

the rulers which happened quite often, especially during the times of the Nias slave trade. Good interpretations of some songs are given by Hämmerle (for example the commentary on the song “The Orphan Called Laerumbögia,” pp. 97–102), and this is necessary since Nias songs are full of metaphors almost impossible to be cracked by a foreigner. Today even local people cannot explain any more all the metaphors, which again offers a playground for plain etymologies.

Unfortunately the material is presented in a consistent way. Songs and poems are given in German and Niassan, whereas stories are given in German only. As this book is mainly meant for those interested in Indonesian oral tradition, it seems indispensable nowadays to collect as many texts as possible in Nias (and good Nias at that). Nias language is undergoing rapid change. Since words commonly known some thirty years ago are not used any more, and some of them went lost already, it is important to collect this kind of material. And although this collection seems to be somewhat accidentally kept together only by the fact that almost all songs and stories were collected from mainly one person, i.e., Ama Yafe, Hämmerle makes with this volume another contribution to the tremendous litterarum corpus created by the Nias people.

Wolfgang Marschall

**Hauser-Schäublin, Brigitta, and I Wayan Ardika** (eds.): *Burials, Texts, and Rituals. Ethnoarchaeological Investigations in North Bali, Indonesia*. Göttingen: Universitätsverlag, 2008. 298 pp. ISBN 978-3-940344-12-0. (Göttinger Beiträge zur Ethnologie, 1) Price: € 38.00

If we arrange books according to their originality, you have at one end those which appear to be complex wholes, while at the other end you find those books which constantly refer to other sources, thus leaving the reader a little frustrated unless this he or she has (immediate) access to all the sources cited. The reviewed book belongs to the latter category. The topic of the work is given in its subtitle, and as can be guessed by the names of the editors, it has to do with ethnological and archaeological research in Northern Bali. It is the outcome of cooperation between Fakultas Sastra Universitas Udayana in Denpasar and the Institute of Cultural and Social Anthropology, University of Göttingen. I Wayan Ardika started excavating in the Sembiran and Pacung area, subdistrict of Tejakula, district of Buleleng, in the year 1987. The results of the team working with Ardika came as an archaeological sensation. For the first time Indian artefacts had been found in quite secure layers and suggested an India-Bali trade network around 2,000 years ago. These discoveries, as well as the famous copperplate inscriptions of Sembiran known to the Western world at least since the 1890 publication of Brandes, were the sufficient reason to do again anthropological fieldwork in the area, and that was started by Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin in 1995 and it is still going on. The book contains roughly two parts of equal length. The first part consists of two lengthy articles by Hauser-Schäublin “Sembiran and Julah – Sketches of History” and Marie-Louise Nabholz-Kartaschoff “The

Textiles of Sembiran,” while the second part consists of another eight articles, ten to fifteen pages each. There is a highly valuable appendix containing all Sembiran inscriptions with an interlinear and a colloquial translation into Indonesian. Sembiran C, however, is translated into English. The six royal edicts written on these plates are all Saka-dated and were issued between A.D. 922 and A.D. 1103.

Sembiran, to quote from an earlier article by Hauser-Schäublin (*Indonesia* 2004) “has been a village where people of differing origins and with different ritual practices met, producing a culture that displays corresponding traits, Islamic elements being among the most prominent.” This has to be set against the notion of a “Bali Aga” village conceptualized as a pre-Hindu village. As Hauser-Schäublin can show in her article this concept is misleading, especially for this area, which had contacts with Indian traders and probably Hindu people more than 2,000 years ago and which owns royal edicts in an Old-Javanese/Old-Balinese style from around 1,000 years ago. Hauser-Schäublin concentrates a major part of her article on the role of the temples in the Pura Desa in Sembiran, analyzing the ritual and political connotations of each and by so doing reveals the network into which Sembiran is woven. This is the role Sembiran and neighbouring places played in local and international trade. In this context the idea is intriguing that today’s temple offerings at least partly are a continuation of tributes paid to the rulers. Palm leaf manuscripts lead in that same direction. Also, the gods of Batur were taken on processions as far as the villages that had shrines representing the Batur temple or one of its deities (58), thus reconfirming the ritual and as well as political territory.

