For a long time, ecologists have had all the best tunes. The need to conserve resources is unarguable; ecotourists travel to savour and save the natural environment; mammoth companies and global institutions advocate environmental responsibility; parks and conservation areas appear in growing numbers and cover more of the earth’s surface. These are, however, tunes in a western middle-class key and they resonate with specific understandings of nature, people, consumption and responsibility. Those with other understandings tend to be left out, however concerned they may be with the state of their surroundings. Within anthropology there are reports of those left out, and of the less attractive consequences of western middle-class environmentalism.

*Ethnographies of conservation* is a set of such reports. Based on a workshop held at Goldsmith’s College in 2000, it has eleven substantive chapters and a thoughtful and comprehensive introduction. The contents range from detailed description to analytical overview, from what the locals think to what we think of the locals, from Russia and Latin America to the PNG rainforests and urban hotel rooms that western conservationists inhabit. Because it ranges so far, it resists ready summary, so my comments here must be selective, focusing on two challenges the collection presents.

The core challenge is to the environmental industry. Echoing Ferguson’s description of the development industry as an anti-politics machine, the volume points to the ways that the environmental conservation industry often takes complex situations involving people and their resources and strips the politics out of them, rendering them as technical–environmental. And as the chapters range widely, so to do the stripped politics at issue, though all concern economic and political resources and the ways that they are deployed to shape – symbolically and materially – the world and the people who live in it, especially at the sharp end.

The stripped politics can vary in scope. For instance, Sian Sullivan describes a Namibian project involving land use in a place where different sets of people have different histories of local presence and land use. Not surprisingly, this project became embroiled in local politics, but this was seen by some as an unfortunate intrusion into a conservation programme. Dawn Chatty describes attempts to control pastoralists in Syria to protect a large semi-desert region. In her case the politics is national and international rather than local. Syria was under international pressure to prevent presumed over-grazing, and for its own reason wanted to reduce the power of the pastoralist tribal groups – though it ended up allowing them a degree of autonomy. Just as Syrian environmental practice was shaped by political forces bearing on it, so in Sullivan’s case the NGO running the project was caught between funding agencies and local people. It responded by an apparent effort to prevent Sullivan’s paper being published, seemingly to maintain its reputation for competence among those agencies. And the stripped politics can be more purely personal, as in David Ellis’s report on environmentalists who encourage local people in Papua New Guinea to be environmentally conscious, but who consume at levels that belie that encouragement.

There is another challenge in this work, laid out in Berglund and Anderson’s extensive introduction. That is a challenge to anthropologists to cease being merely the chroniclers of the local manifestations and effects of environmental conservation projects around the world, arriving *post-festum* in the way that they did after colonial intrusions around the world. Instead, we are urged to start trying to affect those projects. As they note, this means that anthropologists must be prepared to reach a degree of accommodation with environmental groups and agencies, for this is necessary if there is to be communication with them: these groups and
agencies do not respond well to the hectoring that often accompanies a purely detached and critical disciplinary stance, or to the orientation of anthropological works aimed only at those in the discipline.

There is much in this collection that I do not have the space to describe: there are chapters to interest anthropologists almost whatever their ethnographic area, whether they are concerned with environmental organisations, environmental projects or the ways that important discourses construe the environment and the people in it. Environmentalism is a difficult issue for scholars to address because it has, for so long, had all the best tunes. With more works like this, we will be able to help build a more humane environmentalism – one that takes better cognisance of people at the sharp end than seems often to be the case now.

JAMES G. CARRIER
Indiana University (US) and Oxford Brookes University (UK)


Anthropology and law have always been cognate disciplines. Many early anthropologists were lawyers by profession and there is an obvious overlap between the practice and study of law and anthropological interest in ‘custom’. Moreover, Gluckman’s *Judicial process among the Barotse* (1955), the first ethnographic study of actual cases, inspired a whole raft of followers. Indeed, one could label the entire corpus of British structural-functionalism as legal anthropology insofar as it concerns the maintenance of social equilibrium through systems of jural norms. After all, the principal topic of Evans-Pritchard’s *Witchcraft, oracles and magic among the Azande* (1937), arguably the pinnacle of structural-functionalist writing, is the attribution of blame.

