> permits them a greater degree of adaptability to change;
> and their function as therapists for many forms of mis-

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[26] Tanaka, **op. cit.**, p. 82.

fortune, which are still believed to derive from
supernatural causes, confers a sustained need for
their services. Their successful survival during
a period of extensive socio-cultural change does not,
however, obtain from mere affirmation of traditional
beliefs and values but from their ability to interpret
and reformulate these in such a way as to make sense in
terms of the contemporary cultural milieu.[27]

Although a complete discussion of Giele and Smock's con-
clusions would be inappropriate at this juncture, the Ryukyuan
material does prompt brief comment upon the association of relig-
ious parity (or better) with sustained high status in secular
matters. First, it is clear that the spiritual ascendancy of
females - particularly sisters - was recognized as having sign-
ificant implications for the secular life of the community. For
the males who considered themselves dependent upon women's in-
fluence on supernatural factors, it was worthwhile to allow
women relatively high status.

Secondly, once established, high status can be a self-
perpetuating condition, within certain limits. An individual,
or a category of individuals, if she has power and influence,
can create or work to maintain the social climate most favourable
to herself. This advantage, however, is not a guarantee of
success in a system open to intervention from outside. While
the traditional priestesses did much to preserve the indigenous
religion of the Ryukyus, this task became increasingly difficult
in the face of unsympathetic foreign influences at all levels of
society. Shamanesses seem to have been more successful, for they
loosened the tie between their status and the old religion,
adapting their skills to a role that could be more easily vali-
dated in secular terms, or at least in a religious terminology
acceptable to a wider range of traditions.

Thirdly, it is evident that the general status of women *can*
suffer from adverse influences, even when they still maintain a
central role in community religion. This may result in a status
that is ambiguous, or context-dependent, or that can no longer be
simply described (since women may have retained certain powers,
while losing others normally found in association with them). It
is possible, however, that some echo of former high status may
facilitate the resumption of high status at a later date, even
where that later status is dependent upon a different set of
factors. This possibility has been proposed by writers among the
Japanese feminist movement, who draw attention to scholarly
support for the notion that women in ancient Japan held consid-
erable power, largely associated with their religious signific-
ance.[28]

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[27] Lebra, 'The Okinawan Shaman', p. 98.

[28] See for example Yoshiko Wada, 'Woman and Her Power in the
Japanese Emperor System', *Feminist (Japan)*, Vol.I no.4 (1978),
pp. 15-17.

Turning now to the correlation between religious localism and the status of women, the situation in the Ryukyus does appear to support this generalization. Once Buddhism had a hold on the islands, the position of women became less favourable, compared to that at the time when the local religion was dominant. This was due not simply to the negative attitude expressed towards women in the terms of the imported religion, but also to the combination of cultural factors that infiltrated the islands around this time.

Not least of these would have been the increased use of the Japanese language, especially for official and educational purposes. This put native women at a disadvantage, since they retained the habitual use of Ryukyuan for much longer than men, and are still more likely to use it than men. Ryukyuan, which is closely related to Japanese, was the language of the domestic arena and of the indigenous religion, both the domain of women. When the Japanese took over the Ryukyus at the end of the nineteenth century the local language and its dialects came to assume low status, as well as becoming less useful for secular achievement.

Considering the specifically religious aspect of religious localism there is the decreasing involvement of women in mediating with the supernatural, as the organisational base of the religion becomes less local. We may only speculate on the position of women in early Ryukyuan settlements, for which there are indications that the roles of sister, of priestess and of shamaness would commonly coincide in a woman of relatively high status. With the institutionalisation of a state religion, sacred affairs took on a less 'local' character; the organised religious officiants were less able to respond directly to the needs of their immediate communities, and were not regarded as having such direct supernatural access or control as were more shamanic figures. With the rise of Buddhist practice, women took on a distinctly subsidiary part in making contact with the sacred.

This progression can be traced in the Ryukyus, not only through time, but through the regional variation found at any one time. In a typical rural community, a family is likely to use the services of a Buddhist priest, to consult the local shamaness, and to join in festivals, of which the ritual is conducted by a traditional priestess. The prevailing systems of education and employment favour males, yet the Ryukyuan woman is likely to be making a contribution to the household economy equal to, or greater than, that of her husband. Japanese values still tend to reinforce the earlier Chinese principle of male superiority, yet ' ... there are numerous indications in daily life that women command a comparatively high degree of respect and power'.[29]

Women may have initially assumed high status as the mediators between the world of the living, so vulnerable to misfortune,

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[29] Naretzki and Naretzki, **op.cit.**, p. 53.

and the supernatural realms beyond. With the cultural erosion of
their spiritual powers women saw their status suffer. However,
in the structural microcosm of the local community women still
play a mediatory role; as sisters and wives, they link families
in a network of co-operation. In the social environment, rest-
ricted by its physical boundaries, it is still the Ryukyuan woman
who epitomizes the continuity of the community through space and
time.

ROSAMUND BELL

IS THE 'IE' DISAPPEARING IN RURAL JAPAN?

Although the *ie*, household, is widely acknowledged as the basic
unit in Japanese society, not many studies have been done with
regard to the actual process of its transformation in the face of
rapid economic change in the country. Through an analysis of
detailed ethnographic materials drawn from one particular village
in central Japan the present paper hopes to provide some concrete
empirical basis for the discussion of this question, as well as
for that of the relation between economic development and social
change in general.

Hanasaku is a mountain village located about 800 metres
above sea level at the northeastern end of Gunma prefecture.
During the pre-Second World War period, the economy of the vill-
age was based mainly on a half-yearly farming of staple food
crops such as barley and soybeans, with sericulture as a major
supplementary source of cash income. Charcoal burning and timber-
ing were also pursued during the agriculturally slack seasons.
As in many other Japanese villages agriculture in Hanasaku has
undergone several significant changes since the Second World War,
especially the reduction of total population engaged in the in-
dustry.[1] At the same time, the postwar decline in the demand for
charcoal as a fuel, as well as for nationally produced timber and

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[1] According to Tadashi Fukutake (*Japanese Society Today*, Tokyo:
University of Tokyo Press 1981, p. 50), the population engaged
full-time in agriculture has dropped from 18 million in 1950 to
about 13.9 million in 1960, and again to 5.3 million in 1980.

dry field crops had a serious impact on the economy of mountain villages like Hanasaku.[2] As a consequence, many villages under similar circumstances, especially in the northeastern part of the country, have lost a substantial portion of their population to the urban industrial sector through migration; and by the mid-1960s, the *kasomondai*, the Japanese term for the problems of rural under-population, had already become one of the important issues of rural sociology in Japan.[3]

   Events in Hanasaku have followed a somewhat different path from what has happened in other mountain villages, however. During the early 1960s, a ski resort was opened on the village territory, and the ski resort together with the subsequently developed shops and country inns (*minshuku*) have provided the people with alternative winter-time occupations. After nearly twenty years these developments seem finally to have curbed the constant outflow of the village population, which had decreased from 1,160 to 881 between 1960 and 1975, since when it has shown a slight increase. The number of households, on the other hand, has increased from 205 to 214 during this period.[4] It seems to me that these statistics closely reflect the ways by which the traditional household organisation, the *ie*, adapts itself to the

[2] The proportion of national supply of grain crops decreased from 53% in 1955 to only about one per cent in 1970 (Toshishaku Sugano, 'Sanson Keizai Shakai no Kaitei to Saihensei no Ruikei' [The Patterns of Integration and Disintegration of the Economy and Society of Mountain Villages], *Sonraku Shakai Kenkyū*, Vol. XII (1976), pp. 1-66; at p. 17).

[3] See Akira Kawamoto, 'Kenkarison no Shakai Kōzō - Shimane Ken - Sanson no Jirei' [Household Migration and Village Structure: A Case Study of a Mountain Village in Shimane Prefecture], *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū*, Vol.XXXIX no.1 (1967); Sadako Nakayasu, 'Kenkarison' [Household Migration], *Nihon Nōgyō Nenpo*, Vol.XIV, Tokyo: Ochanomizu Shobo 1965; Nōrinshonōseikyuoku, *Kaso chiiki jittai chōsha* [Reports on the Conditions of Under-Populated Areas], Tokyo 1967; Yoshiro Kunimoto, 'Deserted Mountain Villages of Western Japan', *Japan Quarterly*, Vol.XX no.1 (1973), pp. 87-96; Tadashi Fukutake, op.cit., pp. 18-22. Although it has been more serious in some remoter areas, the phenomenon of rural-urban exodus has been noted for the country as a whole, and Smith reports that the ratio of rural to urban population has almost reversed between 1950 and 1975 from 62:38 to 30:70 (Robert J. Smith, *Kurusu: The Price of Progress in a Japanese Village, 1951-1975*, Folkestone: Dawson 1978, p. 67).

[4] For a detailed analysis of population changes in Hanasaku, see Ok-pyo Moon Kim, *Economic Development and Social Change in a Japanese Village*, University of Oxford D.Phil. thesis 1984, chapter 1.

changing economic situation in Hanasaku. To examine this process
is the focus of this study.

Household Succession as Affected by Economic Change: A Compari-
son between Agricultural and minshuku *Households*

In the past most households in the village used to function as
corporate productive units. Farming of the family estate used
to be carried out jointly by the household members under the
supervision of the household head. The average holding of farm-
land per household is about three to four acres in this village.
The intensive cultivation of this area and the two-yearly cropp-
ings of silk worms used to require the labour of the whole house-
hold. The pattern was similar for another household enterprise,
charcoal burning, which was pursued by most families in Hanasaku
until some time after the Second World War. For the construction
of the family kiln, for instance, all the members of the house-
hold including women and children used to work together, and
although the charcoal itself was produced by the male members
alone, the women co-operated by making the sacks. The way by
which people distributed the trees for charcoal-making also in-
dicates the indivisible character of the household as an economic
unit. As in many other parts of Japan the residents of this
village used jointly to purchase a part of the state-owned mount-
ain forest each year for charcoal-making. Once trees were
purchased in the name of the village, however, their division
was always done on the basis of the number of households in the
village and never by the number of individuals who were able to
pursue the occupation. Depending on the developmental stage of
each household, therefore, some may have had no male members to
do the job, while others may have had two or three. In such
cases, the former usually resold their own share to the latter
at a higher price.
    The postwar decline of the charcoal industry has already
been mentioned. Agriculture has suffered a similar decline. The
spread of new technology, including farm machinery, chemical
fertilizers, insecticides, herbicides and so forth, has been such
that the agricultural population has been greatly reduced. Nowa-
days, most households in Hanasaku have only one or two members
working on the land, and most of these are women. For certain
tasks such as rice-transplanting or harvest the husbands, most of
whom now work in one of the wage-earning occupations, sometimes
co-operate with their wives, but younger members of the household
rarely participate in farm work. These changes in the pattern of
household economy have had some consequences for succession
practices.
    As has been amply documented by ethnographers on Japan the
ie is based on a one-child inheritance system, and the commonest
form of household composition in Hanasaku is what one may term a
'stem family', namely a family containing two or more married

couples in successive generations with one married couple in each
generation. Succession to the household mainly consists of
succession to the office of the household head, who assumes the
role of manager of the household property and its enterprise, and
has responsibility for the ancestor ritual as well as for the
aged parents. Although it became necessary in Meiji law to
register the property as legally belonging to the household head
as an individual,[5] in practice the property is still conceived of
as belonging to the household as a whole, and the household
succession also involves the transmission of a large part of its
property as well.

Although there are slight regional variations, in general
two sets of preferences are observed in the selection of the
successor within the household: male rather than female, and
older rather than younger. In short, the eldest son is the pre-
ferred choice.[6] As Bachnik has recently pointed out, however,[7]
in the selection of the successor, the emphasis is always placed
on the continuity of the household as a corporate group rather
than the continuity of any particular individual within the group.
This raises difficulties for the labelling of succession practi-
ces in Japanese households by means of conventional anthropolo-

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[5] Fujisaki Isono, 'The Family and Women in Japan', *The Sociolog-
ical Review* [University of Keele], Vol.XII no.1 (1964), pp. 39-54,
at pp. 40-41; Ronald P. Dore, *City Life in Japan*, London: Rout-
ledge & Kegan Paul 1958, p. 101.

[6] It is generally agreed that this practice of male primogeniture
became widely prevalent only after the promulgation of the Meiji
Civil Code in which the rule of inheritance was supposedly mod-
elled after the dominant custom among samurai families. Until
the effects of that civil code became pervasive, however, other
types of succession were also practised in certain parts of
Japan, such as succession by the youngest child or by the first-
born regardless of its gender (cf. A. Takeda, 'Anekatoku to
Yoshisei' [Elder Sister Inheritance and Adoption], *Minkan Denshō*,
Vol.XV no.3 (1951), pp. 12-16; Seichi Izumi and Nobuhiro Nagashima,
'Katoku Sozoku kara mita Nihon no Higashi to Nishi' [East and West
Japan from the Viewpoint of Succession System], *Kokubungaku Kai-
shaku to Kanshō*, Vol.XXVIII no.5 (1963), pp. 121-6; Kanji Naito,
'Inheritance Practices on a Catholic Island: Youngest Son Inheri-
tance', *Social Compass*, Vol.XVII (1970), pp. 21-36; Michio Suenari,
'First Child Inheritance in Japan', *Ethnology*, Vol.XI (1972), pp.
122-6; Takashi Maeda, *Summary of* Ane Katoku [Elder Sister Inher-
itance], Osaka: Kansai University Press 1976.

[7] Jane M. Bachnik, 'Recruitment Strategies for Household
Succession: Rethinking Japanese Household Organisation', *Man* (n.
s.), Vol.XVIII (1983), pp. 160-182; at p. 164.

gical terminology, such as 'patrilineal', 'matrilineal' or 'bil-
ateral', all of which refer to individual continuity rather than
corporate continuity. The generally preferred strategy based on
male/female and older/younger hierarchies can always be reversed
for the greater benefit of the household group. If the eldest
son is physically or mentally incompetent, or if he is considered
incompatible with the group for various reasons, a younger son
may be chosen as the successor, even when the eldest son wants to
remain in the household. Similarly, a daughter or, in theory, a
completely unrelated person may also be chosen as the successor.
In fact, only about half the present heads of households in
Hanasaku are the eldest sons of the previous heads; the rest are
either branch households or households succeeded by a junior son,
a daughter or an adopted child.[8]

The succession practices in Japanese households thus allow
large scope for flexibility to accommodate a changing situation.
Since, theoretically, any of the children may succeed to the
household, migration of the young to cities may take place with
relatively less disruptive effects on the continuity of their
households in the village.[9] On the other hand, it may also be
stated that the recent increase in economic opportunities other
than agriculture has reduced the number of potential successors.
In the past, when land was the major means of production,
succession to the existing household also meant access to liveli-
hood. In that situation, therefore, one may assume that the
parents were in a better position in choosing a successor than
nowadays, when few young people are interested in farming as an
occupation. Moreover, even when a child is secured as the
successor to the household, the second problem is to recruit his
or her spouse to reproduce the household. As already indicated,
the recent pattern requires women to work on land while their
husbands may be employed elsewhere. Many of the farm households
are therefore having considerable difficulties in finding a

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[8] According to Chie Nakane ('Ie no kōzo' [Household Structure],
in *Ie: Tokyo Daigaku Kōkaikozo 11* [Household: Open Lecture Series
no.11] Tokyo: Tokyo University Press 1980, p. 16, the authority
of the household head was greater in wealthier families.
Reports also indicate that a choice other than the eldest son was
much more frequent for big merchant and warrior households dur-
ing the Tokugawa period. (Takashi Nakano, *Shōka Dōzokudan no
Kenkyū* [A Study of Merchant Dozoku Groups], Tokyo: Miraisha 1964;
Toshimi Takeuchi, 'Yoshi' [Adoption], *Nihon Shakai Minzoku Jiten,*
Vol.IV (1954), pp. 1533-41; Ray A. Moore, 'Adoption and Samurai
Mobility in Tokugawa Japan', *Journal of Asian Studies,* Vol.XXIX
no.3 (1970), pp. 617-632).

[9] See also Irene B. Tauber, 'Family, Migration and Industrializa-
tion in Japan', *American Sociological Review,* Vol.XVI no.2 (1951),
pp. 149-157; Ezra F. Vogel, 'Kinship Structure, Migration to the
City and Modernization', in R.P. Dore (ed.), *Aspects of Social
Change in Modern Japan,* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton Univer-
sity Press 1967.

daughter-in-law for their successors. One of the consequences is that successors to farm households tend to marry late. To find a man willing to be adopted into the household as husband of the succeeding daughter is similarly difficult. As a married-in member the status of the adopted husband within the household is relatively low. Even in the past, therefore, it was not considered a desirable course for a man. Hence the proverb, 'If you have three measures of rice bran, don't go as an adopted husband' (*Kome nuka sango areba, yōshi ni wa ikunazo*). When other economic opportunities were limited, however, many of the second or third sons had to marry into another household for their livelihood. Moreover, although some young people in Hanasaku work as wage labourers in the ski grounds, in the construction fields or in one of a few local shops and factories, none of these jobs has been stable or prestigious enough to attract young people. As a result, young people who do not want to work on the farm and are not interested in the other occupations available tend to leave the village. Many villages in similar circumstances have either become commuter villages, if they are close to urban centres, or in remoter areas have become underpopulated.

After the advent of tourism in Hanasaku one of the ways adopted by the people in the village to keep the young at home and thus to ensure the continuity of the household has been to start a *minshuku*. *Minshuku* is a blanket term for all the kinds of inn and small hotel developed in the countryside for the lodging and entertainment of tourists. The word apparently came into common usage in the early 1960s with the growth of what is known as *rejabumu*, the Japanese transcription of 'leisure boom'. The literal meaning of *minshuku*, 'staying with the people', seems to have attracted many city-dwellers, especially young people, with its rather romantic idea of learning about country life and mixing with the local people. As the volume of tourism within the country rapidly increased with the general improvement of the country's economic conditions in the early 1960s,[10] many *minshuku* villages appeared in the Japanese countryside. Usually, *minshuku* villages appear in an area where there are already some natural tourist attractions such as well-known mountains, lakes or hot-springs, and so forth. Some more recent ones, however, seem to start *minshuku* first as a means of earning supplementary cash income, and to develop tourist attractions later. The bulletin of the national association for country-inn operators includes some rather bizarre but ingenious inventions such as hot milk baths, perfume baths or herb saunas, and so on. Others concentrate more on local specialities such as special mushroom cooking, mountain vegetable dishes or seafood dishes at the seaside, etc. Another way of attracting the attention of city people is to build sports

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[10] For a statistical survey of national and international tourism of the Japanese, see Tokuhisa Tamao, 'Tourism Within, From and To Japan', *International Social Science Journal*, Vol.XXXII, (1980), pp. 128-150.

facilities. Spiritual as well as physical discipline is often
strongly emphasized in Japan, and sports seem to provide an
effective means toward this end. During the summer, therefore,
many young people are encouraged to stay together and to have
training for one kind of sport or another. Such an activity is
commonly known as *gasshuku*, literally meaning 'staying together',
and *gasshuku* teams of young people in large numbers have been one
of the major attractions for *minshuku* villages.

Minshuku in Hanasaku began to appear immediately after the
opening of the Olympia ski resort, so called to signify that it
was opened in 1964, the year of the Tokyo Olympics. As the tour-
ists gradually outnumbered the lodging capacity of the Olympia
hotel attached to the resort, the owning company and the local
branch of the association for commerce and industry encouraged
the local people to open *minshuku*, and there are now about sixty
minshuku altogether in the village. As the business developed
the inn operators began to build many sport facilities to attract
tourists even during the non-skiing seasons, especially during
the summer when the weather remains comparatively cool in this
area. There are now in the village two gymnasia, one owned by
the Olympia company and the other by the village, sports grounds
equipped with electric lights for night games, and numerous
tennis courts. Many *minshuku* in the village now own individual
tennis courts for their own guests. In addition to the Olympia,
two more ski resorts have been opened near the village on the
state-owned mountain slopes, and many people from Hanasaku also
work there during the winter.

Unlike farm households *minshuku* households have largely main-
tained the character of the traditional household as an economic
unit, due to the nature of their business. Most *minshuku* house-
holds in Hanasaku carry on farming as a supplementary occupation
to varying degrees. Within the household, therefore, there is a
certain degree of division of labour in carrying out the two
'combined-household' enterprises. In a three-generation house-
hold, for instance, the older couple tends to concentrate on
farming while the younger couple is mainly in charge of the inn
business. The division of labour, however, is not always clear-
cut, since there are always tasks to which any member of the
household can contribute when required. Such tasks as cleaning
up the guest rooms, preparing the beds, washing-up in the kitchen,
setting the table, cooking, receiving or fetching guests in a car
can be done by any of the members. The inn business, therefore,
provides far more occasions for the co-operation of household
members than does farming. Even children of school age who al-
most never participate in farm work usually contribute labour to
minshuku work. Unlike kin employed from outside the household,
the members of the household are not paid separate wages, since,
as the people put it, they are carrying out 'the work of the
house' (*uchi no shigoto*), which is for the household as a whole
and not for any particular member of the group.

Since the general decline of agriculture after the Second
World War a new pattern of economic diversification has emerged

in Hanasaku, and there are now few households in the village
which rely solely on farming for livelihood. In the case of the
households which combine farming and other relatively unstable
wage-earning jobs, however, the continuity is clearly threatened.
On the other hand, by providing their successors not only with
land and a house but also with an occupation more attractive than
farming, the *minshuku* households are in a much better position to
secure a successor than the farm households. Similarly, it can
be stated that the ideology of household continuity has played a
significant role in determining the pattern of the changing
village economy, especially that of the emergence of numerous
small-scale country-inns as household enterprises.

Changes in the Internal Status Structure of the Household

A certain change in the status structure of the traditional
household is, however, noticeable. In the past, when all the
members of the household were engaged in the same economic acti-·
vities, whether farming, silk-worm raising or charcoal-burning,
skills and knowledge largely obtained through experience had al-
ways been transmitted from parents to children, from the previous
head of the household to the successor. Nowadays, most of the
young people have had city experience of varying periods and so
accumulated a different kind of knowledge from that of their
parents, most of whom have never left the village. Some of the
inheriting children of *minshuku* households have had training as
professional chefs, while others may have had brief experience
working in a hotel in the city. Even without such specific
qualifications, the simple fact of youth and urban experience
makes the young better suited to the newly-developed tourist in-
dustry. Most young people have high school education nowadays
and they usually speak standard Japanese. Hanasaku has a fairly
strong dialect whose vocabulary differs substantially from stan-
dard Japanese. People of the village, therefore, find it difficult
to deal with tourists from Tokyo and surrounding urban areas.
Most tourists are young, and the young hotel-workers understand
them better.

   Within the household, therefore, there has been a diffusion
of authority. In many of the *minshuku* in Hanasaku the actual
head of the household is not always the boss or *oyakata* of the
work of the *minshuku*. Even when the parents are still mainly in
charge of the business with regard to its major financial tran-
sactions, the actual dealings with the guests are often delegated
to the younger members of the household. In general, it seems
that the opinions of the young are much more respected than before
in the running of the household enterprise.

   Changes in status structure are even more striking in farm-
ing households in the village. Since most men are not fully en-
gaged in farming they are no longer the chief decision-makers
within the household either. In many farm households it is the

wives, the actual farmers, who decide which crop to cultivate,
what area is to be given to each crop, and so forth. It is also
these wives who most frequently represent the households in ham-
let meetings concerning agricultural matters. Moreover, it is
mostly the women who order and purchase fertilizers, seeds, and
silk-worm eggs, as well as household goods through the agricul-
tural cooperative. During the harvest all the farm households in
each hamlet take turns in recording each day's delivery of crops,
another task mostly carried out by women.

Most of all, however, it is knowledge of the new agricultural
machinery that enhances women's status within the household in
general. To drive the powered cultivator, for instance, one
needs a licence, which must be obtained by taking a written and
practical examination in a nearby town and which has to be re-
newed every two years. Most farm household women in the village
now have this licence. In addition, most of them are able to
manipulate the powered huller, the thresher or the rice mill.
Such knowledge is something unknown to the previous generation.
In the traditional Japanese household the male head is often re-
ferred to as the 'principal pillar' or *daikoku bashira* of the
house. Commenting on the increased responsibilities of women and
their recent importance in the household, therefore, old people
often remark that the *yome*, the daughter-in-law of the house, is
as much a *daikoku bashira* as the household head nowadays.

The diversification of farm household economy has also
affected the traditional authority of the household head over his
successor. In the past the household head was the manager of the
household property, the supervisor of the household work-group,
and the keeper of the family purse. When land was the only mean-
ingful source of livelihood the authority of the household head
was often economically reinforced, especially in his relationship
with the potential successor, since the former could always resort
to the threat of disinheritance whenever disagreements occurred
between the two. As more people have become involved in wage-
earning or salaried occupations, however, the economic basis of
this authority has also inevitably been undermined. It is in
the light of these changes that starting an inn becomes a signi-
ficant advantage for the parents in consolidating the household
unit. Unlike farm households, where successors now inherit
merely the household headship, duties for parents and ancestors,
and community obligations, successors to *minshuku* households also
inherit the business. Although the latter sometimes involves a
certain amount of debt as well, it nevertheless seems to be more
appealing to the young, both male and female.

Continuity in Some of the Socio-Religious Functions of the House-hold

I have so far argued that the new economic opportunities created
by the advent of tourism in Hanasaku have been incorporated into

village society in a way that helps perpetuate household organisation in its traditional form, and that the ideology concerning the continuity of the household unit has played a significant role in shaping the newly-developed tourist industry in the village. Certain aspects of the people's religious life also support this argument.

The traditional importance of the household in village life is reflected in the numerous rituals centering around the houses and household members. Each house in Hanasaku, for instance, has a tutelary deity of its own known as *yashiki-inari*. This is a small wooden or stone statue contained in a miniature house, usually found at one corner of the back garden. The deity belongs to the house itself and is believed to protect its contents and inmates. In addition to the *yashiki-inari* of the main building there are a number of minor deities for each of the smaller buildings usually found in a farmhouse compound (barn, godown, warehouse, etc.). Most of the farm households in Hanasaku also have their own gods of the fields and water sources somewhere in the mountains. Although no specific rites are performed in relation to any of these gods, except for the daily offering of rice to the *yashiki-inari*, all are annually recognized at the New Year by the offering of a pine branch decorated with some auspicious objects such as dried cuttlefish, sardines and mandarin oranges. The purpose of these ritual decorations is said to be to purify these places for the coming year and the offering is often preceded by a general cleaning of the house.

Apart from the purificatory New Year decorations of pine branches, the month of January, the least busy month for agriculture, used to be the month devoted to numerous ritual activities centering around the household group. Many rituals such as the 'first fetching of water' rite or the New Year's ceremonial call around the hamlet by household heads, have now disappeared. Similarly, as a consequence of economic diversification and of the changes in the people's work-cycle, some of the rites which are specifically related to certain agricultural enterprises such as silk-worm raising or rice-transplanting are no longer observed either. What is significant in the present context, however, is the recent increase in the volume of rituals by which people can express the relative social status of their households within the community. These rites include the *yakudoshi* feasts and the ancestor memorial services.

The rite of *yakudoshi* is a rite performed for those who in that year reach the ages which are regarded as especially vulnerable and inauspicious. The custom is widespread in Japan, but the actual years which are considered unlucky vary from area to area. In Hanasaku, these unlucky years or *yakudoshi* are the 19th and 33rd year for a woman and the 25th and 42nd year for a man. These years are considered 'dangerous' because they are the times when people undergo mental and physical changes. To exorcise or drive out possible attack by an evil spirit, therefore, a purification rite is performed by a joint burning of the New Year decorations. Around the 13th of January, for instance, people

take down the decorations, remove the food items and leave them
on their doorsteps. The branches are then collected by those who
have advanced to unlucky ages in that year, and on the 14th, the
members of their households make a bonfire with these branches.
During the display, to which all the other hamlet members are in-
vited, the mandarin oranges are distributed and the dried cuttle-
fish are grilled on the fire and shared among those present. The
explanation given is that the burning of pine branches is to
'purify' (*yaku o harau*), and the sharing of food is to share the
'spiritual danger' (*yaku*) which has fallen on one member of the
household.

Later in the evening, after the bonfire, the families of
the *yakudoshi* people again hold a big feast at their own houses
for relatives and neighbours. The idea of 'sharing the spiritual
danger' is still prevalent. The occasion, however, also provides
an opportunity for social recognition of the respective standing
of each household within the community, especially when those who
fall in the unlucky years are men, household heads or the would-
be successors of the households. When, for instance, it is a
daughter or a daughter-in-law who has reached one of the unlucky
ages, those who are invited to the household feast include in
most cases only the members of one's immediate neighbourhood
group, and relatives who live within the same hamlet. For suc-
ceeding sons and household heads, on the other hand, their guests
include the members of all the associations to which the *yakudoshi*
person belongs, those of his work-place, those of his age-group,
as well as neighbours, relatives and members of the extended
household. Relatives living in other hamlets are also supposed
to visit. The larger the number of visitors the better, since
all the visitors are believed to share the spiritual danger of
the person concerned. Since there are usually a number of
yakudoshi people every year people usually make a round of visits
during the course of the night, or else different members of the
household are sent to different households according to the sex
and age of the *yakudoshi* person concerned.

As already indicated, the *yakudoshi* feasts have greatly in-
creased in scale in recent years. Even in one of the six hamlets
in Hanasaku where the largest number of country inns has grown up,
and where the purificatory bonfire ceremony was dropped a few
years ago owing to poor attendance - January being the busiest
skiing season - the *yakudoshi* feasts prosper more than ever be-
fore. Another example of a household ritual which has increased
in recent years is the ancestor memorial service. In theory,
memorial services for ancestors are supposed to be held on the
1st, 3rd, 7th, 13th, 17th, 23rd, 27th, 33rd and finally the 50th
calendar year after the death of a person. In former times, how-
ever, these services could only be held by the most well-to-do
families in this village, and even then only for a limited number
of years. They have become much more ubiquitous nowadays, and
these household feasts are sometimes used for a political end.
For instance, anyone who is interested in local political office
often holds as many household feasts as possible to invite neigh-

bours and relatives. While giving out money to the voters is
illegal, these activities are considered acceptable. On the
whole, with the general improvement in living standards, these
household rituals seem to have provided many with a means by
which they can translate their newly-gained economic prosperity
into social influence, and thus enhance their relative status
within the community.

In this connection, one may note a similar tendency in new
house buildings and new gravestones. In the past people appar-
ently erected a small gravestone for each of the dead members of
the household. Nowadays they often erect a huge gravestone in
the name of the household as a whole. At grave sites, therefore,
one often finds nowadays huge gravestones with an engraving of
the 'House of such-and-such', with a smaller flat stone standing
beside it, on which the names of a number of the recently deceas-
ed household members are engraved. By its size and shape most
people in the village can tell immediately approximately how much
such a stone has cost. Like house buildings, therefore, these
stones clearly express the relative prosperity of each household.
Another relevant example may be the posthumous Buddhist names
presented to the dead members of the household. The rank of
posthumous names differs with the kind of Chinese characters used
(e.g., *tokuingo, ingo, kengo,* etc.) as well as depending on the
number of characters. The rank of one's posthumous name is
supposedly determined by one's deeds and achievements during one's
lifetime. In reality, however, it more often reflects the
worldly success or failure of one's descendants, and for this
reason, posthumous names have provided another opportunity by
which people could express their relative status.

Conclusion

In their attempt to explain the relationship between economic
development and social change, those advocating what is commonly
known as 'the modernization approach' assume that one can describe
the general features of 'traditional' and 'modern' societies and
treat development as the transformation of the one type into the
other.[11] The change from a traditional to a modern society is
conceptualized as entailing the eventual modification or elimin-

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[11] Cf. W.E. Moore, *Social Change*, Englewood Cliffs: Princeton-
Hall 1963, p. 89.

ation of 'traditional' pattern variables.[12] The data analysed in this article seriously challenge this generalized view of the unilineal transformation of societies. As already indicated, many aspects of postwar economic change in Hanasaku match the elements which are believed to affect social transformation: the mechanization of cultivation techniques, the introduction of cash crops, greater involvement in wage-earning activities, and increased individual mobility. Not only has the wealth in the village greatly increased, but its economy has also considerably diversified over the past twenty-five years, as more people have become involved in small businesses, shops, construction work and the like, with the resultant increase in cash income and general prosperity in the village. These changes in the economic sphere, however, have not brought about concomitant changes in social organization and in the household unit in particular.

As we have seen, the development of a tourist industry in Hanasaku has provided those of its residents who are faced with a potential crisis in household continuity with a positive adaptive strategy with which they can manipulate the changing economic situation to their advantage. The household still remains the basic unit of social, political and religious life in Hanasaku, and as I have discussed elsewhere,[13] its relative stability accounts for many of the persistent features in the village.

OK-PYO MOON KIM

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[12] See also B.F. Hoselitz, *Sociological Factors in Economic Development,* Chicago: Free Press 1960; S.N. Eisenstadt, *Modernization: Protest and Change*, New Jersey: Englewood Cliffs 1966; S.N. Eisenstadt, 'Social Change and Development', in E.N. Eisenstadt (ed)., *Readings in Social Evolution and Development*, Oxford and London: Pergamon Press 1970; George Dalton (ed.), *Economic Development and Social Change: The Modernization of Village Communities,* New York: Natural History Press 1971; John W. Bennett, 'Japanese Economic Growth: Background for Social Change', in R.P. Dore (ed.), *Aspects of Social Life in Modern Japan*, op.cit.

[13] Kim, op.cit.

JAPANESE STUDIES IN OXFORD

Until comparatively recently, the history of Japanese studies in Oxford can best be described in terms of the contributions made by two personalities. The first of these was John Harington Gubbins (1852-1929), who spent nearly thirty years in a variety of import-ant diplomatic posts in Japan, and after his retirement in 1909 was appointed Lecturer in Japanese and Fellow of Balliol College, positions which he held for three years until 1912. Gubbins pub-lished a number of important works, including *Dictionary of Chinese-Japanese Words in the Japanese Language* (3 Vols.), *The Civil Code of Japan, with Introduction on Japanese Family System* (2 Vols.), and *Progress of Japan, 1853-1871*. He belonged to that tradition of diplomat-scholar which left its mark in Oxford at the heyday of the British Empire before the First World War.

