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INDONESIA

ATKINSON, JANE MONNIG. *The Art and Politics of Wana Shamanism*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989. xviii + 365 pages. Texts, illustrations, maps, bibliography, glossary, subject index. Cloth US\$39.95; ISBN 0-520-06377-5.

In her influential article “Theory in Anthropology since the Sixties,” ORTNER (1984) sketched the theoretical lineaments of an emergent synthesis of symbolic anthropology and systematic sociology as an integrating trend in anthropology. The orientation Ortner outlined, sometimes accorded such labels as practice theory, has remained a central focus of anthropologists seeking to articulate both collective structure and individual agency in accounts of how social asymmetry is created, reproduced, and transformed. In many respects Jane Atkinson's monograph *The Art and Politics of Wana Shamanism* provides an ethnographic realization of the vision delineated by Ortner.

Atkinson's monograph centers upon the *mabolong*, a shamanic performance genre practiced among the Wana, a population of some five thousand swidden cultivators inhabiting the upland jungles of eastern Central Sulawesi in Indonesia. Her account demonstrates how the *mabolong* is at once a religious ritual enacting cosmology and a political event constituting authority and community. Atkinson's analysis accounts for the contemporary centrality of *mabolong* in terms not only of its place in the current constitution of Wana communities but also in the ever-changing historical contexts that have conditioned its relation to other types of rituals and forms of political authority.

Atkinson's introduction situates her study within the frame of her own fieldwork and places the study of the Wana *mabolong* (as both symbolic form and political process) in the context of the wider theoretical issues involved in the analysis of Southeast Asian politics. These are further developed in the five parts into which the rest of the book is divided. Chapter 1 sets forth the occasions of *mabolong*, showing through evocative texts how shamans summon spirit familiars. The Wana geography of power outlined in chapter 2 contrasts the ordinary and the extraordinary (hidden) dimensions of reality, and introduces the cultural scenarios by which these realms were separated in the mythical era and by which they can be reunited again through shamanic performances and millenarian movements. Chapter 3 establishes the contours of Wana notions

of knowledge (*pangansani*), illustrating how it is obtained and how its deployment constructs social relationships.

Chapter 4 at the beginning of part 2 illustrates the shamans' therapeutic treatment of patients through transcripts of *potudu* songs summoning spirit familiars. Chapter 5 compares ordinary people's access to hidden realms through dreams and spells with shamanic modes of gaining access to and control over spirit familiars through summonses and dances. Chapter 6 outlines the vital elements of the self and the body according to shamanic discourse; here Atkinson deftly shows how the symbolic dynamic of the concentration and dispersion of elements serves as the basis of the homology of person and polity among the Wana. Chapter 7 elucidates how the shaman's power to integrate the patient's vital elements establishes a structure of social dependence; the exercise of shamanic powers thus constitutes political authority.

Part 3 presents in greater detail the transactions of shamans with the spirits and especially with the supreme deity Pue, which Atkinson glosses as the "Owner" to avoid the Christian and Muslim connotations of "Lord." Chapter 8 traces the ascent of the shaman with his spirit familiars to the Owner, as detailed in the *molawo* song ritual, while chapter 9 engages the structural theories of sacrifice and exchange developed by Hubert, Mauss, and Valeri (and suggests a reevaluation of van der Leeuw's phenomenological theory of sacrifice) in a depiction of how shamans assert their political authority by assuming responsibility for the vows their patients make in exchange for the Owner's grant of continued life. Celebrations to fulfill vows (*pantoo*) are occasions that create and renew a sense of harmonious and cooperative community (*kasintuwu*), as well as construct the local social hierarchy with the shaman at the apex. Comparing the shamanic rituals she witnessed in the 1970s with KRUYT's account of the Wana (1930), Atkinson argues that the Owner—the focus of so much contemporary shamanic ritual—represents a novel henotheistic concept of a supreme deity who has emerged in place of a former dualistic emphasis on deities from Above and Below. She argues that this indigenous supreme deity represents the Wana response to the monotheism of surrounding Christian and Moslem peoples, a point she develops more fully elsewhere (ATKINSON 1983).

Part 4 deals most explicitly with the theory of practice informing much of Atkinson's analysis. Chapter 11 demonstrates how shamanic claims to authority depend upon audience acknowledgment, a situationally contingent recognition exemplified best by audience responses to the shamans' requests for food for their spirit familiars (*baku mwalia*). Chapter 12 further develops the dynamic of emotions deployed in such interactions by showing how shamans collaborate with each other in the negotiation of claims during *mabolong*.