Despite all this, Fuller (*Anthropology Today* 10: 9–12 [1994]) pointed out the near-moribund state of the anthropology of law in Britain during recent decades. He attributed this to the ultimately sterile debate between Gluckman and Bohannan over the use of western legal categories to understand non-western legal systems; increasingly formulaic empirical work, reducing law to processes of dispute settlement; and a growing stress on legal pluralism, which – precisely because it pointed out a virtually universal fact; the plurality of legal discourses – risked becoming a ‘just so’ story, lacking explanatory value in particular cases.

This last danger is avoided by what Merry (*Law and Society Review* 22: 869–96 [1988]) terms the ‘new legal pluralism’, exemplified by a series of ethnographically based studies by Conley and O’Barr, as well as Merry herself, of interactions between the American legal system and ordinary members of the public. Drawing inspiration from Geertz, this approach studies law not just as a set of formal processes but as a system of thought. There has been little such work in Britain so far, however, suggesting that a book such as that under review might be very timely in reawakening local interest.

Donovan and Anderson’s title is chosen to indicate their primary concern with ‘the intersection of the practice of anthropology with the practice of law’ (p. 3), as distinct from ‘legal anthropology’, which they define as the comparative study of legal systems from an anthropological perspective. In other words, they treat the disciplines as equal partners rather than scrutinising or cherry-picking one from the perspective of the other, as has generally been the case. This accounts for the scrupulously balanced structuring of chapter headings. Chapter 1, entitled ‘Practical benefits of anthropology to law’, is immediately followed by a chapter on ‘Practical benefits of law to anthropology’; and chapters 3 and 4 similarly pair the theoretical benefits offered by each discipline to the other.

In practice, not surprisingly, their contents tend to break free from such neat distinctions. There are occasions, too, when the starting premises seem downright peculiar to a European reader. This is reflected in the increasingly arbitrary choice of case studies. In early chapters, I particularly enjoyed the discussion of the Supreme Court’s treatment of polygamy (pp. 42–59), illustrating how the court relied upon the then-influential social theories of Francis Lieber. Chapter 2 takes an interesting look at the effect of Federal Rules of Evidence on the legal acceptability of anthropological evidence, and the influence of anthropological expert evidence in some key cases. But chapter 3’s discussion of the definition of religion follows up a fascinating account of how American courts have approached the question over the years, with an idiosyncratic summary of anthropological approaches that relies greatly on secondary and somewhat obscure sources. This pales into insignificance, however, compared to chapter 4’s focus on ‘death anxiety’ as
the alleged ‘psychological motivation’ behind the development of human culture (p. 183) to illustrate the theoretical contribution of law to anthropology. The writing, while generally adequate for its purpose, would win few prizes for literary style, and presentationally it is particularly irritating to find a modern publication locating footnotes at the end of each chapter rather than the foot of the page, thereby repeatedly breaking the reader’s concentration with unnecessary leafing to and fro.

In sum, the book becomes progressively stranger as one moves through it, and – admirable though its aims may be – its artificially rigid structure and increasingly idiosyncratic choice of topics, mean that one would hesitate to use it as a basic text. Yet, paradoxically, I learned quite a lot from its earlier chapters, which pointed me towards issues and bodies of literature of which I had previously not been fully aware.

ANTHONY GOOD
University of Edinburgh (UK)


Studies of bodily practice and embodied forms of social action are still frustratingly sparse and peripheral to ‘mainstream’ anthropology. This edited volume makes a welcome contribution to the field by bringing studies of sport and dance to the fore and theorising them as fields of social and political negotiation and struggle.