There were few universities in the Western world that encouraged the serious study of things Japanese until after the Second World War - with lamentable consequences for Western capacity to construct an effective policy towards Japan before, during and immediately after the Pacific War - and Oxford was no exception, despite the

pioneering contribution made by Gubbins. Forty-three years were to
elapse before another Fellow in Japanese studies was to be appointed
at an Oxford college. Though it seems strange from the perspective
of 1984, it should be remembered that as recently as the outbreak of
that war in 1941, even in the United States the Government had only
a tiny handful of academic Japan-specialists upon whom it could call
for advice. Indeed, the idea that Japan should be the object of
interest of a small number of antiquarian 'Orientalists' is perhaps
not entirely dead even today, and it is noteworthy that the Inaugu-
ral Lecture of J.A.A. Stockwin, the first Nissan Professor of Modern
Japanese Studies in the University of Oxford, specifically drew
attention to this legacy of an earlier phase in our intellectual
history - in which one may include the newer, disparaging notion
that Japan's modern culture is largely derivative. At any rate, he
felt it appropriate to argue cogently 'Why Japan Matters' and in
fact to deliver his Lecture under that title (published at the
Oxford University Press in 1983). In a sense Stockwin's observa-
tions decisively mark the end of this earlier phase - it scarcely
seems necessary, nowadays, to feel obliged to state the case for
Japanese studies (quite apart, in other words, from Japan's evi-
dent economic vitality and influence in recent years). Yet it is
useful to be reminded of the dates, and to take note of the speed
with which the study of Japan has acquired a new legitimacy in its
own terms and, particularly in Oxford, a powerful new base of
institutional support for a take-off into future self-sustained
growth. We have certainly moved a long way in the forty-three
years since 1941.

It seems clear that it is to the second of the two personal-
ities that a good part of the impetus towards the proper establish-
ment of Japanese studies in Oxford can be attributed. In 1955
Richard Storry was appointed to a Fellowship at St Antony's Coll-
ege; author of *The Double Patriots*, a study of Japanese ultra-
nationalist Army politics in the 1930s, and also the extremely
widely read book *A History of Modern Japan*, he cut a well-respected
figure, both in Oxford and Japan, including the circle of the
Imperial court. Most appropriately but perhaps belatedly, the
University honoured him with a personal professorship in his last
year before retirement, and only two years before his untimely
death in 1982. It was in 1960, during the period spanned by
Storry's activities in Oxford (supported, it should be said, by
the work of the late Geoffrey Hudson, who was appointed Fellow of
St Antony's in 1959), that the Japanese language came to be intro-
duced into undergraduate teaching in the university (as part of the
B.A. course in Chinese). The rest followed rapidly. St Antony's
College offered Fellowships to the two Lecturers in Japanese studies
subsequently appointed to the University - Dr Brian Powell, a
specialist in modern Japanese drama, and Dr James McMullen, a
specialist in Tokugawa intellectual history. And it was from St
Antony's that the Oxford initiative was launched to approach the
Nissan Motor Company for a substantial benefaction - which came
about in 1979, when the University received £1½ million for the
establishment of the Nissan Institute of Japanese Studies under
the direct control of the University. Close links with St Antony's

have been maintained: the building chosen for the Institute had
housed the College's Far East Centre for some years, and academic
staff members of the Institute have been offered Fellowships by the
College and thus membership of its Governing Body. As if to com-
plete the circle, the first Nissan Professor and Director of the
Nissan Institute was recruited from the same university with which
Storry had for a time been associated, the A.N.U. In a certain
sense Arthur Stockwin, who took up his post only a few weeks before
Storry's death, is indeed his successor, but Japanese studies in
Oxford are now, under his leadership, being developed in quite new
directions.

   One of the principal aims of the Nissan Institute is to en-
courage the study of Japan as a mainstream subject of scholarship
and instruction, rather than to let it be categorised as a peri-
pheral, exotic ('Orientalist'?) area of interest accessible only
on the premise of its inherent 'uniqueness'. Hence, for example,
the effort has been made to introduce the comparative study of Jap-
anese economics, history, politics and government into the relevant
B.A. and M.Phil. courses at the University, whilst the Institute
itself hosts a regular inter-disciplinary seminar and provides
supervision for students working on research degrees not only in
Oriental studies. There are, in fact, four Faculties of the Univ-
ersity (as well as St Antony's College) that are represented on the
Inter-Faculty Committee for Japanese Studies, which is the body
that formally administers the Nissan Institute. These are the
Faculties of Modern History (which, curiously, is alone responsible
for appointing the Nissan Professor in Modern Japanese Studies),
Oriental Studies, Social Studies, and Anthropology and Geography.
The Institute's academic staff fairly reflects this spread of
interests: in addition to the Nissan Professor, who is a specialist
in contemporary Japanese politics, the academic staff comprises two
Lecturers - Dr Ann Waswo, who teaches modern Japanese history, and
Ms Jenny Corbett, an economist whose lectureship is in the 'Economic
and Social Development of Contemporary Japan' - and an Instructor,
Mrs Chihoko Moran, whose job it is to teach the Japanese language
to students of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, as well as a non-
intensive course in Japanese to any members of the University inter-
ested in acquiring a knowledge of the language. In addition, the
Institute invites a Visiting Fellow each year from Japan - and these
have been drawn from a variety of academic disciplines. Whilst
anthropologists are not yet specifically catered for with the pre-
sent staff complement - despite an evident growing interest in Japan
amongst postgraduate students of anthropology in Oxford - the Insti-
tute invited an anthropologist, Professor Teigo Yoshida, to fill the
position of Nissan Visiting Fellow for the session 1983-4; and in a
kind and energetic manner Professor Stockwin placed the facilities
of the Institute at the disposal of the anthropologists who gathered
in Oxford in March 1984 for an international Conference on the
Social Anthropology of Japan.[1] It is hoped that this subject will

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[1] This Conference, the first of its kind, led to the formation of

gain further institutional support in Oxford - it is currently
being mooted to provide for a Nissan Junior Research Fellow in the
social or cultural anthropology of Japan, tenable at St Antony's
College.

Oxford's resources in Japanese studies are not, however, lim-
ited to those funded directly by the Nissan benefaction. Dr Powell
and Dr McMullen are responsible, along with Mrs Moran, for nearly
all the teaching of the courses for the B.A. in Japanese in the
Faculty of Oriental Studies. Courses on the history of Japanese
painting and applied arts are offered by Dr O.R. Impey, Assistant
Keeper in the Department of Eastern Art of the Ashmolean Museum;
in addition to its holdings of Japanese lacquer ware, paintings and
prints, one can find in the Museum an exceptionally good collection
of Japanese export porcelain (descriptions of some of which can be
consulted in O.R. Impey and M. Tregear, *Oriental Lacquer*, published
by the Museum in 1983; and in the Museum's Catalogue of the Memorial
Exhibition [1981], *Eastern Ceramics and Other Works of Art from the
Collection of Gerald Reitlinger*). A number of other scholars have
a strong comparative interest in Japan from the standpoint of a
particular discipline, for instance Professor Jean Gottmann in
Geography, and Dr Andrea Boltho in Economics. The anthropology of
Japan is well covered by Dr Joy Hendry, who has an extensive field-
work experience of the country; she studied at the Institute of
Social Anthropology in Oxford and now teaches the subject at Oxford
Polytechnic. Dr Hendry was responsible for organising the Confer-
ence on the Social Anthropology of Japan referred to above. Finally,
it should be noted that the Pitt Rivers Museum (the Ethnology and
Prehistory collections of the University) has extensive Japanese
collections. Particularly notable are *netsuke*, *Nō* masks, charms,
arms and armour, and a variety of Ainu ethnographic material; the
archive collections include about 700 photographs of Japanese
interest dating from 1864 onwards.[2]

Of some 46 universities in this country only four teach Jap-
anese studies in any serious way, though a few others teach some
aspect of Japan as part of comparative programmes in particular
disciplines. The Nissan benefaction to Oxford clearly constitutes
the major recent development of the field, both in terms of resources
and the consequent readjustment of emphasis towards modern social

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JAWS (Japan Anthropology Workshop; Hon. Sec., Dr Joy Hendry, Dept.
Social Studies, Oxford Polytechnic, Oxford OX3 OBP). It is hoped
that *JASO* will publish the collected conference papers in 1985.

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[2] On the importance of the Pitt Rivers Museum photographic coll-
ections generally, see the contribution by Elizabeth Edwards in
B.A.L. Cranstone and Steven Seidenberg (eds.), *The General's
Gift: A Celebration of the Pitt Rivers Museum Centenary, 1884-
1984*, Oxford: JASO 1984 (JASO Occasional Papers, no. 3), pp.
26-35.

science studies. Arrangements at the three other universities
(Cambridge, S.O.A.S. and Sheffield) vary considerably, though an
interest in developing social studies of modern Japan seems charac-
teristic of these centres also. Collaborative enterprises are well
advanced, notably the Japan Library Group (to pool information and
resources with respect to library holdings of teaching and research
materials), supported financially by the Japan Foundation Endowment
Committee, which also assists in arranging study trips to Japan;
and as a further move in the pooling of resources, from 1984 under-
graduates studying Japanese in Oxford will spend their first year
of language training in Sheffield at its Centre of Japanese Studies.
But perhaps the most significant feature characterising the current
state of Japanese studies is its growth generally: recently under-
graduate options (in Japanese language, modern history or society)
have been established in various departments at eight or nine univ-
ersities, and this year a new degree course has been introduced at
the University of Essex; in addition, there are recognised interests
in Japanese studies at two polytechnics in the U.K., at Oxford
(where Dr Joy Hendry teaches a course on Contemporary Japanese
Society) and Huddersfield. There is, correspondingly, a marked
rise in the level of graduate research interest in Japan - though
the total number of university posts, at the four main centres,
with primary responsibility for Japanese studies, is less than
thirty.
        In a context such as this, there is probably little
occasion for surprise that British social anthropologists have been
turning to the study of Japan in recent years. The difficulties
are clear (some of which are reported by Roger Goodman elsewhere
in this issue). On the one hand, Japan is a highly industrialised,
even post-industrial complex society exhibiting the characteristics
studied by anthropologists concerned with other such societies,
yet on the other hand there remains a persistent and adaptive in-
digenous tradition of social organisation. Institutions which seem
similar to those elsewhere (indeed often on which they may even have
been modelled) may therefore actually operate in quite different
ways. In other words, Japanese economic success and modernisation
has not necessarily entailed massive structural change so often
presumed to be the case elsewhere, but at the same time it has been
found possible to break out of the restrictiveness of a tradition
that could have inhibited that process of modernisation. One notes
the large number of long-term face-to-face groups which lend them-
selves well to traditional anthropological analysis, involving such
matters as diffuse social sanctions and informal processes of
decision-making. Hence, for instance, the work of macro-social
scientists, who study Japan in a typically global framework, needs
to be complemented by an understanding of the non-verbal communi-
cation which is retained among members of such groups. Research
carried out in rural Japan, in particular, has identified aspects
of social relations and notions of cosmology which are directly
comparable with those of technologically much simpler societies.
It may even be the case that the use of such examples as illustra-
tions in teaching social anthropology can help to break down the
primitive/civilised dichotomy which some students of the subject

still seem to find hard to relinquish.

The anthropological research theses on Japan that have been completed in Oxford at the Institute of Social Anthropology over the last ten years amply testify to a preoccupation with these themes: Rosamund Bell, *Women and Religion in the Ryukyu Islands: Mediation and Peripherality* (M.Litt.1984); Joy Hendry, *Changing Attitudes to Marriage in Japan* (D.Phil. 1979); Ok-pyo Moon Kim, *Outcaste Relations in Four Japanese Villages: A Comparative Study* (M.Litt. 1980), and her *Economic Development and Social Change in a Japanese Village* (D.Phil. 1984); and Mary J. Picone, *Rites and Symbols of Death in Japan* (submitted for a D.Phil., but not yet examined at the time of writing).[3]

It is hard, finally, to resist the observation that in the last resort the success of Japanese studies in Oxford is due in no small measure to the quality of Oxford libraries. There are four libraries concerned with the subject. Two of these are research, non-lending libraries: the Bodleian and the Eastern Art library in the Ashmolean. The other two (in fact under a single administration) are working, lending libraries: at the Oriental Institute, which by arrangement concentrates its Japanese holdings on works before 1850, and the library of the Nissan Institute, which complements the latter by specialising in works after 1850 (particularly in the English language, except for certain reference books and source-materials in Japanese). However, the most important holding of Japanese material in Oxford is to be found in the Bodleian, Oxford's largest library, on which a separate note, by a member of the Library's staff, is appended below.

JONATHAN WEBBER

Bodleian Japanese Holdings

The Bodleian Library currently possesses almost 40,000 volumes in Japanese. The collection is particularly strong in the fields of religion, history and Sinology. Of some note are the holdings of works relating to local history amounting to about 2000 volumes, which provide a rich source of information on folklore, folk religion and local customs. The Department of Oriental Books has recently undertaken to provide materials in support of researches

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[3] Anthropological theses on Japan completed at other universities during the last ten years include the following: Eyal Ben-Ari, *Community Action and Community Care in Present-Day Japan* (Cambridge Ph.D. 1984); Kazuo Francesco Inumaru, *The Japanese Business Community in Milan* (Cambridge M.Litt.1978); David C. Lewis, *An Anthropological Comparison of Tokugawa Japan to 'Feudal' Outer Mongolia, With Regard to Some Pre-Conditions for Urbanisation* (Manchester M.A. 1980); and Brian Dermot Moeran, *Social Aspects of Folk Craft Production, Marketing and Aesthetics in a Japanese Pottery Community* (London S.O.A.S. Ph.D. 1980).

into the modern period undertaken at the Nissan Institute of Japanese studies and has begun to build up a significant collection of works in the fields of modern history, politics, economics, anthropology and sociology.

Historically, the links between the Library and Japan were not particularly close. However, the Bodleian does possess certain significant treasures. The log book of Captain Will Adams, known to the Japanese as Miura Anjin (*Ms. Savile 48*) contains records of four voyages made by Adams between 1614 and 1619, to Siam, Cochin China and Japan. A number of examples of the output of the Jesuit Mission Press, operating in Japan at the beginning of the seventeenth century, are also held.

In 1881, the Japanese Buddhist scholar Bunyu Nanjō visited Oxford and published a catalogue of Japanese books purchased from Alexander Wylie and donated by Max Müller. Following this, 328 volumes of Buddhist literature were presented to the Library by Sir Ernest Satow (1843-1929), British Minister in Peking and Tokyo.

Important early printed histories of Japan are also to be found in the Library - works such as Siebold's *Nippon* and Englebert Kaempfer's *History of Japan*. As one of Britain's copyright libraries, any book relating to Japan published in Great Britain or the Republic of Ireland is automatically received. The appearance of relevent texts in Western languages published outside these territories is carefully monitored, and as far as resources permit, works of academic value are acquired by purchase.

A.D.S. ROBERTS

IS THERE AN I IN ANTHROPOLOGY?
THOUGHTS ON STARTING FIELDWORK IN JAPAN

In the spring of 1983 I gave a paper to a small group of post-
graduates from the Oxford Institute of Social Anthropology. The
source of the paper lay in a nagging doubt I had felt for some
time about the general nature of anthropological reportage, and
in particular about my experience while undertaking research for
my undergraduate dissertation on a Western Buddhist Community of
which my own brother was a senior member. For several reasons,
which I detailed in the paper, I felt that I had not been totally
honest in the final account of my dissertation and that my dis-
honesty (undertaken with the purest of motives) had seriously
affected the conclusions which I had presented. This lingering
guilt had been compounded into a more general doubt by often
hearing anthropologists tell stories about their own fieldwork
experience which are conspicuously absent in their monographs.
I could not help but feel that the personal accounts of mistakes,
disasters, loves and hates that occur during fieldwork have a
vital bearing on any thesis. Why, therefore, I wondered, is the
anthropologist so often invisible in his own work and why does he
try so hard to subordinate his individuality to his role as an
anthropologist? Surely an anthropological account without a
background history is like a newspaper story without a context,
except that experience has taught us what to expect from the
Daily Telegraph or the *Daily Mirror*.
    The British philosopher J.W.N. Watkins once wrote that:

    One method is to take the reader into your confidence
    by explaining to him how you arrived at your discovery:
    the other is to bully him into accepting a conclusion
    by parading a series of propositions which he must

accept and which lead to it.[1]

It would, of course, be an unfair exaggeration to suggest that this is a subject about which anthropologists have not thought. In 1971, David Pocock pointed out that:

> The observations of the sociologist, no less than the myths of the primitive he studies, are determined by his own society, by his own class, by his own intellectual environment.[2]

From this point he goes on to discuss what he calls the 'Tripartite Dialogue' which exists between the researcher, the subject and the academic community. Unfortunately, he does not expand extensively on this point, but it is interesting that he should talk of the 'sociologist', since it is generally to the work of sociologists that we need to turn for further enlightenment, as a short, if somewhat jargonistic, piece by Paul Willis demonstrates. Referring to what he calls 'the self-reflexive technique and the analytic moment', Willis argues that the researcher must

> ... analyse the intersection of his own social paradigms with those of the people he wishes to understand. Such an intersection, of course, speaks as much to the researcher and his world as it does of any other world .... Usually thought of as unavoidable costs, the 'problems' of fieldwork can be more imaginatively thought of as the result of a fine intersection of two subjective meaning constructions. The points of contact have profound significance for the understanding of fundamental differences between social worlds .... This is the real validity of the method: these destructive moments provide the mapping points for another's reality. It is in this complex moment that we can speak of empathy.[3]

Following Willis, therefore, I proposed in my paper that the anthropologist in the course of his fieldwork should not only recognise that he is an individual but exploit the fact. Anthropological fieldwork should start from the acceptance that (1) *the anthropologist is an individual*, with personal prejudices, blindnesses and presuppositions; that (2) he *intrudes* forcibly,

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[1] ' Confession is Good for Ideas', *The Listener*, Vol.LXIX (April 1983), pp. 667-9; at p. 668.

[2] *Social Anthropology*, London: Sheen & Ward 1971, p. 84.

[3] *Profane Culture*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1978, p. 197.

rarely subtly into (3) *another group of individuals* (regardless
of the fact that he is more interested in their social and not
their individual aspect) with their own biases and beliefs; and
that he is (4) *interacting with every individual* that he meets on
an individual basis, person-to-person as well as on a cross-
cultural level. Each of these points should be described as
fully and as explicitly as possible in the final narrative so
that the readers of the thesis (be they academic or not) can
judge for themselves the results and conclusions of the author
against the background from which he came to those findings. The
anthropologist should not present himself as a mere data-collect-
ing and analysing machine but as an aware and sensitive human
being; moreover, rather than that this approach should be seen
as 'unscientific', on the contrary the more the anthropologist
is subjectively aware, the more he might, in effect, be called
'scientific'. Perhaps the best example that we already have of
such an approach in anthropology is Lévi-Strauss's *Tristes Trop-
iques*, which allows us to follow the path of his spiritual and
intellectual growth and, as one reviewer has said, 'to get to
know and be delighted by one of the scholarly minds of our time'.[4]
That Lévi-Strauss can recognise the source of his own ideas and
is able to express them on paper may be the true measure of his
genius.

It was with such thoughts in my mind that I decided that it
would be useful to write a paper just at the start of my field-
work, in the hope that my final thesis can be seen not as a post-
rationalisation or reconstruction of that position but as a grad-
ual process towards understanding. Of course, I am aware of some
of the limitations of such an attempt for, as the sociologist
John Lofland has rather cynically put it,

> What goes into 'how the study was done' are typically
> the second worst things that happened. ...what person
> with an eye to the future ... is going to relate any-
> thing about himself that is professionally discrediting
> in any important way?[5]

Nevertheless, I think it worthwhile to try and present as clear
a picture as possible of where my research stands at the moment,
and of how I hope to see it progress over the next two years.

Immediately after gaining a degree in anthropology and soc-
iology from Durham University, I came to Japan in 1981 on a
scheme run by the Japanese Ministry of Education for young British
graduates to teach English in Japanese universities, colleges,

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[4] Quoted on the flyleaf of the 1973 edition published by Jonathan
Cape.

[5] *Analysing Social Settings: A Guide to Qualitative Observation
and Analysis*, Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth 1971, p. 132.

schools and companies. I was assigned to Ube, a city of 170,000
inhabitants in Yamaguchi Prefecture at the extreme south-eastern
point of the main island of Japan (Honshu); the mention of the
place often elicits the response from more sophisticated Japanese,
'honto ni inaka inaka' ('that really is the Styx'). Since I was
one of the first publicly employed teachers in the prefecture,
my arrival met with considerable media interest and people were
certainly as curious about me as I was about them. For one year,
I taught in nine different Junior High Schools (for children aged
between twelve and fifteen), but was based for three days a week
in just one school of 700 students where, unusually for a
foreigner, I was treated as a full-time teacher with access to
information and was expected to attend meetings. I had decided
to stay a second year in Ube, when I was given the chance to
start research at Oxford and decided to return to England instead.
Nevertheless, despite innumerable frustrations and problems with
the language, the experience of just one year in a remote part of
rural Japan teaching in a variety of schools proved to be an in-
valuable background to the present research.

I spent eighteen months in Oxford, much of the time being
taken up with intensive language work, especially reading. Most
important, though, was to discover an appropriate research topic.
For several reasons which had come out of the year I had already
spent in Japan I had already decided that I wanted an area of
study which involved extensive cross-cultural contact. First, I
had become very wary of the idea that it is possible somehow to
'pick up' a language during fieldwork, and I wanted to work in
an area where less than perfect Japanese (my experience was al-
ready sufficient for me to know that mine, at least, could never
approach perfection in the time available) would not mitigate
seriously against my understanding of what it was that I was
studying. In a sense this is a greater problem for anthropolo-
gists of Japan than of many other places, since Japan has such a
long history of literacy, demanding a high level of ability in
reading the Chinese characters (*kanji*) which the Japanese import-
ed as a writing system. Secondly, I felt - largely influenced by
Victor Turner - that it was by looking at what happens at the
edges of a society, where the definitions of cultural boundaries
are most threatened, that one can learn the most about what is
at the heart of the culture itself. Thirdly, I was aware of the
current intense Japanese concern with the concept of *kokusaika*
(internationalism), a concept which they seem to conceive of in
a way vastly different from the way it is conceived of in the
West. As Japan has been increasingly brought into the inter-
national arena through its economic activities over the past few
years, it seemed that to understand the Japanese notion of inter-
nationalism could be of extreme relevance in the modern world.

With these criteria in mind, I toyed with the idea first of
examining the role of foreign Mormon missionaries in Japan (be-
cause of their large number and extensive network into even the
remotest corners of the country), and then the role of the Jews
in Japan (as the only foreign business community to have had

long-term post-war success), before Dr Waswo of the Nissan
Institute in Oxford finally pointed me towards the idea of study-
ing Japanese children returning from overseas and the problems
they have in re-entering Japanese society. Looking through my
file of twelve months' newspaper cuttings, I discovered several
editorials specifically on the subject of the *kikoku shijo*, as
returnee children are called in Japanese, and I realised that I
had been put onto something both tangible and relevant. Every
year around 9,000 Japanese children return after receiving some
or all of their education overseas, and for many of them it is a
considerable shock to enter, or re-enter, Japanese society. They
are said to face both institutional and psychological problems:
institutional, because social status in Japan is so heavily de-
pendent on educational achievement, which in turn is largely
measured by the ability to accumulate vast numbers of facts over
a set period of time, so that anybody missing out on even a rel-
atively small portion of such an education is heavily penalised
as a result; psychological, because the returnees' way of think-
ing may be too individualistic for the group-oriented society to
which they return. Recognition that a real problem exists has
meant that, since the mid-1970s (when the Japanese expansion
overseas began most dramatically) the number of full-time Japanese
schools overseas (*nihonjingakko*) has risen to around 120, the
number of supplementary schools (*hoshuko*) to about 50 and the
number of schools which receive grants from the Japanese Ministry
of Education specifically to help the readjustment of children
returning to Japan from overseas (*ukeireko*) to about 90.[6] To
undertake a phenomenology or ethnography of how the tension
between internationalism (*kokusaika*) and integration into Japanese
society (*kokunaika*) is perceived and tackled, while helping
children readjust in just one of these *ukeireko*, is one of the
major foci of my fieldwork in Japan.

Having decided upon a fieldwork area, I then spent several
weeks making an intensive examination of as many types of insti-
tutions as possible in Britain where Japanese currently receive
education. This was to try and gain some idea of the range of
educational experience gained by overseas Japanese, and I dis-
covered that in Britain this spectrum extended from a nursery
school in North London to a two-year finishing school in Win-
chester for forty girls aged twenty, and included full-time and
part-time Japanese schools, day schools and boarding schools,
state schools and private schools, international schools and
American schools and, of course, language schools which are at-
tended by more than 4,000 Japanese each year in Britain.[7] The

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[6] Tetsuya Kobayashi, *Kaigai Shijo Kyoiku: Kikoku Shijo Kyoiku*
[Overseas Children's Education: Returnees' Education], Tokyo:
Yuhikaku 1981, ch.1.

[7] M. Houser, 'The Winchester College Connection', *Japan Educa-
tional Journal* [London], no.16 (1983), pp. 9-10.

type of education received by Japanese, in Britain at least, depends very greatly on their age, sex, where they live, the parents' idea of the correct balance between internationalism and Japanese-ness and, quite simply, financial resources: the result was far from homogeneous.

My final aim, during my time in Oxford, was to try and gain some idea of the essence of Japanese culture as portrayed in the literature, and it is to the effect that this 'background reading' has had on my research methodology that I wish to devote the rest of this article. What struck me most, as I spent several months reading and making notes, was that the more I read about Japanese culture the less coherent my picture of it became. Or, perhaps, the more I read, the more it seemed to contradict my previous reading and personal experience. In a sense, of course, this is purely the nature of anthropological research, since it is people that are the focus of study and people are not always predictable in their actions. However, while many writers have been extremely aware of the apparent contradictions inherent in Japanese culture - what Ruth Benedict called the 'warp and woof of books on Japan'[8] - few seem to have asked how, or even if, the Japanese actually live with such contradictions in their everyday existence. A second phenomenon, not unconnected with the foregoing, of which I also became aware during this reading period was the way individuals, upon discovering my research area, would be quite happy to lecture me on Japanese society, even though they might have the minimum personal or literary experience of Japan. Moreover their accounts were extremely coherent, whereas I found it extremely difficult to construct even the smallest generalisation about Japan without being able to think of any number of exceptions. I like to think of this as the 'Plastic Pearl Phenomenon' after the title I was offered for a book on Japan ('for nothing') by a publisher whose own knowledge was particularly limited. Of course, I am aware that deep in this comment lies a certain 'academic snobbery', but when I look back through my own early letters and notes from my first visit to Japan, I too was guilty of what Jon Woronoff calls an '"instant understanding" and "inside view"' version of Japanese society.[9] Puzzled by this inversion of conventional wisdom regarding the road to knowledge, I could think of no other solution but to undertake a thorough sociology of knowledge of all my reading to see who had written what, when and why.

Following the example of Neustupný,[10]   I divided my reading

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[8] *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1977, p. 2.

[9] *Japan: The Coming Social Crisis*, Tokyo: Lotus Press 1983, p. 10.

[10] J.V. Neustupný, 'On Paradigms in The Study of Japan', *Social Analysis*, no.5/6 [Special Issue: *Japanese Society: Reappraisals and New Directions*] (1980), pp. 20-28.

into three categories: Western authors, a small group of Marxists and Japanese scholars. I started with the pre-war Western authors whose main interests were in the exotic elements of Japan that would appeal to Westerners, and it is of course no coincidence that the romantic reminiscences of those such as Hearn and Chamberlain are still reprinted almost annually in Japan today. The post-war period saw the arrival in the West of many genuinely serious academics of Japan. Highly specialised though they often were and also extremely proficient in the Japanese language, what was of crucial significance was the fact that they had come to their speciality and obtained their proficiency through the exigencies of the era - the desperate need to learn more about Japan during the Second World War. As these scholars carried their studies into the post-war period, their comparative outlook was often painfully limited to their own culture, and therefore it can be no wonder that many such authors (e.g. Abegglen, Cole, Keene, Passin, Seidensticker and Vogel, to suggest only a few) tend to focus only on those facets of Japan which force themselves most effectively on their Western consciousnesses. Since they are generally comparing such different cultures as the United States and Japan, the latter is naturally presented generally in terms of polar opposites and not structuralist similarities. Of course, the vogue for functionalist anthropology in the post-war period, when societies were studied solely in their own right, must also take a share of the blame for this approach. However, even today, those who approach the examination of Japanese society through the study of the language are still liable to end up with the same problem of a narrow comparative focus, though they naturally have great advantages in other ways over outside specialists who must turn their attention to the study of the language for the first time.

Rather than take up a disproportionate space on the few non-Japanese Marxists who have written about Japan, it should suffice here to repeat Kirby's conclusion in his *Russian Studies on Japan* (London 1981) that such studies tell us at least as much, if not more, about the ideological context from which they are produced than they do anything about Japan itself.

Considerable recent interest, however, has focused on the theories of Japanese authors about their own society, work that is often known collectively as *nihonjinron*, or 'Theories of the Japanese People'. Harsh criticism has been aimed at the consensus, harmonious, one-family view of a 'unique' Japanese nation which often occurs in such work. Sugimoto and Mouer, for example, insist that such work is ideologically based, that it purposefully fails to take into account variations by region and class, and the difference between voluntaristic and coerced behaviour,

and that it lacks historical perspective.[11]   Befu similarly de-
nounces it as a form of nationalism,[12] and Miller, perhaps the
most vehement of the critics of the *nihonjinron*, examines its
position on the subject of the Japanese language (*nihongo*) and
concludes that:

> Thanks to the elaboration of the modern myth of Nihongo,
> the Japanese language has gradually been elevated to the
> position of one of the major ideological forces sustain-
> ing Japanese society, at the same time that it helps that
> society to close its ranks against all possible in-
> trusions by outsiders.[13]

Miller has in turn, and quite justifiably, been criticized by
Saint-Jacques[14] for various methodological inadequacies, but it
is interesting that this criticism should appear in the Japan
Foundation Newsletter, an organ which Miller particularly casti-
gates as a disseminator of the myth of *nihongo* and *nihonjinron*.
    An interesting article by Kawamura sets out 'The Historical
Background of Arguments Emphasizing the Uniqueness of Japanese
Society',[15] in which he traces several 'periods' of such liter-
ature stretching from the 1930s to the 1970s, and shows how
themes of uniqueness have variously been sought in Japan's clim-
atology, folklore, rural family sociology, democracy, management
policies, culture and psychology. Major authors he cites in-
clude Yanagida Kunio, Maruyama Masao, Nakane Chie and Doi Takeo
and, as well as presenting powerful evidence of affiliations
between several of the authors, the National Government, Tokyo
University and two large publishers (Iwanami and Shoten),
Kawamura attempts to document possible ideological foundations
for the emergence of various uniqueness theories, suggesting a
history from pre-war and war-time anti-Westernism and nationalism,
through the influence of anti-communism to a new confident

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[11] Y. Sugimoto and R.E. Mouer, 'Competing Models for Understanding
Japanese Society: Some Reflections on New Directions', *Social
Analysis,* ibid., pp. 194-294; *idem,* 'The Study of Japanese Soc-
iety: Figments of Whose Imagination?', *The Japan Foundation News-
letter*, Vol.X no.5 (1983), pp. 1-9.

[12] Harumi Befu, 'A Critique of the Group Model of Japan', *Social
Analysis*, no.5/6 (1980), pp. 33-4.

[13] R.A. Miller, *Japan's Modern Myth: The Language and Beyond*,
New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill 1982, p. 283.

[14] B. Saint-Jacques, 'Language Attitudes in Contemporary Japan',
The Japan Foundation Newsletter, Vol.XI nos.1-2 (1983), pp. 7-14.

[15] In *Social Analysis*, no.5/6 (1980), pp. 44-62.

economic nationalism of recent years. Another historical account
of the *nihonjinron* phenomenon - that by Hinoshi Minami[16] - traces
its history even further back to the Meiji Restoration.

Perhaps the single most important *nihonjinron* example of
recent years is the well-known work by Nakane Chie, *Japanese
Society* (Harmondsworth 1973), of which a few years ago free
copies were liberally distributed by Japanese agencies around the
world. Nakane applies what can only be described as a double-
think structuralist method to Japanese culture by first deciding
to study it as a separate society, essentially different from
other societies, and secondly as a structuralist whole once it
has been thus separated. From this emerges a typically neat
picture of the Japanese not only as a unique but also as an
extremely homogeneous race. There is no doubt therefore that
though the rather stark articles on *nihonjinron* by Kawamura,
Sugimoto and Mouer, Miller and others might suggest rather more
of a high-level Machiavellian plot than some observers would like
to see, the subject has become one which, as Crawcour says, needs
to be studied in its own right as an important sociological
phenomenon.[17]

When I had completed my sociology of knowledge, I attempted
to undertake an examination of the historical and cultural back-
ground of the Japanese educational system in the hope that it
would offer some clues to the nature of Japanese society. Even
though the educational system of a country may occasionally lag
behind or even precede more progressive or reactionary elements
of the society (and its history in Japan has examples of both),
it is perhaps true to say that, especially in the case of long-
term centralized systems like Japan, it provides a useful guide
to the 'pulse' of the culture. The two most common descriptions
of the Japanese educational system seem to be 'Confucian' and
'Western', with mentions of Buddhism and Shintoism conspicuous
by their absence.[18] I decided therefore to try and examine the
history, development and significance of these two traditions in
Japanese culture as a nexus for the whole research. Unfortunately,
there is not the space here to look at my study except to put for-
ward the conclusion I reached - that what has been called 'Con-

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[16] 'The Introspection Boom: Whither The National Character?',
Japan Interpreter, Vol.VIII no.2 (1973), pp. 159-184.

[17] 'Alternative Models of Japanese Society: An Overview', *Social
Analysis*, no.5/6 (1980), pp. 184-7.

[18] See for example H. Passin, *Society and Education in Japan*, New
York: Teacher's College, Columbia University 1965; T.P. Rohlen,
Japan's High Schools, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of
California Press 1983; Tetsuya Kobayashi, *Schools, Society and
Progress in Japan*, Oxford: Pergamon Press 1976; J. Singleton,
Nichu: A Japanese School, New York etc.: Holt, Rinehart & Winston
1967.

fucian' and 'Western' in Japan has been so eclectically *adopted* and idiosyncratically *adapted* to conform to existing patterns that neither tradition in their own right can be said to play a strong role in Japanese society. Rather their significance has been subordinated to the political culture and struggles over definitions which related to their introduction and dissemination, so that I decided that it would be most appropriate to site my research in the context of what I would call 'political pragmatism'.

I now find myself embarking on my fieldwork and have been in the field exactly three weeks in a private boarding-school eighty kilometres north of Tokyo; the school has 1300 students (aged between twelve and eighteen) of whom around thirty per cent are called 'overseas students' (*kaigaisei*) or returnee students (*kikokushijo*). The 'rehabilitation' of these children is taken very seriously, and the school receives financial help from the Ministry of Education specifically for that purpose. I will spend the first of the school's two terms teaching full-time to classes of returnees and getting to know the students and the school system. For the whole year I will live in a room attached to the school dormitory and eat in the school canteen, taking on a share of the pastoral work incumbent on any boarding-school teacher. The methodological implications of actually being in charge of many of my informants have still to be worked out, but there is no doubt that to teach virtually what and how I like to small groups of returnee students for four periods each per week has many practical advantages.

