

intended or otherwise, for Buddhism itself stands reconstituted by the decline of its pedagogic function. I read the book, in fact, as a careful examination of the dying of an old order that then allows for the birth of a new one. The kind of Buddhism that was “revived” soon after must then have been quite different from the forms of faith which might have preceded it.

There are, of course, many other consequences of colonialism that do not receive attention in this text, the new plantation economy and the capitalization that it enabled being of central importance. But Wickremaratne makes no claim to be comprehensive—which in any event would be a monumental task. Rather, in drawing attention to a set of colonial practices that had serious consequences for postcolonial Sri Lanka, he elegantly illuminates the unmaking of that nation in recent years.

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SOUTHEAST ASIA

The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Era. By LEONARD Y. ANDAYA. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993. ix, 300 pp. \$38.00.

This important book provides the first convincing account in English of one of the longest and most paradigmatic of Asian encounters with Europe. From the time Antonio Serrão led the first Portuguese expedition to the fabled source of cloves in 1512 to the transfer of clove production to other European tropical colonies almost three centuries later, “the spice islands” remained even more central to European imagining than to European cuisine. A large literature has chronicled the bloodstained contest for control of the tiny islands at the edge of the known world, on which the cultivation of clove and nutmeg was concentrated. Most was by Europeans (Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch particularly) reporting back to a Europe for whom the Malukan inhabitants of the islands were savage, heroic, or pathetic, but seldom comprehensible as people with their own world view. The slow advance of professional history in Southeast Asia since 1950 has mostly disregarded the area not only because it has become a modern backwater (its extraordinary beauty still undiscovered by tourists), but also because the sources are so demanding. Nobody should embark on this task without a good command of Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch as well as the sensitivity to east Indonesian cultures needed to read these sources “against the grain.”

Leonard Andaya has not balked at challenges in the past, having shown how to use Malay and Dutch sources to illuminate the otherwise dark Malay world of the eighteenth century, and difficult Bugis, Portuguese, and Dutch sources to shed light on South Sulawesi society in the seventeenth (*The Kingdom of Jobor* [Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1975]; *The Heritage of Arung Palakka* [The Hague: Nijhoff for KITLV, 1981]). *The World of Maluku* offers the same careful mastery of difficult primary sources, but is much more self-conscious in their use, imposing on himself a need to delineate the mental world from which they came. He seeks to describe the interactions between Malukans and Europeans between 1512 and 1800, “focusing on

the cultural environments which shaped and influenced each group's relationship with the other" (p. 3). He therefore sets out in the first third of the book "to reconstruct two separate cultural realities of the past, with their differing assumptions and attitudes" (p. 7). A heroic attempt to put theory into practice, these sections of course run dangers of essentializing, particularly in the European case from which there is so much to choose. The two chapters on "the world of Maluku" represent, however, the heart of the book, a fascinating hunt for the social glue in Malukan society by reading "entirely from contemporary European sources" (p. 7). Puzzlingly, given his methodological self-consciousness, Andaya does not explain why he disregards the published early Malukan histories. The *Hikayat Ternate* of Naidah is sketchy, while Rijali's more interesting *Hikayat Tanah Hitu* (1657) deals primarily with the Ambonese area marginal to Andaya's focus on north Maluku, but the Malayo-Muslim perspective of these writings might have been contrasted with the mythological explanation he favors.

These two chapters offer an alternative model to those which have been advanced recently to explain that Indonesian politics may not have been held together in the same way as the enlightenment states of their European observers. Oliver Wolters's "men of prowess," Clifford Geertz's "theatre state," Shelly Errington's concern with *semangat* (spirit), and Jane Drakard's "kingdom of words" have all wrestled with ways to define that element of honor without executive authority which puzzled Europeans. Andaya's two central contributions to this ongoing debate are delineations of the complementarity of plurality and unity in Malukan statecraft, and the unifying power of myth. As he makes clear, Europeans found it baffling that the adjacent small islands of Ternate and Tidore were constantly at war yet constantly intermarrying, in conflict yet essential to each other. Similar pluralities were entrenched in Malukan belief at every level. Warfare, marriage, and alliance could not be understood without them. What looked like weakness to Europeans was often the strength of a particular political formation, and what looked like strength was weakness. What bound the competing chiefs together, in Andaya's view, was a common mythology uniting them as "a large family sacrally conceived" (p. 112). "The element of compulsion was never as effective in maintaining links between the center and periphery as was the belief in the shared myth of origin" (p. 112).