Sembiran with its *krama desa* features a division of ceremonial moieties according to the model of elder and younger. This *krama desa* is a manifestation of an aboriginal egalitarian organisation. Only through the cooperation of the two parts can a ritual be organized. In relation with the outside world the two moieties disappear, and the village as a whole becomes the counterpart of any other organisation. It might well be that the *karaman* mentioned in the Sembiran edicts is a forerunner of the modern *karma desa*. In addition to this, Sembiran has a unique organisation called *sekehe gede*, in which members of all clans are represented. Although it is doubtful that these groups are “clans,” since these *dadya* are more a kind of local groups. They may have developed as a fusion of different ritual groups.

Nabholz-Kartaschoff deals with different types of textiles to be found in Sembiran called Sembiran cloth, *kain Sembiran*. The author can demonstrate that the latter, much looked for by “Western” collectors were not produced in Sembiran, and that Sembiran textiles were of a different character. The northern area of Bali and especially Sembiran from early on were cotton-producing areas, and from inscriptions we learn that the North and the central part around Batur formed a trade unit. Looms and dyestuff are discussed, as are the uses of the different textiles according to gender and age. Especially the different women’s groups have textiles of their own. Also the two

*kubayan*, heads of the ritual village community have a special kind of outer hip-cloth. Of two types of textiles, the *kain Kumalo* and the *kain Sembiran*, the author can show that they were never produced in Sembiran, and that Sembiran was taken as a label by dealers to make the textile more interesting, since Sembiran was considered a Bali Aga village.

The second part of the book contains a detailed article by I Wayan Patera on the “*Sanggha Dawa* [Temple] in the Life of Pacung Community.” Only 14 families out of 238 in 2007 have such a shrine which has (at least) 18 niches for gods. At these shrines a long series of ceremonies is conducted up to the final one, *ngeneman sanggha*, after whose completion a whole generation of ancestors is freed from the last ties to the earthly life. The description of this ceremonial cycle (a son has to complete the 18 ceremonies of his father if the latter did not achieve in doing so, before he can go on) features obvious signs of competition, which is also confirmed by the author.

Enrico Kalb compares patterns of land use and shows a dramatic increase in plantation land. Archaeological and genetic knowledge about the northern coast area of Bali is briefly presented in Ardika’s article “Archaeological Traces of the Early Harbour Town” showing that pottery from Arikamedu found its way to northern Bali and that also genetically there is proof now of Indian people staying there and intermarrying with the locals. The harbour, however, has not yet been found. Other articles give a description of “life styles” from the Palaeolithic to the beginning of the first century A.D. (I Made Suastika), namely the burial system at Pacung and its comparison with modern burials in that same area (Marini Drawatik). I Ketut Setiawan gives a very valuable analysis of “Socio-Political Aspects of Ancient Julah,” the “sister” village of Sembiran. Julah is mentioned already in the copperplate inscriptions. The role of the rulers is discussed here as well as the groups of artisans and merchants, merchandise, and food.

Although texts in this book often refer to other sources with more complete content, it is good to have it as a state-of-the-art description of this area which during the past twenty years became so important in history in its broad sense. It can only be hoped that research on all levels can go on in this area to present a fuller view of its entanglement into much wider historical webs.