There are, however, three areas in particular where my background research in Oxford has already vitally affected the way I want to approach my fieldwork. The first two relate to the sociology of knowledge I undertook, the third to my understanding of Japanese culture. Due to the confusion which has arisen from direct comparisons of Japanese culture with Western cultures, and from the tendency of many Japanese scholars to stress the uniqueness of their own culture, it seems that some sort of research is necessary which compares suitably selected elements of Japanese culture, not with those of the West, but with other East Asian countries with which Japan has much closer geographical, historical and cultural affinities. Naturally, such comparative work has been undertaken before (for example by Pelzel on Japanese and Chinese kinship systems, or McMullen on Japanese and Chinese Confucianism),[19] but most of it has been done by East Asian scholars themselves and is not readily available to a Western readership. The reason for this is not hard to find: the number of Westerners who can handle one Far Eastern language is not large, while the number who can handle two or more is very small indeed. The case

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[19] J.C. Pelzel, 'Japanese Kinship: A Comparison', in M. Freedman (ed.), *Family and Kinship in Chinese Society*, Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press 1970, pp. 227-248; I.J. McMullen, 'Non-Agnatic Adoption: A Confucian Controversy in 17th and 18th Century Japan', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol.XXXV (1975).

of children returning from abroad, however, offers a comparable community for study without the same linguistic difficulties, since many such children can express themselves fluently in European languages and/or Japanese. The two most obvious countries for such a comparative study would appear to be Korea (probably culturally as well as historically and geographically the country nearest to Japan), and Thailand (the only other major Asian country not to have been colonised by a Western nation). From initial investigations it would seem that the continuum of acceptance-rejection by the home culture of foreign-educated returnees in Japan, Korea and Thailand would make an interesting study, and after this year in Japan I hope to spend six months in both countries. Practical considerations may determine that the results of such an investigation will occupy no more than a chapter in the final thesis, but the attempt to demonstrate a correct context for structural analysis, which has largely been absent in Japanese studies, seems as important as presenting the initial results of such a study which could, in any case, always be expanded upon in the future.

The second area in which my sociology of knowledge has determined my fieldwork approach in Japan concerns my doubts over the homogeneous picture of Japan that is so often presented. It is for this reason that I undertook such an extensive background research in England before coming to Japan, and it is for this reason also that I wish to gain an idea of the full range of the experience of Japanese returnees, as variously determined by their returning to private or state schools, to the city or the countryside - and especially by parental income and attitudes.

My examination of the cultural context of education has affected my approach to the extent that I wish to examine the return and treatment of returnee children in Japan as a *political process* involving the utilisation of highly emotive and powerful symbols - 'tradition', 'internationalism', 'Confucianism', 'Westernisation', 'meritocracy', 'equality' etc. The tension between 'internationalism' and 'tradition' must be seen as a struggle between pressure groups (both inside and outside Japan) and not as a battle between inanimate and inviolate cultural traditions. I will need, therefore, to extend my study of full-time and part-time Japanese schools to those in Asia, in order to compare them with those in Britain and to see to what extent they stress the Japanese nature of education and try to interact with the wider community, as well as, of course, examining the political debates that have been waged in Japan over the past few years between the two factions which Kitsuse calls the *kokusaiha* (the 'internationalists') and the *kokunaiha* (the 'integrationists').

The foregoing has been an account of eighteen months' preparation for fieldwork and the spring-board which that preparation has created. It has been purposefully a personal account written in the first person, since anthropological research is essentially a personal activity. It is only when the researcher writes himself fully into the account that the reader is really able to judge for himself its merits and defects. To write oneself out

of the script, even to the minimal extent of referring to oneself in the first person plural, is not to be completely honest with one's readership. Perhaps such an approach is particularly appropriate when writing about Japan where the so-called 'I-novel' (*shishōsetsu*) first appeared with such force as a literary genre.

ROGER GOODMAN

BOOK REVIEWS

CECIL H. BROWN, *Language and Living Things: Uniformities in Folk Classification and Naming*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press 1984. xvi, 275pp., References, Index. $35.00.

While rooted in the still flourishing traditions of ethnobiology (represented by Conklin) and cognitive anthropology (Goodenough, Frake, Tyler), Brown's work belongs to the distinctive approach initiated by Berlin and Kay's *Basic Color Terms: Their Universality and Evolution* (Berkeley 1969), and followed up in Berlin's 'Speculations on the Growth of Ethnobotanical Nomenclature' in the first number of *Language in Society* (1972). Having contributed prominently to the journals over the last decade, Brown has now consolidated the approach by giving it a second cross-cultural book. When surveying the field (*Annual Review of Anthropology* 1978), Witkowski and he used the title 'lexical universals', but the essence of the approach would be better expressed by 'lexical evolutionism'; and the present book could well have been called *Life-form Terms: Their Universality and Evolution*.

Comparison of folk classifications with the biologist's taxonomies shows that languages have typically labelled genera, rather than lower-level taxa (species and varieties) or higher-level ones. The kingdoms (animals-in-general and plants-in-general) are seldom labelled, and above the genus typically the only labelling refers to 'life-forms'. Languages vary in the number of life-form terms that they possess, but Brown's argument is that empirically the variation is surprisingly limited. Two sorts of constraint exist, bearing respectively on universality and evolution. First, whatever life-form taxa a given language lexicalizes it will be possible to translate the terms in the first instance by a selection from among ten English terms (five per kingdom). This over-simplified formulation calls for certain qualifications, e.g. that fungi and lichens are ignored and that Brown uses two portmanteau neologisms (grerb < grass + herb, wug < worm + bug); but it serves to emphasise the analogy with basic colour terms. However many colours a language lexicalizes, they too, by virtue of their foci, can roughly be translated by a choice from among only 11 English terms (plus the prefix *macro-*).

The second constraint is on the co-occurrence of life-form terms. The five pan-environmental botanical terms would theoretically allow languages 32 different selections (including no terms and all five), but in the 188 languages examined only fourteen of them are exemplified. Moreover, the pattern of 'choice' is far from random. If a language has any plant life-form terms at all it has one translatable roughly as 'tree', and if it has two or more the second can be rendered either 'grerb' or 'grass';

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the full complement includes all of these plus 'bush' and 'vine' (in the sense 'creeper'). Since languages seldom lose life-form terms (except following migration to an area where a taxon is not represented), the facts strongly imply an evolutionary sequence. Languages start without life-form terms and acquire first 'tree', then 'grass' or 'grerb', then the remainder in any order. Zoologically (on the basis of 144 languages), they acquire first 'fish', 'bird' and 'snake' in any order, and only then 'wug', 'mammal' and/or the conjunct of these.

Brown has done fieldwork (with Mayan speakers), and consulted dictionaries, but like Morgan he has assembled most of his information via circulars and personal correspondence. His preface acknowledges by name more than 120 individuals who provided material for the massive appendices, as well as naming 150 others who helped. One notes that P.G. Rivière supplied the data on the 'Tiriyo', who have three plant life-form terms; but the non-specialist will be more interested in the methods than the materials, and will only sample the appendices. The text proper shows that particular language families and areas embrace a range of evolutionary stages, so it could not be argued by an anti-evolutionist that the co-occurrence patterns somehow merely reflected polygenesis. Moreover, within language families (Brown considers especially Mayan and Polynesian), the methods of comparative linguistics confirm the appearance of new life-form terms in the expected sequence. Among the semantic processes leading to the new vocabulary is expansion, as when 'cottonwood' > 'tree' in Amerindian languages of the southwestern United States, or 'wood' > 'tree' in many unrelated languages. A few languages show 'incipient life-form terms' which for the moment group only unlabelled species, as English *bird* does at a certain stage in children's language development. Innovation by metaphor is exemplified by 'tongue' > 'vine' or 'snake', but nowadays the commonest mode is no doubt by borrowings from written languages possessing the full array (for there is a rough statistical correlation between number of life-form terms and 'societal scale').

The evolutionary encoding sequence is a phenomenon of diachronic linguistics which shows itself synchronically in the co-occurrence constraints or 'implicational universals' already noted (a 'grass' term universally implies a 'tree' term, etc). It also appears synchronically in three other guises: the oldest life-form terms are also (i) the commonest in word frequency counts for nation-state languages (such counts not being readily available for tribal languages); (ii) the shortest words in terms of number of letters; and (iii) the first to be learned by children. All five sorts of phenomenon are aligned by means of Greenberg's notion of marking hierarchies (the oldest terms being the least marked).

It is not clear why a language lacking life-form terms is labelled Stage 1 for plants, Stage 0 for animals, nor how close an evolutionary correlation exists for particular languages between the two domains of terminology. Some will wonder if Brown's

neologisms are really necessary, and others may object to his particular definition of 'life-form', which differs in detail from Berlin's. But the big questions for the critic concern the validity and significance of the whole approach. Those who distrust genealogical analyses of kinship terminologies, or colour term analyses that ignore connotation and symbolism, will raise the same sorts of objection to life-form terms: what of the ambiguities of pragmatics, of the richness of meaning so often attached to natural species, of totems and anomalous pangolins? Such questions are in fact posed in Ellen and Reason's *Classifications in their Social Context* (Academic Press 1979), which is barely cited here, and only for its data; but in so far as the questions are intended as *objections*, they are misconceived. A researcher is perfectly justified in restricting his curiosity in order to make a definitive contribution within a narrow field; and even if subsequent work blurs the sharpness of Brown's evolutionary schema the general trend is now established. No one denies that there are *also* 'special purpose' classifications (edible/inedible, domestic/wild, etc.), that symbolism is important and interesting, that perfect translation is difficult, or that words are relevant to behaviour in ways that dictionaries do not capture.

But perhaps the findings of lexical evolutionism, even if true, are trivial, or irrelevant to social anthropology proper? In D. Parkin (ed.), *Semantic Anthropology* (Academic Press 1982) it is only Ardener who even refers to the approach (interestingly, he too emphasises the quantitative aspect); Ortner's 'Theory in Anthropology Since the Sixties' (*Comp. Stud. Soc. & Hist.* 1984) totally ignores it. Though by no means an ethnobiologist, I think it deserves wider recognition and consideration. This is partly because, if we think of the relationships between anthropology and linguistics in the terms used by Ardener (Editor's Introduction to *Social Anthropology and Language*, Tavistock 1971), then at the technical and pragmatic levels lexicology has more to offer us than most other branches of linguistics, and it is therefore significant to discover that certain of its domains (albeit of rather narrow scope) show a greater degree of order than was previously realised. But the major significance lies at the explanatory level, where three points can be made. First, the lexical evolutionists direct attention to the neglected analytical notion of markedness, which I have explored from another point of view elsewhere (in R.H. Barnes *et al.* (eds.), *Contexts and Levels*, JASO Occasional Papers No.4, forthcoming). Secondly, they have developed a new method for tackling certain sorts of long-term historical problems. There is a great deal still to be done using the traditional language-family framework - most obviously, the prodigious achievements of Dumézil have still to be properly assimilated and carried forward - but our armoury is reinforced. Thirdly, because they have a sound method, they have helped to broaden the range of topics for which an evolutionary explanation is worth envisaging. The world-historical awareness, so pronounced in the thought of giants such as Mauss, so patchy and

deficient in many more recent doctrines, will always provide some
of the essential insights of anthropology, and some of its cen-
tral problems. One of these, raised by Morgan but still unsolved,
is the problem of kinship terminologies, at which the lexical
evolutionists have so far only nibbled (Witkowski, following
Greenberg). Although their method in its present form is un-
likely to be sufficient alone, it may contribute to the solution,
and at any rate its achievements so far suggest that it was not
because they were *evolutionary* that Morgan's answers went astray.
Brown's work points far beyond ethnobiology, to broader issues of
this sort.

<div align="right">N. J. ALLEN</div>

AKBAR S. AHMED and DAVID M. HART (eds.), *Islam in Tribal
Societies: From the Atlas to the Indus*, London etc.: Routledge &
Kegan Paul 1984. vii, 330pp., Bibliographical notes, Index.
£7.95.

The subtitle of the book indicates one obvious criterion by
which to assess it: its range. Its geographical range is
immense, its temporal range extends from the Numidian Kingdom to
a present-day development project, and its thirteen contributions
are aligned to the widest possible range of schools and approaches.
Unfortunately, their quality, too, covers the entire range from
the classic through the (once-)fashionable to the ephemeral. In
fact, the book as a whole covers range instead of establishing
scope. This is partly the fault of the Introduction.
    My own copy contained two imprints of the Introduction, one
appended by mistake at the back of the book. Should it be
missing in another reader's copy, the loss will hardly be felt.
It is short in size and short of ideas, void of any new thought
and repetitive and imprecise on any old one it manages to cite.
Given the range of the book, unifying ideas may be difficult to
handle. But the reader could have expected at least a guide to
what is to come, and how it coheres. Instead, the contributions
are arranged in geographical order, from west to east: suitable
for a single-minded motorist perhaps, but hardly for a book with
this title.
    That title, *Islam in Tribal Societies,* is in itself the
shortest formulation of a recurrent and general problem: the
problem of studying a world religion in local societies, or,
conversely, of studying local cultures from within, with an
anxious eye always on the Islamic Society without. The failure
of the Introduction to tackle this problem is compensated to some

extent, as several of the contributions ably raise the question from a variety of angles.

By sheer geographic chance Gellner's study of 'Doctor and Saint' (1972) in the Atlas has been reprinted as section 1 of the book (pp. 21-38). The article investigates the dialectical relationship between the urban *ulama* and the tribal saints, set in a most subtle discussion of the mechanisms of legitimacy. It seems to be perched right on top of that wobbly bridge that at the same time separates and links the one Islamic Society and the many societies of Muslims. The theme of scholars and saints is the concern also of Colonna's (1974) reprinted article on 'Cultural resistance and religious legitimacy in colonial Algeria' (section 4, pp. 106-26). The scripturalist and the mystical-charismatic traditions of Islam acted as two complementary lines of resistance against colonial domination: one in the urban and legal arena, the other in the rural armed struggle. In recent decades the modern state has become an important variable in the relation between the local and the universal Islam.

The role of the modern state comes up in various contributions, and is most centrally addressed in Magali Morsy's 'Arbitration as a political institution: an interpretation of the status of monarchy in Morocco' (section 2, pp. 39-65). Morsy's wide-ranging historical survey argues that arbitration was the fundamental political institution of pre-Islamic Morocco; that it has, with Islam, been endowed with effective social power; and that it has since been crucial in the formation of the modern state. It is not entirely clear to the reader whether arbitration defines any 'real' political institution that could provide an actual historical continuity, or whether it is primarily the analyst's non-temporal constant in a search for patterns too deep for real life.

The difficulty of balancing empirical history with theoretical *bricolage* is shown also in the contribution by David Hart, one of the editors of the book. It consists of a reprint of his 1967 article on 'Segmentary systems and the role of "five fifths" in tribal Morocco', augmented by a more recent addendum (section 3, pp. 66-105). The five-fold division of primary tribal segments appears to Hart as the 'quintessence' (his pun) of Moroccan tribal structure. The adducing of four ethnographic cases is impressive, but it may seem unnecessary, given that: 'if the concept...may not work perfectly,...this is because it... represents a structural strategy' (p. 94). How imperfectly may a concept work in order to represent only itself?

Both Colonna's and Morsy's arguments cross the boundaries of tribes. These boundaries are discussed in several contributions concerned with intertribal relations. Tapper's stimulating 'Holier than thou: Islam in three tribal societies' (section 9, pp. 244-65) shows how inter-tribal competition among three nomadic groups in Iran is expressed through claims of religious superiority. These in turn are then taken seriously within each community beyond their original competitive purpose. Competition is also the concern of Pastner's 'Feuding with the spirit among

the Zikri Baluch: the Saint as champion of the despised' (section 12: pp. 302-9). Pastner's suggestion seems to be that people compete with stories of saints when they have nothing else to compete with. It is unclear, however, how this 'hypothesis' could be validated even through the proposed measurements of 'status mobility'. A third article dealing with intertribal relations is Dupree's 'Tribal warfare in Afghanistan and Pakistan' (section 10, pp. 266-86). It provides some details of intertribal raids and some general musings based on 'two new *social* laws' (p. 282 - emphasis mine). These are that mankind is (i) evil, and (ii) short-sighted. (Perhaps more far-sighted journalism than this might help us to improve on original sin?)

More modest truths are sought in Cole's essay on 'Alliance and descent in the Middle East and the "problem" of patrilateral parallel cousin marriage' (section 6, pp. 169-186). Al Murrah society in Saudi Arabia coheres through descent and marriage, and manages its external relations through trade and the division of labour. Though this is not perhaps a great surprise, the article gives some clear-cut ethnography. This is also true of Tavakolian's account of 'Religiosity, values and economic change among Sheikhanzai nomads' (section 11, pp. 287-301). This is based on six months' fieldwork in North-Western Afghanistan, and describes Sheikhanzai religious and social values and their effect on a current development initiative.

While the four last-mentioned articles focus on the 'tribal' pole of the book's concern, four others investigate in more depth the religious beliefs, rituals and symbols of different Muslim societies. Two of these stress an historical dimension.

The welcome reprint of Lewis' 'Sufism in Somaliland' (1955-6) (section 5, pp. 127-68) explores the transfiguration of tribal ancestors into Sufi Saints in the dual context of originally urban Sufi ideas being adapted to rural circumstances, and of Somali lineage organization. The arguments about the 'persistence of pre-Islamic beliefs' have been supplemented in Lewis' more recent work by an argument for the 'continuity of non-Islamic beliefs', and indeed their re-emergence at certain periods. But the earlier article stands, and deserves reprinting in its own right. Its merits are shown in comparison with Basilov's study of 'Honour groups in traditional Turkmenian society' (section 8, pp. 220-43). This study of honour groups claiming holy descent is firmly set in ethnological rails. While social anthropology has no monopoly rights in ethnographic description, one may be forgiven for thinking that Basilov's distinctions of high culture and low, original and debased, represent so many 'survivals'.

Right into the thick of anthropological debate is aimed Emrys Peters' wide-ranging yet precise discussion of 'The Paucity of ritual among Middle Eastern pastoralists' (section 7, pp. 187-219). This paucity has been documented in numerous enthographies, and given special attention by Barth (1964). Faced with a striking absence of large-scale, politically integrative ritual among the Bakheri, Barth has refilled the 'gap' by redefining ritual as any activity 'pregnant with special meaning'. Thus, a

camp-fire or an annual migration qualified as ritual to recom-
pense the impoverished. Peters analyses the antecedents of this
re-definition, refutes its cogency, and removes the problem
itself: the absence of large-scale integrative ritual is no
deprivation in a society that has no need to define itself as a
large-scale polity. The paucity is equalized by a preponderence
of sacrifices that are understood to tie Bedouin camps among
themselves, and to the larger Muslim world.

Again the reader feels he is negotiating that wobbly bridge
that separates and joins the local and the universal Islam.
Akbar Ahmed, one of the editors of the book, also touches on it
in his essay on 'Religious presence and symbolism in Pukhtun
society' (section 13, pp. 310-30). Pukhtun piety can endow with
symbolic significance even carriers that are not intrinsically
ritual in use or religious in meaning. They are validated by
local use and by reference to the pan-Islamic idiom of associa-
tion with the Prophet's life.

It is a pity that any such ideas are obscured by the mind-
less sequence of the book, and forgotten in its Introduction.
There would have been ample scope for them in a collection that,
after all, contains some admirable work, and some that is worth
questioning. As it is, the book coheres by its soft covers
alone. The covers, however, are well-produced, and the book is
well-bound, decently printed and reasonably priced.

GERHARDT BAUMANN

HIROSHI WAGATSUMA and GEORGE A. DE VOS, *Heritage of Endurance:
Family Patterns and Delinquency Formation in Urban Japan*, Berkeley
etc.: University of California Press 1984. xii, 460pp., Appendixes,
Bibliography, Index, Plates. £32.00.

The 'heritage of endurance' is an important factor in explaining
the relatively low rates of delinquency found in urban Japan,
despite rapid change and social dislocation. Thus argue Wagatsuma
and DeVos in the latest of their psychocultural analyses of members
of Japanese society, which includes all the usual paraphernalia of
Rorschach and TAT tests, as well as Glueck techniques for predicting
delinquency on the basis of quantitative measures of family cohesion
and parenting.

The stated aim of the book is to test some of the conclusions
of European and American research on the contribution of primary
socialisation and family relationships to various forms of delin-
quent behaviour. An experimental design was established investi-
gating a group fifty families, thirty with a delinqent son, and
twenty matched for socio-economic background, but with a non-

delinquent son.   Interviews were also held with policemen, teachers, social workers and voluntary probation personnel.

The importance of the social context is not ignored, however, and it is emphasised that the 'psychocultural' approach is concerned also with 'social structure as part of cultural continuity', but noting also 'that explanations for socially deviant behaviour involve to some degree the particular psychological mechanisms and social attitudes resulting from the basic socialization process within given families of given cultures in contrast with others'.

The study was carried out in a lower-class area of Tokyo, described as the 'wastebasket' of the city, and indeed selected for this reputation. However, the authors find 'a functional neighbourhood, rather than a disorganized slum' with 'formal and informal social control', where 'authority is generally respected and is seldom perceived as being so venal as to be thoroughly distrusted'. They also note an increased tendency for Japanese citizens to participate in local voluntary organisations. These characteristics they contrast with those of similar neighbourhoods in the United States, where the delinquency rate shows less sign of diminishing, as it has in Japan.

However, they find the family factors affecting the likelihood of delinquency formation in children directly comparable with findings made in Europe and the United States. They rather preclude the possibility of associating delinquency directly with broken homes by selecting a sample of intact families, but there is a significantly greater number of second marriages in the delinquent sample, as well as broken marriages in the grandparents' generation. They concentrate, however, on trying to measure 'family cohesion' and 'interpersonal attitudes of parents to each other', and these, together with other factors such as ease of acceptance of role behaviour, and consistency or otherwise of discipline and affection, they claim to be able to relate incontrovertibly with the likelihood of delinquency formation.

The question, then, in assessing this part of the study, is whether the reader is convinced by the ability of the observers to measure such things. Apart from the psychological tests, applied to each of the parents, as well as to the delinquents and control group of non-delinquents, a great deal of anecdotal material is presented, based on interviews and general observations made in the neighbourhood. Four families are examined in detail, and their life-histories analysed and evaluated for evidence of positive or negative aspects of the above factors. In fact, the least convincing of these case-studies, within the authors' own terms of reference, is the only one which seems to have a really delinquent son. The young offender is diagnosed as severely disturbed and showing schizophrenic features, and his rapes and thefts are eventually rather lamely put down to 'a strong, perhaps semi-conscious, incestuous attachment to his own mother'. The authors qualify the whole chapter, however, by noting that their conclusions are 'at best highly speculative on the basis of the incomplete knowledge provided by our interview data and projective test protocols'. One wonders,then, if their material is so 'incontrovertible', why they didn't choose a delinquent family which more aptly illustrated their wider conclusions. The other delinquent

family presented has all the family features expected, but the son has only a brief encounter with delinquency before becoming an apparently rather upright citizen.

The research for this book was carried out in the 1960s, and that includes most of the reading - more recent entries in the bibliography are mostly of other works by the authors, and indeed, we are warned to 'guard against the supposition that more recent studies can be interpreted as "disproving" previous ones when results are different'. Potentially, the fact of having started work with a group of particular families in the early 1960s would seem to provide a perfect opportunity to follow up their developments over the period of a whole generation, particularly since the stability of the area is mentioned several times. This has not been attempted, however. Indeed, no recent reference is made to the sample group at all, and one cannot help wondering therefore about the accuracy of the predictive techniques.

This is a historical account, then, making use of historical data (and historical research methods, it would seem - certainly the studies chosen for comparison will soon qualify for such status, if they have not done so already - 1925, 1929, 1932, 1947, 1956, 1960 are some of the dates). As such, it probably has some value in itself, and a major strength of the book from the point of view of those untrained to assess the 'psychocultural' side is in its ethnographic content, or what the authors describe as 'narrative documentary'.

An early chapter depicts an interesting contrast with recent concern with the lives of company workers, in its picture of the seamier side of life in Tokyo, and of the conceptual difference between *shitamachi*, the old downtown local area, and *yamanote*, the newer mountainside suburbs. The former, which is the setting for this book, is an area of small family production units, unlike the salaried nuclear family occupants of high-rise apartments in the suburbs; but business is by no means always assured and life is somewhat precarious - or at least it was at the time of the study. After a period of relative prosperity, which was developing during the course of the study, the oil shock of 1973 may have plunged such families into a new era of uncertainty, but unfortunately no recent observations are supplied. There is some detail about the contemporary sexual activities of minors, gang encounters, and an institutionalized local thug hierarchy, although this is depicted mostly through the eyes of social workers and voluntary probation officers. We are also given much detail about the success of the latter with reformed offenders.

Generally, the tone of the conclusion is one of appreciation of the Japanese cultural factors which have kept the delinquency rate low in comparison with other industrialized countries. A few pages also point to the inapplicability of Marxist theory to the Japanese case. One is left feeling rather cheated, however, that a book with this title makes no reference at all to Japanese problems of school and family violence, which have been much reported in the Japanese press in the last few years.

JOY HENDRY

DAVID PRICE and GOTTHARD SCHUH, *The Other Italy*, London: The Olive Press 1983. With Photographs. £3.50 (paper).

That truth is, or can be, beauty is nowhere better illustrated than in the best of documentary photographs. We certainly must be thankful to David Price for publishing several of Gotthard Schuh's evocative, unrhetorical and technically perfect photos of provincial and rural Italy. As is explained in his editorial note, the book is a 'variation, an essay in words and images on a similar theme, the traditional and communal life of *The Other Italy*'. The book certainly succeeds in communicating the writer's love for the Italian countryside and its people, and, in places (for instance, 'The Olive Press') it does convey a certainty that some traditions, some obsolescent agricultural methods, but above all, some areas of morals and manners, are not yet dead.

Price's prose style - at times sketchy, but at other times self-indulgently purple - contrasts with the spare and unromantic concision of the photographic images, while his love of analogy often makes the writing just a trifle too 'cute'. Take, for example, olive trees. Compared to 'giant meringues' in 'medieval Tuscany', these are 'sometimes silhouetted like Japanese prints against the sunset', while in Puglia and Calabria they are 'fashioned like huge antique sculptures, as old as Methuselahs'.

People are always described with affection, but the anthropologically fastidious may be disturbed by the writer's marked tendency to 'naturalize' his characters and push them into to the background landscape. The weakest essay is 'In Search of Verga'. Here, inspiration for revisting Aci-Reale and Aci-Trezza is a literary one, Verga's great novel *I malavoglia*; but Price's attempt to recapture something of its moral and aesthetic quality or to sum up some of the social changes which occurred in that part of Sicily remains rather perfunctory, while absence of new insight makes the re-statement of known ideas rather futile.

The general contention that essays and photographs together describe some 'other' Italy, now a cliché which has reached the tourist market (witness Barzini junior's article in Alitalia's Magazine, Dec. 1983-Jan. 1984), with its presumption that some 'first' or 'not-other' Italy is already well-known and can be taken for granted, is now both well-worn and only too easily refuted in the light of recent sociological description. Nonetheless, the book is well-produced, and it does not lack descriptive vigour, while some interesting observations, for example, about exchange, or about relations between land-owners and *mezzadri*, are effectively related to their rural or small-town milieux.

LIDIA SCIAMA

MICHAEL J. BELL, *The World from Brown's Lounge: An Ethnography of Black Middle-Class Play*, Urbana, etc.: University of Illinois Press 1983. xii, 180pp., Bibliography. £12.00.

This is a study of black American folklore - not, as traditionally, traditional folklore, but folklore as 'the creation or communication of art in face-to-face interactions' (p.x). The interactions take place in a black middle-class bar, the Brown's Lounge of the title, in West Philadelphia. The author is white, he tells us, and middle-class, we guess. He is a folklorist and a member of an English faculty, and carried out participant observation in the bar for about eighteen months in the early 1970s. He worries rather predictably over his research methods and not at all over his theoretical approach and consequent method of analysis, which he does not label but which are phenomenological.

We are given a brief description of the bar and its history, of the neighbourhood, of the owner and his staff, and of the patrons. This is all by way of background to Bell's main concern, which is to show how the patrons and staff of Brown's Lounge create the world in their use of language. What would appear to a complete outsider as casual and haphazard he reveals as intense word-play. Story-telling, joking, arguing, and the involvement of all present, whether acting or viewing, is governed by the bar's own rules and ethics. Bell does not make it clear how particular these are to Brown's Lounge and whether they might be general to black middle-class bars.

Some of the description and analysis of the word-play uses 'indigenous' terms such as *talking shit, telling lies, rapping, cracking, playing, styling* and *profiling* (all of these happen to be praiseworthy), and good accounts of these words and the relevant behaviour are given. This aspect of the book is its most interesting and useful. For the most part, however, Bell's descriptions and analyses (and these are by no means always clearly distinguished) use the terms of phenomenology, and some passages are hard to penetrate.

In a work on folklore of 180 pages it is rather surprising to have less than twenty of actual text (and then mostly of short lines of only a few words each), especially as many social anthropologists make good and extensive use of texts in their ethnographies. It does not seem that the full texts have been made available elsewhere. Here, the texts are incomprehensible on their own, especially without the silences, laughter, tone, inflections, accents, posturing, actions and so on which would give them context. The author tries to give us some account of context, but there is not nearly enough for this reviewer. What becomes abundantly clear also is that there is nothing isolable about Brown's Lounge, and that in order to understand what is said and done there, one needs to know much more than we are given here about the wider context: not only about black middle-class life and culture but also about the personal life and

histories of those involved, their knowledge of each other, their relationships with each other and with others outside the bar. Bell ignores all of this as far as he can, though occasionally an extramural piece of information is introduced when it would be impossible to have any understanding of a piece of text without it. What we are given is still, despite Bell's knowledge, an outsider's view of the bar.

This is not to deny that Brown's Lounge has an individual existence where particular (though hardly unique) styles of behaviour are enjoined - or that Bell gives a useful account of it. It *is* to say that the patrons' time in the bar is only one part of their lives, and that it cannot usefully be separated analytically from the rest. The author's view of the bar and what he presents to us is authentic, as every patron's view is, of course, but it is a white, middle-class, academic, phenomeno-logical, authentic view. His experience of the bar cannot be separated from the rest of his experience.

These deficiencies are not compensated by any scintillating analysis. The assumptions of phenomenology are not questioned, but are merely used to create the facts, which in turn are merely described in phenemonological terms. And it does not seem that anything is added to phenomenological theory. This is not to say that for a phenomenologist this might not be a good piece of work, but only that for any student with an interest in society in lacks substance. For the patrons of Brown's Lounge - not one of whom 'would recognize all of what has been presented nor would every patron agree with what has been said' (p.179) - its author would probably be criticised for *worrying*, and they and we would much prefer some *rapping* or some *partying tough*.

Scholars, who *worry* more than most, will be concerned that there is no index. Readers of Bateson's *Naven* will be surprised to find that though it is listed in the bibliography, there is no discussion of the notion of schismogenesis, which would surely be useful in an analysis of the ritualized exchanges between staff and staff, and staff and patrons. Also, one is sometimes not sure whether Bell is translating the patron's view, or freely interpreting. At one point the patrons are said to have seen 'that they were being given a ritualized script through which to reinvest themselves appropriately' (p.97); I somehow doubt that anyone could see that.

JEREMY COOTE

GEORGE COLLIER, RENATO ROSALDO and JOHN WIRTH (eds.), *The Inca and Aztec States 1400-1800: Anthropology and History*, New York and London: Academic Press 1982. xx, 464pp., Maps, Diagrams, Index. $49.00.

This collection of sixteen articles is a reaffirmation and continuation of the trend in Mesoamerican and Andean studies which in the 1960s began reorienting work away from generalisations and comparison towards intensive research on the regional zones of the two areas. A number of the original students most closely involved in this have contributed papers to the present volume, including John Murra, James Lockhart and Karen Spalding. With the collaboration of other scholars this approach has revitalised the history and anthropology of these areas by providing a powerful disclaimer of earlier works - works which, using a minimum of empirical facts, extrapolated developmental sequences of the rise of civilisations by the use of models borrowed exclusively from Old World experiences (Baudin and Wittfogel for example). Typologies thus became well instituted in place of empirical facts, as models of the particular indigenous responses to the conquest. The reversal of this line of enquiry has been slow, but the fruits uncommonly rewarding, already drastically altering established views of the stages in the evolution of the hacienda through Mesoamerica, the nature of the American colonial encounter, and the development of regions within the polity of New Spain.

Perhaps the present volume's most singular contribution is to extend these insights, throwing doubt on the historical periodization into pre-conquest and post-conquest societies that has arisen through presuming a radical break with traditional social structure and religion.

One of the most important of the new positions permitting such a radical questioning of this periodization has been a movement away from using the chronicles as a primary source of ethnohistorical data of general applicability to the area as a whole, and the systematic use instead, of ecclesiastical, municipal and governmental archives on the circumstances of marriage, land tenure, tax and tribute in specific regions.

Carrasco, and Calnek, argue that the Aztec state - unlike that of the Inca described by Rowe - never succeeded in wielding centralised authority. They demonstrate that the image much favoured by Bandelier, of the monolithic Aztec state apparatus subjugating neighbouring peoples by coercion and the use of force, was fallacious. Instead, a system of co-option was the favoured strategy, tribute being exacted, but the subservient political units retaining a high degree of local autonomy.

The change discussed by Rounds the early pre-imperial Aztec settlement, in which government followed filial rules in regulating succession, to the later expansionist state, in which fraternity played an important part in the creation of a corporate state did not have such operative repercussions as

generally assumed. The structure of authority during the initial
period of settlement and consolidation of the city state was not
dissimilar from that of other ethnic groups in the area. Despite
changes in its own rules of succession and corresponding shifts
in the distribution of power it did not attempt the integration
of conquered city states, nor radiate outwards to incorporate
them into its bureaucratic structure. The empire was
administered through indirect rule and the apparatus of
domination operated through persuasion. Carrasco, Calnek and
Collier all concur that the political constitution of the city
states in the Valley of Mexico remained essentially the same
after the Aztec conquest. Furthermore, Lockhart's paper in this
collection firmly demonstrates the continuity of this pattern of
autonomous polities after the Spanish Conquest and well into the
17th century.

Regionalism and relative political autonomy implies a
heterogeneous response by the indigenous population to the
importation of Christianity. Klor de Alva argues that the most
common response was what he calls nepantlism - a response which
held the indigene in a kind of suspension, in which condition
his misunderstanding of Christianity led him to seek guidance
from the remnants of his own religious tradition. The wide-
spread occurrence of this condition, according to de Alva, is the
reason for the longevity of pre-Hispanic traits after the
conquest, and well into the 18th century.

