

confine pas seulement au rite lui-même, le livre présente aussi un intérêt pour quiconque s'intéresse à la société guajira en général.

Die Munda und Oraon in Chota Nagpur: Geschichte, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. *Lydia Icke-Schwalbe*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1983. x + 200 pp. (includes a nine page summary in English). n.p. (cloth).

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Lydia Icke-Schwalbe is an East German anthropologist who studied two tribal peoples living in the hills of Bihar. According to the 1971 Census of India, there were 1,163,338 Munda and 1,702,662 Oraon living in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Tripura, and West Bengal. Icke-Schwalbe studied only the Munda and Oraon living in Bihar. These tribes were chosen perhaps out of a fondness for the area, but also to find evidence for Marx and Engels' theories of human evolution from prehistory to history. Icke-Schwalbe reasoned that if there are universal laws of historical evolution, then peoples who have only recently begun to move out of the Iron Age could provide living proof of the type of economy and society which Marx and Engels believed prevailed during that stage of human history.

The Munda speak an Austro-Asiatic language. They appear to have lived in the hills of Bihar since the second millennium B.C., when they were driven there by advancing Aryans. The Oraons are a Dravidian people who fled to the Chota Nagpur hills in the first half of the first millennium B.C. According to Icke-Schwalbe, neither of these tribes has a written language (p. 160). Until recently, both groups depended primarily on agriculture supplemented by gathering, fishing, and hunting. They have now begun to sell some of their products in the markets of adjoining towns, and increasingly, especially in the case of the Oraon, by working in the region's coal and mica mines (p. 94).

Icke-Schwalbe's work is largely based on secondary sources, many of which were published before 1939. She spent only one month in Chota Nagpur, far too short a period of time for a study of this magnitude. It appears that she spent most of her time with the Munda; the section of her book on the Oraon is almost entirely based on secondary sources.

In the English summary of her study, Icke-Schwalbe states that her objective was "to establish by means of ethnographic research methods the development level of the economy and society as well as to identify and to reveal their significance in both the historical and contemporary context of the multiethnic Indian state"

(p. 160) (see Note 1). In her German language introduction, she says that she intends to use "Marx's dialectic method of economic analysis" (p. 7) as her tool of analysis. Although she certainly attempts to apply Marxist methodology and to locate the Munda and Oraon on Marx's scale of historical evolution, there is no mention of the modern Indian state.

Does Icke-Schwalbe succeed in her stated purpose of applying the Marxist dialectic to Munda and Oraon society? In one sense, she succeeds because she applies her method consistently, and to all parts of her study. In another sense, however, the dialectic fails because it simply does not fit some of the facts. In trying to make it do so, Icke-Schwalbe does violence to her own findings. The Munda, she tells us, have straightforward rules of inheritance. Land can only be inherited by sons or other male relatives; even adopted sons cannot inherit land unless they come from the same clan as their adoptive fathers (although they can inherit personal property such as agricultural implements). Artisans and women cannot own land (pp. 115-116). Marx said that primitive peoples lived under an economic system of primitive communism. Thus, Icke-Schwalbe duly finds some element of primitive communism: "Traditional Munda society knows no functionally specific shares in the land. Every male clan member had the same relationship and the same right to the principal means of production, that is land" (p. 117). But if land was not divided into individual shares, what is the need for detailed rules of inheritance which apply specifically to land?

Munda rules of inheritance give clear precedence to inheritance through the male line. Sons, fathers, brothers, brothers' sons and brothers' grandsons, in that order, inherit land before it is passed on to other male relatives (pp. 115-116). However, Engels postulated that matrilineal and matriarchical societies preceded patriarchal ones, and Icke-Schwalbe finds some evidence of a possible earlier matriarchical society. During Munda marriage ceremonies, the bride sits on the bridegroom's mother's brother's knees while she is receiving her wedding gifts, and the converse is also true: e.g., the groom sits on the bride's mother's brother's knees (p. 100). Also, the term for maternal uncle is the same respectful term as that used for the father's father (p. 101). From such slim reeds, Icke-Schwalbe deduces that there may have been an earlier period of matriarchy among the Munda (p. 105).

With respect to the position of the Munda and Oraon on Marx's scale of historical stages, Icke-Schwalbe finds that the Munda are at "the later period of primitive society," while the Oraon are at an "early phase of primitive society's period of decline" (p. 167 of the English summary). This presumably places the Oraon one step ahead of the Munda.

As a political scientist, this reviewer was often disappointed with the type of data presented in Icke-Schwalbe's study. She tells

us the size of the average landholding among the Munda and Oraon (p. 70), and that they must now usually produce cash crops in order to survive. But how poor are these people? The extensive appendix of photographs suggests that they are very poor indeed. What are their life expectancy and infant mortality statistics? Icke-Schwalbe draws detailed diagrams of a typical village layout, but does not describe Munda and Oraon houses or their typical furnishings. There are pages of elaborate tables which detail which kinds of cross cousins are allowed to marry, but little about the rights of Oraon and Munda women. Icke-Schwalbe points out that boys and girls used to live in separate adolescent dormitories, but gives no indication of the proportion of children who attend school, or indeed whether or not the Indian government provides schools in this remote area. There are a few appropriate noises about the encroachments of capitalism, but no description of changes in traditional village life which have been wrought by the opening of mines, the building of towns, and the influx of the mainstream Indian population. In short, although this book cries out for social relevance, Icke-Schwalbe does not always achieve that goal.

Note 1. Unless otherwise specified, all translations from the German are by the reviewer.

An Ojibwa Lexicon. *G. L. Piggott and A. Grafstein*, eds. Ottawa, Ontario: National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service Paper Number 90, 1983. ix + 377 pp. gratis (paper).

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Piggott and Grafstein have made another important contribution to the development of a comprehensive dictionary for the Ojibwa language. This work shows a number of major advances over earlier versions (see the Odawa Language Project First and Second Reports 1971, 1973), but a number of further improvements will be necessary before the work is as useful as it might be.

By using a computer, Piggott and Grafstein were able to build directly upon the foundation laid by their earlier work in the geographic areas of Manitoulin Island and Kenora, Ontario. They also added many new entries drawn from work carried out over four years in at least seven northwestern Québec communities which were not previously represented. While Piggott and Grafstein express the hope that dialect identification within the Ojibwa language complex may be facilitated by these additions, it might have been of greater value to the reader to include an English-Ojibwa version in which a single English gloss could be associated with any number of Ojibwa variants. In order to do this,