

## 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 in 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.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

LORING M. DANFORTH, *The Death Rituals of Rural Greece*, with photographs by ALEXANDER TSIARIS, Princeton: Princeton University 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 anthropologist 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 larger 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 meanings 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 significance 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 oppositions 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 survive 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 associated 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 properly 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 (*pantotino 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 admirably 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 competitiveness' (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 (particularly) 'level' in the context of a form of life which is, as *Society and Cosmos* demonstrates, devoid of hierarchy, is questionable. 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 institutionalized 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', 'inferior', 'equal', and such like. This view is confirmed pleasingly, although (it must be admitted) in a source which is not altogether 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 mutual 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 difficulties 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 themselves.

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 instigated 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

SESIONO 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 administrative 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 government'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 recommendations 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 dissertations, 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 glotto-chronological 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 *Desarrollo 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 Tehuacar 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 allegiance 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 settlements, 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 calendar 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 fragmentation 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 anthropological 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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