If these authors contend that indigenous organisation and
the systems of thought established in pre-Aztec times survived
the Aztec hegemony and persisted during much of the colony, then
other contributors to this volume have found some new factors of
acculturation which eroded them over time. Borah's paper traces
the effects of the introduction of Indian Law, namely the
Indians' incorporation into the Spanish judicial system and the
undermining of native authorities, though at the same time changes
were instigated in the conceptualisation of justice. The
judicial process provided a plane on which indigenous concepts
confronted and accommodated or absorbed foreign ones. The nature
of this conceptual confrontation is well discussed in Lockhart's
paper. The theme is also discussed by Karttunen, who attributes
acculturation to Nahuatl literacy and the use of the indigenous
language in cases of litigation, arguing also that it brought
greater contact and familiarity with colonial legal conventions
and concepts.

Thus this collection of papers erodes the myth of uncon-
ditional, violent and wholesale change, with its associated
connotations of upheaval, displacement and expropriation, which
informed the Black Legend while also demonstrating avenues of
acculturation little explored previously. Together, these
challenge significantly the accepted and common view of post-
conquest society, as well as some important characteristics of
the Aztec and Inca states themselves.

The volume concludes with a paper by Tom Zuidema on
bureaucracy and 'Systematic Knowledge in Andean Civilisation',

which questions the assertion that a form of writing is a pre-
requisite for scientific classification and cumulative knowledge.
He argues that among the Inca the *Khipu*, or knotted strings,
served to record temporal and locative indexes of political and
cosmological significance. Furthermore, he suggests that the
sight-lines radiating outwards from the Temple of the Sun in
Cuzco acted as referents in coordinating agricultural and ritual
activities with astronomy and calendrical prerequisites. The
investigation of these illuminates a previously neglected facet
of the Inca, and suggests a degree of complexity and inclusive-
ness of a type of conceptual knowledge which has generally been
thought to exist only in Mesoamerica. Again Zuidema warns of the
danger of applying generalized criteria for evaluating the
achievements of a society, while demonstrating the ethnocentric
bias which still informs the concept of civilisation.

The contributors to this volume provide an insightful look
into the ways and achievements of the positions which have
stimulated a fundamental rethinking of ancient American civili-
zations, and this will be of interest to ethnographers and
historians, as well as archaeologists, working in this area.

ANTHONY SHELTON-LAING

ABNER COHEN, *The Politics of Elite Culture: Explorations in the
Dramaturgy of Power in a Modern African Society*, Berkeley etc.:
University of California Press 1981. xxii, 237pp., Bibliography,
Index. £4.25.

There are few sociological and anthropological studies centering
on the culture of the elite. Researchers tend to focus on either
the middle or lower classes of a particular society. The study
of the Creoles, the elite of Sierra Leone is, however, an
exception.

The research for Abner Cohen's *The Politics of an Elite
Culture* was conducted in 1970 but not published until 1981.
Cohen is concerned primarily with the patterns of interaction
among the members of the modern-day elite themselves and between
them and the provincials. As background to his study, he surveys
the history of the Creoles' interaction with the British during
the colonial period and traces their lives up to 1970. He is
especially interested in their numerous ceremonials (funerals,
'cult of the dead' rites, weddings, etc.), in order to ascertain
the extent to which they co-ordinate the corporate activities in
which their communal relations are expressed. His analysis aims
to determine the causal relation between the symbols underlying

the Creoles' culture and the power relationships in which they are involved.

The Creoles are the descendants of slaves who were emancipated by the British in the period from 1787 into the nineteenth century and were settled in Freetown, 'The Province of Freedom'. Over the years there has been continual tension between the Creoles, a powerful minority and the provincials. Despite the fact that they are two per cent of the country's population, the former do not hold many elected positions in the government or the legislature, and Cohen claims that they do not belong as a group to a political party, that they avoid voting in elections, and that they are not economically dominant. They do, however, wield power by indirect influence. While most of the executive, legislative, army and police positions belong to other ethnic groups, from the provinces, the Creoles play a distinctive role as high-ranking civil servants and professionals (lawyers, doctors, teachers, and trade union representatives), not only shaping public policy but also advising those in authority. In Cohen's view, without the Creoles' aid there would be difficulty in the smooth running of the government.

The Creoles are not a formally organized group. Cohen states that if they were, they would be highly criticised, and threatened by the country's other ethnic groups. Instead, they are bound together by a network of kinship, affinity, friendship, and old-boy groupings to which they feel a moral obligation. Men are related to one another and to women in various ways, both as consanguines and as affines, both directly and classificatorily. Relationships of affinity established in one generation generate consanguineal relationships in the next: the alliance becomes a 'cousinhood'. This form of relationship is the basis for a special grouping within Creole society called the 'Grand Cousinhood', in which the family's alliances are developed and maintained through women.

With these moral obligations, there are intense pressures on individuals to fulfil their customary duties, not only in day-to-day school, church, and club associations, but also in numerous costly, elaborate, time-consuming, and dramatic ceremonies. It is through these that the Creoles' identity and interests are reinforced.

Cohen demonstrates how each of these ceremonies entails many distinctive markers which he refers to as symbols. These strengthen the bonds between kin and friends. The symbols are learned informally from family, kin, and friends and are often subtle, vague, and mystifying to the outside observer. These may, for example, be one's manner in relating and conversing with others, or one's poise or propriety. Cohen speaks of these elements as 'mystique'. While they are acquired in the family circle, they are reinforced through formal education, especially in private schools, church services, and club functions which tend to be exclusive to the elite. Thus, through this pattern of associations, the members tend to mingle with those of their own kind. This network of relationships works to develop and maintain

members' interests.

Another institution that Cohen focuses upon is that of the Masonic cult subscribed to by Creole men. As with other gatherings and associations this organization provides an opportunity for men to strengthen their relationships in yet another activity. In all of the social functions in which the elite participate there are several layers that are pertinent. The first and most observable purpose is to bring the members together in a socialization process in which they rekindle their moral bonds. Cohen labels this process as being 'particularistic' in that it is self-serving, perpetuating one's own power and privilege. The second layer exists on a higher level. While none of these organizations is considered to be political, political elements occur as one meets and interacts with one's counterparts. The members, all civil servants of the state, are then able to co-ordinate and manoeuvre interests which are part of their position within the state, and thus their concerns become, as Cohen labels them, 'universalistic', because they are made for the sake of the state.

Thus one can observe that the symbols have a contradictory purpose. While they help protect and advance one's personal status, they also help in co-ordinating activities within the departments of the country. Both layers of commitment to the informal organization shield and enhance the power of the elite in Freetown.

Through the observation of ceremonies and the collection of biographical interviews Cohen has elicited information for a valuable study of a modern elite society. He notes that as more and more provincials obtain education they will become a threat to the security that the Creoles enjoyed in 1970. One wonders today, thirteen years after the study was made, what effects, if any, the rise in the number of educated provincials has had on society. Another question is, have the Creoles been forced to play down the external symbols of their elite status to draw closer to the provincials?

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JASO

C O N T E N T S

v

CONTENTS (continued)

Book Reviews

BRONISLAW MALINOWSKI:

THE INFLUENCE OF VARIOUS WOMEN ON HIS LIFE AND WORKS

Bronislaw Malinowski, my father, was strongly influenced by women all his life - by his Polish mother, his two British wives, his women pupils, by women not his pupils with whom he had intellectual friendships, and by the women of various nationalities whom he loved. He also had three daughters, of whom I am the youngest.

He depended on women to an unusual degree, and I think that this dependence had its origin in his relationship with his mother. She was one of those mothers who have throughout history stood behind eminent men, supporting and self-sacrificing.

She was born Józefa ('Josephine') Łącka and in 1883, at the age of 35, married Lucjan Malinowski, Professor of Slavonic Philology at Cracow University in southern Poland. This was in the days when Poland was still partitioned, and that part of the country, Galicia, was a semi-autonomous state within the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

A year after the marriage the nearly middle-aged couple had their only child, Bronislaw Kasper, nicknamed Bronek or Bronio.

Józefa Malinowska's family, the Łąckis, was not an academic one but numbered amongst it senators and high-ranking officials, and at least one successful businessman. The Łąckis, like the Malinowskis, belonged to a social class that had, I think, no exact equivalent in other European countries, between landed gentry and nobility but certainly not aristocracy.

The Łąckis were part of a large clan; several of them owned modest country estates and my father, without brothers or sisters, had the companionship through childhood and youth of many maternal cousins.

Bronio - this was the nickname he continued to use all his life - felt much closer to his mother's family than to the

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Malinowskis, as indeed he felt incomparably closer to his mother than to his father. Bronio rarely mentioned my grandfather to his English friends and yet he was an eminent scholar in his field of Slavonic philology, indeed a man to be proud of. In his day he was well known in Polish and German academic circles, not only as a philologist but as an ethnographer in his special area of Silesia. He and his work are well recognised in Poland today.

Audrey Richards told me that Bronio often and forcibly disparaged Lucjan to her, saying he was stern, distant and did not try to understand his son. I can make no judgements on that; I really don't remember hearing anything about my Polish grandfather when I was a child - I must have, but I don't remember it - whereas our Polish grandmother was a real 'presence' to us children. We never knew her, as she died a year before our parents married.

She was a woman of outstanding intellect, great determination and utter devotion to her gifted son. She was a handsome young woman, with a small corseted waist and ringleted hair, as photos show. As she got older she got heavy, wearing her grey hair back in a tight bun; but she kept her upright carriage and her face retained its good looks, the broad brow, penetrating eyes and large well-shaped mouth.

Lucjan Malinowski died of a heart attack at the age of 58 when Bronislaw (who was to die in the same way at the same age) was only 14. The family had been living in Cracow University grounds, but widow and son had to leave this home and thereafter lived in various flats in central Cracow. They were always rather hard up. A professor's pension was not very generous: there was, however, some family money.

A constant problem was Bronio's health. He had been a sickly child and once nearly died of peritonitis; he had especially severe trouble with his eyes. He had entered one of Cracow's best secondary schools, the Jan Sobieski Gimnazjum, but remained there as an internal student for only a year before his eyesight became so bad that he was threatened with blindness. For the rest of his school-days he was an external student, working at home, having for much of the time to lie in a darkened room, his eyes bandaged. His mother took him through his school-work in all his subjects, including Greek and Latin which she had to learn so as to be able to be his guide.

Of course others, including his teachers and fellow pupils, read him through his courses, but his mother bore the brunt of it. He could never have completed his schooling, which he did brilliantly despite these handicaps, without her, and he never forgot it. The story became a sort of legend in our household.

In 1902 Malinowski went straight on from school to Cracow University, living at home, his mother often taking in boarders to extend their income. Some of these boarders were fellow students of Bronio's to whom this forceful and intelligent woman became a substitute mother.

Bronio's eyesight and general health recovered somewhat and at various times between 1899 and 1906 mother and son, at the

behest of the doctors, made shorter and longer journeys south in search of mild climates and sun. (They were already well travelled in the countries of Central Europe.) They went to North Italy; along the Dalmatian coast; above all to the Mediterranean, to Malta and Sicily, and North African countries; to Madeira and then for a stay of several months in the Canary Islands.

These journeys had a strong influence on Malinowski who later wrote that from that time, from about the age of 16 onwards, he had begun to 'leave' Poland, to cut his ties with his native land. These journeys in exotic places were part of the foundations of his very cosmopolitan nature; and of course such travel together in the crucial years of his late adolescence reinforced his deep attachment to his mother.

But I must not make it seem that his emotional life was centred only around his mother. Besides the network of relatives I have mentioned, Bronio had many other friends including, as he grew older, a group of young men friends notable for their intellectual and artistic gifts, almost all well known in Poland today and some, such as Szymanowski the composer and Witkiewicz, writer and painter, with wider reputations. Arthur Rubinstein writes about this group in his charming autobiography. It is not my brief here to discuss this circle in detail, but just to say that these young men were intensely interested in, and involved with, women and there is no doubt that Malinowski began his - to him always essential - love life early.

Malinowski graduated from Cracow University with the highest honours in the Austrian Empire.[1] His university subjects had been mathematics, chemistry and physics; and finally philosophy. His Ph.D. thesis, on Avenarius and Mach, was in philosophy.

It was now, in 1908, that he decided to change the course of his studies and develop his new interest in anthropology. He had been reading German and English anthropological literature and, I would guess, had been influenced by the ethnographic work of his father and his father's colleagues.

He went on to Leipzig University, where his father had obtained his doctorate, to attend the famous courses on *Völkerpsychologie* taught by Wilhelm Wundt. Between 1908 and 1910 Malinowski spent three terms at Leipzig, working also in economics under Karl Bücher and in the chemistry labs of Wilhelm Ostwald (though I am not certain if Ostwald was himself in Leipzig at that time).

He soon made an international circle of friends, many of them music lovers like himself, and among these friends there was a woman who is important to Malinowski's story, not as an

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[1] In 1908, at the impressive graduation ceremony in his sole honour in Cracow, he was presented with a large gold and diamond ring from Kaiser Franz Josef; my father had it made up into a brooch and alas my mother lost it at some time in the twenties.

intellectual influence but because she was instrumental in that most important step in his life, his decision to come to England.

She was Mrs Annie Brunton, a South African, considerably older than himself; not highly educated; a pianist who was in Leipzig for further training. They travelled around Europe together, in Germany and to Switzerland, and then in 1910 she moved to London for a year or so of music study there.

Malinowski had made only one brief visit to England, with his mother, but for many reasons had an exaggerated respect for England and things English. Annie Brunton's move to London gave my father the impetus to do the same. He felt he had an anchor there, a home to go to, and as he wrote later, living with her there he felt for the first time like a settled, even a married man.

Some years after his arrival in England Bronio wrote to a Polish woman friend, Aniela Zagórska, a cousin of Joseph Conrad and translator of Conrad's works into Polish, and also at one point Malinowski's English teacher. He set out to explain to her the reasons for his change from the natural sciences to social science, and the reasons why he came to England.

He had, he wrote, 'a highly developed Anglomania, an almost mystic cult of British culture and its exponents', and he also wrote: 'I have the impression that if I hadn't met Mrs Brunton I would never have taken up sociology [here I have to add in parentheses that I don't agree with him on this] nor would I have become to a certain extent Anglicized.' One can say that it was Annie Brunton who brought Malinowski bodily into the English-speaking, English-reading world from the relative obscurity of the Polish language. I needn't stress what a difference that made to his entire career and to the dissemination of his ideas. It gave him a world stage.

My father divided the years 1910-1914 between England and Poland, making his mark in British anthropology, studying at the LSE under Seligman and Westermarck, reading at the British Museum, and publishing his first anthropological works in both languages; and having love affairs in both countries. Annie Brunton, surely a mother figure to him, went back to South Africa, and though they continued to correspond and she is often mentioned in his published diary, her influence was really at an end.

Józefa Malinowska came to London to visit her son frequently, in the years after 1910. An old lady I once knew remembered her well as a great personality, self-contained, sure of herself, a person of consequence who knew it; even awe-inspiring to my then very young friend. She had a good command of European politics, and used to argue, especially about the position of Russia and the probability of a war, with one of her son's early English friends, Isabel Fry, the educator, and sister of Roger Fry. Bronio's friendship with Isabel, which lasted the rest of his life, was one of his platonic and intellectual friendships with women: another such long-standing one was with Ursula Grant Duff, daughter of the amateur ethnologist Lord Avebury and granddaughter

of General Pitt Rivers.

I don't know what my grandmother's early education had been: probably at home, perhaps at a convent school. She spoke German of course but her second language was French, as it was for most educated Poles in those days. She hardly spoke English but could read it. A little notebook of hers has survived, in which in her exquisite handwriting she translated, obviously for Bronio, brief excerpts from *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* by Spencer and Gillen and from *The Golden Bough*.

Józefa's last visit to England was shortly before Bronio's departure for Australia, and then New Guinea, in June 1914. They expected to meet within a couple of years, but they never saw each other again, as she died in January 1918 while he was on his second field trip to the Trobriand Islands. All through those intervening years his British friends, especially Seligman, tried to keep mother and son in touch, despite the barrier between opposing sides in the war.

Malinowski heard of her death six months after it happened, in June 1918. In his personal diary and in his letters from the Trobriands he poured out his grief, his 'furious regrets and guilt feelings', as he wrote:

> Every small detail reminds me of Mother...a mother in the full sense of the word, from whom one has taken all ideas and feelings in childhood, and who loved one beyond everything with a fanatical devotion.... I imagine what Mother felt, during these war years, of longing, of suffering, of foreboding.... I recall the countless occasions when I deliberately cut myself off from her so as to be alone and independent - I never was open with her, I never told her *everything*.... She was perfectly unselfish, so extremely intelligent and capable - What value has [my work] if I shall never be able to speak to her about it?

Audrey Richards - herself, so she told me, much influenced by the Freudian revelations that burst in on her in her youth - said to me that when Bronio first read Freud he was overwhelmed; he felt that he was a complete case of the Oedipus situation, and that this explained so much in his complex and often tortured personality. Certainly, as I said earlier, this profound attachment to his mother influenced his feelings towards other women. Whether it explains all his neuroses, as he seems to have thought, is another matter.

He expected women to be intellectually equal to men; he expected both his wives to be his co-workers; and I must say he gave his daughters the gift of never feeling that women are inferior to men. That was by no means a common gift in my youth.

When Malinowski reached Australia in 1914 war had been declared but, though technically an enemy alien, an Austrian subject, he

was able to go on to New Guinea for his fieldwork, thanks to the high recommendations he had brought with him from British anthropologists, and thanks also to several influential Australians, including Sir Baldwin Spencer of Melbourne (of Spencer and Gillen fame) and Sir Edward Stirling of Adelaide.

In mid 1915 Malinowski returned to Australia from his first six months in New Guinea and with Edward Stirling's direction saw his first New Guinea publication, *The Natives of Mailu*, through the press. The Stirlings had a beautiful daughter, Nina, and in the few weeks Bronio was in Adelaide they fell in love and he proposed to her, too hastily. I think it was his first engagement.

Then he returned to New Guinea, this time for his first long period specifically in the Trobriand Islands. No diary exists for this year, and letters between him and Nina Stirling, which might have been informative about his fieldwork, have not survived.

On his next return to Australia in 1916, Malinowski settled in Melbourne to begin working up the Trobriand field material he had collected so far. His chief mentor was Baldwin Spencer and he also saw again another academic whom he had met on his arrival in Australia in 1914, Sir David Orme Masson. Thus he met Masson's younger daughter Elsie, my mother.

Elsie Rosaline Masson, the ERM of Bronio's published diary, was then aged 26 to his 32. She was training as a nurse at Melbourne Hospital. The year before, her fiancé had been killed at Gallipoli, and deeply affected as she was by his death she wanted to do something practical in the war; her ultimate aim was to go and nurse at the front. She was Scottish-English by blood and her family background was academic on both sides. Her father had left Scotland with a new bride at the age of 28, called to the Chair of Chemistry at Melbourne University. Among the relatives who remained in Scotland were many other professors in the fields of medicine, English and music as well as several writers.

Elsie, and her sister Marnie (who was later to become a distinguished historian of Australiana: their brother became Professor of Chemistry and eventually Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield University) had a broad education, mostly at home; they travelled in Britain and on the Continent, and were both amateur musicians.

Elsie lived for a year, 1913-14, in Australia's newly-opened Northern Territory, and from there wrote newspaper articles that were turned into a book, *An Untamed Territory*, published by Macmillan in 1915. This year gave her first-hand knowledge of the life of some of Australia's Aboriginals. Bronio was impressed by her book and soon after they met asked her to help him with his work: and so they started to collaborate in the few hours she could snatch from her hospital training.

Elsie was also agitating, through the legislature, for changes in the severe conditions of work imposed on nurses then; and she was engaged in debates and, literally, soap-box oratory,

under the aegis of the Socialist Party, in favour of conscription in Australia. Her family certainly disapproved but in her new friend, Malinowski, Elsie found support and admiration, although he, as an enemy alien, had of course to stay away from all politics.

Raymond Firth, who knew her well, has described Elsie as 'a woman of rare intelligence, sympathy and understanding, loved and respected by all who knew her'. She was also vivacious and full of humour, and in the difficult years of the illness that was to afflict her a person of the greatest endurance.

She was very attractive, slender, slight, with high cheek-bones, green eyes and a lovely smile. Her red-brown hair was remarkable, thick and heavy, worn long for most of her life. When Bronio went back to the Trobriands he designed, and even learnt how to make, tortoise-shell combs for her. He was very proud of these skills: I well remember her wearing these combs even after she had had her hair 'bobbed', as they said then.

In Melbourne, Elsie and Bronio became the centre of a small circle of intellectual friends who called themselves 'The Clan'; a circle quite apart from Elsie's family friends with the exception of Elsie's closest woman friend, Mim Weigall, whose intellectual development really began with her meeting with Malinowski. Bronio and Elsie's friendship was at first only a working relationship, 'a stern acquaintance' as he called it, as she helped him with his Trobriand field notes; it was only after several months, in 1916-17, that they fell in love and tentative-ly began to discuss marriage.

There were many objections to Malinowski from the Masson parents; and though they respected his intellect they did not really like him. A scandal precipitated by Baldwin Spencer did not help matters. He had discovered that Bronio was still engaged to Nina Stirling in Adelaide, and what's more had had several other flirtations in Melbourne, and he reported this to the Massons. The battles that developed around this were not settled before Bronio again left for the Trobriands in October 1917, and it was Elsie who had to smooth matters, and especially to pacify Spencer whose influence in British anthropology could have made him a dangerous enemy. One can see Malinowski's fears about this in many entries in his published diary, but I have no evidence that Spencer ever used this personal knowledge to the detriment of Bronio as a scholar.

Letters between Elsie and Bronio flowed from and to the Trobriands and he proposed to her by letter in New Year 1918. He had still not had the resolution to make the break with Nina Stirling, and it was she who finally made it in summer 1918.

The second and last Trobriand field trip ended in October 1918 and Malinowski returned to Melbourne. In the following months Bronio and Elsie were able to wear down Orme and Mary Masson's resistance to their marriage. In later years, I must add, the Massons became reconciled to Bronio and of course very proud of his achievements.

In March 1919 'the penniless Pole' and 'the English Miss',

to use two of his phrases, were married in a drab ceremony in the Registry Office in central Melbourne. It was not an elopement, as has been said; parents, sister and some friends were there; but there were no celebrations afterwards, no reception, no honeymoon; the couple just walked away hand in hand down Collins Street.

It was a civil, not a religious, wedding because neither of them were Christian believers. Bronio, like most Poles, had been brought up in all the rites and beliefs of the Roman Catholic Church but lost his faith at an early age, an instance where his devout mother's influence failed. Elsie and her family can be described, *tout court*, as atheists, not as far as I know believing in any revealed religion though living their lives by the highest ethical and moral standards. In later years Bronio sometimes described himself as a humanist and/or reluctant agnostic who wished to believe but could not.

In the year after their marriage the Malinowskis stayed on in Melbourne, continuing work on the Trobriand material. Both were struck by that worldwide plague, the Spanish flu, and having survived it had an idyllic holiday in the Australian bush. Poland became an independent country and they both got Polish citizenship.

In March of 1920 they sailed for England to a quite uncertain future, Elsie expecting a child, and they never saw Australia again. Settling in Poland was very much in their minds, and Elsie had begun to learn Polish. She was a good linguist (not an outstanding one like Bronio) but Polish seems to have defeated her.

Their next three years were unsettled. They spent some months of 1920 in Britain where Malinowski renewed his intellectual and academic ties and Elsie, staying with relatives in Edinburgh, gave birth to a girl named Józefa Mary after her Polish and Scottish grandmothers.

The Malinowskis' next move was to the Canary Islands, much loved by my father from the visits of his youth, where they lived for a year in a country villa in Tenerife. This was the happiest time of their life together. Bronio finished his first Trobriand monograph, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, and Elsie acted as aide and critic, not least with his style. She also continued with her own writing, short stories of a Conradesque nature. And she was, as she remained, a devoted and intelligent mother.

In 1921, Malinowski went from Tenerife to England to see the publication of *Argonauts*, that most influential of books. Routledge accepted it within three days of receiving the manuscript, and, as we all know, its appearance in 1922 made his reputation.

In late 1921 the family left the Canaries for the South of France and their second daughter with the very Polish name of Wanda was born there. The Malinowskis, especially Elsie, would have liked to have had a boy but it was not to be.

From France, in summer of 1922, Bronio, Elsie and infant

Wanda made a visit to Poland, Elsie's first and only one but by no means his last. He had been invited to take up the new Chair of Ethnology at Cracow University. In 1922 the new Polish nation was in a state of economic and political turmoil, money available for the new department was scant, and Malinowski felt he could not spend the time needed for teaching and administration when he still had so much field material to write up: so they decided against it.

They still needed somewhere with a good climate, for Bronio was again apprehensive about his health, and somewhere where he could continue his *magnum opus* on the Trobriands; and their search for a place to live and work led them to a village on the edge of the Dolomites, in the South Tirol, a region reluctantly ceded by Austria to Italy at the end of the War. The village of Oberbozen (Soprabolzano), the surrounding mountains, the climate, all suited them, and in the summer of 1923 they bought the Alpine house that was to be their home for the next six years.

In 1924 my father took up the Readership offered him by the LSE and for the next five years he led a divided existence, commuting between London in term time and North Italy and his family in the vacations.

Also in 1924 the Masson grandparents, visiting Europe after Sir David's retirement in Melbourne, made a month-long and happy visit to Oberbozen. Elsie always tried to run her households on British lines; meals on time; early bed for the children after a nursery supper with some reading and music including lullabies from her or from Bronio; no Central European disarray. She acted as hostess to Malinowski's pupils who soon began to visit the house in South Tirol for working holidays: Raymond Firth, Evans-Pritchard, Isaac Schapera, Hortense Powdermaker were among the earliest.

In 1925 I was born in the South Tirol, in Bozen, and like my sisters given a Polish Christian name. It was during this pregnancy that Elsie showed the first symptoms of multiple sclerosis, from which she suffered for the ten years to her death I can't go into the story of her illness; the ups and downs; the failures of diagnosis; the treatments and mis-treatments; but of course it had a fundamental effect on the whole course of the family and on Bronio's life.

My mother went on, however, as centre of the household wherever we were, supervising the maids and cooks and nannies but always in charge of her children's upbringing. Soon she had to give up her beloved piano and singing (she and Bronio loved to sing duets together), then she could no longer walk, then no longer write. But her mind was never affected.

While her life took its downhill path, Bronio's star rose. In 1926 he spent six gloriously successful months as guest of the Rockefeller Foundation in the USA. She, still well enough to travel, saw him off on the ship at Cherbourg and rightly foresaw their future as one of more and more separations.

In 1927 Malinowski became Professor of Social Anthropology at London University, at the LSE, and the Director, Sir William

Beveridge, urged him to end his divided existence, to live in
London and ultimately to become a British subject.

Bronio and Elsie had a resistance to the idea of permanent
life in London. (Among other things Elsie, brought up in
Australia, hated English weather.) They finally had to give in,
and in 1929 moved to a house in Primrose Hill, a house that in
the following years became familiar to a host of friends, pupils,
colleagues and foreign visitors.

Elsie, now confined to couch and wheelchair, continued her
writing, this time trying a new field in a play on the subject of
black-white, European-African,relations. Bronio, having acquired
British nationality, took sabbatical leave in 1931-2 and the
Malinowski family, once more in search of good weather, moved to
the South of France, near Toulon. Here he worked on his last big
Trobriand monograph, *Coral Gardens and their Magic*, with as always
the help of many secretaries and research assistants. He dedicated
this book to his wife although, because of her progressing illness,
this was the book she had the least to do with. She never saw it
in print, as it appeared after her death.

In 1934, with the three daughters in boarding schools, it
was decided that my mother's health would benefit if she spent
some time away from the bustle and demands of the London house.
She had by now a permanent companion, an Austrian, Rosa Decall,
and they went to a little village, Natters near Innsbruck.
Though my parents still owned the house across the Austro-Italian
border in the South Tirol, it was too isolated from the valley
town, Bozen, and from medical help, whereas Innsbruck, in the
North Tirol, had an excellent University Medical School and
excellent doctors.

I think this move was a mistake. Elsie's presence as centre
of a household, and Bronio's continued need for her as critic of
his work, gave her her *raison d'être*. But that year in the
Austrian village was not all melancholy. Elsie did see her
beloved husband and children in the holidays, friends visited
her, and she occupied herself writing another play, on an
Austrian peasant theme, which she dictated to her companion Rosa.

She died, swiftly, in September 1935 with Bronio by her side
and was buried in Innsbruck. Her death, like her long illness,
caused him terrible suffering, compounded again by guilt. He
had had several liaisons, and the letters he wrote to her in that
last year, on the whole short and dutiful,show that she was no
longer immediately important to him; but at her death all his
original deep love for her re-emerged.

After my mother's death her companion stayed with the family
to look after the daughters and to run the London house. Bronio
reinforced her care for us with a safety net of women relatives
and friends who met us at trains, took us shopping, fed and
entertained us. It was probably the only way for a very busy
man, so often away, to cope with motherless girls, and I am
grateful to the memory of that procession of real and honorary
aunts.

There is a sort of paradox in the way my father regarded his

growing daughters. Before he was married he had looked forward
to fatherhood, but I think he was never quite comfortable with
the actuality. Though he wrote so much about the importance of
the family unit, he wasn't really a family man. He and my mother
had been very concerned about our education, but after her death
he seems to have been uncertain as to how much we were intellec-
tual material and to have felt that even if we were to go to
University we should aim for practical, non-academic careers.
For my eldest sister he envisaged social work as a hospital
almoner for which I think she would have been quite unsuited:
she's a successful journalist.

He was not a neglectful father in those years after Elsie's
death: he kept up a steady correspondence when we were separated
from him, and I have many happy memories of him then and later;
but it was undoubtedly a great tragedy for the three of us that
he died so early when we were 21, 20 and 17 respectively and that
we could never work out our relationships with him as adults on
our side.

Now, I want to touch on quite another matter, Malinowski's women
students. There are too many distinguished names who all deserve
detailed discussion: to mention some, Edith Clarke, Hilda Beemer
(Kuper), Lucy Mair, Hortense Powdermaker, Margaret Read, Camilla
Wedgwood, Monica Wilson; so I shall concentrate on Audrey
Richards who was almost as much an influence on Malinowski's life
as he was on hers.

Audrey came to study with Malinowski when she was 28, having
been trained in biology. It was her friend Graham Wallas who
suggested the move, and Audrey felt at once that anthropology
gave her a marvellous new field of observation. She joined the
still small but already well-known Malinowski seminars in 1927,
and another friend, Gilbert Murray, wrote to her: 'I hear you
have chosen as your guide the most lurid of all the bale stars
at the LSE'.

Bronio's women students had great affection for him not just
because he was attractive as a man, as his detractors have said,
but because, in England at least, women were not really accepted
in academic life, it was still cranky to go to University, and
the middle-class woman was expected to be cultured but not really
efficient at anything. As Audrey put it, there was a horror of
the clever woman, but Bronio didn't have it at all, and women
blossomed in this atmosphere of being taken completely seriously.

Audrey quickly became a friend of the whole Malinowski
family. Her compassionate and sensitive nature made her want to
help the invalid wife and mother, and over the years she did so
in countless day-to-day matters. She advised on our education,
and two of us went to her old school, Downe House. We all three
loved her and the refreshment of her sense of humour and sense
of the ridiculous which she brought to us, and which never left
her even in old age.

A significant period in my father's life was his visit to

Audrey on her second field trip with the Bemba in 1934. He
worked with her, though briefly, in what was his first real
fieldwork since leaving the Trobriand Islands. He came north to
what is now Zambia from a conference in South Africa, and this
was to be his only first-hand experience in Africa. It was of
such importance to him because by then he was closely linked with
the International African Institute and its research plans, and
many of his pupils, of course, chose African societies for their
field of study. In fact, he also visited the Wilsons and Hilda
Beemer in the African field.

Some time in the years after Elsie's death, Audrey and
Bronio came very close to marrying, but their temperaments were
perhaps too much alike; Audrey could not stand back, as it were,
from his volcanic nature, as my mother had been able to. Audrey
tried to intervene for us three children, to see that Bronio
fulfilled his fatherly duties; but what he demanded from his
friends, especially in the unhappy times right after Elsie's
death, was total, uncritical support of all his actions. Any-
thing else he labelled disloyalty. So their marriage plans
came - alas - to nothing. His daughters have always wished that
they had married.

In 1938 Audrey went back to Africa, this time to a teaching
post at Witwatersrand University, and she and Bronio did not meet
again. A year later, when war broke out, he was in the USA, his
daughters were in England and their governess back in her native
Austria under the Nazis. From her busy life in South Africa
Audrey cabled my father in America offering my sisters and me a
home with her there. I'm glad that that burden wasn't put on her
shoulders (Bronio, though grateful, declined), but her action
shows her continuing unselfish concern for the family's welfare -
and, perhaps, that she was still somewhat in love with my father.

Malinowski had taken another sabbatical leave in 1938 and
had gone to Arizona for his health's sake. Even before outbreak
of war in 1939 he was contemplating staying in the USA: he was on
his fifth visit there and on the whole liked the country and its
people. I say on the whole because he went through so many
changes in his attitudes to countries and places and peoples.
England went up and down in the scales, so did Poland, France,
the USA. Yet Italy was always loved by him, as were the Italian
people, despite his loathing of Mussolini's Fascism; and I think
he had the same bedrock of affection for the Spanish-speaking
world.

In September 1939 the Director of the LSE, Sir A.M. Carr-
Saunders, advised Malinowski to stay in the USA if he could find
a post there, the wartime future of the LSE being most unclear;
and he was offered a visiting Professorship at Yale University.
Late in 1939 he brought his daughters across the Atlantic and
sent us off to schools and college. When we arrived he was
living as a bachelor in one of the Yale colleges, but six months
later he married his second wife.

She was Valetta Swann, born Hayman-Joyce, an Englishwoman
twenty years his junior. I know little about her background, but

gather that she came from a well-off family, was born and brought up in Eastbourne and that her brothers were Army officers. I have been told that she stood out among the young women of her circle for her greater sense of style and elegance in clothing and her greater sense of adventure and independence. She had very English looks, fair hair, blue eyes and a fine complexion.

She was not an intellectual but she was a woman of the world, who had been married and divorced, who had travelled alone as far as Russia, and who had begun a serious career as a painter.

She and Bronio met at a party in 1933 and saw each other fairly steadily from that time on. During their partings, for the nearly seven years before they married, they kept up a correspondence which is uncomfortable to read, with much jealousy and suspicion between them, and with Bronio, older and more intelligent, usually getting the better of it.

Valetta followed Bronio to the USA early in 1939, joining him in Arizona. Then, when he took up his temporary Professorship at Yale in New Haven, Connecticut, she moved not far away to New York. Their relationship continued, in person and by letter, stormy and uncertain; and then seems to have been resolved in a blazing row or series of rows.

