

equivalent death songs, called *sabak*, are easily understood by average mature individuals. Iban *sabak* are filled with rich imagery of the land of the dead and mythological allusions, on which informants can make more or less thorough comments; they are, in other words, something like catalogues of Iban eschatology.

The fact that Berawan *gu* lack this cognitive function is a cause which leads the author of this book to disregard the importance of ideational eschatology other than that from the rituals. But this fact does not indicate that it was also the case in the past. There might have been a richer repertoire of *gu* which served exactly like Iban *sabak*. The reviewer could not but feel that what is treated in this book is the Berawan death rituals with their eschatology lost.

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LEEMANN, ALBERT und WERNER ROLL. *Lombok (Indonesien): Bevölkerungsstrukturierung gemäss Religion und Adat. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis sozio-kultureller Normen der Sasak und Balinesen* (Lombok: Stratification of the population according to religion and *adat*). Anthropogeographie, Band 1. Zürich: Geographisches Institut der Universität Zürich, 1983. 60 pp. Two maps, figures and tables. sFr. 20. (In German)

This book is based on research conducted on Indonesia's Lombok Island from 1979-1983. Professor A. Leemann, one of the coauthors, is already well known for his writings and his extensive field research in Bali.

Lombok is the immediate eastern neighbor of Bali. About 95 percent of its population of 1,957,000 is Sasak, a fact which creates the impression of a certain cultural homogeneity, although in point of fact this homogeneity does not exist. The population can actually be divided into a number of cultural categories, and it is this diversity of cultures that has fascinated researchers since C. J. Eerde, T. Nieuwenhuizen, and R. Gorris. It is no exaggeration to say that all of the studies of this island have treated this theme to at least some degree, and the present work is no exception.

The book aims at clarifying the characteristics of each of four such cultural categories found on Lombok, then to compare them with one another. A major premise of the book is that economic surveys and regional planning will not yield sufficient re-

turns in any attempts to understand the spatial structure of any given region's economy. The authors hold that the social and cultural background of the region must also be evaluated. In other words, they believe that it is necessary to know the basic norms of the various groups that make up the society.

In the present volume, however, the authors have concentrated their energies on the task of providing an understanding of the cultures of the various social groups, and say nothing about other issues, such as how differences in norms or values might be reflected in the differences in concrete behavior patterns. They have yet to advance to an analysis of the dynamics of the relationships between values and economic structure. This volume appears to be a sort of preliminary experimental effort on the part of the authors, and one feels certain that the problems not touched in it will be taken up in subsequent work.

Lombok is thus an island that has a diversity of cultural groupings within a largely homogenous ethnic group, and as the authors point out, this situation was brought about largely through the influence of foreign cultures, and particularly foreign religions. Established religions such as Christianity and Islam have come to be widely circulated among the primitive peoples of developing countries such as Indonesia largely over the past century or two. One result of this has been a widespread tendency to cultural change and conflict. The rich insights and superior analysis offered by the authors of this book will prove beneficial to other researchers interested in the general field of cultural change.

At this point I would like to offer a brief summary of the book's contents. After an introduction the second chapter deals with the Sasak Boda, and the third chapter with the Wetu Telu and Wetu Lima, both groups within the Islam tradition. A third group, the Wetu Baru, is also dealt with, though in a supplementary fashion to provide a means of transition from the Wetu Telu to the Wetu Lima. This chapter ends with a discussion of the millennial protest movements of the Sasak people. The fourth chapter is allotted to an analysis of the Hindu Balinese, a group that makes up 3.4% of the island's population. In Chapter Five the four groups—the Sasak Boda, the Wetu Telu, the Wetu Lima and the Balinese—are compared, with the results put into the form of a table. The sixth chapter summarizes the book's findings, and at the end of the volume is a map showing the distribution of ethnic groups in Cakranegara, the major city in West Lombok.

The first group of Sasak dealt with is the Sasak Boda, a minority group that makes up less than 1% of the island's population. In spite of its small size, however, this group is of great importance because as the authors hold it maintains the original Sasak culture of the island. The Sasak Boda are thought to represent a culture that predates the introduction of Islam. Although the official religion of this group is Buddhism, the authors hold that they should not be thought of as Buddhists. Contrasting them with the Bali Aga of Bali, the authors define them as "Sasak Aga." Even though the authors interpret the Boda as having originated on Lombok, they make note of the fact that the ancestors of one Boda group migrated from Budakeling in Bali (perhaps in the eighteenth century). They do not, however, discuss the differences and similarities between the original Boda and the immigrants.

The Muslim Sasak are divided into two groups. First is the Wetu Lima, orthodox Sunnite Muslims, who refuse to recognize any non-Islamic thought and who faithfully observe the five pillars of Islam (*arkan*). This support of the five pillars is the source of the name "Lima" ("five"). In contrast to the Lima we have the Wetu Telu ("Telu" means "three"), who have integrated their Islamic beliefs with ideas from Hinduism, Buddhism, and the native Sasak religion. They believe in Allah

as the only god, for example, but also worship sacred springs and rocks, and worship of Mt. Rinjani takes up a central position in the Wetu Telu's belief.

These two Islamic groups are currently in opposition on the island, a fact which the authors explain in terms of the very process of introduction of Islam to Lombok. According to the authors, Islam was introduced to the island via two different routes. One of these was from Java, and the teaching of this religion was from the very beginning mixed with Javanese Hindu-Buddhist thought; it corresponds with the later Wetu Telu beliefs. The other type of Islam came from Goa (Makasar), through Sumbawa, and was brought by the Bugis. This was a more orthodox faith, which demanded complete acceptance of all Islamic obligations. Wetu Lima is the official form of Islam recognized by the Indonesian government. The majority of the Sasak are members of the Wetu Lima. Wetu Telu is currently limited to a very small number of locations, but formerly it played a decisive role in kingdoms such as Bayan, Selaparang, Pejanggik, Sokong and others. Even now the Sasak tradition is thought to be represented by the Wetu Telu.

The authors compare the Boda, the Wetu Telu, the Wetu Lima and the Balinese from a number of perspectives. These include looking for the presence or absence of such phenomena as prohibitions against eating pork and drinking alcohol; *sembek* (a kind of indigenous magic); *ketumuk* (another form of magic, involving encounters with spirits); *pamangku* (indigenous priests); *belian* (magicians); *toak lokak* (*adat* meeting); *pengulu* (Islamic clergy); *zakat* (alms), circumcision rituals, and so on. On the basis of these comparisons they have concluded that there are more similarities between the Boda, the Wetu Telu and the Balinese than there are between the Wetu Lima and the Boda. I would say, however, that these comparisons are the result of the arbitrary lining up of typical indigenous customs against Islamic regulations, and that ultimately they measure nothing more than the differences between what is Islamic and what is non-Islamic. It is difficult to believe that all members of the Wetu Lima follow Islamic laws in all facets of their lives. It might be imagined, for example, that there must be cases of worship of stones or *belian* in Wetu Lima society as well as in the Wetu Telu society.

In point of fact, there is, as the authors note in their conclusions, a large number of similarities between the Balinese and the Sasak. And I suspect that there should be some similarities between the Wetu Lima and the other Sasak as well. If there were none, then it would be impossible for the Wetu Lima to be recognized as Sasak. It is time for researchers on the Sasak to separate themselves from the framework of the religions of the Boda, Wetu Lima and Wetu Telu and to begin to accumulate detailed field data that will recognize regional differences. It is through this route, I believe, that the diversities and consistencies among the values and behavior of the various societies will come into better focus.

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