Andaya's narrative of the encounter between Europeans and Malukans, which occupies the second part of the book, succeeds remarkably in keeping the Malukans at the center of the story. Particularly for the late seventeenth and late eighteenth centuries it relies on voluminous and hitherto unused Dutch primary sources. The Malukan conflicts which baffled European chroniclers are explained through the model sketched in part 1. For example, the Iberians frequently held an heir to the throne as virtual prisoner and expected Ternatans to be loyal to him, whereas male primogeniture was far less important to Malukans of this period than alliances and prowess, with women playing a large role in both. The enduring conflict between Ternate and Tidore was a necessary aspect of Malukan life, and could not end in the victory of one side as the Spanish and Dutch intended in their conflicts.

The last chapter retells the story of Nuku's Malukan rebellion of the late eighteenth century, not as hitherto, as an aspect of Anglo-Dutch conflict or anticolonial nationalism, but as the final act of this pluralist drama. Nuku, a prince of Tidore, was "in every way a culture hero, an innovator who strengthened traditions" (p. 239), the kind of charismatic leader whom crisis has often produced in Southeast Asia. Perceiving that the Dutch had undermined the "four pillars of Maluku," notably by exiling the Tidore sultan in 1779, he set about unifying the region against them.

The World of Maluku should be read by all who wish to understand the nature of either the earliest European interactions with eastern Asia, or premodern statecraft in the region.

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Showing Signs of Violence. The Cultural Politics of a Twentieth-Century Headhunting Ritual. By KENNETH M. GEORGE. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996. xvi, 339 pp. \$48.00 (cloth); \$18.00 (paper).

Headhunting has been an enduring concern of anthropologists and others concerned with the highland peoples of insular Southeast Asia. This practice was central in the elaboration of theories of "soul-stuff" among colonial observers (e.g., A. C. Kruyt) and has continued to pose an enigma for more recent analysts, who have drawn on numerous approaches to make sense of the practice, from Freudianism (e.g., Derek Freeman) to Simmelian sociology (e.g., Robert McKinley). Substantialist theories of soul-stuff have been effectively deconstructed, most notably by Needham, but the fascination with the practice continues.

Kenneth George's book *Showing Signs of Violence* focuses upon a headhunting ritual complex called *pangngae* celebrated in the communities still observing the *mappurondo* traditions of the Mambi hinterland in the highlands above the Mandar coast of South Sulawesi, Indonesia. Although clearly inspired by the writings of Renato and Michelle Rosaldo on Ilongot headhunting in the Philippines, George adopts a very different mode of analysis, for he must deal with the question of why the ritual complex of *pangngae* continues to be so central in the absence of any actual headhunting. His answer, nicely summarized in the last two pages of chapter 3 (pp. 99–100), revolves around the politics of identity maintenance and the assertion of local autonomy, responding to both the former context of unequal exchange relations with coastal peoples, especially the Mandar, and, as he more fully articulates in the last chapter, to the present context of competition with world religions and state penetration under the aegis of development.

Chapter 1 sets the basic parameters of George's analysis, announcing the basic focus on the pragmatics and hermeneutics of the discourse of violence in *pangngae*, and situating his own interpretive quest in the light of previous work on headhunting in the region. Chapter 2 sets the scene of the *mappurondo* communities of the "rural precinct" (i.e., *desa*) Bambang, emphasizing the inhabitants' status as a religious minority. The reader is introduced to "a few basic 'facts'" (p. 42) about local political structure and social organization, including the basic principles of seniority, sibblingship, and gender complementarity, as well as the cyclical ritual calendar of the region. Chapter 3 recapitulates and deepens the theoretical arguments of the first chapter, cogently displaying the shortcomings of earlier theories of headhunting ritual and confronting the problematics of the textuality of history in reconstructing scenarios of past (actual) headhunts. In this chapter George also establishes one of the basic cultural functions of *pangngae*, its symbolic inversion of the inequalities of upstream and downstream groups in the former regional exchange system.

The theoretical and regional context having been established, the next two chapters proceed according to an artfully constructed double basis. On the one hand, each chapter points out a different cultural focus of the ritual, a symbolic function of