They married in June 1940, a civil marriage in New Haven to which we three daughters were not invited. Malinowski made no formal announcement of this marriage in, for instance, letters to England nor to Elsie's family in Melbourne with whom he had continued to be in touch. English friends have speculated on why they married. Part of the reason was that in the conservative, almost Puritan atmosphere at Yale - through most of America in those days - it was impossible for a prominent man to have an open relationship with a woman not his wife. It was marriage or nothing. Then, he needed companionship; he once more feared blindness after an operation for detachment of the retina; he had known Valetta for so long and she was part of his European past, a link with it; and no doubt in their complicated way they cared for each other.

I think she was in awe of him, with his much greater age and his reputation; yet as I have said she was very independent, and I have wondered how their marriage would have developed if it had lasted longer than the bare two years it did. She would have had to make a real sacrifice, because I cannot see how she could have continued her career as a painter with all of Bronio's demands on her.

In fact he put her to work - his work - at once. After their marriage they went to Mexico, a country he already knew and loved, and during that summer he began fieldwork in the southern state of Oaxaca, with a young Mexican anthropologist, Julio de la Fuente, as collaborator. Valetta helped in practical matters, acted as chauffeur, and made plans and drawings for Bronio's research. The following summer of 1941 was the same, and there would have been a third summer of fieldwork if his sudden death in mid-May 1942 had not ended it all.

Bronio died of a heart attack at home in New Haven, after several strenuous days in New York. It was my 17th birthday weekend so I too was, unusually, in New Haven. Valetta was not a maternal woman and neither she nor, more curiously, my father considered making a home for his daughters after our arrival in the USA: we lived with, and I'm glad to say were befriended by others, mostly in New York.

When my father felt ill that night he refused to allow Valetta to ring for a doctor, and when a doctor finally did come it was too late. His grave is in New Haven, Connecticut, far from that of his first wife.

After Bronio's death Valetta spent some time in New York preparing for publication   a nearly completed book of his, *Freedom and Civilisation*. Then she moved to Mexico, where she lived for the rest of her life, her friends among the circles of Mexican and foreign artists, not Mexican anthropologists. She became a well-regarded painter.

She was married again, to a German refugee, and then divorced and resumed the name of Malinowska. My father had died intestate and after his death Valetta took charge of his literary heritage and much else. She was responsible, in one way or another, for the publication of his posthumous books, including in 1967 the notorious one, *A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term*, actually two separate diaries he had kept in New Guinea, very personal, written in Polish and quite definitely not meant for other eyes.

A great deal has been written about the publication of this book. I myself don't think it was well edited and presented, but I have read other early diaries and diary fragments of my father's and can see what a difficult task it is to translate and edit such jottings. All the more, I feel the diaries should not have been published as they were but kept, together with his correspondence of that time, as raw material for a biographer, or perhaps published but in a different form.

I know many anthropologists do not agree with my point of view. They have mined the diaries for insights (often distorted insights) into Malinowski's character and into what day-to-day life in the field can mean, and have found these insights most valuable.

Valetta did not consult her step-daughters on these posthumous publications. Our relations-by-letter, mine from England to which I returned, my sisters' from the USA where they married and now live, soon petered out. Shortly before her death, however, she made a new will naming the three of us her heirs in all things Malinowskian: I was as surprised as I was pleased.

Before his death, Bronio had planned to put another woman in his life to help in his work, namely me. He was to take me on his third Mexican field trip, the trip that never was, and I had started learning Spanish with that aim. I sometimes wonder what the future of at least one of his daughters would have been if I had been able to work with him then.

Last year, 1984, was Malinowski's centennial, and there were

commemorations, conferences, symposia, exhibitions, in several
countries. Attending as many of these events as I could, I
thought of the women in my father's life and how many of them had
made it possible, from his childhood to his premature death, for
him to undertake and complete his significant and I think
enduring work.

HELENA WAYNE (MALINOWSKA)

ISLAM, WOMEN AND POLLUTION IN TURKEY

Concepts of pollution, i.e., ritual purity, relate both to gender construction and to gender hierarchy (Douglas 1966: 14). Much recent work on pollution refers to Southeast Asian, Melanesian and Polynesian societies (Krygier 1982; Kondos 1982; Lindenbaum 1979; Hanson 1982), but little has been written about pollution in the Islamic societies of the Middle East. The importance of pollution beliefs for the understanding of sex and gender in Turkish society has been noted (Tapper 1983: 81), but the relationship between pollution and gender has not been analysed. I shall attempt to analyse some of the implications of the belief and practice of Islamic purity law for Turkish women. I refer only to Turkish pollution law and practice, and while the analysis may have a wider generality, this remains to be determined.

The pioneer of anthropological studies of pollution, Mary Douglas (1966), cast her initial work in a fairly tight systems-functionalist framework, proposing a grid system in which societies could be placed according to the openness of their pollution beliefs. Social reality is both more complex and more fluid than her formal framework allows and I think that Turkish

pollution concepts are a case in point. They show how fundamental and pervasive pollution concepts are, and how flexibly they can be applied under varying economic and political conditions.

Mary Douglas discusses pollution concepts as 'symbolic systems' (Douglas ibid.: 47) which work at two levels, the instrumental and the expressive (ibid.: 13), and she suggests that 'some pollutions are used as analogues for expressing a general view of the social order' (ibid.: 14). When applied to Turkish material, Douglas' views raise two questions: can Turkish pollution beliefs reveal a symbolic view or model of the 'social order'; and if they can, what can such symbolic models reveal about gender relationships?

The type of symbolic modelling that I discuss here differs from the symbolic classifications discussed by Needham (1973; 1979) in being not a classification but the organizing principle on which such classifications might rest. The difference between a 'symbolic classification' and a 'symbolic model' is that between a taxonomy and a theory; the one is descriptive, the other analytical. This distinction is important because it leads to a view of Islam and to a view of women in Turkey which varies from that usually presented in the literature.

In order to see how pollution concepts relate to 'the social order' (Douglas ibid.), that is to say, how symbolic models relate to social structure, an analysis of pollution law is necessary. Therefore, some mode of transfer from the symbolic to the structural must be suggested: in other words, what is the relationship between belief and action (Geertz 1968: 111)? From this point it will be possible to turn to the implications of the analysis for Turkish women, although there is difficulty in generalizing too widely, as the variety of Turkish social experience is very great.

1.   *Islamic Pollution Law*

Western literature on Islamic law (e.g. Coulson 1964; Coulson 1971; Coulson and Hinchcliffe 1978) deals mainly with inheritance, family and commercial law, but usually omits the law of purity. But it is just this section of the law which concerns the five 'pillars' of Islam, the actual practice of the faith as it is understood by Turkish Muslims. It carried into daily life the full force of what it means to be a Muslim, of what it means to submit to Allah. Failure to understand the significance of pollution concepts in Islamic law can lead to difficulties in describing and analysing the relationship of the law to daily life, and in assessing its significance for social structure. I shall return to this point at the end of the paper.

Islamic law-books provide a rich mine of information on purity and pollution, but three things must be said about using them as a source. First, in Turkey there is not a large gap between canon law and daily practice, in so far as the law

concerns pollution. Secondly, I rely on two Sunni, Hanefi,
codifications of the law (Brandel-Syrier 1960; Isik 1978-81),
which are available in English translation. As far as can be
determined these are similar in substance to the popular texts,
freely and widely available in religious bookshops, which explain
in Turkish how to be a good Muslim and how to be a dutiful,
believing woman. And thirdly, the formulations, although old,
are in current use.

Pollution and purity are the two sides of the same coin;
pollution must be removed for an individual to be sufficiently
pure for prayer and for other religious duties. But unlike many
Melanesian societies, in Turkey pollution is an everyday state
that cannot be avoided, and does not imply moral failure or sin.
Pollutions fall into two classes, minor and major, each of which
can be removed by the techniques of purification. As is
indicated in Figure 1, major pollution results from a limited
number of actions (sexual intercourse and menstruation being the
most common), while minor pollutions result from a range of
ordinary actions. It would be difficult to maintain the body in
a pure state from one set of prayers to another, and indeed Turks
say that even if you thought you were pure, you probably would
not be, and that therefore a purification must precede prayer,
just in case. How then, is purity achieved?

2. *Purification*

There are two types of legal purification, the total and the
partial. For the total purification the entire surface of the
body must be touched by the purifying agent, which is usually but
not always, water. The purpose of wetting head and facial hair
is to ensure that water comes into contact with the surface of
the head and face; teeth and finger and toe nails must be cleaned
prior to purification to permit water to flow around and under
them, and, for the same reason, toes and fingers must be spread
apart. No nook or cranny may be forgotten or ignored, and
instructions are detailed and complex, both on the various parts
of the body, and in the discussion of what to do if water is not
available.

The order of the actions of purification is specified.
Purification of the hands precedes that of the head, the head
that of the feet, and in each case the purification of the right
side of the body precedes that of the left. The partial
purification, necessary to remove minor pollutions, follows the
same principles but is applied to the head, forearms and feet
only. In both, however, the water must flow over the entire
surface of the part of the body to be purified.

The essence of purification, then, whether total or partial,
is that the *entire surface* of the specified parts of the body
should be touched by the purifier; that the purifier should *flow*;
and that on no account may the purifying agent enter into the

Figure 1: Causes of pollution

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major impurities	sexual intercourse
	post-partum discharge
	mentrual blood
	touching a cold corpse
minor impurities	excretion
	bowel gas
	vomiting
	tears[1]
	fainting
	madness and intoxication
	deep sleep
	strong emotions (laughter,[2] grief)
forbidden foods	pork
	blood
	alcohol
	animals sacrificed to other gods
unclean places	abbatoirs
the body	nudity discouraged
	'private parts' must never be exposed
	hair requires special control
	male circumcision
inoperative prohibitions	silk clothing and gold jewellery for men
	gambling and prophesying
	blowing on knots
	usury

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[1] For Rumi's answer to a question about weeping and the validity of prayer, see Arberry (1961: 156).

[2] See Lane (1836: 12) for an illustration of self-control and laughter. I first learned of these aspects of pollution from informants and only later found them in the law-books.

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body. The last point is illustrated by the careful instructions concerning organs like the ears, nose, mouth and anus; they must be rinsed without water being allowed to pass from them into the body. The inside and outside of the body must be kept *totally* apart and distinct.

Islamic purifications are often referred to in English as ablutions, a ritual washing. This can be misleading. Purification is in no sense a 'washing' and, of course, washing to remove dirt is a totally different procedure. All substances, including dirty ones, must be removed from the body surface before purification, so that water can flow across the body surface (Isik 1981 [4]:22-23). Purification would only incidentally remove substances considered dirty, and its purpose is not to clean but to reassert the integrity of the body surface, to make what has been breached by daily life whole again, and to make sure that the boundary between inner and outer is intact. In Turkey the body is cleaned in the steam-bath or its equivalent, and while cleanliness is next to godliness, it is quite separate from it. For legally valid prayer the body must be both clean and purified.

3. *Pollution and Prayer*

Prayer is one of the five 'pillars' or obligations of Islam, and while relatively few Turks pray five times a day, many pray daily. In order to pray the person must be ritually pure. The legal requirements for valid prayer are, therefore, spelled out very clearly in the law-books and in the manuals based upon them. Every action, every movement, every detail of the process is described and circumscribed so that the believer can have no possible doubt as to the acceptability of the prayer or the correctness of the process. In addition to purity, valid prayer requires the complete concentration of the body and mind on God. This requirement does not vary greatly from region to region (cf. Siegal 1969: 109 for Acheh) and is, as will be seen shortly, an important aspect of pollution. Prayer and pollution concepts go together in a particular way, and because of this,pollution law is, for many pious Turks, a matter not only of legal texts but of daily practice. It is often asserted that women are more religious than men, and while it is impossible to verify such a proposition, I am aware from my field experience in Izmir that many urban women try to take ten or twenty minutes from a busy day to devote themselves to prayer. The point is not whether women are more pious than men, but that Turkish women of all classes, regions and situations are often very interested in their religion and pray regularly. For many women, then, pollution law is daily practice.

There are three ways in which prayer makes a strong statement about the community of believers. First, while prayer can take place anywhere, the Friday midday prayer, which draws large crowds, *must* take place in the mosque and is obligatory for men. Similarly, the dawn prayers in the mosque which precede the great festival days (the Feast of Sacrifice and the Festival of Sweets) are obligatory. In Turkey each of these prayers attracts an enormous crowd of worshippers, even in inclement weather. Women

do not attend any of the obligatory mosque prayers. The weekly
Friday prayer and the two annual festival prayers are public
affirmations of the structural, visible community of Islam, and
assert that that community is male. Each of these important
prayers must be preceded by a total purification, whereas the
other, daily prayers require only the partial purification,
unless major pollution has occurred.

The second way in which prayer makes a statement about the
community of believers is that women are regularly excluded from
prayer by pollution. While menstruating and during the period
after birth a woman cannot purify herself or make formal valid
prayers, and is placed outside the community of believers.

Thirdly, communal prayer is valued over solitary prayer
(Kamal 1964: 11; Doganbey 1963: 209). While it is perfectly
legal and acceptable to pray alone, praying in a mosque is
better. Women usually pray at home, alone, and do not attend
the highly-valued, regular, communal prayers in the mosque. The
practice of prayer is connected to the gender structures of the
community, and pollution laws are framed in such a way that the
participation of women in the daily practice of their religion is
limited.

For practical purposes it is prayer which makes both a
Muslim and the Islamic community. Prayer, politics and gender
are bound together in the daily practice of Islam, and the
relationship of women to prayer and to their community is
governed by concepts of pollution set out in the ritual purifi-
cation which precedes it. Because of the centrality of prayer in
law and in practice, and because of the rules of purification,
the model of society presented through prayer gives women secon-
dary status. Therefore, through concepts of pollution estab-
lished in the process of purification and prayer which affect men
and women differently, a male model of society is established for
all believers.

Through the law governing the regular practice of prayer,
women learn pollution categories which define them as secondary
and, as will be shown, in need of control. Prayer is the way in
which the individual is drawn into the community of believers,
all of whom are equal before God; but prayer is also the means by
which women are given secondary status in the world of men and
are regularly excluded from the male community through pollution.
The degree of 'outsideness' caused by the important, specifically
female pollutions is indicated by the law which forbids divorce
during the period of menstruation and after childbirth.

4. *Pollution and Women*

In the analysis of purification and prayer, the use of the
categories of inner and outer, and their relationship to the
body surface was noted. This relationship can be seen more
clearly in the situations which are considered to be polluting.

Figure 1 shows the major and minor pollutions. They fall into
two groups: those caused by a substance crossing the margins of
the body; and those caused by a loss of control of the body or
mind. Polluting substances are semen, menstrual blood, urine and
tears - in other words, all substances which cross the surface of
the body, except for breast milk, which is not mentioned at all.
(This exception will be discussed in a forthcoming essay.)
Saliva is not polluting in this context, but it becomes important
in the legal discussions of fasting for Ramazan.

Menstruation is in itself polluting. While menstruating, a
woman is unable to achieve the state of purity necessary for
valid prayer, fasting, pilgrimage to Mecca and reading the Koran;
that is, a woman is unable to participate in the symbolic
construction and expression of Islamic society. Ritual purity
cannot be restored until the flow of blood stops. The
categories set out in purificatory ritual suggest that menstru-
ation is polluting because the boundary of the body is trans-
gressed, an inner substance flowing to the outside. Sexual
intercourse is forbidden during menstruation (Brandel-Syrier
1960: 32; Isik 1980: 28-9, 31), but no danger to men results from
it, nor is any special purification necessary to remove menstrual
blood from men; it is not dangerous. Menstrual blood is just as
polluting as semen, although it differs from semen in that it
continues to flow across the body boundary; its flow cannot be
controlled.

The essence of this formulation of pollution is that of
movement or 'flow'. For example, 'Ablutions [must be free] from
all flowing blood' (Brandel-Syrier 1960: 9). Flow also explains
the nature of pollution caused by sexual intercourse, which is
equally polluting to women and men. For both, fluids flow, and
in doing so body boundaries are crossed. The pollution which
results can be removed only by a total purification, which can
then be seen to be the process by which the wholeness, integrity
and control of the body is reasserted.

The importance of the movement of fluids across the boundary
of the body is shown by the detailed legal discussions of what
does and does not constitute intercourse, and what does or does
not constitute a loss of purity during prayer. By analysing the
detail of the legal arguments and the possibilities being
discussed, it is possible to see that it is ejaculation rather
than coition which is polluting. It is neither intercourse with
women, nor women as such, which pollute. Any act which results
in ejaculation, whether anal, animal or homosexual is similarly
polluting (Isik 1981 [4]:32). Masturbation and nocturnal
emissions (male or female) are, legally, just as polluting as
sexual intercourse (Brandel-Syrier 1960: 13; Isik 1981 [4]:31).
There is a special technique, described in the law-books, for
discharging any semen that might remain inside the body and which
might otherwise trickle out inadvertently during prayer. Although
intercourse is considered to be polluting, analysis indicates
that it is the flow of sexual fluids across the boundary of the
body which is crucial.

While the process of purification utilizes distinctions between left and right and between upper and lower, these are not the bases of pollution. The basis of pollution is the separation of inner and outer into discrete, mutually exclusive categories, and the need to keep them apart. The symbolic separation is achieved during the purification which precedes prayer and other major rites. Once the body is established as separated into inner and outer, it is correctly oriented towards God, so that the right:left categories become more significant. However, as will be shown shortly, bodily control and concentration of the mind are much more important than left and right; loss of control during prayer leads to pollution. The concern with control carries through from structure (inner:outer) to process (left:right and upper:lower).

(a)   Women and the Left

Before proceeding further with these polarizations it is interesting to note that, unlike the situation in many Mediterranean societies, there is no link between women and the left hand in the law-books and in Turkish practice. Female impurity is described and defined in quite other ways. In the mosque, for example, women pray behind the men or in a separate gallery, which can be on either side of the mosque, or upstairs. This contrasts with the practice of the Greek community in Izmir of placing women in church to the left. It is possible that societies which are formally gender-segregated do not organize ground-space on a left-right principle. The use of this dichotomy may be for quite other purposes, of which one suggested by evidence from Turkey is to mark the crossing of spatial or conceptual thresholds. One moves into a household right foot forward, into a mosque right foot forward and out of a mosque left foot forward. One begins an action with the right and ends with the left. In other words, left and right are associated with symbolic boundaries and with how to move safely across them, but not with gender or with the organization of ground-space. These boundaries are recognized by men and women and affect both identically.

    In the literature dealing with the Turkishness of Turkish Islam the veneration of thresholds by the pre-Islamic Turks is often mentioned. In Turkish epics, the expression 'of the left and of the right' is used as a term of inclusion rather than as one of polarization (Sumer *et.al.*1972: xiv, 63, 192 n.40). While it is possible that the symbolic use of a left:right dichotomy in Turkey is a specifically Turkish or Altaic contribution to Islam, it is a usage which is also Semitic (Chelhod 1973). What really needs to be accounted for is not the origin of the use of left and right as a principle of symbolic or spatial organization, but the Christian association between women, the left hand, and impurity.

    The difference in approach to women and the left in

Christianity and Islam can be seen in the different versions of
the story of Adam and Eve that are found in the biblical and
Koranic texts. In the biblical version, woman is created from
the left side of man and causes the expulsion of humans from
Paradise. The connection between woman and man's fall is made
explicit in Spain by giving the serpent a female face (Brandes
1980), and the relationship between Eve, weakness and sin is
'deeply rooted...at the popular level' in contemporary Greece
(Hirschon 1978: 68). In the Koran (Sura 2) it is not Eve, but
Satan, who causes the Fall.

The Christian story of Eve being formed from the left side
of Adam is recorded in some extra-Koranic traditions, but in
others Eve's leftness is not mentioned. The Koranic origin myth
lacks the strong association between leftness, woman and sinful
sexuality that characterizes Christian belief (Reuther 1979: 42).
The evidence suggests that the polarization of left and right
which is made in Islamic ritual and in symbolic space is secon-
dary, and while relatively widespread, is weak.

The practice of orienting prayer toward Mecca rather than to
the east weakens the connection between east and the right hand
which is found in Christianity, and further severs the ritual
links between Islam and the solar cults which preceded it at
Mecca. The primacy of the inner:outer distinction and the
emphasis on bodily control undermines the impact of left:right.
Rather than being associated with other categories in a classifi-
cation, in Turkey leftness and rightness are associated with
margins and boundaries, with changes of state. Most importantly
though, a left:right dichotomy is not the basis of pollution and
does not appear to be linked to the construction of gender.

(b) Pollution and 'Flow'

That pollution results from the movement or flow of substances
across body boundaries is supported by the legal discussions
concerning illnesses which prevent the achievement of ritual
purity. These are bleeding from the nose or from a wound, incon-
tinence, constant vomiting, and so on. The approach to these
varies, and lawyers seem unwilling to exclude someone from prayer
who is stricken in these ways, so that there is much discussion
and definition as scholars try to escape the logical decision.
But a man who suffers from a dripping penis which cannot be
staunched is polluted, and this is recognized (Isik 1981 [4]:49),
if evaded. Hence the lengthy discussions concerning when a nose
can be declared to be not bleeding, how much vomiting constitutes
vomiting and whether it matters whether you swallow it or spit it
out.

The process of purification and the concepts of pollution to
which they refer together constitute a logical system, the most
significant components of which are the body, its integrity, its
surface and its control. Once pollution is understood in these
terms, a further observation can be made. This is that 'flow' is

important in defining water. Earlier in this essay, the importance of the flow of water over the body surface was mentioned. During the partial purification (*abdest*), the hands are held up and water is allowed to trickle down the forearms. This gesture is characteristic and necessary, and all mosques make provision for flowing water for purification. Similarly, washing requires running water. Turks do not regard sitting in a tub of hot soapy water as cleansing, and hand-basins rarely have plugs. Water from fast-flowing streams and springs is greatly valued and sought after. Wherever water is used, it must flow (Isik 1981 [4]: 53). Stagnant water is unclean and thus cannot render other things either legally or hygienically pure. Against this background it may seem more comprehensible to non-Muslims that sand or dry soil can be used as a purifying agent if water is unavailable. The property it shares with water is its ability to 'flow' over the body surface in the way which is necessary for purification.

To summarize the argument so far, the first and most important distinction is that between inner and outer. This is the basis of pollution and, as we shall see, of the definition of the community which is built upon it. Then comes the spatial organization of the body into left:right and upper:lower distinctions. This organization is not important in defining pollution or in structuring the symbolic community built upon it. The requirement for control, however, is constant and crucial. Pollution law rests on three concepts: on the primary distinction between inner and outer, on the need for control to maintain the division, and on the threat posed by flowing substances. The result is a systematic logic of pollution, a logic which is in no sense a 'grammar' but which, like the grammar of a language, can be used without it being consciously formulated.

5. *Pollution and Women*

How does this concept of pollution affect Turkish women?

Pollution keeps a woman from daily prayer, prevents her from completing the annual fast (Ramazan) or any other fast she may wish to undertake, and from carrying out the rites of pilgrimage (*hac*; Arabic *hajj*) in Mecca. While polluted, she may not read or touch the Koran. These restrictions apply equally to polluted males, but while male pollution is controllable, female pollution is not. No man is prevented from fasting; all that is required is a total purification. No man risks the invalidation of his pilgrimage, except through his own, controllable, failure to observe the restrictions of the pilgrim state. Pollution does not absolve a woman of her religious duties, it merely defers them. Although women do not make up missed prayers, fast-days lost must be observed later. Pollution does not alter a woman's religious obligations, but it alters the way in which she carries them out.

Pollution concepts have the effect of preventing women from regular contact with God and of regularly pushing women outside

the community of believers. They do this in two ways. First, women are polluted by the movement of substances across the body boundary, from inner to outer, and secondly, women are polluted because they lack the ability to control these movements. A man can control his risk of major pollution through celibacy; a celibate woman would still be uncontrollably polluted through menstruation. Pollution categories not only establish the structure of the Islamic community, they also define women as uncontrolled. Women cannot control themselves, and lack of control threatens the internal social and moral structure of the community; women must, therefore, be controlled if the community is to retain its order. This is crucial to understanding female-male relationships in Turkey. Such a view of women has nothing to do with distinctions between society and nature, with a left: right dichotomy, with sacred or profane, or with morality. It results logically and unavoidably from the primacy of the inner: outer dichotomy, a definition of pollution based on the concepts of movement across a boundary, and on control.

In contrast to Greek Christianity (Hirschon 1978), Islamic pollution law does not define sex as evil or dangerous. Pollution concepts are not related to notions of sin. Actions which result in pollution may or may not be sinful - for example heterosexual intercourse is not a sin, but homosexual intercourse is.

Attitudes to hair, the need to control hair, and the way in which hair is the concern of fundamentalist preachers, indicate that hair, particularly women's hair, is dangerous. If sexuality is not in itself polluting, and if women are not in themselves polluting, how does the danger from hair arise?

Body hair must be strictly controlled by both men and women in Turkish society. Women who uncover the face often find it much more difficult to uncover the hair. But women wear the head-hair long, while men wear theirs short. Against the back-ground of pollution law, women's hair can be seen as doubly polluting; it flows across a body boundary, and it is uncon-trolled. Women, as was shown earlier, are also defined as uncontrolled, and they are further identified as such through wearing the head-hair long. Pollution concepts do not deny but acknowledge female sexuality, so that women are also defined as sexual. The two attributes suggest that women's sexuality is uncontrolled, a threat to male society and to male control of it - hence the fundamentalist concern with women's hair. However, hair is being used to state a lack of control which has already been defined. It reinforces pollution categories but it does not determine them.

What, then, is the relationship of the structuring of the body to the structure of society? If the body is divided so firmly into inner and outer, is this dichotomy also at the base of social structure? The analysis suggests that there is no simple translation of this dichotomy from its symbolic and conceptual role in prayer, into a means of organizing social structure or topographical space. The inner:outer dichotomy is

used to organize social structure in a less direct, but very effective, way. It is used to organize society into two sections, not into inner and outer, but into male and female. The distinction between inner and outer is fundamental to social structure, but is not organized according to an inner:outer principle. The inner:outer body translates into a male:female society. This is to say that inner:outer is the basis for gender construction, and that gender is the basis for social organization. This has some interesting implications for the seclusion of women, a subject that is dealt with in a forthcoming essay.

Pollution law as preached and practised from the mosque presents a model of society through which gender is defined and in which the relationship between men and women is hierarchical. Not only are gender relationships hierarchical, but the community is defined in terms of gender relationships. When purification ritual refers to the community, it refers to a community structured into two genders, with men in control of women. I suggest that this is a male model of society; it is strongly bounded, or closed, as Ardener (1972; 1975) suggests that such male models generally are; this model is identified with the 'pole' of society that the Turners (1978) refer to as 'structural' and 'exclusive'. But because the model is presented and expressed through the regular practice of purification and prayer, the male model is also held by women. The process of prayer, then, is the mechanism or mode of transfer by which a symbolic model of society moves through praxis to social structure.

6. Women and the Law

I now want to turn to the problem of the relationship between Islamic law and Turkish social structure that was raised at the beginning of this essay, and to indicate the importance of pollution law for our understanding of this relationship.

The relationship of law to custom and to social structure is discussed by Keddie and Beck (1978) in the introduction to their influential book on Muslim women. They approach the status of Muslim women by first suggesting that:

> The embedding of the position of women in Islamic texts and law may largely account for the conservatism of Islam regarding women's position as compared with other parts of the Third World, where such religious embedding is less deep.

They go on to ask why it is that

> ...the family and personal status aspects of Islamic law and custom have been held onto most tenaciously. Whereas Islamic civil and commercial codes have often been swept

away with a virtual stroke of the pen, the same has been
true of family law only in Turkey.

Following from this line of thought their question then becomes

...not why traditional Islamic culture has been more
discriminatory toward women than other major cultures
[but] why Islamic society has been more conservative in
its maintenance of old laws and traditions in this area
[i.e., family and women] than have other societies -
although the others have not lacked conservatism.

They suggest that the political subservience of most
Islamic males 'may encourage men to keep control of the only area
they can - that of women and children' (ibid.: 28). While this
last point is important, it is insufficient in itself to account
for the dimensions and nature of the relationship between Islam,
the family and women. Here I consider just one aspect of their
argument, that of the connection they posit between legal texts,
legal change and the status of women.
     The question I would ask is this: is the status of women
indeed embedded in the way that Keddie and Beck propose, and if
so, why is it that the texts should be so influential? To the
last part of the question the traditional answer is that the
sacred texts were written into law. This is at best a partial
answer. There are injunctions in the Koran which are not re-
expressed in law and which have been totally ignored; there are
injunctions which are written into law but which require
constant vigilance to enforce or which are widely ignored; and
there are customs which are not in the Koran or written into law,
but which are nevertheless widely observed (e.g. circumcision).
There is also the need for the interpretation of the law, of its
intent and meaning, a need which is often solved through resort
to the Hadith (traditions regarding the sayings and actions of
the Prophet). The Hadith are classified into categories of
reliable, unreliable and false, but even so are a flexible body
of aphorisms and statements which could just as easily be used to
promote change as to support the status quo. While textual law
may at first seem to encourage conservatism, this cannot be
assumed.
     The analysis of pollution law suggests that some important
concepts regarding women and their place in society are indeed
embedded in Islamic law, but not in quite the way that Keddie and
Beck propose. It suggests that these are to be found in the laws
of purity and pollution, and not in family law. Unlike family
law, which is constantly subverted in practice and which has the
capacity to improve the economic status of many Muslim women,
pollution law has been relatively unchanging and is incorporated
into the daily life of Turkish men and women very much as it is
written. Pollution law is rarely written into legal codes, and
breaches attract no legal sanctions. It is nevertheless widely
accepted and followed. Family law is usually written into legal

codes, but this guarantees neither its application, nor its enforcement, nor its consistency.

Until the significance of pollution is more clearly understood, its response to economic and political factors cannot be known. As a corollary to this, the effects of economic and political factors on the status of Turkish women will not be understood until rigorous theoretical models of pollution can be established.

As Keddie and Beck noted, Islamic family law has been discarded only in Turkey. Atatürk's new constitution affected Islamic family law radically, while leaving the practice of mosque religion denigrated but relatively untouched. It left Turks reasonably free to practise their religion through prayer and purification. This is to say that the new legislation did not touch pollution concepts, the concepts which form the basis for gender construction and gender hierarchy. The legislation which so altered Turkish 'society' thus left the basis of the symbolic Islamic community intact, and left men and women in basically the same relationship to each other as before.

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THE BRAZILIAN INDIAN MINORITY:
ETHNOCIDE AND POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Introduction

The main purpose of this paper is to point out a number of
changes which have occurred in Brazilian policy towards the
Indians in recent years, and their effects on the Indian
population. The theme and period covered are relevant, since
they make it possible to grasp the onset of a process which may
in the near future give the Indian movement a new direction, and
even change the traditional relationship between Indians and
national society.

Throughout the history of the country relations between
Indians and non-Indians have been mainly of a violent nature.
The state has focused its action on satisfying the ruling
economic and social interests, which includes free access to the
Indians' lands as well as to their labour. Both the Indians and
the land they inhabited were originally made to submit to the
legal order established by the colonizers and legitimized by
right of conquest. Hit hard by periods of enslavement, wars of
extermination and other manifestations of force, the Indian
peoples have seen their numbers fall drastically. In the
sixteenth century they were estimated at five to six million, and
they have reached the present day with only a little over 200,000.

Not until this century were the foundations of Indian policy
questioned, under the influence of positivism and other liberal
schools of thought. In 1910 there emerged an innovative

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conception of Indian affairs: recognition of their right to
possession of the territories still remaining in their hands, and
of their right to the independent development of their institu-
tions and social values. This new policy was put into practice
by a government agency known as the Indian Protection Service
(SPI), the intention at that time being to replace religious
catechizing with government protection and to guarantee the
exercise of a number of basic rights by the Indians.

A few years later, in 1916, Article 6 of the first codifi-
cation of civil law in Brazil laid down that the Indians were
'relatively incapable', and established the principles which were
to guide the guardianship or tutelage to be practised by the
State. This legal solution was aimed at setting up a protection-
ist intermediary which would shield the Indian communities from
the abuses committed against their members and territories. It
was believed that this guardianship would in practice mean
offering the Indians a welfare service, which was justified by
their visible vulnerability in the face of capitalist dynamics.
Thus in order to have the right to protection by the State the
Indians were obliged to accept limitations to their civil rights
of the same kind as those imposed on youths over 16 but under 21
years of age.

For some years the SPI was able to carry out a welfare
policy, but it was not long before the humanitarian premises
defined at the time of its creation were gradually left behind,
and it was eventually dissolved in 1967. It was replaced by the
National Indian Foundation (Funai), which has been responsible
for the State's guardianship over the Indians until the present
day. Funai is subordinate to the Ministry of the Interior, and
therefore has to submit to the developmentalist interests which
determine the policies of the executive branch. Indian rights
and interests are ignored in favour of the high priority given to
major projects such as highways, hydro-electric power stations,
land policy, etc., as we shall see below.

The Indian Population

Only approximate data are available on the size of the Brazilian
Indian population. Precise calculations are made difficult by
the lack of information on groups which have not yet been
contacted, and even on detribalized Indians. The most optimistic
estimates give a total of between 200,000 and 220,000, distri-
buted over somewhat more than 150 groups with distinct cultural
traditions, and speaking 170 different languages. They live
anywhere from forests and open countryside to the outskirts of
densely populated areas, and even in cities. More than sixty
per cent of this population, however, is concentrated in so-
called Legal Amazonia.

The Brazilian Indians represent roughly 0.17% of the total
population. Despite the protection theoretically afforded by

special legislation, their rights are constantly violated in many serious ways. Without any doubt, the most serious and all-embracing of these is the land question. Of the 316 Indian reservations whose existence is recognized by Funai, sixty per cent have no demarcated boundaries, which means that they are open to encroachment and to progressive reduction of the space available for use without the risk of immediate conflict. Even the areas which have been properly demarcated (both by the old SPI and by Funai) are almost all subject to encroachment, in addition to disagreement among the Indians themselves as to their actual borders.

But it would be a mistake to think that the problem is caused solely by the Brazilian land-tenure system and its effects, which lead to a rise in the pressure on land year by year. The deliberate failure of Funai to act on issues which require swift intervention to ensure sound solutions, together with repeated violations of constitutional guarantees and the protection afforded by ordinary laws, has led to an Indian policy which is essentially anti-Indian. It is a policy which goes out of its way to destroy the viability of the existing communities in order to make the Indian peoples an undifferentiated part of Brazilian society.

The key concept which at one and the same time expresses and justifies this process is *integration*. The Indian Statute itself states it as one of its principal aims, and in Article 1 refers to it with the same emphasis as that given to the idea of protection:

> This law regulates the legal status of Indians and
> forest-dwellers and of their communities with the
> aim of preserving their culture and progressively
> and harmoniously integrating them into the national
> community.