Part 5 brings to a culmination Atkinson's treatment of *mabolong* as a simultaneously aesthetic and political practice by placing this performance genre in a larger regional and historical context. Chapter 13 contrasts the theatrical politics of Southeast Asia, exemplified by *mabolong*, with the big-man exchanges of Melanesia. Applying GODELIER's conceptualization of Baruya authority (1986), Atkinson sees Wana politics as exemplifying a "great man" pattern, where local authority does not imply control over the production and distribution of wealth in the community. The current pattern of shamanic authority is but the latest political development in response to constantly changing pressures from centers of power on the coast. Chapter 14 analyzes how the preponderance of adult male shamans results not from categorical rules of exclusion, but from social practices that render access to political resources unequal for men and women and for elders and juniors. Building on Michelle ROSALDO's analysis of the asymmetric evaluation of Ilongot men and women (1980), Atkinson shows how

men's greater physical mobility and exposure to outside sources of knowledge promote their domination of shamanism. The assent of Wana women to such asymmetry is viewed not as a mere capitulation to hegemony, but as a strategic evaluation of the benefits of the present constitution of shamanic authority and an appreciation of women's own control over shamans through the bestowal or refusal of recognition as audience members.

Chapter 15 brings home the message of "how political inequality has been shaped historically by Wana interactions with neighboring peoples and polities" (297). Citing KRUYT's account (1930) of a nineteenth-century system of embryonic Wana chiefdoms propped up by the coastal rajahdoms to which they were subject, Atkinson traces how the imposition of Dutch direct rule in the early twentieth century deflated this system. What has subsequently emerged is a settlement level of political integration articulated by the shamans, although cultural notions of hierarchy and rank persist in local conceptions of power. Atkinson's final treatment of millenarian movements as a complementary mode of combating personal and political dispersion provides an ironic and haunting premonition of how the Wana may continue to react to the newest sources of power penetrating from the outside: the modernizing Indonesian state and the evangelical New Tribes Mission.

The Art and Politics of Wana Shamanism is a work whose significance far transcends the ethnographic interpretation of a single type of ritual. Atkinson presents important modifications of WOLTERS's model (1982) of Southeast Asian swidden societies as dominated by "men of prowess" by showing how the exercise of power in the Wana case—and I suspect in that of many other Southeast Asian cultures—is based not on the accumulation of more "soul-stuff" by such leaders, but upon their successfully staking and sustaining claims to esoteric knowledge from exogenous sources. Her emphasis on the social distribution and political display of knowledge may very well be generalizable not only to other nonliterate swidden populations but also to the mass of commoners in many of the archipelago's hierarchical kingdoms. Her treatment of the transformation from liturgy- to performer-centered ritual among the Wana demonstrates how ethnographic description must be complemented by regional historical analysis. Atkinson provides numerous comparative signposts, relating Wana idioms (e.g., the concept of "source," or *pu'u*) to analogous notions among other Indonesian peoples. Her profound comparative scholarship, amply demonstrated in scores of suggestive endnotes, creates an intertextual resonance that transforms her account into a major contribution to the clarification of region-wide issues.

But the significance of Atkinson's book extends well beyond the regional ambit into the realm of general anthropological theory. Her exemplary mode of analysis synthesizes both symbolic and political dimensions from a historical perspective, tracing how the Wana have accommodated their social practices and cultural conceptions to a succession of outside forces—coastal rajahdoms, the Dutch colonial order, and the Indonesian state—while still maintaining a unique identity. Atkinson's synthesis provides one of the most artful demonstrations of the power of an interpretive paradigm rooted in a consideration of historically contingent social practice to illuminate the dynamics of ritual as politics.

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INDIA

HILTEBEITEL, ALF. *The Cult of Draupadi 2: On Hindu Ritual and the Goddess*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991. xxi+533 pages.

Maps, figures, tables, plates, bibliography, general index, index of temple and festival sites. Paper £21.95 (UK and Eire), US\$31.75 (except USA, Canada, Australia); ISBN 0-226-34048-1. Cloth £59.95 (UK and Eire), US\$86.25 (except USA, Canada, Australia); ISBN 0-226-34047-3.

As we read the epic tales of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, the need to understand the fuller context of these classics becomes imperative. We need to know *precisely* how these didactic stories crystallized to form the “living Hindu traditions” of village India. Professor Alf Hiltebeitel, drawing on his extensive fieldwork and research, invites us to concentrate on the cult of the supreme goddess called Draupadī. His first volume (1988) was an impressive study of the mythologies and history underlying the folk cults which originated in the Gingee area of South India. One of the strengths of volume 1 was Hiltebeitel’s patient listening to the nuances and variations of the living oral traditions of today; this enabled him to report on how several local cults blended and bonded with the classical epic tradition.

In volume 2 Hiltebeitel expands and develops much of what he learned during his many years of exacting fieldwork. His analysis of cultic rituals as they are now actually performed gives insight into both Hindu ritual and the central importance of the goddess Draupadī. Again this research focuses on the core area from the ancient center of Gingee to the Thanjavur region just to the south. When one first looks at Hindu ritual there, the variants, variations, and complexity of the ritual appear bewildering and impossible to comprehend. Indeed, without the aid of a local *pūcāri*, it probably would be impossible to fathom the meaning of the ritual at all. So Hiltebeitel decides to simply follow the festivals at Tindivanam temple and to listen to a variety of explanations, to learn of as many as he can access. Wishing to “move with the festival” (473), he sets out to recognize the “physical, spiritual, and cosmic renewal”