Following the editors’ introduction, the first three chapters focus on the induction of western children into sports, providing a salutary escape for childhood studies out of the confines of specialist publications and simultaneously demonstrating the massive investment in sport as a socialising factor in contemporary society. In her sensitively observed case study of badminton in Copenhagen, Sally Anderson explores the government drive to involve ‘sportless’ inner-city children in sport on the basis that team-based physical activity is self-evidently ‘good for children’ and instils Danish democratic values. The active involvement of Canadian adults in their children’s sporting activities is then examined by Noel Dyck with reference to competitive hockey. The fact that the adults stand to gain as much social capital out of their children’s exploits as the children do reveals the extent to which this social field is geared to adult interests despite the hegemonic discourse of selfless sacrifice that they promulgate. In a more applied chapter by a practitioner and coach, Harald Broch then provides a study of children’s handball in Norway focusing on gender construction among adolescent players.

The next section focuses on adults’ negotiations of their individual identities by means of sport and dance. Hans Hognestad examines the deterritorialisating phenomenon of Norwegian fans’ support for English football teams, emphasising the post-modern opportunities for the play of the imagination afforded by long-distance support in contrast to the constraints set by national imageries within Norway. Heike Wiescholek then examines another case of diasporic identities in the burgeoning German passion for Salsa. Following an introduction that provides as good a review of the anthropology of dance as one could expect from a full-length monograph, Wiescholek delineates the contrasts and contradictions between the contemporary German ideology of gender egalitarianism and the strong polarisation of gender and the emphasis on embodied sexuality in salsa dancing. As pilgrimages to football stadiums do for the trans-national Norwegian fans, salsa becomes a transcendent, mystical experience for some of Wiescholek’s informants. Tamara Kohn then provides a discussion of the martial art of aikido on the west coast of the United States that serves to problematise the boundaries of sport. Henrik Ronsbo’s chapter on Salvadorian football then radically challenges common-sense notions of what sport is, masterfully contextualising the village games he observed within the recent political history of violent insurrection and paramilitary massacres that the players have survived.

The final section of the book examines connections between sport, dance and nationalism, starting off with a contribution by Helena Wulff on the moral debates surrounding competitive traditional dancing and Riverdance, its modern counterpart, in Northern Ireland. These debates are then contrasted with the relative media silence surrounding the nudity in contemporary dance performances staged by southern Irish dance companies. Werner Krauss follows up with a detailed history of the German football association covering the twentieth century, detailing its association with national socialism in the middle years and the means by which German players, fans and officials have been coming to terms with it since. Eduardo Archetti’s chapter explores the historical, social and embodied links between
football and tango and the indissoluble association of this dyad with national identity in Argentina. Supporting his argument with eloquent quotes from dancing footballers, he reveals the extent to which national moral qualities of agility, skill, elegance and guile were learned and embodied in these two bodily practices and consciously opposed to the mechanical discipline of the British and their sporting bodies. In her concluding contribution on nation building in post-independence Tanzania, Anne Leseth appropriately brings home the key point of the whole book — the blurred boundaries separating sport from dance, ways of walking and bodily comportment in general — and all of these embodied practices from public culture and political transformation.

Because a good proportion of the chapters link sport and dance to such diverse but core issues as nationalism, memory, political violence, modernity, transnational flows and post-colonial and post-modern identities, this book will interest a much wider audience than specialists in embodied practice. Having said that, the book also serves definitively to position performance studies at the centre of all these aspects of contemporary social processes.

NICOLAS ARGENTI
Brunel University (UK)


While working for a Japanese wire service in 1986, Tom Gill decided to investigate the murder of a union boss by a yakuza gangster in an area called San’ya, Tokyo’s main day-labouring centre. Although he was already familiar with much of Japanese society, he found himself entering a completely new world, one which he resolved to study and understand. Men of uncertainty is a testament to his success in pursuing this resolution. It is a triumph of empathy, translation and tenacity and, ultimately, indeed, the anthropological method, since after he had made his resolution, Gill returned to academic study to train as an anthropologist at the London School of Economics.