Integrating means incorporating. It might be said that the first, and indeed fundamental, stage of assimilation was concretely achieved in the Constitution now in force, which states that the land occupied by the Indians 'is part and parcel of Federal property' (Article 4). The incorporation of tribal territories into Federal property represented a serious limitation of the rights of these peoples, and bore irrefutable witness to their status as dominated peoples. Whereas in the colonial period their dominion over the territory was recognized, today it is defined only as their possession. They were originally said to be different from the Europeans and their descendants, but they have now become Brazilian citizens, and their lands are state property. This compulsory incorporation was obviously aimed mainly at the land; citizenship was granted as a logical conse-quence of this, and at the same time as a means of submitting the Indians to the power of the state.

The second stage of integration, still in progress, aims to destroy the Indians' economic and political autonomy, and is

conducted through official policy towards them. This is
expressed in a constant effort to weaken the solidarity, mutual
aid and sense of collective possession of the land which consti-
tute the organizational principles of the vast majority of these
peoples. It also encourages a progressively more intense
involvement with Portuguese, the national language, and with the
values and norms of Brazilian society.

Day-to-day Dealings with Indians

Article 4 of the Indian Statute classifies the existing popula-
tion according to three categories which indicate the degree of
their relations with Brazilian society: isolated Indians,
Indians undergoing integration, and integrated Indians. This
classification, however, not only indicates the intensity of
contact; it can also be said to reflect the trajectory forced on
the communities, not only by the presence of capitalism and the
inevitable introduction of commercial exchange and consumption,
but by virtue of the actions undertaken by the government agency
acting as guardian. It is through the day-to-day practice of the
welfare service that the processes which help to undermine basic
traditional relations are insinuated, by taking away from the
community the time and social space it needs to reorganize its
own mode of living.

The Indians classed as isolated are the so-called 'savages'
who stand in the way of the advancing frontier. It is not long
before the idea of 'pacifying' them arises, usually to serve
business interests in the area. The presence of Indians becomes
intolerable in areas opened up to capitalist exploitation, not
only because of the insecurity it spreads through the pioneer
camps, but also because of the additional investment of resources
it makes necessary to defend the fronts which encroach on tribal
territory. Most of the cost is transferred to the state, which
is responsible for organizing expeditions to attract these
Indians. One technique of 'attraction' is the abundant distri-
bution to the Indians of industrialized articles. Axes, knives,
scissors, aluminium containers, etc. are strategically placed so
as to be easily found. After a variable period of aggressive
demonstrations or indifference, the Indians usually appear for a
peaceful encounter. Attracted by the apparent plenty and
generosity, they believe they have come upon secure relationships
which will free them from attacks and encroachments. On such
occasions a tract of land is usually interdicted within the
supposed boundaries of the Indians' territory. The attraction
fronts provide information concerning signs of abandoned camps or
villages, areas through which the Indians move, and other kinds
of data which help to define the limits of the area.

This first stage of so-called pacification is conducted by
experienced agents (*sertanistas*), whereas the following stages
are carried out by the station heads. Their main aim at this

point is to effect a transition from the generosity of the initial
contacts to a more balanced relationship of exchange. They start
from the supposition that anyone who gets a present will of
course be pleased and return for more. The station head's task
thus is gradually to introduce exchange relations and encourage
the Indians to bring in handicraft objects, in order to be
entitled to receive industrialized goods in return. At the same
time they are also encouraged to work alongside Funai employees,
beginning by helping with cleaning jobs and doing other kinds of
sporadic work. Bartering becomes more varied. Those who work
are given the right to eat meals provided by the station. The
first fire-arms are lent, and part of the game they catch has to
be given to the station employees. The attractiveness of the
shotguns is irresistible, and it is not long before they try to
obtain fire-arms of their own. Even if they are successful, the
ties with the station remain - as does the commitment to hand
over part of the game they hunt - since they continue to depend
on it for ammunition. Access to the goods sold and the medical
service provided by the station are further elements which
contribute to tying the Indians progressively closer to the
station. Once this dependence has been consolidated, perambu-
lating is discouraged or even forbidden, with the evident
intention of making the group sedentary.

     Indian attraction stations are usually staffed with around
ten to fifteen agents, but this number is reduced as soon as the
group of Indians involved becomes accustomed to the new type of
contact. In general terms, it can be said that the large staff
used on attraction fronts serves to ensure their own protection.
Once the aggressive disposition of the Indians has been neutral-
ized and the station has been fully equipped with the necessary
infrastructure there is no longer any need for such a large
staff, and all but three or four agents are withdrawn.

     It is undoubtedly true that from the standpoint of
protecting the community it is always advisable to reduce the
number of outsiders in the area, but this step in dealing with
the Indians also marks the start of a new stage in relations with
them. Each year sees the allocation of funds to implement
agricultural projects, backed up by the justification of promoting
a rational use of the land, diversification of productive
activities and production of marketable surpluses, which in turn
create resources with which to meet the group's new needs. Once
the station staff has been cut down, with the withdrawal of
manual labourers above all, these projects can be implemented
only if the Indians also take part.

     The intensification of contacts with the frontier leads to a
diversification of consumer needs and an increase in their
volume. In this apparently irreversible process the Indians
undergo a new rhythm of work and production, under a centralized
management which is foreign to the community. They lose their
initial surprise at the notion of commodities to be bought and
sold, and these then become a necessity. Their fear of interrup-
tions to supplies or even the termination of bartering makes them

submit to the authority of the welfare agency, thus preparing themselves for future obedience to the state.

According to the official classification, Indians like these are said to be undergoing integration. This stage customarily entails the appointment or legitimizing of leaders who are more compliant to the administrative requirements of the tutelary agency than to those of strengthening the community. From then on, authorized mobilization centres on the figure of the station director, who usually focuses his actions on pre-empting any parallel attempts to lead autonomous movements.

These are the ways in which the state bureaucracy seeks to appropriate the existence of the community, which is only entitled to protection if it conforms and subordinates itself to the mainstay of all its work: the administrative rules. Appropriating the existence of the community means keeping it under control. The reservation thus becomes the seat of a higher power, which seeks to maintain its own sphere of authority by producing order in a permanent struggle against the 'saboteurs' within and the 'enemies' without.

As this process goes on, the group will more often than not have had to face a loss of land, depopulation, and the disappearance of resources which are fundamental to survival. Many of them will have been incorporated into the regional labour market as wage-earners. But their participation in Brazilian society remains limited, above all because they have very little access to information. It is very unusual indeed for them to have heard of the Indian Statute, and they are ignorant of any rights they could lay claim to. The actual text of the law is seen as subversive, prone to incite agitation, and hence undesirable. In the name of security and the proper enforcement of official guardianship freedom is restricted, while at the same time it is made evident that the intention is to assimilate the Indian populations, but in a subordinate position, without access to knowledge which would enable them to intervene in the process.

The communities which usually suffer this type of compulsion are those in areas exposed to the advance of the agricultural frontier, which has been exceptionally accelerated over recent years. To complete this brief overview of the Indian question over the last few decades, let me mention some examples of what is happening in Amazonia.

Integration and National Development Projects

A good illustration of this phenomenon is the cyclical expansion of the national economy which began in 1968, after more than five years of contraction. This phase, known as the 'Brazilian miracle', entailed a remarkable growth in gross domestic product of more than ten per cent a year, as well as coinciding with repeated violations of Indian territorial rights, depopulation and disorganization of various groups. In 1970 the government

announced its National Integration Programme with the aim of settling Amazonia, mainly be building two major highways - the Transamazonian Highway, and the highway between Cuiabá and Santarém. In addition to integrating the region with more developed centres, the government also planned to reserve a 100-kilometre wide tract of land on either side of the Transamazonian Highway (in the Estreito-Itaituva section) for animal raising and settlement projects.

Begun in 1970 and finished in 1973, the gigantic Transamazonian development in now considered one of the biggest mistakes made by the Médici administration. The number of families actually settled along the road fell far short of the target of 500,000 in five years; in 1980 only 10,037 had been moved in and even they were living in bad conditions. The settlement project was a failure because the region's 'empty spaces' remained unfilled, contrary to the plan, and also because the settlers were not given the necessary conditions in which to settle. The region was hardly made attractive by lack of financing, transport and technical assistance, and by the presence of tropical diseases such as malaria.

The Indian groups in the region, however, were seriously affected. As soon as preparations to start building had begun, the government requested Funai to undertake the urgent attraction of any Indians to be found along the proposed route. According to Funai, there were in the area twelve isolated tribes, nine assimilated tribes, and eight in intermittent contact.

The Parakanã are a tragic example of the groups by then in contact. These Indians had been 'pacified' in 1900 when their territory was crossed by the Tocantins Railway. At that time they were one thousand strong. Fifty years later, the SPI contacted them again, and by that time one quarter of their members had been lost to infectious disease. They took refuge once more in the forest, but were contacted again and transferred to the Pucurui reservation when the Transamazonian highway was being built. But their troubles were not yet over. Around this time, the government established a programme involving the construction of several hydro-electric power stations in the Amazon Basin. One of these, in Tucuruí on the River Tocantins, was started in 1975. This gigantic development was designed to generate power for three large mining projects. A large part of the Parakanã territory was to be flooded by the Tucuruí reservoir, meaning that the group which had just been contacted would have to be transferred yet again, with the aggravation that the new site chosen to settle them was already being encroached upon by local peasants. In their new villages they found themselves without fish - a major source of food for these Indians - due to their absence in the nearby streams.

Lack of action by the government and the violence which is characteristic of the frontier areas had by 1982 led these Indians to lose approximately half the population which had accepted contact with Funai. There were little more than 170 of them left, without any motivation to reorganize their lives, and

divided into two groups with little inter-tribal contact. At the
same time, about 100 'wild' Parakanã were attempting to approach
one of these villages.

After being removed several times, the Parakanã will still
have to face unforeseeable changes in the region's ecology. The
Tucuruí Dam will lead to the flooding of 2,160 square kilometres
of forest. But the hydro-electric power programme in the Amazon
Basin is not limited to Tucuruí - all told, 21 new power stations
will be built by 1995, affecting about 30,000 Indians. And the
region is also a target for large mining projects. Since 1967
the region has been discovered to contain the world's biggest
high-quality iron-ore reserve, Brazil's second biggest manganese
reserve, and a considerable amount of copper, bauxite, nickel,
tin and gold. In 1979 the 'Grande Carajás' Project was launched,
covering part of the state of Pará, Maranhão and the north of
Goiás, with an estimated cost of 63 billion dollars. In addition
to mining and metallurgy, which will absorb ninety per cent of
the resources, the plan also included forestation projects, which
were to occupy 2.4 million hectares with eucalyptus reforestation,
as well as agricultural projects along the railway to be built as
a means of conveying the minerals to the Atlantic. Many mouth-
watering advantages were offered to investors: electric power
supplied by Tucuruí, subsidized costs for aluminium projects,
transport infrastructure, and a whole range of fiscal and tax
incentives such as income tax exemption for ten years.

In the wake of these events, Funai announced in 1982 that it
would implement a programme aimed at the welfare of the Indians
located along the Carajás-Itaqui railway. The World Bank (one of
the agencies financing the Carajás Project) passed resources on
to Funai to protect the Indian territories, and recommended that
their boundaries be officially demarcated.

These projects had a major impact on the Indians. The
Montanha Gavião saw their land being invaded by the building sites
connected with the construction of the Tucuruí power station.
Threatened by government agents, the Indians were obliged to
abandon their land without any compensation. The Mãe Maria
Gavião faced equally serious problems; with roads being built
across their land, as well as the Carajás-Itaqui railway and
encroachment, they have had to deal with the pollution of their
water sources. Forest clearing has led to a drastic fall in
brazil-nut production owing to the elimination of the insects
which pollinate the brazil-nut tree. This is an especially
worrying problem, since this tree provides the Mãe Maria Gavião
not only with a major source of food, but also with funds as a
result of marketing the nuts.

The Suruí of the Sororó River and the Assurini of Trocará
Reservation have also been jeopardized by the small size of the
land officially designated to them. The territory occupied by
the Assurini of Koatinemo reservation and by the Araweté, both of
which groups were contacted in the 'seventies, is to be flooded
when the Xingu hydro-electric complex is built, but Funai has so
far taken no steps to guarantee their rights. Finally, the

Kaiapó territory, including six reservations, is still suffering encroachment by farmers and prospectors as well as the pollution of the water used in their villages.[1]

Around 25,000 Indians are now estimated to be living on mineral-rich land. The nearly twenty million hectares scattered throughout Legal Amazonia, which covers the states of Amazonas, Pará, Rondônia and Mato Grosso, and the federal territories of Amapá and Roraima, include a total of 26 Indian reservations, the biggest of which has about eight million hectares and is inhabited by the Yanomami, occupying a vast area of tropical forest on the frontier between Brazil and Venezuela. These Indians are thought to have around 203 villages on Brazilian soil, most of them concentrated in the Serra dos Surucucus region.

Their survival began to be threatened in 1974, mainly because of the building of Highway BR-210 (known as the Northern Perimeter Road), which crosses the south of their territory for 225 kilometres. A few years later thirteen villages were reduced to eight small family units circulating on the roadside, while two epidemics of measles drastically reduced other groups in number. In 1975 prospectors began to encroach upon the Serra dos Surucucus, clashing with the Indians and leaving behind them a trail of influenza, measles and venereal disease.

Between December 1977 and July 1978, Funai issued four directives breaking up the Yanomami territory into 21 new areas forming a kind of archipelago. This step prevented the Indians from having access to larger tracts of land which were essential for hunting, fishing and gathering; it also made it impossible for them to make the traditional journeys for matrimonial, economic and ceremonial purposes, while at the same time placing the villages even more at risk from contamination by contagious diseases. Following a three-year-long national and international campaign for the creation of a National Yanomami Park, the government interdicted a continuous tract of land measuring 7,700,000 hectares, and proudly declared the problem of protection solved. But, as is well known, interdiction is a provisional step which can be suspended at any moment, and it has negligible significance as regards real guarantees of land tenure.

From 1983 onwards new dangers arose for these Indians and other populations in the area. The federal administration, legislating by decree once again, opened up Indian lands to private Brazilian enterprise for prospecting and mechanized extraction of mineral resources, hitherto permitted only in the case of state-owned corporations, and even so only when the minerals concerned were considered strategic from the standpoint

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[1] Lux Vidal, 'Ameaças de Carajás e outros projetos', *Aconteceu*, Centro Ecumênico de Documentação e Informação, São Paulo, 12 April 1983, pp.36-7.

of national security. Even in areas for which special resources
have been allocated the situation is practically the same. In
1981 the government announced a programme to develop the North-
west of Brazil (Programa Polonoroeste), aimed at increasing levels
of production, income and employment. This plan to dynamize the
region along the route followed by the highway between Cuiabá and
Porto Velho (BR-364) included paving the highway, opening up
3,500 kilometres of local roads, and developing and settling new
areas in the states of Mato Grosso and Rondônia. The Ministry of
the Interior, which was in charge of the project, intended to
ensure that this regional development would be consistent with
protection of the Indian communities, including the welfare
services provided for them.

The most important aspect here would, of course, have been
to make an official demarcation of the Indian territories
involved and guarantee their protection, above all in the case of
these states, where pressure against the Indians' presence had
always been intense. And it could have been foreseen that the
situation would worsen as a result of the increased drive to
introduce business development, as well as the large numbers of
immigrants and major settlement projects included in the plan.
The resources allocated for the 1981-85 period totalled 26.6
million dollars, part of which would come from the regular Funai
budget (60%) and the rest from the Polonoroeste Programme (40%).
According to Funai, by 1983-84 four million dollars had been
spent thus far. Although these funds were well below the amount
set aside for annual spending, it would have been feasible to
undertake official demarcation of the Indians' territory, at an
estimated overall cost in 1980 of 3.2 million dollars (for an
area of 2.5 million hectares, with a perimeter of around 4000
kilometres).

Of all the groups included in the Polonoroeste Programme,
eight had already had their land officially demarcated before-
hand, and twelve had not. By early 1984 the Rio Branco Indian
Station had been designated, as had part of the area reserved for
the Nambikwara and Pareci. Most areas, whether demarcated or not,
are still undergoing encroachment, some of it dating precisely
from the period in which the Programme was being implemented.
Serious cases are now occurring: in the area set aside for the
Gavião and Arara of Rondônia, where there are 350 families of
encroaching settlers; in the area demarcated for the Cinta Larga,
twenty kilometres from one of their villages, where the Mato
Grosso state government is building a hydro-electric power
station in violation of the Indians' territorial rights (in
addition to which the latter are also under continuous threat
from land speculators, road-builders and prospectors); in the
area interdicted for the Cinta Larga, where there is a mining
company with 150 employees in constant clashes with the Indians;
and in an area reserved for the Uru-eu-wau-wau (a group which is
still isolated), with encroachment by settlers and mine-workers.
Most of the resources were allocated for building projects and
administrative costs, but very few for immunization, combatting

malaria and tuberculosis, and improving the health-care services,
which are gravely deficient, with hair-raising child mortality
rates (around 58% for the Cinta Larga of Serra Morena
reservation).

These are only a few examples, and many more could be given
to show the current situation throughout Legal Amazonia. In the
rest of the country, the Indian populations are in no less dire
straits, although different causes are involved.

The Legal Menace

In areas where land concentration is high the Indian question
takes a different form and leads to the creation of legal
alternatives.

As already mentioned, the Brazilian Constitution defines the
land occupied by Indians as belonging to the Federation. It also
stipulates that they have the right to permanent possession of
the land they inhabit, as well as the usufruct of the land and
the sole right to make use of the natural resources and utilities
it contains. This legal privilege is guaranteed to those who
qualify as Indians under the terms of the law. However, as soon
as they are integrated into the national community they enjoy the
same legal rights and duties as all other Brazilians, and thus
lose their other rights, among them the right to own land. This,
at least, is the expert opinion of a number of Brazilian jurists.

The Indian Statute refers to the hypothetical cases in which
the franchise can be granted - the Indian concerned can himself
apply to the judiciary for his release from tutelage, providing
he is at least 21 years old, knows Portuguese, is qualified to
engage in some kind of useful activity, and demonstrates a
reasonable understanding of the habits and customs of his fellow
Brazilians. The franchise can also be collectively requested,
providing a majority of the members of the community agree and
their integration is underwritten by Funai.

Although there are Indians who perform legal actions like
any other Brazilian citizens, in practice there has never been a
formal suit to obtain franchise. It must be assumed that they
are afraid they will lose their rights to the land and be trans-
formed into rural proletarians.

In 1977 the government announced its intention to speed up
the process of integration and franchise affecting Indian
communities. Several groups protested against the attempt to
alter the Indian Statute by decree, in order that the franchise
could be granted by unilateral government decision. Most people
were of the opinion that the government's attitude was aimed at
intimidating the leaders of the Indian communities.

In 1981, when the mobilization of the Indians began to show
greater solidity, Funai returned to the franchise question, but
this time announcing its intention to grant it to Indians who
possessed an identity card, a voter's card, and a reasonable level

of schooling. Forty thousand individuals were estimated to be
eligible for this franchise, which would in fact have been compul-
sory. It was clear at the time that the target of this measure
was the emerging leadership and the members of the communities in
the east, northeast and south of the country, who were in close
touch with the rest of society and lived in areas subject to
constant disputes over land ownership. There followed a fresh
wave of protests, and Funai's initiative was silenced once more.
But it resurfaced in 1983 as a private member's Bill presented by
a member of the government party which is still working its way
through Congress.

Again in 1981 Funai ordered the preparation of a document
containing 'indicators of assimilation', arguing the need to
clarify doubts as to the definition of 'assimilated Indian',
'Indian undergoing assimilation', and 'unassimilated Indian'.
The commission charged with this task was given ten days to make
a complete list, with specific instructions from its superiors
not to include any justifications or explanations of the indi-
cators involved. The final report covered four sets of items:
(a) indicators mentioned by the scientific community;
(b) indicators mentioned by the Indians; (c) those given by
Brazilian society as a whole; and (d) those given by Funai. The
list included everything from generic titles referring to repre-
sentative cultural elements to biological features such as blood
group, epicanthic eyefold, miscegenation, etc.

The Indians living on desirable land were greatly disturbed
at this development. They feared they would have to present
proof of their Indianism. This had in fact occurred with the
Tinguí of Alagoas, who had put on their head-dresses, feathers and
other adornments to dance for Funai agents in order to prove that
they were Indians, in this case because they were accused of
failing to fulfil Funai's requirements for recognition as such.
Other groups of Indians were also submitted to this test to show
their 'degree of Indianism', and most failed. Indianist
associations then began a campaign to protest against the racism
inherent in the procedure, and shortly afterwards the
'indicators' were shelved.

It has already been pointed out that the Indian population
in Brazil is a very small one when compared with the country's
total population. It is made up of small groups spread out over
vast geographical areas, and has rarely been mobilized beyond
local or regional limits at any point in history. It can even be
said that until recently these peoples had no kind of programme
for the defence of their overall interests, although the intense
land concentration had transformed almost all the reservations
into scenes of high tension and conflicts for the possession of
the land. Protest against the crimes and abuses suffered by them
was thus for a long time the task of isolated groups of intellec-
tuals, and it is only in recent years that their problems have
begun to take their part in the broader context of popular
struggle, although as yet in a timid manner.

Since 1975, however, a number of organizations which support

the Indian cause have begun to appear. The first and certainly
most militant of these arose on the initiative of a group of
Catholic missionaries, the Conselho Indigenista Missionário or
CIMI. In addition to criticizing Funai, they started bringing
together Indian chiefs from different parts of the country. In
1977 they were prohibited from entering Indian areas, but this
was not enough to make them give up; in six years of activity,
they were about to hold thirteen assemblies of Indian chiefs.
Other groups of Indianists began to appear from 1977 onwards,
mobilizing public opinion through lectures and publications and
rapidly becoming effective channels for protest and lobbying.
Almost all of them kept in constant touch with politicians and
jurists in an effort to have them join the movement. There are
now about twenty such associations, in all the main cities of
Brazil.

The Indians Organize

The first systematic attempts at mobilization by the Indians took
place almost simultaneously in two different parts of the country.
A group of about fifteen young Indians belonging to seven differ-
ent groups who were attending college in Brasilia were surprised
by an order from Funai in early 1980 telling them they were to go
back to the schools located near their villages. One month
before, these students had decided to set up an association aimed,
amongst other things, at facilitating solutions to the large
number of problems they had to face in a big city. They had
informed Funai of their plans and asked for support, but this was
denied them. At the same moment, a number of leaders meeting in
Mato Grosso do Sul were coming to a similar conclusion, and
decided to found an association to improve their chances of
defending themselves against the threats to their land. Not long
after, in a Terena village in Mato Grosso do Sul, the Union of
Indian Nations (UNI) was launched, as a result of a merger
between the association created by the students in Brasilia
(UNIND) and the projected Federation of Indian Peoples in Mato
Grosso. The aims of the new body were to represent its member
communities and to promote cultural autonomy, self-determination
and mutual aid between nations. They also declared their
intention of fighting to guarantee the inviolability and official
demarcation of their lands, and to recover the territories they
had lost. Lastly, they said they would attempt to organize legal
and economic assistance for projects they intended to carry out,
as well as for help to obtain recognition of their rights.

Acting under orders from the President of Brazil, Funai
refused to recognize this organization, arguing that serious
problems would arise if the Indian nations were to join together
in a single body with the support of people who were prepared to
encourage them in disputes with Funai. It was as a result of
these events that the idea of trying to bring in a compulsory

franchise arose within Funai, as well as the document on
'indicators of Indianism' referred to above.

In 1981 the UNI held an Assembly of Indian Leaders in São
Paulo in which 73 village representatives took part. One year
later the First National Meeting of Indian Peoples was held, this
time with 228 leaders representing 49 nations, distributed as in
Figure 1.

Figure 1

Region	No. of Leaders	No. of Tribes
Centre-West	121	13
North	33	17
Northeast	44	15
East	18	2
South	12	2

Despite all the obstacles, most of which resulted from the lack
of funds and the difficulty of maintaining contact between the
various areas, in April 1984 the Second National Meeting of
Indian Peoples was held, with 450 leaders from over fifty nations.
This event received the support of former Xavante chief Mario
Juruna.

Headman of Namunkurá village, Mario Juruna had a rapid
political career and soon became the most vocal representative of
the Indian cause in Brazil. In 1977 he created a press sensation
through his habit of taking a portable tape-recorder with him to
meetings with Funai officials, to record the promises they never
kept. He was elected chairman of the jury of the Fourth
Bertrand Russell Human Rights Tribunal in 1980, but the Ministry
of the Interior forbade him to leave the country. The Federal
Appeals Court, however granted habeas corpus (by 15 votes to 9),
and he at once went to Holland to chair the final session of the
Tribunal. In 1981 he joined the Democratic Labour Party (PDT),
the only Brazilian political party to include in its manifesto
the problem of the Indian minority. In 1982 he was elected
Federal Congressman for Rio de Janeiro with 31,805 votes.

As part of his work in Congress, Mario Juruna recently
presented before the House of Representatives two Bills which are
designed to deal with the Indian question in a new way. One of
the Bills has already become law, creating the Indian Committee
as one of the House's Standing Committees, and thus opening up a
new debating forum on the Indian question. Under the terms of the
proposal, the Committee will receive and investigate accusations
of violations of Indian rights and propose legal measures to
guarantee real protection of Indian communities and of the eco-
systems of their reservations. The Indian Committee is already
operational under the chairmanship of Mario Juruna. The other
Bill asks Congress to approve a number of innovations in the
structure of Funai: the creation of a Managing Council made up of

persons appointed by Indian communities, recognized as Indian- ·
ists who have full knowledge of the situation of Indians in
Brazil; the creation of an Indian Council with five Indian
leaders, as a watchdog to keep a check on the actions of the
Managing Council; the creation of Indian Councils to work with
Funai's regional agencies all over the national territory; and
lastly, the direct subordination of Funai to the Presidency,
thus eliminating its existing link with the Ministry of the
Interior. This Bill has recently been approved by the House of
Represenatives and will soon be read in the Senate.

The oscillations of the military dictatorship ruling Brazil
since 1964 make it difficult to forecast the future of the
Indian movement, but a number of aspects can be sketched.
Despite the adverse circumstances it is undeniable that the
cracks in the ruling system opened up by the struggle for
democracy are beginning to be used strategically for the mobili-
zation and organization of growing numbers of Indians. In recent
times they have begun to make more frequent demands, and some of
these campaigns have had promising results. Last May, for
example, the president of Funai was forced to resign by pressure
from the Indians of Xingu Park.

Since 1971, when a road was built across the Park, the
Txukarramãe have been demanding that a tract be designated to set
off their land from the neighbouring farms. Throughout the
intervening years they have grown tired of hearing Funai agents
make unfulfilled promises. In March 1984, they finally decided
to intercept the ferry which crosses the river Xingu, thereby
interrupting traffic between Brasilia and Manaus. The president
of Funai refused to negotiate with the Indians, who in reprisal
demanded that the Minister of the Interior dismiss him. After
some days of negotiations in Brasilia, with the support of the
leaders of the other Xingu tribes and of Congressman Mario
Juruna, the Txukarramãe succeeded in having the Funai president
replaced, as well as obtaining a tract of land fifteen kilometres
wide by 100 kilometres long, and recovering 180,000 hectares of
land they had previously lost. They also forced the closing of a
road linking a number of farm properties and passing through the
Park, and obtained the right to control the ferry and a promise
that studies would begin to change the route of the Brasilia-
Manaus highway. The new president of Funai appointed as his
chief-of-staff Marcos Terena, one of the founders of the Union of
Indian Nations when he was a student in Brasilia. Megaron, a
Txukarramãe leader and one of the main negotiators in the Xingu
crisis, is the new director of the Park. His assistants, Indians
from different tribes, will be sent by him to head the Indian
stations in the area. This step will bring the Park under the
administration of a staff of Indians for the first time in Brazil.

There can be no doubt that non-Indian Brazilians are being
led to reconsider the Indian question, and perhaps will learn to
accept Indians as valid interlocutors with an identity of their
own. It is possible that these are the first steps towards the
constitution of a new Brazilian nation, in which pluralistic

projects will definitively mark the disappearance of over four
centuries of the domination and extermination of some peoples by
others.

CARMEN JUNQUEIRA

ENCODED IN STONE:
NEIGHBOURING RELATIONSHIPS AND
THE ORGANISATION OF STONE WALLS
AMONG YORKSHIRE DALES FARMERS

> He will not go behind his
> father's saying,
> And he likes having thought of
> it so well
> He says again 'Good fences make
> good neighbours.'
>
> Robert Frost, 'Mending Wall'.

I

Walls mark boundaries. As such, they are not simply functional
but symbolic also. The Great Wall of China served as a fortress
against hostile invaders; it also denoted the limit between
civilisation on one side and barbarism on the other. Similarly,
in our own time, the Berlin Wall demarcates the border between
two nations; more largely, it connotes, in its tragic starkness,
the division of Europe since the end of the Second World War.
Nearer to hand, in the British Isles, the commonplace dividing-
walls which separate houses in urban and rural communities show
the legal limits and extent of property rights; but they also
symbolise relationships of neighbouring.
    The aim of the present investigation is to isolate the
principles which inform the social organisation of mending
dividing-walls in a particular British rural community: Muker in
Swaledale, in the Yorkshire Dales.[1] The walls which are the

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[1] Muker in Swaledale is a civil parish comprising eighty square

topic for consideration are the stone walls which divide neigh-
bouring farms in Muker. Not only do these stone walls mark
boundaries between farmers' fields; they also symbolise relation-
ships of neighbouring and co-operation. A common principle in
the Muker community is that neighbours should share things and
help one another, and it is precisely this principle which is
encoded into the design and structure of stone walls. It is in
terms of these encoded stones that Muker farmers distribute
equally among themselves their mutual obligations for the main-
tenance of their common property. In Muker, and throughout the
Dales, the significance of stone walls (which constitute such a
predominant feature in the cultural landscape) is unintelligible
without the context of the values and ideas which inform
neighbouring relationships.

II

To the eye of a casual visitor to the Dales community of Muker,
one stone wall looks the same as the next. But for Muker
farmers there are two distinct classes of stone wall. First,
there are 'boundary walls', which delimit the border between two
farmers' fields. Second, there are 'inside walls', within a
farmer's enclosed meadows and pastures; these walls enable a
farmer to graze cattle in one area of a field quite separate from
sheep-feeding in a different area.

It is the responsibility of each farmer to keep his own
'inside walls' in good repair. 'Inside walls' are a private
concern. The upkeep of 'boundary walls', however, is a different
matter altogether. Here the responsibility is a social one
including both parties equally. The way in which farmers
determine the number and extent of their co-operative obligations
as regards any particular 'boundary wall' is related to the
construction techniques of the stone-walling craft itself.

III

Stone walls in Muker are built according to a pattern which is
followed uniformly throughout the Yorkshire Dales region. A
stone wall consists of two sides of large stones (known as

'wallers') with the intermediate space packed with smaller
stones (or 'fillings'). A 'waller' is a stone with a square
face, and this is placed on a wall during building or repair
work so that the face is to the outside. A 'filling', by
comparison, is smaller, lacks any definite face, and is thus
considered worthless as a building stone. At the base of a wall
the 'wallers' are placed about two and a half feet apart. As
the farmer builds the wall up he moves the sides closer together
so that they are only a foot apart at the top. Usually walls are
four or five feet high, and include three horizontal rows of
binding stones. These large, flat stones (known as 'throughs'
because they extend through the wall) are placed across the
'wallers' and 'fillings' in order to secure the stones below
them. Once the wall has reached the right height, heavy stones
(called 'cobbles') are positioned horizontally along the top
(see Figure 1).

The 'wallers' are usually laid, as one Dalesman explains,
'one over two and two over three'.[2] In other words, they are
placed across the joints of the stones in the row below, in the
same way that bricks are laid. At certain points in a 'boundary
wall', however, the stones are placed directly on top of each
other so as to create a narrow vertical gap instead of the usual
cross-joint pattern. This vertical gap is referred to in Dales
dialect as an 'eke'. The number of 'ekes' there are in a
'boundary wall' depends on the length of the wall itself. A
short wall may have only one 'eke' at its middle point, thus
dividing the wall into two equidistant sections. A longer wall
typically has three 'ekes', which divide it into equidistant
quarters. 'Ekes' mark lengths of wall for which a farmer is
responsible.[3] And at each 'eke' in a 'boundary wall' the respon-
sibility for the wall's upkeep changes. Neighbouring farmers who
share a common 'boundary wall' are therefore obliged to maintain
certain lengths, and these lengths are distributed according to a
pattern of alternation.

One Muker farmer explained the moral logic underlying this
pattern of alternating lengths of 'boundary walls'. He referred
to a wall which runs between his farm and that of a neighbour:

> You find out who owns the first part of the wall, and you
> go along to the 'eke'. Then it's Laury's wall. You go
> along to the next 'eke', and then it's my wall again, do
> you see.

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[2] Cf. M. Hartley and J. Ingilby, *Life and Tradition in the
Yorkshire Dales*, Clapham: Dalesman Books 1981 [1968], p.156.

[3] 'Eke' is a northern dialect variant of 'eche', derived from the
Old Norse word *auka* whose meanings include the notions of length
and augmentation and juxtaposition. See *O.E.D.*, s.v. 'eke'; and
the *Icelandic - English Dictionary* (Oxford), s.v. *auk* and *auka*.
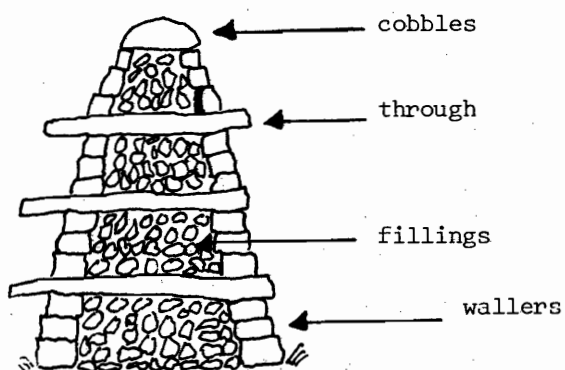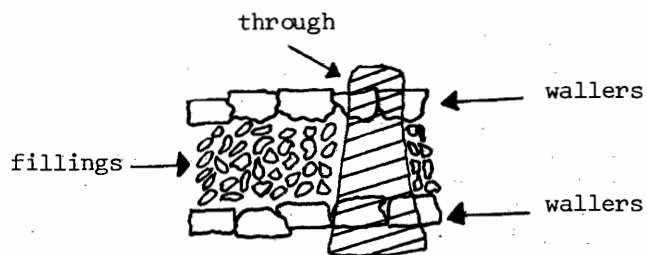
Figure 1
Plan and Side View of Dales Stone Wall

Each man, he concluded, takes care of his own part of the wall.
He added: 'It's the way of the land, shall we say.' And here he
was referring to the sharing among farming neighbours which is
commonly represented as part and parcel of Dales farming commun-
ities. Another farmer expressed these ideas when asked to
explain the significance of 'ekes' for the upkeep of 'boundary
walls':

> It's sharing in a sense. It's not that one man looks after
> one side and another man the other side. It's shared in
> lengths.