Wolfgang Marshall

**Jebens, Holger:** *Kago und kastom*. Zum Verhältnis von kultureller Fremd- und Selbstwahrnehmung in West New Britain (Papua-Neuguinea). Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 2007. 256 pp. ISBN 978-3-17-019946-0. (Religionsethnologische Studien des Frobenius-Instituts Frankfurt am Main, 3) Preis: € 38,00

Die Arbeit basiert auf dem Projekt “Konstruktionen von ‘Cargo’”. Zur Verarbeitung von kulturellen Fremderfahrungen in ausgewählten Regionen von Papua-Neuguinea. Sie wurde während zweier Feldaufenthalte von insgesamt 11 Monaten Dauer in den Jahren 1996 und

1997 in dem Dorf Koimumu realisiert, das an der Nordküste der zu Papua-Neuguinea gehörenden Insel Neubritannien liegt. Die Bewohner begreifen sich als Nakanai, die das gut erforschte Nakanai, eine austronesische Sprache, sprechen. Missionare etablierten am Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts dauerhaften Kontakt, der Ethnologe Goodenough wählte die Gegend 1952 für seine Forschungen mit der Begründung aus, dass die “West Nakanai” von besonderem Interesse für die Erforschung von Cargo-Kulten seien “because of a strong nativistic movement” (Goodenough, zit. von Jebens S. 39). Während der Zeit nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg gründete ein Mann namens Batari einen Cargo-Kult, zu Beginn der 1950er Jahre soll es eine Wiederbelebung des Kultes in Form einer als “Kivung” bezeichneten Bewegung gegeben haben. Erzählungen und Berichte darüber bilden das Material der vorliegenden Arbeit.

Cargo-Kulte wollen sich der Macht, die hinter den Gütern der Schiffs- und Flugzeugladungen der “Weißen”, der industrialisierten Welt, steht, bemächtigen, sie nach dem Muster religiöser Traditionen rationalisieren und rituell in Szene setzen; während hier “eher die kulturelle Fremdwahrnehmung im Zentrum steht, geht es im Kontext von *kastom* [custom] vor allem um die Objektivierung der eigenen traditionellen Kultur, das heißt um kulturelle Selbstrepräsentation” (10). Im Gegenüber und in der Wechselseitigkeit von Ethnographen und Ethnographierten scheint es gleichwohl Gemeinsamkeiten zu geben: Beide fassen “das Fremde nach dem Muster des sich dabei verändernden Eigenen” auf (11). Möglicherweise aber seien die Gemeinsamkeiten nur Schein, in der Differenz, “das heißt in der für die indigenen Begriffe und Konzepte charakteristischen relationalen Bestimmung und ambivalenten Bewertung könnte sich das ‘kulturell Eigene’ artikulieren” (11, vgl. 154–158). Gerade die Unterschiede, so heißt es in genuin Schleiermacherscher Dialektik, leisten einen Beitrag zu interkulturellem Verstehen (die “Werkstatt” einer solchen Dialektik hat Jebens beispielhaft im kommunikativen Verhalten der Nakanai herausgearbeitet, denn Verstehen setzt immer auch das Indirekte, Offene, Ungesagte voraus, vgl. S. 94f. und S. 109–119 über Gegensätze, Differenzierung und Angleichung). Die Techniken des Umkreisens, Umschreibens und Andeutens würden sich für ein Einpendeln und Justieren auf Gemeinsamkeiten eignen. Vielleicht liegt hier der tiefere Grund dafür, dass man, wie anfangs mit Rückgriff auf R. Wagner sowie Gosden und Knowles konstatiert wird (10), die Bewohner von Neuguinea für bessere und wahre “anthropologists” halten kann.

Nach der Einleitung, die auch die Male und Merkmale für die Ergebnisse errichtet, wovon hier nur Proben gegeben wurden, geht das zweite Kapitel “auf die Vorgeschichte der von Ward Goodenough geleiteten Forschungsexpedition ein, in deren Rahmen Valentine mit der Untersuchung des Kivung beauftragt wurde” (28f.). Jebens leistet verdienstvoller Weise die Entdeckung und Neubewertung der Arbeiten Valentines. Das dritte Kapitel beschreibt die Feldforschungen des Autors, besonders Berichte und Erwähnungen des Kivung und des-