Perhaps the major contemporary significance of Gill’s study lies in the fact that the day labourers he researched are just the tip of what he calls ‘a huge iceberg of insecure labor’. As the Japanese economy enters its thirteenth year of recession, the experience of working in part-time or short-term jobs is close to becoming the norm throughout the society; only around 55 per cent of university graduates can expect to land a full-time post in the first year after they graduate, and the proportion is much lower for those who do not go to university. The experience of day labourers has thus come to have much wider ramifications than Gill could have realised when he first came across them during the boom years of the 1980s. As with the new generation of part-time labourers (known in Japanese as freeter, a combination of the English word ‘free’ and the German word ‘arbeit’), the major tension in the discourses day-labourers construct about their lives is between coercion and choice. On the one hand, they can see themselves as victims of Japan’s employment system and its economic situation; on the other hand, they perceive themselves as having escaped the drudgery and commitments to family and company of the full-time employee, known ubiquitously (and somewhat mockingly) as the salaryman. This tension between free will and social constraint is, of course, at the base of all social scientific analysis, but it is rare to find it so clearly articulated by informants (mostly in terms of ideas of ‘freedom’ and ‘fate’) as it is here.

The tenacity can be seen in Gill’s fieldwork. This was not the comfortable fieldwork enjoyed by many who work in Japan, but involved days and nights spent with people who the mainstream in Japan shun as socially undesirable and potentially dangerous. Significantly, such sites are clearly bounded, spatially, temporally and historically. Not content with integrating himself into just one fieldwork site, he insisted on visiting all the main day labourer sites around Japan in order to compare and contrast them with his main site in Yokohama.

A sense of the extent to which Gill immersed himself can be seen in a number of different ways: the extensive and fascinating glossary of day-labourer language; the numerous pen-portraits of individuals at different sites whose life stories (which often seem to change on re-telling) give a sense of how they see themselves as having arrived at where they are; the detailed accounts of the daily interactions the individual labourers have with their representatives, their employers and the local and central authorities of the Japanese state. Gill collected enough qualitative case studies to enable him to make some quantitative judgments about the make-up of the day-labourer population. Where he is best is simply in giving a sense of the life-styles of

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the community of day-labourers – their views of each other, their families, their pasts and their futures; with these he is able to empathise without either judging or sentimentalising (except possibly at the very end of the book when he seems somewhat sad at what he sees as the inevitable disappearance of the sense of day-labourer community). His analysis stands out in sharp relief to most debate in Japan, which like similar discourses that came with the rapid increase in the number of homeless across Europe in the 1980s as economies evolved from production to service, tends to see such individuals as either welfare abusers or social victims.

The final strength of the book lies in the way that the experience of the day labourers is placed in a broad social, historical, political, economic and kinship context. There is very little that one misses, even though the book as a whole is less than 200 pages of elegant and succinct text (the rest being made up of tables, bibliographies, glossary and index). This object lesson in monograph writing perhaps relates to Gill’s journalistic training. If journalists can benefit from anthropological training, then, at the same time, Gill shows that many anthropologists could also learn from experience in journalism.

ROGER GOODMAN
University of Oxford (UK)


This is Gow’s second monograph on the Piro people of the Peruvian Amazon. He asks why Piro, eager for the western trappings of dress and literacy, continued in the 1980s to tell what they called ‘ancient people’s stories’ and he calls ‘myth’. In his previous book (*Of mixed blood* [OUP 1991]), Gow argued that Piro were interested in kin ties because these were central to what they called ‘living well’. In that book he focused on the ‘personal narratives’ told by Piro, suggesting that they were interesting to them because they were all about kin ties. He argues in this book that the same was true of Piro myths. The difference was that kin relations were the covert and not overt subject of myth.

Gow manages to avoid opposing modern to traditional culture, equating change with modernisation and responses to it. He insists that the goal for Piro was to keep living well rather than simply to stay the same. Piro actions should be understood not as a reaction to modern forces – rubber enslavement, missionary conversion, and so on – but as an attempt to engage with them in a way that enabled Piro to keep living well. To live well, Gow explains, had always involved dealing successfully with non-kin. Piro selective adoption of western clothing and literacy was not a capitulation to western forces, but a strategy to ensure the prospering of kin ties.

