

HANSPETER ZNOJ, *Tausch und Geld in Zentralsumatra. Zur Kritik des Schuldbegriffes in der Wirtschaftsethnologie*. (Berner Sumatra Forschungen). Berlin: Reimer, 1995, 339 pages, 25 figures, 4 maps, DM 68,—. ISBN 3-496-02571-9.

After two decades of emphasis on the production sphere, economic anthropology has begun to revisit the older approaches to distribution and circulation. A number of scholars are reflecting on basic conceptions such as reciprocity or redistribution and suggesting modifications to misconceptions. Znoj contributes to this trend by developing his own model, the key variables being non-liquidating and liquidating debt and exchange.

The book is arranged in a theoretical and an ethnographic part, the former of which I will consider in more detail. Starting point of the book is the Polanyi concept of embeddedness/disembeddedness of exchange transactions in personal relations in non-market resp. market societies. Znoj develops the following hypotheses: (1) Most approaches of economic anthropology are ethnocentric. An understanding of non-western cultures requires radical critique of these universalistic concepts and long-term participatory research. (2) Most anthropological reflections implicitly assume liquidating transactions which dissolve the relation of the exchange partners once the transaction is completed. This is in contrast to a basic principle of primitive societies which put a high premium on the societal-political dimension of exchange and a long-term continuation of relationship. Znoj defines this type of transaction as non-liquidating. (3) Such a distinction between liquidating and non-liquidating transactions is based upon qualitative research of exchange relations.

The theoretical part of the book begins with the description of the topic (ch. 1) and an analysis and critique of basic anthropological concepts such as 'gift' or 'reciprocity' (ch. 2). Only liquidating transactions, it is argued, refrain from social relations and engender an exchange according to equal value parities (ch. 3). Chapter four reflects on the concepts of debt as established by Chris Gregory (1982) and Pierre Bourdieu (1979, 1983) by introducing a distinction between liability and debt. This distinction provides the basis for a model relating transaction mode and social integration, the two ideal-type transaction modes being non-liquidating and liquidating transactions (ch. 5). They are characterized by the non-expectation of debt liquidation and the wish of the transaction partners to maintain the debt and continue the relation in future expectation of debt liquidation of at least one of the transaction partners.

From the perspective of social integration, non-liquidating transactions produce a net of mutual liabilities. Liquidating transactions, on the other hand, engender a net of hierarchical debt relations, as long as the debts have not been settled. These two ideal-types encompass a range of levels of socio-cultural integration. At this point at least the reader wonders what the advantages of Znoj's transaction model are compared to a modified model of levels of integration as initially developed by Polanyi and reformulated by several scholars of neosubstantivism and economic sociology in order to overcome the dichotomy of embeddedness/disembeddedness of economic action in social structure in non-market and market societies, and the limitation of structural analysis by introducing action orientation into this concept. Empirical studies have demonstrated (and Znoj himself admits this) that such dualistic, ideal-typical models do not reflect reality, since they neglect all the possible transactions in between which show characteristics of both ideal-typical transactional modes. To my mind Znoj is too hesitant to drop the underlying conception of a monolithic development path from one transactional mode to an other. Of course I do not deny that there is a transformation, but, as Znoj mentions, the non-liquidating transactional mode is also relevant for market societies in certain social contexts characterized by closeness and personal contacts. However, like Polanyi, he underestimates their relevance. Recent investigations in organizational sociology demonstrate that even, if not particularly, in highly complex, globalized economies characterized by a high degree of uncertainty, personal (or, in Znoj's terminology, non-liquidating) transactions within and outside business are highly relevant.

The ethnographic part of the book investigates the relation between forms of transformation and of social integration at different places between center and periphery of a market system. It is based on field research in Lebong and Sungai Tenang in highland Sumatra (ch. 6 and 7), which Znoj calls market periphery. The following chapters are the empirical fundament of the theoretical part: the transformation of non-liquidating to liquidating transactions; of communal forms of organization and direct exchange to market transactions; change of values and social relations and the connection to regional and national processes (ch. 8). Chapters 9-13 consider the changing rice cultivation, the changing relevance of monies, changing credit relations in the regional and multi-ethnic context and change in the relation to the Indonesian state in the course of market integration. Znoj argues that Indonesia is a weak state in which political functions are separated from everyday exchange relations. In peripheral regions of the market system the Chinese, who always performed an extraordinary

function due to their race/ethnicity, are primarily involved in liquidating transactions and capital accumulation. This is one component of the recently developed theory of the *traders dilemma*.

In sum, the book provides a valuable discussion of a number of approaches in economic anthropology and is an example of excellent field research.

Heiko Schrader

IAN MABBET & DAVID CHANDLER, *The Khmers*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell, 1995. xiv. 289 pages, \$ 31.45. ISBN 0-631-17582-2

This book is only one instalment of the general series "The Peoples of South-East Asia and The Pacific" under the direction of the general editors, Peter Bellwood and Ian Glover. Although Ian Mabbett wrote the first fifteen chapters and David Chandler the last two chapters, the authors together take full responsibility for the book in its entirety due to shared discussions about its general content. Added to these chapters are two appendices and an extensive bibliography which serve as useful guides for those who intend to pursue more in-depth study.

Ian Mabbett, whose work on the Indianization of Southeast Asia has been standard reading for students of early Southeast Asian history, and David Chandler, who has provided not only the standard survey of Kampuchean history used in both general and specialized courses of Southeast Asian history, are well-suited to the present task of producing a general introduction to Kampuchean culture and history. Reflecting the division of labor among the two authors and their respective research interests, the first fifteen chapters of the book, written by Mabbett, examine Kampuchea prior to the fifteenth century, while the final two chapters, written by Chandler, examine the five centuries which follow.

Many of the chapters reiterate points and cover topics already developed and presented by David Chandler in his previous book *A History of Cambodia* (Boulder 1992), but here they are represented in a more easily digestible style, at a less specialized level, which makes it an ideal introduction for students. Especially valuable for teachers of Southeast Asian history surveys is the ninth chapter, "The Immortals." The introduction of the spectrum of religious beliefs and activities in early Southeast Asian kingdoms to students unfamiliar with Southeast Asian culture is often difficult, especially so due to the process of domestication of Indian relig-