The principle that farming neighbours should help one another,
which is encoded in stone walls by means of 'ekes', is one of
several moral notions surrounding neighbouring relationships in
Muker.

IV

A characteristic feature in the outlook and feeling of 'community'
in Muker is the neighbouring relationship. When people speak of
their neighbours they mean those people in the locality upon
whom they can rely for help and support. But people talk about
their relatives and family in a similar way. Moreover, people
often describe their neighbourhood with such terms as 'family' -
the village being conceived of as 'like one big family'. So one
of the first problems the ethnographer faces is the difficulty of
distinguishing the characteristic features of the neighbouring
relationship. Specifically, it is necessary to denote what kinds
of social actions distinguish neighbouring relationships from,
say, kinship relationships - bearing in mind that, in the field
situation, it is often impossible to differentiate between kin
and neighbours.

The relationship circumscribed by the terms 'neighbour' and
'neighbouring' as used in ethnographies by social anthropologists
(in Britain) and cultural anthropologists (in America) is
conceptualised in terms of care. In Britain, the sociologist
W.M. Williams and the social anthropologist Marilyn Strathern
have observed that 'neighbours' - people who associate more with
each other in everyday matters than they do with others - need
not necessarily develop friendships. A housewife may borrow some
milk from the woman next door without cultivating her friendship.
In such ways neighbours may help one another without being
friendly in any special way.[4] An American cultural anthropolo-

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[4] W. M. Williams, *The Sociology of an English Village: Gosforth*,
London: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1956, pp.140-1; Marilyn Strathern,
*Kinship at the Core: An Anthropology of Elmdon, A Village in
North-West Essex in the Nineteen-Sixties*, Cambridge: Cambridge

gist, Agnes Aamodt, has recently provided a concise definition of 'neighbouring' in terms of the kind of care involved in the relationship. In her study of support systems among Norwegian-American women in rural Wisconsin, Aamodt distinguishes between the kinds of social action performed by neighbours and kin.[5] She defines neighbours as those people to whom one resorts for short-term favours.[6] Family members and friends, on the other hand, she sees as those people upon whom one relies for support with long-term problems. Aamodt's own ethnography analyses the value system articulated by the kinds of things neighbours do for each other; this includes the simultaneous values of privacy and being present, of respect for helping people in distress and the importance of endurance and self-reliance.

These considerations are pertinent to the interpretation of neighbouring relationships in Muker particularly and Britain generally. One's neighbours are identified not so much by propinquity as by their readiness to provide support and do short-term favours. In Muker, neighbours offer each other short-term assistance in numerous ways, be it a lift to the shops or help with the seasonal farming tasks of haymaking, clipping, and lambing. It is common for farmers to borrow each other's tools and implements. Even a son may be 'loaned' by one farmer to another who is, for some reason, in need of extra labour. Similar patterns of neighbourly behaviour have been reported elsewhere in rural Britain, for example in Cumbria, rural southern Ireland and rural Wales.[7]

The main principle associated with neighbourly behaviour is that favours should be done without expecting a repayment. Muker farmers make this clear in their testimonies. But a sub-principle, or modifier, exists in the fact that a return favour is usually given. One elderly farmer explained how help between

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University Press 1981, p.136.

[5] A. Aamodt, 'Neighbouring: Discovering Support Systems among Norwegian-American Women', in D. Messerschmidt (ed.), *Anthropologists at Home in North America: Methods and Issues in the Study of One's Own Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1981, pp.133-49.

[6] E. Litwak and I. Szelenyi, 'Primary Group Structures and their Functions: Kin, Neighbours and Friends', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XXXIV (1969), pp.165-81.

[7] Williams, op.cit., pp.141, 144; C.M. Arensberg, *The Irish Countryman*, New York: Macmillan 1937, pp.62-3; C.M. Arensberg and S.T. Kimball, *Family and Community in Ireland*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press 1940, pp.74-5; A.D. Rees, *Life in a Welsh Countryside: A Social Study of Llanfihangel yng Ngwynfa*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press 1951, pp.92-3.

neighbours works:

> We all help one another. That's what a lot of farming
> is. Alwyn might help us do something, and we'll help
> Alwyn. Or Tom and Alwyn might help and such as that.

A younger farmer told me that a neighbour would never refuse to
help someone, because 'it wouldn't pay them to'. He elaborated:
'If ever they found they needed help they wouldn't get any.'

There is, then, a social pressure among Muker farmers to
offer assistance and lend implements, because this creates
obligations and ensures a fund of reciprocities which can be
called upon in the future. Neighbourliness is understood in
temporal terms: past acts of support ensure that a present need
will be met. In other words, the recipient of a favour now is
obliged to reciprocate in the future.

It is in the context of these notions of neighbouring that
the upkeep of 'boundary walls' should be seen. The system of
building 'ekes' into stone walls is expressive of notions of
neighbourly co-operation; when a section of a 'boundary wall'
collapses, the responsibility for its repair is shared in terms
of ideas about mutual obligations. Farmers may well help each
other in repairing a section of wall. But if for some reason a
man is unable to provide assistance to his neighbour, he is able
to excuse himself on the grounds that the repair work is not
within one of his 'ekes'. Where a farmer who is obliged to
repair a wall is himself too busy to mend it, local farmers' sons
may be hired to do the job. When these young men go and repair
the wall they work only on the section which falls within the
'ekes' of the farmer for whom they are working.

V

'Ekes' not only express Dales people's notions about sharing
among neighbours; they also enable Dales farmers to specify where
their respective obligations lie concerning the upkeep of a
shared artefact, viz., a 'boundary wall'. The formal structure
of 'ekes' in 'boundary walls' has been revealed here as entailing
a principle of alternation. Precisely this principle informs the
way that neighbours act towards each other: assistance now begets
a return favour in the future, and so on. It is the contention
here that the alternating pattern of lengths in 'boundary walls',
which 'ekes' establish, is expressive of the formal structure of
Muker people's moral principles regarding neighbouring relation-
ships. That is, a social pattern is encoded into the physical
pattern of 'boundary walls'.

'Boundary walls' are ambiguous artefacts in Muker and
throughout the Dales. They serve simultaneously to divide
properties and to unite people in obligations of mutual assis-
tance. Only close attention to the principles and patterns

which are encoded into an artefact will reveal its social significance. At the same time, it is necessary to grasp the wider context of moral ideas and values of which the principles expressed in an artefact are constituent parts. This investigation has attempted to show how this methodological principle may be applied.

SCOTT K. PHILLIPS

THE BLACK SHEEP

V.A.C. GATRELL, BRUCE LENMAN and GEOFFREY PARKER (eds.), *Crime and the Law: The Social History of Crime in Western Europe since 1500* (The Europa Social History of Human Experience, gen. ed. Neil McKendrick), London: Europa Publications Ltd. 1980. xii, 337pp., Appendixes, Index. £20.00.

In 1896 the 'father of scientific criminology', Cesare Lombroso, reported to the IVe Congrès International de l'anthropologie criminelle his discovery of physical similarities between criminals and the Western Dinka.[1] I do not know what led Lombroso to single out the Dinka specifically, but the object of the exercise was to substantiate his general thesis that the criminal was 'atavistic' - an evolutionary throw-back displaying physical characteristics (which Lombroso called 'stigmata') common to primitive races. Lombroso's theories are now regarded as little more than a curiosity, yet in this particular instance the muddle is an interesting one. Lombroso is not regarding the Dinka as atavistic. On the contrary, they are considered 'normal' primitives. It is only when a 'normal' primitive happens to be born in a 'modern' environment that an atavistic 'criminal type' results. It was Lombroso's ambition to assemble a complete catalogue of identikit pictures defining the full range of 'criminal types'. But what is the relation between Lombroso's criminal types and those who have actually committed crimes? A streak of illogicality in the original premise, combined with Lombroso's

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[1] Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, 1984, p.125.

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obsession with observation, measurement and classification, ensured that the final synthesis was rich in ambiguities. With the Sicilian Mafia in mind, Lombroso wrote that there are European societies where violent crime is endemic (this was, perhaps, to be explained by the presence of racially 'primitive' groups in the Mediterranean). In societies where participation in a vendetta is considered to be normal one cannot take this as a **prima-facie** indication of the presence of a criminal type. The proof of this, according to Lombroso, lies in the fact that the *leaders* of the Mafia are only very rarely criminal types. The idea is that just as 'primitives' born into a 'modern' environment become criminals, so a 'modern' born into a 'primitive' environment will probably become a chieftain. Lombroso is advancing the same ideas which led Edgar Rice Burroughs to write nineteen Tarzan books.

We can see in Lombroso's theories a particularly unhappy connubium of rigid biological determinism and cultural relativism. It is normal for the son of a book-keeper to become a book-keeper; likewise it is normal for the son of a brigand to become a brigand. It is deviant for the son of a book-keeper to become a brigand, but is it equally deviant for the son of a brigand to become a book-keeper? On the whole Lombroso was forced to conclude that it was.[2]

Although we have refined these problems since Lombroso's day, it would be too much to say that we have entirely resolved them. The conundrum persists in ambiguities over the meaning of 'crime' and 'violence'. On the one hand, social scientists are accustomed to treating these under the heading of 'deviant behaviour'. On the other, it is generally recognized that violence is the 'midwife' of social change. What these contrasting ideas produce is a sense that there must exist an area of 'legitimate deviance'. Since, however, 'legitimacy' and 'deviance' are both relative concepts definable only with reference to actual cultures, it is very difficult to give any a priori account of what this might constitute. In the 1970s radical criminologists dealt with this problem by denying that there exists any link between deviance and crime. In a certain sense they are surely right. Crime only comes to exist when it has been enshrined in a specific code of law. The definitions that these codes offer vary tremendously from culture to culture and, within a given culture, from century to century. It is therefore absurd to treat 'crime' as a natural category, or to imagine that the 'criminal' could ever be reduced to a biological type. In

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[2] See Gina Lombroso Ferrero, *Criminal Man according to the Classification of C. Lombroso*, New York etc.: G.P. Putnam's Sons, The Knickerbocker Press 1911, chapter on 'The Habitual Criminal'. See also Marvin E. Wolfgang, 'Cesare Lombroso', in Hermann Mannheim (ed.), *Pioneers in Criminology*, London: Stevens and Sons Ltd. 1960.

another sense, however, the radical argument is not very helpful. The moment a society composes its criminal codes, that society has defined a type of behaviour as deviant. Since 'deviant' only makes sense within a cultural context, the fact that the type of behaviour indicated is deviant in one society, and in that society only, is irrelevant. Non-deviant criminal behaviour is, in other words, a contradiction in terms.

The trouble is that it is easier to accept this sort of argument in principle than in actual practice, for in the latter a more normative sense of deviance is bound to creep in. European criminal codes have changed immensely in the last 200 years, and it is hard to regard a legalistic definition of deviance as particularly informative when this definition is seen to vary from decade to decade. One is left with a residual feeling that certain things are deviant regardless of what, in any given moment, happens to be in the law-books. But what is this sense of deviance, and is it likely to be any more successful in respect of real criminals than Lombroso's 'criminal type'?

Recently such questions have generated a great deal of debate among social historians and criminologists. Much of this debate might seem familiar to anthropologists, as anthropology and criminology are rather analogous disciplines (as is shown by the fact that 'primitive', 'criminal', and 'lunatic' have repeatedly been defined in terms of one another). *Crime and the Law*, edited by V.A.C. Gatrell, Bruce Lenman, and Geoffrey Parker, is a group of essays that attempts to go beyond the usual limitations of such a debate. It would be unfair to present a series of papers as advancing a single and consistent line of argument. Yet the fact that approximately one-third of the text is by the editors themselves helps to keep the main line of argument in focus. Furthermore, the papers by Jennifer Davis, Robert Tombs, and David Phillips all contribute to these main lines of the argument.

In general the authors are concerned that 'crime' should be considered critically, and they attempt to establish a context in which it can fruitfully be studied. This accounts for a concern for terminology and a methodological bias that runs through many of the articles. The difficulty with studying crime is that not only are criminal statistics unreliable, but it is often impossible even to estimate the magnitude of their unreliability. On their own criminal statistics reveal nothing. Their real use is in complementing a picture we can build up from other sources. Thus anyone who has done research in rural Sicily knows that there are few policemen there, and that these are viewed with hostility by the local population. In these circumstances police officials, who write that although reported crime in their zones is very high it still only represents a small proportion of real crime, can be taken as reliable informants. In his article on late Victorian and Edwardian English crime, Gatrell presents the converse argument. In this period the police force was growing in strength and efficiency, and there was an increased willingness on the part of the population to report crime and engage in

prosecutions. The fact that during this period there was a steady decline in crime statistics, Gatrell argues, constitutes good additional evidence for arguing that crime was declining in an absolute sense.

'La peur que la crime éveille est constante,' writes Louis Chevalier, but he adds a paragraph later, 'Plus important que la peur du crime est l'intérêt au crime et à tout ce qui le concerne'.[3] Like the primitive and the lunatic, the criminal plays the role of the 'other' - especially if he is exceptionally violent or if his offence be of a sexual nature. In these latter cases the offender is labelled a 'socio-' or 'psychopath', terms which mean little more than 'bogeyman'. The fear that such criminals provoke is usually out of all proportion to their real incidence in society. Nonetheless, it is a fear that is not easily allayed, and this makes it available for exploitation by both the owners of popular tabloids and political groups. In her examination of the London garotting panic of 1862, Jennifer Davis describes precisely this situation. The crime wave that sparked this panic turns out, on investigation, never to have existed. The panic served instead as a vehicle for a campaign against penal liberalization by anti-reformist groups and a segment of the national press.

The deviant in his guise of bogeyman is a social archetype. Lombroso's 'criminal type' or the contemporary term 'psychopath' are nothing more than pseudo-scientific reconstructions of wide-spread prejudices, and for this reason sometimes offer a window on a society's collective fantasy life. France, in contrast to England, has a well-defined conception of the 'classes danger-euses' (broadly, the marginal poor) and the role that they purportedly play in crime. Frégier, whose writing did much to give the term currency from the 1840s, said, 'when vice...allies itself with poverty in the same individual, it is a proper object of fear to society, it is dangerous' (quoted by Robert Tombs in *Crime and the Law*, p.217). French prisons had been used in the early part of the nineteenth century to house lunatics as well, and it is natural that early French psychiatrists should have expanded their classification of the insane to include criminals also.[4] Criminals were considered to be by and large 'degener-ates' - the term having moral, psychological, and physical connotations. As in psychiatry, the concept of 'degeneracy' has had a very rich history in criminology. One could say that all explanations of crime in terms of biological or psychological

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[3] Louis Chevalier, *Classes laborieuses et classes dangereuses à Paris pendant la première moitié du XIXe siècle* (Civilisations d'hier et d'aujourd'hui), Paris: Librairie Plon 1958, pp.v-vi.

[4] See Gordon Wright, *Between the Guillotine and Liberty: Two Centuries of the Crime Problem in France*, New York etc.: Oxford University Press 1983, p.240 and note.

determinism, and many in terms of sociological determinism, are based on some concept of 'degeneracy'.

Paris is a city with both a high incidence of crime and a strong tradition of political violence. It is hard to imagine that there is not some sort of correlation between the two phenomena, yet the tendency of the French police to see all types of violence in terms of the concept of 'degeneracy' make these relations hard to recover. According to Tombs, the French police divided the participants of the 1871 Paris Commune into three groups: 1) the leaders among left-wing intellectuals; 2) the 'malefactors' and 'cosmopolitan dregs'; and 3) the mass of participants who were mere dupes. Tombs suggests that the largest group of participants in the riots was, in fact, young Parisian males. This seems to me a plausible suggestion, for in police reports concerning riots in Palermo from the 1860s to the 1940s one inevitably encounters mention of building workers, vendors and pedlars, cab-drivers, and students. What these groups have in common is that they are young and active, they are frequently out and about, and they are not closely supervised. Curiously however, the French police paid little attention to young workers, artisans, and students during the repression after the fall of the Commune. Instead they concentrated on the more marginal groups that corresponded more closely with their preconceived notions about the 'dangerous classes'. Hence the repression fell on beggars, vagrants, the indigent, drunks, those of 'repulsive aspect', prostitutes, pimps, etc. These were rounded up, given summary trials, and sent off to overseas prison colonies.

Tombs points out that historians no less than the French police are guilty of presenting unilateral portraits of Parisian violence. Criminologists often describe the criminal world as a 'subculture', meaning by this that although crime does relate to the society in which it occurs, it is still only a marginal activity. Patterns of crime reflect general social processes only indirectly and imperfectly. In other words, major social change is not likely to be clearly reflected in the behaviour of pick-pockets or muggers. Criminality is a semi-autonomous phenomenon, and patterns of criminal behaviour are conservative and resistant to change. Tombs singles out Rudé and Tilly for criticism on this score. Both tend to interpret collective violence in France against the background of larger-scale social developments. Inevitably a certain straining of the evidence is the result. Tilly takes the participation of building workers in the 1848 uprising in Paris as evidence that the organized working class was beginning to take a leading role in collective violence. But building workers can probably better be considered as a major component of the urban *Lumpenproletariat* which perennially finds itself sucked into riots. What is more, Tilly's interpretation depends on a distinction between *organized* and *disorganized* forms of collective violence which leads him to a covert acceptance of the French police version of the 'dangerous classes'. Essentially Tilly is constructing an

inference: he is assuming that organized collective violence is 1) political in nature and 2) carried out by the organized and politically conscious sectors of the working class. He must also, therefore, assume that disorganized violence - of which criminal violence constitutes a major part - is carried out by marginal and unstable groups, i.e. the dangerous classes. Thus if crime is a marginal and disorganized form of social behaviour, it follows that criminals must emerge from socially marginal and disorganized classes. As it happens, this inference is untrue. France has always had very stringent vagrancy laws, and the French police have traditionally harassed pedlars, street vendors, rag-and-bone men, etc.; but beyond this there is no evidence that a professional criminal is any more likely to emerge from a marginal social background than from any other.[5]

Tilly's explanation differs from that of the French police only in that whereas the latter tend to classify all manifestations of social unrest as criminality, Tilly treats even non-political forms of collective violence as forms of protest. But this is just to substitute one mono-causal explanation of a complex phenomen with another. Any close study of a major breakdown of public order will certainly come up with something much more chaotic, as distinct groups of varying social complexion and with differing goals and patterns of behaviour are momentarily brought together in the same public square. Above all, one needs to retain the sense that crime is a semi-independent phenomenon; that petty theft, burglary, and armed robbery exist in times of social peace as well as those of crisis; and that as a consequence, any explanation of crime as a form of social protest is highly artificial.

In other essays a large number of authors are critically discussed. Taken together, at least two lines of attack emerge. First, authors are criticized for failing to realize that the police and the magistracy occupy an inherently ambiguous position in society. Secondly, authors are criticized for portraying justice before the great nineteenth-century reforms as unremittingly punitive and brutal. Concerning the first, the police and the magistracy might conceivably be visualized in one of two contrasting models. They might be considered as that part of the state apparatus which searches out and destroys dissident elements within the population. They might equally be considered as a politically independent body dedicated to protecting and assisting the ordinary citizen. It would be idle, however, to

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[5] See, for example, Charles Tilly, 'Collective violence in European perspective', in Hugh Davis and Ted Robert Gurr (eds.), *Violence in America, historical and comparative perspectives*, Beverly Hills etc.: Sage Publications 1979. For French police attitudes, see Wright, op.cit., pp.153-62, and Richard Cobb, *The Police and the People: French Popular Protest, 1789-1820*, London etc.: Oxford University Press 1970.

ask which of these two models is the real one, for the police
and magistracy are quite capable of assuming either role. The
public, of course, prefers that the police and the magistracy
play the second of the two roles: and, for their own part, the
police and magistracy would clearly prefer to be regarded in this
light. This helps explain why the police are usually so anxious
to make political terrorists appear as common criminals or even
to lock up political dissidents in mental asylums. Much crimin-
ological theory lends itself too easily to such types of mani-
pulation.

Iain Cameron in his study of crime and repression in the
Ancien Régime criticizes the naive notion that what the police
mainly do is chase thieves.[6] I doubt that anyone could seriously
advance such an idea about the French police; concerning the
English police, however – at least in certain periods – the
claim is more plausible. In the book under review Gatrell argues
that the social consensus in late nineteenth-century England
enabled the police to approximate more closely the ideal of a
politically neutral force dedicated to the protection of society.
The result of this, he suggests, was that they were able to
achieve much greater success at catching criminals. The moral
here seems to be that as long as a society can agree on a clear-
cut distinction between legitimate forms of protest and dissent
and illegitimate forms of crime, it will have a police force
which is relatively successful at repressing crime. In cases
where this distinction breaks down the police will be forced to
assume the role of a politically partisan, repressive force. In
such a case their popularity will decline, and they will become
less successful at catching criminals.

The relation between crime, on the one hand, and the police
and magistracy on the other, is not a straightforward one. The
same might be said of the relation of either to criminal law.
This point is very clearly set out by the editors of *Crime and
the Law* in their Introduction. Neither criminal law, nor law
enforcement procedures, should be seen as responses to levels of
crime, real or imagined. Nor should they be seen as nothing
more than reflections of underlying social and economic change.
In other words, just as Tombs objects to the assimilation of
crime under the heading of 'social protest', the editors are
objecting to any treatment of the police, the magistracy, and the
criminal codes that considers these either as straightforward
responses to patterns of crime or as simple reflections of social
processes. A source of distortion is that a historian usually
encounters the police and magistracy only in connection with
other social events – rick- or machine-burning, struggles between
the law and trade unions, Irish republican violence, suffragette

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[6] Iain Cameron, 'Introduction', in *Crime and Repression in the
Auvergne and the Guyenne: 1720-1790*, Cambridge: Cambridge
University Press 1981.

demonstrations, etc. This leaves the mistaken impression that
the police spend most of their time dealing with this sort of
thing. Basing himself on Old Bailey records in a disturbed
period in eighteenth-century London, Langbein in a recent article
points out that the overwhelming amount of court business was
simply concerned with various types of theft. Langbein goes on
to argue that 'virtually all the offences had been felonious
since the middle age'[7] thus rejecting Douglas Hay's contention
that the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century criminal
codes were essentially class legislation. Langbein then cites
Richard F. Sparks' contention that if capitalism has a legal
cornerstone this should be sought in the law of contract rather
than in the criminal statutes relating to theft.[8] This seems to
me the crucial point. The editors describe these same criminal
codes as 'a world made safe for capitalism'; and it would cer-
tainly be an exaggeration to claim that criminal law can never be
class-based. But even admitting that the dice are heavily loaded
against the poor and unprotected, it still remains true that only
a very small percentage of them will ever find themselves charged
with committing a felony. To imagine that capitalism, or any
other social system, can be founded on criminal statutes which
affect the lives of only a small proportion of individuals,
rather than on civil law which impinges upon the lives of every-
one, is not only wrong in itself, but equally manifests a mis-
understanding about the marginal nature of crime.

Perhaps the most interesting article in this collection is
that of Bruce Lenman and Geoffrey Parker on state law and
community law. This article is a criticism of the 'Durkheim
theory...that European penal systems became progressively less
barbaric with the passage of time' - what David Phillips in
another article calls the teleological 'Whig' history of criminal
justice, viz. one of progressive amelioration. In constructing
their argument Lenman and Parker contrast 'state' law and
'community' law. By the latter they mean traditional and
informal systems of mediation in contrast to formalized, state-
supported, legal structures. Lenman and Parker argue that until
very recent times individuals in Europe were far more likely to
settle their disputes through traditional procedures or through
arbitration by important figures in their communities than by
recourse to the legal system of the state. The state was ill-
equipped to intervene in local disputes. Rather, its sphere of
action consisted of exceptional cases which seemed to threaten
the general security, or sense of moral integrity, of the

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[7] John H. Langbein, '*Albion's* Fatal Flaws', *Past and Present*,
no. 98 (1983), pp.96-120.

[8] Richard F. Sparks, 'A Critique of Marxist Criminology', *Crime
and Justice: An Annual Review of Research*, Vol. II (1980),
pp.159-210.

particular society. These were a well-defined class of 'heinous crimes'. Lenman and Parker give a typical list: 'witchcraft and heresy, parricide and infanticide, sodomy and incest, arson and murder (sc. homicide by stealth, in secret or by premeditation)'. These were all considered crimes 'crying to heaven for punishment'. Alongside these one should no doubt add a number of crimes directly against the state such as treason, coining, and smuggling.

State intervention was thus exceptional, and the aim of any such incursion was repression and punishment. Community law, however, had a quite different scope: instead of punishment it aimed at achieving settlements. The expected end to local disputes would be some form of 'accomodement légal' in which the injured party received some form of compensation. Community law was often very corporative in spirit: nobles, clergy, merchants, artisans each developed independent procedures for dealing with disputes with their respective groups. Community justice depended, moreover, upon traditional concepts of hierarchical authority: a noble in respect to his suite, a landowner in respect to his tenants and labourers, a factory-owner to his hands, or a master-craftsman to his apprentices were all 'paternal' figures permitted to wield wide authority over those below them.

Thus Durkheim's distinction between medieval societies in whose criminal law 'punitive' elements predominated and modern legal systems in which 'restitutive' elements were preponderant is based on an illusion. In the exceptional cases where the state intervened justice was indeed punitive, but in most other disputes a more restitutive system prevailed. The important point is that the punitive nature of state justice was tied to the exceptional nature of state intervention. Severity and infrequency are two sides of the same coin: one cannot be understood in isolation from the other. This point, Lenman and Parker go on to argue, holds for modern legal systems as well. If the severity of earlier justice must be seen in the context of the intermittent nature of the contact between the state and society, the gradual humanization of modern criminal justice cannot, in its turn, be considered in isolation, but rather in the context of the gradual extension of state law into areas formerly occupied by community law. As the state begins to take over the role of community law it must change its methods; it must become less intermittent, less punitive, and more concerned with arbitration and settlement.

This is not the only consequence attendant upon the extension of state law. In 1764 Cesare Beccaria argued that the deterrent effect of punishments stemmed more from their inevitability than their severity. As David Phillips points out in his contribution to the book, if punishments were certain then they could be lenient; if punishments were uncertain, intermittent, and lottery-like in their application they would need to

remain exemplary and severe.[9] This argument was immensely
influential; Voltaire took it up in France as Bentham later did
in England. By the mid-nineteenth century this line of reasoning
had produced major changes in the criminal codes of every country
in Europe. There was, however, a catch to this. Certainty of
punishment could only be achieved by greatly increasing the
efficiency of criminal justice. This meant a much larger police
force. There is thus a double line of reasoning linking the
humanization of the criminal codes to the changing role of the
state in society. This liberalization was, first, a consequence
of the extension of the state into areas formerly under informal
systems of community control. Equally, however, the extension
of state power was itself a consequence of the decision to aban-
don a policy of intermittent and exemplary justice for one com-
bining certainty with greater leniency. In the wake of this
decision came courts of increasing complexity, a police force,
and eventually a state penal system.

In this process the concepts of 'crime' and 'criminal' were
redefined as well, to the point where it is by now difficult even
to think of criminals and crime outside a context which includes
law-books, police, courts, and prisons. Historians of crime,
writes Gatrell in his conclusion, are primarily concerned with
'the use of power'. Criminology, the 'new criminology' likes to
say, is the analysis of the processes of 'rule-making' and 'rule-
breaking'. Since rule-breakers presupposes rule-makers, the
history of crime implies the whole social history of power. It
is not the basic conceptual definitions that change in this
landscape, for Langbein is making a good point when he insists
on the age and stability of the notion of 'felony'. It is not a
definition of 'burglary' in the abstract that changes, but the
policies and tactics used by power which can serve to make both
burglary and burglars appear in one light or another. What
always exists is a set of frontiers, real or tacit. On one side,
rule-breaking is defined as 'crime' and the rule-breaker is
liable to all the sanctions reserved for the 'criminal'; on the
other side, the rule-breaker is considered to be outside the
bounds or pale of state justice, and is therefore liable only
to the sorts of punishment provided by the traditional community.
It is the ability to determine where these frontiers are, rather
than the ability to redefine what is meant by 'crime', that
serves as the dynamic and strategic element.

In this, it is the state which is revealed as having both
the power of 'loosening' and that of 'binding'. For better or
for worse, the extension of state power outwards and downwards
has the effect of dissolving the restrictive bonds and hier-
archies of the traditional community. People are accorded civil
rights, which can include freedom of movement and the freedom to

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[9] See also, for Beccaria's influence, the early chapters of Elie
Halévy, *The Growth of Philosophic Radicalism* (transl. M. Morris),
London: Faber and Gwyer 1928.

enter into contractual obligations. With the power of 'loosening', however, comes the power of 'binding', for in freeing himself from his traditional community an individual makes himself liable for all the obligations of state law. This power of binding should not be considered simply as a facet of modernization and social development, for there inevitably remain in newly-enfranchised communities forms of behaviour that might or might not be considered criminal. Many of the old procedures for the settlement of disputes are likely to persist, and the state has the choice either of moving to attach the remnants of the old system as a subordinate branch of its own system of justice or of moving to suppress them. Established feuds and vendettas are likely to persist as well as traditionally tolerated forms of social banditry. The state has the choice of turning a blind eye to this, moving to suppress it, or even of turning it to its own use as an instrument of destroying its enemies and aggrandizing its own power. The decision of which tactic to employ is rarely taken on abstract grounds alone, for the state is not an abstract entity, but a complex political and administrative structure. This means that the 'threshold of criminality' is located within the landscape of power.

Anthropologists tend to see the dissolution of traditional communities in terms of broad social transformations, and neglect the knotty problems of struggles for power which seem to be the inevitable concomitants of societies in transition. Adopting a perspective in which the relation between authority and society involves a continual skirmish over the frontier that defines criminality and legitimates punitive action on the part of the state, helps put the problem of this dissolution in a more realistic light.

JAMES FENTRESS

LETTER TO THE EDITORS

Dear JASO

Before my children grew up, they were a tribe that had legends. Poking about in a drawer a few days ago I came across a crumpled manuscript containing one of these ancient stories. Thinking it might perhaps interest your readers, I have set it down, somewhat shortened, for their perusal.

There once was a tribe of hippopotami. They lived in a swamp in central Africa, ate bananas, and told each other funny stories. They were extremely intelligent. One day they were beset by anthropologists from Oxford, tiresome people with notebooks who kept asking them what they called their grandmothers, whom they went to bed with, and if they perceived anything significant in the shape of bananas. The hippopotami, being intelligent, thought they could drive the anthropologists away by giving contradictory and ridiculous answers. This had the contrary effect. The anthropologists quarrelled furiously among themselves about the meaning of hippopotami society, and kept returning for more evidence. They disagreed so much, in fact, that they eventually split into moieties, and the effect of this can still be seen today. But the hippopotami grew angrier and angrier. Finally they prepared nets of melons, put fresh coffee in their thermos flasks, and went off to visit England. They had forgotten to apply for visas, and had to crash through immigration, leaving a great deal of wreckage behind them. Arriving in Oxford, they camped on the lawn of All Souls, and at once began to ask the anthropologists what they called their grandmothers, whom they went to bed with, and if they saw anything significant in the shape of bananas. They did this is the streets, during lectures, at High Table, and in between. They also made a habit of visiting private houses at unexpected times to check up on the answers. The anthropologists could not hold out. They agreed abjectly to the hippopotami's demands. They signed, with great formality and seriousness, *a mutual non-anthropologization pact*. After this, the hippopotami refilled their thermoses, and went back to their African swamp, where they lived very happily telling each other funny stories. They were extremely intelligent, and not much has been heard of them since.

If there is a moral to this story, your readers will have to supply it for themselves.

OGILVY McHIPPO
Summertown, Oxford

BOOK REVIEWS

LORING M. DANFORTH, *The Death Rituals of Rural Greece*, with
photographs by ALEXANDER TSIARIS, Princeton: Princeton Univer-
sity Press 1982. ix, 169pp., 31 plates, Bibliography, Index.

Not your run of the mill ethnographic study, *The Death Rituals
of Rural Greece* actually originated with the photographs which
appear at the end of the book. These photos, taken by Alexander
Tsiaras, were part of a larger portfolio recording life in the
northern Greek village which his parents had left years earlier
in order to emigrate to the United States.

On consideration, it was decided that the series of photos
capturing the rituals of death were the most absorbing but that
they would be greatly aided by some sort of commentary. It was
at this point that Tsiaras enlisted the services of the anthro-
pologist Loring Danforth, who at the time had just completed his
Ph.D. analysing a cycle of rituals in a northern Greek village.

Armed with copies of the photos, Danforth then spent one
summer in Potamia (the pseudonym given to Tsiaras' village in
the book) gathering data on mortuary practice. This material
was then combined with information gleaned from published
sources referring to all parts of Greece to give the book a lar-
ger scope and allow the author to make inferences about rural
Greece generally.

This said, I think that Danforth's compact and well-
constructed essay should serve as an inspiration to other young
anthropologists who, having finished that large piece of work
known as the Ph.D., are then wondering if they can turn out
another significant investigation of the same culture within a
reasonable span of time.

Danforth works firmly within the methodological framework
which he outlines in Chapter 2. Following Geertz he embraces a
wide-ranging semiotic anthropology which searches for the mean-
ings of symbols against the backdrop of the given culture at
large. This is done in preference to concentrating only on what
is seen and said at the death rituals themselves. For example,
in the course of explicating various metaphors which appear in
funeral laments, Danforth explains the types of relation one
usually has with one's in-laws, what it means for Greeks to
travel and work for long periods of time abroad, the signifi-
cance of water, cypress trees and so on.

Another aspect of the Geertzian approach is that rituals
are taken as meta-social commentaries; stories which people tell
or act out about themselves, and therefore ones which they and
any observer are free to comment on. The type of commentary
which mortuary rituals furnish is brought into sharper focus

through the Lévi-Straussian technique of isolating binary opposit-
ions and a third mediating term.

One of the striking features of Greek mortuary practice is
the rite of exhumation performed approximately five years after
the burial. The bones are ceremoniously dug out of the ground,
cleaned and stored in an ossuary, or *kimitiri* (which happens to
be cognate with our word cemetery; in Greek it is related to the
verb 'to sleep', *kimame*). The key paradox of the whole mortuary
cycle comes into full relief at this ceremony of exhumation.
Does the exhumed person come back to life? Is there any life
after death? Is there consequently any reason for those who sur-
vive to spend so much time mourning and feeling pain for the
deceased?

Danforth returns constantly to this question. Either one
believes in the myth of the resurrection in the strong form (i.e.
my own deceased relative will come back to life), or one accepts
the reality that people die and never come back (or perhaps they
will come back at an unspecified time, the Second Coming).