Gow argues that ‘ancient people’s stories’ were an important resource for this strategy. Piro did not believe in the events that were narrated – this is part of the puzzle. The narratives were not then a social ‘charter’ akin to the Trobriand genre of narratives that Malinowski described. Gow focuses instead on the figure of *paneneko* (‘very much other people’) that appear in some of these stories. He argues that the ‘ancient people’s stories’ conveyed the principle that Piro should look beyond their immediate non-kin relations. The answer to oppression by one group of people was, by implication, to look for another group of outsiders. Gow argues that Piro in the 1940s identified missionaries from the Summer Institute of Linguistics [SIL] as ‘very much other people’, so explaining the warm reception they gave those missionaries.

Gow’s historical task is to show how this principle was reproduced even though much else was transformed as a consequence. Piro acceptance of SIL education was consistent with the principle, even though it meant dropping such elements of Piro culture as celestial shamanry that did not square with SIL teachings. A different kind of shamanry, one that focused on the beings of forest and river, became salient instead. But Piro did not lose interest in the principle itself, nor in the stories that embodied that principle. Gow argues that the exotic character of ‘ancient people’s stories’ helped to give the principle the character of a timeless truth. He shows that the narratives were in fact being adapted constantly, concluding that this happened gradually in the minds of Piro narrators without them being aware of it.

Gow advances his arguments with an elegance that will delight the patient reader. He focuses neatly on the events of a particular evening in which a conversation about Americans landing on the moon is followed by the telling of a myth about white-lipped peccaries in the underworld, then by a conversation about hallucinogenic visions. The
analysis is speculative throughout, but openly so for the most part. Gow finds few records of what Piro may have said or done before the 1980s, but he makes the most of what he does find.

That said, I was not entirely persuaded by his account of an enduring ‘system’ of Piro thought. It is surely an obvious strategy to distinguish between groups of outsiders and to attempt to play one off against the other. This certainly happened all over the continent, and it is doubtful whether there is a ‘systemic’ explanation for that. Readers might also prefer to skip the introduction, which emphasises a rather predictable relationship between the work of Malinowski and Lévi-Strauss. Gow makes copious references to Lévi-Strauss, but in fact his approach is as akin to that of American anthropologists such as Keith Basso, Greg Urban and Charles Briggs. He almost echoes Urban when he writes, for example, that ‘all Piro narrative genres circulate primarily in relationships of kin ties and such kin ties form their subject matter’ (p. 289).

Gow might also have included some comparative material. Urban’s own ethnography is a case in point. Urban points to several effects of the narration of myths among the Brazilian Amazonian people that he studied in the 1970s. One of these is the sense of continuity that is conveyed in the material. Urban’s own ethnography is a case in point. Urban points to several effects of the narration of myths among the Brazilian Amazonian people that he studied in the 1970s. One of these is the sense of continuity that is conveyed in the

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TREVOR STACK
University of Aberdeen (UK)


La marginalité, le corps comme sujet politique et la négociation des identités sociales et nationales figurent parmi les thèmes-pilotes des travaux de Michael Herzfeld. Dans The body impolitic Herzfeld déploie ses sujets-fétiches en décrivant, dans un constant renvoi local-global, les rapports hiérarchiques qui marquent l’apprentissage dans les ateliers des maîtres-artisans de Rethemnos (île de Crète). La négociation des identités entre l’apprenti et son mastora reproduit, à petite échelle, la confrontation de l’arène sociale au niveau régional (artisans/bourgeoisie locale), national (Crète/État grec) et mondial (État grec/Occident), suivant un code de genre inspiré des principes monastiques (autodiscipline, résignation au vouloir de la collectivité, châtiment corporel), de l’esthétique byzantine (l’artiste comme simple instrument de perception de son œuvre) et des valeurs d’individualité, résistance et indépendance incarnées par les héroïs montagnards décrits dans The poetics of manhood. Les corps traditionnels des résistants de Glendi et des artisans de Rethemnos sont considérés comme obsolètes et donc impolitiques au sein de l’État-nation et restent à l’écart du projet de modernisation (lire Européisation) que l’État grec est en train de mettre en place. Cette politique se traduit par la création d’une identité nationale bâtie sur une néo-tradition ‘exportable’, la global hierarchy of value, basée sur la récupération des valeurs éthiques et esthétiques de la période attique chères au néoclassicisme européen et à une classe bourgeoise locale/nationale/mondiale qui a banni l’individualité et son ‘excentricité’ du consensus social.

L’analyse de la confrontation socio-politique dérivant de ces deux conceptions opposées de la tradition s’articule en huit chapitres. La théorisation des trois sujets-clés (marginalité, corps-politique, négociation mondialisée des identités) fait l’objet des chapitres 1, 2 et 8 (‘The pedestal and the tethering post’, ‘Schooling the body’, ‘Embodying value), alors que les chapitres 3 à 7 (‘Hostility and cooperation’, ‘Engendered states’, ‘Boredom and stealth’, ‘Associative states’, ‘Artisans in the state and the nation’) se focalisent, dans une perspective locale et de genre, sur les implications sociales des codes de masculinité crétois, basés sur un exercice de dissimulation stratégique (instrumental nonbalance des apprentis, respect apparent des liens claniques) finalisée à l’obtention d’une marge de sécurité et de manoeuvre dans l’arène familiale et professionnelle. La gestion des rapports familiaux/claniques dans le milieu de travail (chapitre 7) en est un exemple.

L’intérêt de cet ouvrage rend d’autant plus regrettables ses quelques points faibles. En premier lieu, un certain manque de relief des données
ethnographiques. Les différentes catégories d'artisans de Rethemnos sont diluées dans la catégorie indistincte d’'artisans'. La description structurée de l’activité pratique des apprentis et des rapports de genre est remplacée par les (trop) nombreuses anecdotes rapportées par 'one artisan', 'one carpenter' ou 'a shoemaker'. Aucune analyse n’éclaire le statut des différents corps de métier vis-à-vis de l’administration locale, ni la méthodologie de travail. En outre, le renvoi local-global n’apparaît pas toujours pertinent: certains traits que Herzfeld 'localise', tels que l’*instrumental nonchalance* ou la réticence à la transmission du métier de la part des *mastora*, trouvent bien de parallèles dans le bassin méditerranéen et en Afrique de l'Ouest; un exemple parmi d’autres, les forgerons et sculpteurs malinké et bamana du Mali. Des réalités complexes telles l’*omerità* des 'mafiosi in Italy' (constitueraient-ils une catégorie sociale?), sont aplaties dans la comparaison facile avec le ‘rule of silence’ de l’apprentissage dans l’atelier (p. 107). Par traits, il en est à croire que les acteurs sociaux qui animent l’apprentissage dans l’atelier (p. 107). Par traits, il en est à croire que les acteurs sociaux qui animent *The body impolitic* ne servent que de toile de fond à l’échafaudage théorique d’Herzfeld, véritable *prima donna* de son texte et porte-parole incontesté des artisans de Rethemnos.


CRISTIANA PANELLA
*Musée royal de l’Afrique centrale, Tervuren (Belgique)*


This is an evocative and detailed ethnography of the Yupik community of Gambell on the northwestern tip of St Lawrence Island in the middle of the Bering Sea. It is based upon over a decade of field research in the community. The author weaves her own narrative with long contextualised statements from the community’s elders of today as well as excerpts from elders of the past. One elder, Elinor Oozeva, serves as a primary consultant and is respectfully credited on the cover of the book.

The book’s dominant theme is the creation and recreation of community in a rich but difficult coastal, Arctic environment. This busy western outpost of the United States is initially contrasted to the villages of the nineteenth century. The villages of the past are also portrayed as cosmopolitan, hosting people who mastered many languages and moved between the mainline coasts of Alaska and Siberia. The main dimension of comparison is on the complex relationships that Yupiks had with outsiders who brought new ideas, new wealth and devastating disease to the island. Against this tumultuous history, the author argues that various forms of faith in the creator, and the food thankfully provided by the creator, helped Yupik families survive.