In Greece, it is primarily the women in the community who
are involved in the preparation and fulfilment of the mortuary
rituals. Through their actions such as the watering of the
graves so that the dead will not be thirsty, or their meticulous
cleaning and scrubbing of marble grave-monuments, so that the
'house' of the deceased will be as clean as it was while he was
living, they demonstrate a conviction that the dead are not
absolutely dead. Indeed, the opinion that the living are able to
assist or comfort the dead is one which is disseminated in Church
doctrine itself. Part of the prayer read at the funeral implores
those surviving to continue offering prayers to God on behalf of
the deceased: '...that I [the deceased] not be assigned for my
sins to the place of torment, but that He assign me to the place
where is Light of Life.'

Danforth thus sets up his central binary opposition as that
between the living and the dead, with the mediating possibility
that one goes away but does *not* die (on the model of Christ's
Resurrection).

In practice he notes that the relatives most closely assoc-
iated with the deceased - the typical example is the wife who
loses a husband, a common occurrence in Greece considering that
most men choose wives considerably younger than themselves -
remain in some relation to the deceased through the wearing of
black and/or frequent visits to the grave over a period of years.
This relation is finally severed at the rite of exhumation, which
is a moment of considerable tension. If the body has not proper-
ly dissolved, the soul may not have come to rest. It may have
been impeded by unconfessed sins or improper burial. In any case,
uncorrupted remains may reflect badly on close relatives; the
implication being that they were negligent in fulfilling their
mortuary duties.

When the bones are lifted from the earth, the skull of the
deceased is passed around to close relatives to be greeted
customarily by a kiss and a traditional phrase of welcome,

similar to the way one would address someone returned from a long journey. Plate 31, the very last in the book, is a rare photographic record of this practice. One is also reminded of the opening scene in Nicholas Gage's recent bestseller, *Eleni*. An exhumation is described and the skull is then filled with wine and passed around for relatives to drink from it, if they think that the deceased went to the grave with some grudge or unrescinded curse against them.

Following Van Gennep's model, Danforth isolates three phases in Greek funerary ritual: 1) burial, 2) the period of five years in the ground, and 3) exhumation. These correspond to separation, transition and incorporation respectively. At exhumation not only is the deceased incorporated in some sense, but those in deepest mourning are allowed to stop wearing black and again participate fully in society. According to Danforth, 'The exhumation can be seen as an attempt to deny death by reversing the process of burial, and thus as an attempted or partial resurrection' (p.33).

Now these conclusions appear very sound and well supported on the basis of the field experience and the comparative evidence cited for other parts of Greece. There are, however, places where exhumation is not practised at all. For example on the island of Naxos there is no exhumation and the commonly expressed opinion is that the grave is the eternal home (*panto-tino spiti*) and not the *kimitiri* as Danforth would have it. As one would expect, in a community which does not practise exhumation - the corpse of the deceased is simply placed into the grave on top of the bones of his ancestors - there is not such a long, well-defined period of tension and concern for the progress of the soul of the deceased. For such communities Danforth's schema would have to be altered, perhaps by substituting the end of mourning for exhumation as the rite of incorporation. The end of mourning is coterminous with when exhumation *should* occur, and for the various relatives who will not mourn for the full five years the official times for memorial services are usually taken as logical stopping-points (forty days, ninety days, or one year). The living do stand in some relation to the dead and their status is affected by the progress of the soul of the deceased in the afterlife.

One of the novelties of Danforth's book is its pan-Hellenic approach, a welcome innovation in the field of Greek anthropology which has more than its share of very local ethnographic studies. Such a broad approach does have its pitfalls, as I have pointed out in respect to exhumation. I would have liked to see Danforth spend a couple of paragraphs reflecting on the difficulties and ramifications of taking Greece as a whole. How do death rituals *vary* throughout Greece? Can structuralism illuminate these variations? Up until what point may we continue to incorporate (seemingly) various data into our thesis as transformations of a basic structure, and at what point should we dispense with 'the structure' and resort to a plurality of structures? A joust with some of these questions would have

helped bring the book farther along the way towards being the
pan-Hellenic study which it implicitly claims to be on the title
page.

CHARLES STEWART

SIGNE HOWELL, *Society and Cosmos: Chewong of Peninsular Malaysia*,
Singapore: Oxford University Press 1984.   xvi, 246pp., Glossary,
Appendixes, Bibliography, Index, Tables, Maps, Figure, Plates.
£25.00.

Codrington was once told by a missionary in Fiji that the latter's
time learning about the people with whom he was living had been
'all too short'; the missionary in question had been living in
Fiji for twenty-four years, from 1863 to 1887 (*The Melanesians*,
Oxford 1891, p.vii). It is one of the outstanding achievements
of *Society and Cosmos* that Signe Howell, a former pupil of
Needham at Oxford now teaching at the University of Edinburgh,
should have been able to collect such detailed, informative data
(and later to present it in such an authoritative manner) in a
total of only twenty months with the Chewong.
    The Chewong is the name (though not that of the people in
question for themselves) of a small group of aboriginal people
in the Malay Peninsula. Dr Howell claims justifiably that only
a little was known about the Chewong when she went to live in
the forests in 1977, but that situation has been remedied admir-
ably by *Society and Cosmos*. This book consists of a Foreword by
Rodney Needham, who in 1955 met two of the Chewong whose names
figure in Howell's account of aspects of the form of life of a
part of this people. This account consists of ten chapters
divided into four parts: Introduction; Relations; Consciousness
and Relativity; Rules and Classification. Thirteen tables, two
maps, and a figure are provided usefully; thirteen plates
conjure up well something of what life in the forests with the
Chewong must have been like. The four appendixes include a
number of myths, a funeral song with a translation by the author,
and details of the computer analysis which constitute a part of
the account contained in chapter 9, Classification. The index
proved serviceable, but (surprisingly, in this reviewer's
opinion) neither 'hierarchy' nor 'value' or 'values' are entered
in it separately.
    This book raises many important issues, but only those which
have particularly attracted the attention of this reviewer can
be mentioned here. It is to be hoped that the circumstance of
this being only a review will encourage readers to acquire

Society and Cosmos (at an unfortunately high price) to set what is mentioned here in the context of the informative detail and the provocative argumentation which Howell provides.

Howell divides her exposition into the three main aspects of relations, consciousness, and rules. The data which form the basis for Howell's related studies of these three aspects of Chewong life were collected through the acute observation and questioning (p.2) of every activity pursued by the Chewong, no matter how 'normal', apparently. These studies suggest some important conclusions, which Howell does not hesitate to put quite explicitly.

An 'underlying notion in all Chewong relationships', according to Howell (p.3), is 'an absence of stratification'. This lack of stratification is accompanied by there being no lineages, no social hierarchies or other political organization, and few elaborate rituals and ceremonies in Chewong society. Lack of stratification is exemplified by the facts that (for example)

> 'the Chewong do gossip about each other's behaviour, but this is chiefly in order to keep track of what is going on, not to pass moral judgement. The only time I witnessed condemnation of someone's behaviour was the case of [an] old man who married [a] prepubescent girl.
>   Among themselves it was discussed in terms of probable supernatural repercussions that the act would entail' (p.37);

and that 'the Chewong recognize the differences between men and women and their different physical and biological capabilities, but they do not apply any value judgement to these differences' (p.49); and that 'supernatural' beings 'are not conceptually differentiated in a way which would indicate that there is a hierarchical ordering of them' (p.65). As Needham declares in the Foreword, Howell's accounts constitute 'a new instance of non-hierarchical classification'. That is, as Howell expresses the matter: 'The main emphasis [in Chewong classification] is upon juxtaposition rather than the formation of a pyramid' (p.216) along the lines of a Tree of Porphyry. It is of especial interest that this lack of a hierarchical system of classification is accompanied (as can be gauged from the citations above) by a lack of the making of judgements of value in the daily lives of the Chewong. Putting the matters in other, more positive words: juxtaposition and an egalitarian ethic in the political and other aspects of Chewong life constitute the most important principles of order of this form of life. As an aspect of these principles of order is to be discerned a lack of judgements of value.

At one point, Howell suggests that 'classification...does not necessarily imply either a hierarchical ordering or the existence of underlying structural principles' (p.242). While it is possible (in this reviewer's contention) only to agree with the first part of Howell's assertion, the second part is more

disputable. In the nature of the social facts which constitute Howell's data, 'superior' and 'inferior' do not appear much in her book; but 'egalitarian' is used. An egalitarian, peaceful ethic is demonstrated by a lack of 'inter-personal competitive-ness' (p.37) and by the fact that (for instance) '[while] some people are clearly stronger than others, or more hard-working, or more adept with the blow-pipe,...whenever such superior abilities are manifested they are never commented upon, nor do they give the person in question any special status within the community' (ibid.).

The use of words like 'egalitarian' and 'superior', though, like Howell's frequent use of 'level', has a number of drawbacks. First, the words are unclear, for although René Guénon, for one, refers to the 'purely "technical" sense' of these words (*The Reign of Quantity*, London 1953, p.245), there appears from the literature to be no agreed sense of these terms which could be called 'technical'. It is hard, indeed, to see how there ever could be, when the meanings of the terms are given by the social facts of each particular case.

Secondly, the use of such words as 'superior' and (particul-arly) 'level' in the context of a form of life which is, as *Society and Cosmos* demonstrates, devoid of hierarchy, is quest-ionable. For instance, the reader is told that a particular concept 'permeates Chewong modes of thought and is expressed in relationships at all levels' (p.31); but the reader has been told earlier (p.3) that the underlying notion in all Chewong relationships is precisely an absence of stratification, the Chewong going so far as not to acknowledge 'any form of institut-ionalized authority among themselves' - except that of the shaman, perhaps, who does exercise authority on the 'mystical plane' (p.42). All this leaves a slightly puzzling impression.

One way of resolving the above problems is to adopt the terms 'symmetry' and 'asymmetry' in place of 'superior', 'infer-ior', 'equal', and such like. This view is confirmed pleasingly, although (it must be admitted) in a source which is not alto-gether authoritative: an unpublished M.A. thesis, by a reference (p.49, n.1) to Karen Endicott's challenge in her thesis 'Batek Negrito Sex Roles' (Canberra, A.N.U., 1979) to 'the commonly held view that "hunting seen as a predominantly male activity, inevitably leads to a higher status for men, implying that even in hunter and gatherer societies sexual asymmetry is inescapable"'.

The substitution suggested would allow Howell to reconsider immediately her suggestion that we noted was questionable; that is, viewed under another aspect Chewong may reveal in fact an underlying structural principle or principles. Symmetry (and thus asymmetry, further) has the great advantage also of being a precisely defined concept by contrast with those which Howell adopts.

Two further points should finally be noted. The first is that both 'supernatural' worlds and beings and the Chewong 'natural' world and beings are one - or rather the former

(although Howell eschews 'supernatural') is 'an integral part' of the latter (p.32). This view is reminiscent of Duyvendak's, to the effect that among primitives, *everything* is sacred (a view with which the present reviewer concurs as regards the Balinese form of life).

The second of these points is that Howell distinguishes the two entities which constitute dyads as complementary, but not as opposed. Thus she writes that 'the model is therefore one of complementarity and mutal responsibility for the continued existence and recreation of the total universe, rather than one of opposition' (p.32). It may redound to the credit of Howell's achievement with *Society and Cosmos* that Guénon suggests that 'two terms which are really complementary can appear from a relatively exterior or contingent point of view to be opposed' (op.cit., p.242). But a question remains: Are dyads to be considered *either* complementaries *or* opposites? If so, what of complementary opposites? If complementaries are to be associated with juxtaposition, and opposites with hierarchy, further - as could be inferred from Howell's exposition, where 'lack of social stratification' leads to or is necessarily correlated with ['the model is therefore...' (p. 32)] juxtaposition and lack of differential statuses to some degree - what about forms of life where juxtaposition, differential status, symmetry, *and* asymmetry are discernible, such that dyads are both complementary and opposed?

It will be clear to readers of *JASO* that this reviewer finds *Society and Cosmos* a provocative and stimulating book. It could also be claimed to be an important one. This importance may lie as much in the above and in matters which have not been alluded to here as in the political example which the Chewong present us with: each person in Chewong society, 'has his own part to play, each of which is necessary, but none of which is generally, or overridingly, more highly valued than the rest' (p. 244). This situation is similar to that among the Balinese on Lombok. Is there any reason why it should not one day be true also of the society in which we live?

ANDREW DUFF-COOPER

CHARLES GURDON, *Sudan at the Crossroads* (Meapec Studies in Continuity and Change in the Middle East and North Africa), Wisbech, Cambs.: MENAS Press 1984. vii, 128pp., Index, Map. £6.25 (Paper).

The analogy of the crossroads has been used before in works on Sudan to refer to the country's position between the Arab and

African worlds. The argument of the present work is that Sudan
now finds itself at a crossroads in its own history. As an
analogy it seems decidedly optimistic - many would find more
value in the analogy of the *cul-de-sac*. The country did seem to
be 'on the right path' from 1969 to 1979 but since then has taken
'a wrong turning', with decisions, such as the division of the
Southern Region and the imposition of Sharia Law, which surely
must be reversed if progress of any sort is to be made.

   Sudan at the Crossroads tells the story of the Sudan from
Independence till May 1984. The book was available in August,
and for such speed of production the numerous typographical
errors and occasionally sloppy grammar are forgivable. Gurdon
outlines the geographical, economic and socio-political diffi-
culties facing any government of the vast country, castigates
the politicians for 'the wasted years, 1956-1969' (especially
for the 17-year war in the Southern Sudan), congratulates
President Nimeiri for 'the decade of hope, 1969-1979', explains
the external and internal problems that led to 'the years of
decline, 1979-1984' and summarizes 'the issues of concern in the
1980s'. The more historical sections are dealt with simply and
well analysed. Sudan's financial problems and the complexities
of the oil-business are well explained. Nimeiri's recent
political actions are presented both as illogical and irrational
and as skilful; this is, of course, confusing for the reader,
though no more so than it must be for the Sudanese people them-
selves.

   As background to the current situation this is an admirable
and valuable work. The analysis is generally careful, though
his opinions are doubtful at times, especially when dealing with
the South, home of the anthropologically renowned Nuer and Dinka
and their Nilo-Hamitic animist (*sic, sic, sic*) neighbours. We
do not seem to be getting anything like an insider's view, but
more that of the 'ex-pats' in Khartoum; Gurdon cannot resist a
joke about Sudan Airways or comments about the electricity
supply to the homes of foreigners. He gives no sources, no
authorities, no indication as to his experience of Sudan, and
refers to no previous work. This is disappointing, as *Sudan at
the Crossroads* does not stand on its own as a comprehensive
account of the current situation or the history that has led to
it. References to such works as Bona Malwal's *People and Power
in Sudan* would have been of much benefit to non-specialist
readers.

   To find out what has happened since May interested students
should turn to the various African journals, particularly *Africa
Confidential*.

JEREMY COOTE

WILLIAM H. WALDREN, *Balearic Prehistoric Ecology and Culture:
The Excavation and Study of Certain Caves, Rock Shelters and
Settlements* (3 vols.), Oxford: British Archaeological Reports
1982 [International Series 149]. xxiii, 773 pp., Figures, Plates,
Maps, Bibliography. £40.00.

This massive three-volume work presents the results of Waldren's
twenty years (1960-1980) of intensive excavation, principally at
the sites of Son Muleta (a cave) and Son Matge (a rock shelter)
located in the hilly NW corner of Mallorca. The phenomenal
patience, diligence and fund-raising ability of Dr Waldren has
been rewarded by a rich sequence of well-dated cultural strata
enabling a redefinition and expansion of Balearic prehistory as
well as illuminating the paleoecology and paleontology of the
Balearic Upper Pleistocene. Although it is clearly impossible to
summarize the range and diversity of the excavation results
within the confines of a review, the following points are just a
taste of what awaits the reader. As a result of the excavations
of Son Muleta, Waldren has extended the earliest occupation date
of the Balearic Islands by 2,000 years to at least 5000 B.C.
Furthermore he has succeeded in demonstrating that an antelope
(*Myotragus*), which had been thought to have become extinct
between 40,000 and 20,000 years BP, not only survived well into
the Holocene but was intensively exploited, even corralled, by
man up to *circa* 2200 BC. The excavations at Son Matge, in
addition to augmenting the prehistoric record found in the more
recent levels of Son Muleta, have provided the earliest evidence
of metallurgy yet found in the Balearics: a hoard of 60 bronze
awls in various stages of manufacture.

Waldren has divided the prehistory of Mallorca into five
broad periods: (1) the Presettlement Period which consists of the
'non-cultural' fossil record up to 5000 BC; (2) the Early
Settlement Period, *circa* 5000 to 3000 BC; (3) the Pretalayotic
Period, *circa* 3000 to 1400 BC and divisible into the Neolithic
Early Ceramic Phase and the Early and Late Beaker Phases; (4) the
Talayotic Period, *circa* 1400 to 800 BC, consisting of the Early,
Middle and Late Bronze Age; and (5) the Post Talayotic Period,
800 to 123 BC, and divisible into the Early, Middle and Late Iron
Age. This scheme is a necessary expansion of the more usual
technological-cum-economic tripartite scheme (Neolithic, Bronze
and Iron Ages) that was wholly inadequate to deal with the wealth
of social and site-structure information provided by Waldren's
excavations.

The three volumes of this work contain ten chapters, ten
appendixes, over 100 photographs and numerous site plans and
section drawings. All of this is preceded by an Introduction
that provides a short paleoecological, paleogeographical and
geological overview of the region in addition to a brief exposé
of previous archaeological investigations and Waldren's own
culture-stratigraphic scheme. Chapter I gives the details of the

excavations and stratigraphy of Son Muleta Cave. Chapter II
describes the paleoecological and paleontological data derived
from the Presettlement Period strata of Son Muleta. The formal
definition and dating of Waldren's culture-stratigraphic scheme
is set out in Chapter III. Chapter IV gives the details of the
excavations and stratigraphy of the Son Matge Rock Shelter while
Chapter V does the same for a host of lesser sites within the
area. Chapters VI through IX provide a comprehensive discussion
of each of the occupation periods defined by Waldren in Chapter
III. The implications derived from, and the conclusions instiga-
ted by the excavations are given in Chapter X within both a local
and a regional scope. The numerous appendixes set out in detail
both the methodology and preliminary results primarily of the on-
going ceramic and paleontological analyses.

Although this book is a straightforward reproduction of an
Oxford D.Phil. dissertation, it reads well in spite of the
innumerable though unimportant typographical errors. The line
figures and drawings are nicely accomplished though some haste is
evident in the lettering. The quality of the photographic
reproduction lives up to our expectations of the BAR publishing
technique: i.e., poor but relatively inexpensive. Even though
the cost of these three volumes is high, it is really a small
price to pay for the experience and information acquired by
Waldren that he so enthusiastically and generously conveys to
the reader.

JOHN DUMONT

SEDIONO M. P. TJONDRONEGORO, *Social Organization and Planned
Development in Rural Java*, Singapore: Oxford University Press
1984. xvi, 256pp., Maps, Figures, Appendixes, Glossary,
Bibliography, Index. No price given.

Following the violence of 1965 and the removal of Sukarno from
power the military, whose 'New Order' governs Indonesia, reduced
the number of political parties and rendered those remaining
politically impotent. It replaced them with its own 'union of
functional groups', *Golongan Karya (GOLKAR)*, which since 1971 has
won a series of stage-managed elections. Included in this
organization are all the members of the state's bureaucracy and
appointed administrators down to district heads. The rationale
offered for these measures was that throttling the political
parties and quelling ideological conflicts were the price that
must be paid for political stability and economic development.

Priorities are set in Jakarta. Development programmes and
funds pass from there down the bureaucratic structure, through

the governor of each state, the heads of regencies, and the
district chiefs, to the village heads. Although nominally
elected, the village heads are the lowest level of the admini-
strative hierarchy, and the only persons in it who are permitted
to have local attachments. Because the village heads are used
as a channel for funnelling governmental policies and programmes
a gap exists, according to the author, between them and the
informal leaders of the community. Most governors and regents
are also military officers, and in parts of Java this close link
between the military and the administration extends into the
villages, where sergeants or corporals of the police or army
serve as 'guides' (*pembina*). Locally regarded as the govern-
ment's spy, the *pembina* represents the potential of military
coercion. His presence is 'highly conducive to close conformity
with government policy.' District chiefs are regularly rotated
and have attained a higher level of education than that expected
of village heads; they are considered the rural agents of
GOLKAR. The district budget is insufficient, and the chief must
seek ways of increasing revenue. 'Skilful budgetary management
...within the limits of formal accounting procedures' permit him
to make up the difference. Targets include government grants to
the villages – which, however, are controlled by the district
chief – for village improvements and the construction of schools.
Another resource is the Indonesian-born Chinese, who suffered mob
attacks in 1963 and have since moved from the countryside into
towns.

> Their latent vulnerability accounts for part of the tacit
> bargaining which in fact underlies their relationship
> with the public guardians or, more specifically, the
> police and the armed forces. It materializes in the
> former's willingness to make donations to their
> guardians and to the local government; crudely speaking,
> it is one form of buying personal security.

The intentional 'depoliticization' of the rural areas has brought
with it the suppression of most forms of spontaneous democracy,
even at the local level. The implementation of development
programmes suffers. Many 'have been the outcome neither of
grassroots deliberations nor of grassroot priorities, and to that
extent do not reflect direct popular needs.'
    The author presents a good deal of sociological information
about village organization, gathered by using questionnaires in
two districts in west and central Java. Some of this will be
useful for those concerned with village functioning elsewhere in
Indonesia. They will find his glossary of bureaucratic acronyms
particularly helpful. The writing is generally adequate, but
nevertheless repetitious,jargon-ridden, sometimes vague, even
evasive, and occasionally self-contradictory.

R. H. BARNES

RUTH BENEDICT, *Race and Racism*. With a Foreword by Professor
John Rex.   London etc.: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1983 [1942]. xii,
165pp., Bibliography, Appendix, Index. £3.95.

This is a new edition of the classic text originally published in
1942. Nothing has been changed except that 'The Third UNESCO
Statement on Race', drawn up at Moscow in August 1964, and 'The
Fourth UNESCO Statement on Race', drafted in Paris in September
1967, have been added to the originally appended 'Resolutions
and Manifestoes of Scientists'. The 1967 statement, unlike
previous statements and manifestoes, makes specific recommen-
dations for social and political action to combat racism. In a
note preceding its text we are promised an extended commentary
and discussion; unfortunately, however, this does not appear.
     Though now forty years and a clear generation old, Ruth
Benedict's discussions of the notions of race and racism, her
clear distinction between them, and the way she links the latter
with other forms of religious and political persecution and
outlines anthropologists' and biologists' ideas concerning the
former are all still worth reading. Her argument that 'In-group
mutual support is as native to the human race as out-group
hostility' (p.161), and the conclusions, both social and
political to which this leads her are still valuable contributions
to set against the impact of works such as Lorenz's *On
Aggression*. Her style and use of words like *primitive, half-wild,
rude, savage* etc., strike some rather odd notes, however,
especially in a work so ideologically sound! And I wonder if
those readers not already convinced of her arguments will always
catch the irony in her voice?

                                                        JEREMY COOTE

KENT FLANNERY and JOYCE MARCUS (eds.), *The Cloud People:
Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations*, New
York etc.: Academic Press 1983. xxviii, 362pp., Appendix,
Bibliography, Index, Maps, Illustrations. $74.50.

The Cloud People comprises a collection of 100 short disser-
tations, each written by an acknowledged expert in the field,
which have been edited and issued together to present a
historical account of the rise and fall of Zapotec and Mixtec
civilizations. The topics were presented and discussed at a
seminar in the School of American Research at Santa Fe in 1975

with the intention of interpreting the development of these civilizations through use of the genetic model, which provides a specific evolutionary framework to trace and explain the incidence of parallel and divergent evolution between them. The seminar summarized, collated and interpreted an enormous corpus of work drawn from ethnohistorical, archaeological and glottochronological sources, resulting in the presentation of a volume which stands as an excellent example of the achievements and sophistication of the New Archaeology.

The work is divided into ten chapters, each treating a particular period of Oaxacan history, or a specific problem related to the growth or decline of the two civilizations, and ending with a summary and conclusion. In addition, each chapter is prefaced by an editorial introduction, which provides a quick and convenient summary of the material and arguments which the various contributors present to document and interpret the period under review. The overall format of the volume is thoughtful, well presented and informative, and after the University of Chicago's Chiapas Project, 'Man in Nature' (the results of which still have not been published) it represents the second most detailed application of this model in interpreting the development of a Mesoamerican society.

As in the symposium volume *Desarollo Cultural de los Mayas* (1964), where Ruz Lhuillier, Vogt and their contributors applied the model to the Maya, the present authors identify change affecting these societies as of three types. First, there is specific adaptation to diverse environments; secondly, the trend towards unselected 'drift'; and finally, external change incurred through proximity with neighbouring cultures. Despite the incursions of such sources of change, the ancient Zapotec and Mixtec both have cosmological features in common with certain other Mesoamerican civilizations, suggesting a common ancestry. Marcus even suggests a provisional hypothesis that the Otomangueans, who incorporate the Zapotec and the Mixtec, might represent the oldest group of the area and be the intellectual ancestors of many of the cosmological notions found throughout Mesoamerica.

From the evolutionary perspective the Zapotec and the Mixtec followed a common path during the Archaic Period, facilitated by the contraction of marriages between inhabitants of dispersed valleys, which stretched from the present-day state of Hidalgo to the south of Oaxaca. The separation of the two groups, as evidenced by the divergent developments of a Proto-Zapotec-Chatino language group from a Proto-Mixtec-Cuicatic stock between 4100-3700 B.C., coincide with the demise of a semi-nomadic existence and the inception of settled farming techniques, drastically curtailing mobility throughout the region.

During the Formative Period there is evidence of parallel general evolution, but divergencies occurred as local communities, increasingly isolated from the rest, adapted farming techniques to the conditions of their area. The Zapotec were able to take advantage of the many alluvial streams, and established an

irrigation system in the central valleys, while the Mixtec inhabitants of the Nochixtlán Valley exploited a dry-farming zone at a favourable altitude. Another technique was used by the Mixtec of the Tehuacan Valley where damming work was used to take advantage of the brief floods which occurred in this normally arid area. During this period the Valley Zapotec appeared to have experienced a faster development than their neighbours. Here in this valley and its two-pronged extension (which favour communication) occurred the first eclipse of the local egalitarian-based communities, and the rise of an intra-valley society which organised local settlements into an integrative hierarchy administered by a class whose position was ascribed. By 850 B.C. a four-tier organisation of local communities becomes apparent, with administrative and religious functions concentrated in the dominant centre and minor offices in evidence down to the second tier. There is evidence to suggest that the Zapotec engaged in inter-regional trade with the Olmec Zone of the Gulf Coast, particularly with the community of San Lorenzo, with whom certain iconographic representations, which are absent among the Mixteca, seem to have been shared. This is considered further evidence to suggest a drift towards the incorporation of cultural elements not present among their neighbours.

By 500 B.C. the rise of the Zapotec State is well under way, with the population of the Valley of Oaxaca 'organised into a series of apparently autonomous ascribed status societies, each consisting of a relatively large village and a series of small hamlets'. The founding of Monte Albán in 500 B.C., which by AD 600 had increased in size to cover an area of six-and-a-half square kilometres, with a population conservatively estimated at 30,000, was achieved by the establishment of a confederacy between these communities; this strove to create a major administrative centre which would unify the region and resist the encroachment of influences from the other great central Mexican metropolis, Teotihuacan.

Following the same reasoning mountain-top centres were established by the Mixtec with a view to providing sufficiently large concentrations of population to discourage military adventurism and limit the political and commercial intrusions of the Monte Albán State. Such an example was Yucunudahui above the Nochixtlán Valley. Both Zapotec and Mixtec centres developed as responses to external conditions, and their rise can only be understood in terms of the overall history of the area.

The events of the succeeding period between AD 700-1100 can likewise be understood best by reference to developments outside the Oaxaca-Puebla region itself - notably the demise of Teotihuacan. Divergencies between the two civilisations accelerated during this period. By AD 700 Monte Albán had undergone a dramatic decline as a major population and administrative centre. With the fall of Teotihuacan the Zapotec confederation lost the primary reason for continuing its existence. Perhaps this, together with an already strained relationship with its hinterland, due to the dependence of Monte

Albán on it for agricultural produce, caused the withdrawal of the allegience of some of the local communities, which now kept and used the tribute to develop themselves as independent polities on the valley floor.

Among the Mixtec the decline did not occur for another 200 years, when it manifested itself in the Mixteca Alta by a re-direction of administrative functions between the valley settle-ments, while the mountain-top centres continued to be important religious sites. As the large centres of the Mixteca Alta declined a new wave of urbanism affected the Mixteca Baja, causing the rise of the so-called Nuiñe sites, which themselves underwent decline by AD 968 in response to the rise of Tula in the north. The Toltecs exercised an important influence on the Mixtecs. Caso has reported an intercalendrical correlation which effected the coincidence of the Mixtec calender with that of the Toltec. There is evidence of iconographic elements, suggesting the import of Toltec cosmological notions and, as the present volume records, during the political fragmentation of the region contending royal houses legitimized their claims to succession by tracing descent from Toltec ancestry. Moreover, at a later period the evidence presented suggests the import of a model of Toltec bureaucratic government with a rigid division between the classes of the population.

Between 950 and 1530 the fragmentation of the area increases. The absence of any integrative centre to replace Monte Albán in the Valley of Oaxaca leads to divergencies between the valley and sierra Zapotecs, resulting in dialect differences. However, the Mixteca experienced a period of expansion after the fall of Tula in 1160, though they were greatly transformed by their contact with the Toltec. Despite such divergencies the political frag-mentation of the area encouraged the making of strategic alliances between the two societies, resulting in the complex inter-ethnic composition and patterns of settlement which was recorded by the Spanish in their 16th-century *relaciones*.

The use of such heuristic devices as environmental adaptation, 'drift', and change incurred through external factors appear at first too general to be of value in the reconstruction of a society's history. The most serious objection is that being foreign constructs applied to that society, they cannot convey its indigenous design. For a long time such constructs have been used as props to present a coherent image of a society and in lieu of hard ethnographic facts which could present it in its own terms. The present work clearly demonstrates that with the use of ethnohistorical sources and glottochronology, and, we might add, contemporary ethnographic data derived from the same areas, archaeology has at last achieved an approximation to the anthro-pological and historical sciences of the kind urged on it by E.P. Thompson. In so doing, it is beginning to challenge the approach that has sought to understand all Mesoamerican civilizations through our knowledge of the Aztec, a position noted by Octavio Paz some 34 years ago. The present volume goes a long way towards turning this tide.

ANTHONY SHELTON-LAING

ESTHER N. GOODY (ed.)., *From Craft to Industry: The Ethnography of Proto-Industrial Cloth Production*, Cambridge etc.: University Press 1982 [Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology 10]. x, 212pp., Illustrations, Tables, Bibliography, Maps. £19.50.

Chapters on the history of industrialization and theories on the development of economic commodities introduce four ethnographies in this volume. At the outset Goody qualifies any impression that the ethnographic chapters trace the transition from craft to industry:

> Of course, these four studies do not represent absolute
> points on some fixed continuum of change in the pattern
> of investment of capital. But they do provide a series
> of windows through which this change can be observed (p.37).

Would that these attractive windows had been opened by more elegant hands.

Sadly, this otherwise energetic book is slowed down by its preliminaries. Following the clumsy title, Goody's introduction, albeit with some delightful quotations, provides a careful but unrefreshing account of the English route to capitalism, comparing its division of labour with those of India and China. Hart's discussion of exchange and market economies, and his critique of simplistic models of development lack, on this occasion, style and impact.

Eventually the book gathers momentum with the first of the area studies, in which Goody describes the weavers and dyers of northern Ghana. Her clear exposition of the interdependence of kinship and economic roles in Daboya, with its intrinsic conservatism, deserves the close attention of development workers. The African theme continues with Pokrant's examination of the variety of economic arrangements employed by the tailors of Kano City and their adaptation to new technology. He argues that one of the reasons for the endurance of these tailoring traditions lies in the importance of clothing as symbols of Hausa identity in a modern multi-ethnic state.

Turning to southern India, Swallow shows the adaptability of low-cost simple technology which can be brought into use rapidly in response to market changes. The combination of India's abundant labour, the uncertainties of international fashion markets, and the lack of risk capital ensure the persistence of the sweat-shop. The ambiguity of a low-technology industry in an advanced capitalist society is explored in Ennew's study of Harris Tweed. No romantic herself, Ennew dispels the media image of the twee Celtic fringe with a canny local assessment of weaving: 'I put cotton wool in my ears and count the coin as I do it' (p.185).

The book is well presented with useful photographs, maps and diagrams. Although an index would have been helpful, the good list of references combines anthropology, textile studies and economics and, as the publishers intended, the book should appeal to a multi-disciplinary audience.

MICHAEL J. HITCHCOCK

JOHN STALEY, *Words for my Brother: Travels Between the Hindu Kush and the Himalayas*, Karachi: Oxford University Press 1982. xviii, 276pp., Glossary, Bibliography, Index, Illustrations, Plates, Maps. £16.00.

This is a book for the general reader rather than the specialist, written by a non-anthropologist who nonetheless has extensive knowledge of the area. The treatment is accordingly descriptive rather than analytic, and the data has obviously been chosen for its potential interest to the reader rather than its academic or scholarly significance. For instance, traditional tales are presented randomly and regarded merely as interesting stories with which to enliven the long winters, and are not examined systematically for their possible significance as myths. Similarly, there is no consideration of the place of kinship in the social organisation of these areas - a 'dry' topic in such a book as this - but we are given considerable detail on marriage 'customs', a staple and often romanticised ingredient of many travel books. This book manages to avoid outright sentimentality, despite its sympathetic tone, though there is some naivety on occasion, as when the author shows no awareness of the possibility that very lengthy genealogies may have been at least partly fabricated (p.140).

Another drawback is the rapid zigzagging from one ethnic group to another, even though it is not until halfway through the book that we are given any guide to the multifarious ethnic composition of this area. Approximately the last third of the book covers recent history, that is, British diplomatic efforts to exclude Russian influence from the area, the establishment of external political control, partition, the accession of these petty states to Pakistan (more out of a desire to escape Kashmiri domination than through any sympathy with Jinnah's vision, it seems), and the modern experience of being a remote region in a developing country. Overall, this is perhaps the most valuable part of the book, since it is based largely on the reminiscences of some of the actors in these events and their descendants, though historians no less than anthropologists will find a series of sketches rather than a coherent picture.

Nevertheless, the book never fails to interest, and it presents a clear impression of what it is like to live and travel in this demanding environment. From the anthropologist's point of view its treatment of data is too folkloric and unsystematised for it to be regarded as a profound or scholarly piece of work, but the book is nonetheless a worthy portrait of a fascinating region.

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