The book is at its strongest in chapters 7 and 8, carefully documenting the various forms of ritual specialisation and belief in Protestant Christianity that have been developed on the island. Jolles presents a sophisticated picture of how various individuals mixed faith in the *agigsegbag* (who she thankfully does not call a shaman), the spirits of animals and the missionaries who brought new more ‘individualised’ religious views. Rivalling some of the finer accounts of religious syncretism, Jolles describes how faith in Jesus and various Protestant church communities are seen as continuous with respectful relationships with more powerful forces. Jolles argues that respecting food taken from the seas is no longer seen as a matter of thanking specific spirits but part of a general sentiment of thanksgiving. If one puts too much emphasis on the analysis of ritual, one might be tempted to argue that Gambell Yupik have ‘lost’ much of their culture. However Jolles makes a strong case that the sincerity in people’s love for each other, and the food that sustains them, captures the spirit of the community in a different idiom.
The earlier chapters give a very good description of the naming and kinship systems in the community. This ethnography rests equally upon the statements of her primary consultants as well as very close readings of archival transcripts from Charles Campbell Hughes, the Henry Bascom Collins Collection and locally published ethnological texts. Recently available Russian-language sources, however, are missing. The main thrust of these chapters is to convey to the reader the central importance of the patrilineal clan and how different this is from American urban, nuclear families. The author is successful in conveying the power of these institutions but somewhat overstates her case. Many readers would assume that the extended family would be the most powerful force in people’s lives, as is often the case in rural communities worldwide. However, the author’s own struggles with trying to understand the boundary between the individual and the community colours the way that her ethnography is styled. There are long transcripts of interviews where the author tries to specify women’s own experience with arranged marriage, with first encountering their spouses and with their own personal understandings of the world around them. Most of these passages end with the observation that the meaning of human relationships are set in a different key – the connection to a broader sense of community. The radical individualism of the opening chapters makes a strong link with aspects of the individualised Protestant faith of the author’s consultants as expressed in the closing chapters.

DAVID G. ANDERSON
University of Aberdeen (UK)


Susan Kent died in April 2003, while attending the Annual Meeting of the American Archaeological Association. She was 51. One of her last feats was this volume she edited on the Basarwa (San, !Kung or Bushmen) of the Kalahari. It situates itself against the background of the heated and often bitter trench warfare between so-called political economists or ‘revisionists’ (Wilmsen, Denbow, Gordon and others) and the so-called idealists or ‘culturalists’ (Lee, Solway, Tanaka and, arguably, the contributors) that was waged in the early 1990s in the pages of, among other journals, Current Anthropology and Science.

The revisionists suggested that the San were not the traditional and independent foragers portrayed by the Harvard Kalahari Group. Hunting and gathering, they claim, was an economic strategy of the less privileged in the political economy of which they were always part. The ‘traditionalist’ group, in contrast, argues that the San are characterised by a hunter-gathering culture and egalitarian ethos that together constitutes their identity. However, San autonomy (and with it the delicate balance between them and their environment) was brutally ended by European colonisation.

This is more or less the position defended by Susan Kent in her introduction. She claims (p. 20) that it is essential ‘to classify people into meaningful categories, such as hunter-gatherers’. According to her, Basarwa are characterised by a unique combination of cultural traits that result from their hunting-gathering traditions (p. 26). One of those traits, their strong sense of independence and freedom, also prevented them from being assimilated and dominated by their Bantu-speaking neighbours. Kent therefore proposes trade and symbiosis as a possible alternative to subjugation and marginalisation. She also argues that the archaeological record does not indicate domination of hunter-gathering groups by their neighbours. Foragers would move rather than serve. But colonisation drastically changed these inter-group relations. In her third chapter Kent attributes these changes mainly to the particular characteristics of western culture (its technology, its ethnocentrism and its strong emphasis on hierarchy and the nation-state).

The other contributors argue much along the same lines. Karim Sadr illustrates how the material signature of assimilated foragers can be distinguished from their autonomous or pure ‘cousins’ (p. 42). Kazuyoshi Sugawara uses discourse analysis to conclude that people in the Central Kalahari normally act according to the situation rather than to a fixed principle and that this opportunism regulates affairs between Khoe-speakers and the ‘outside’. Mathias Guenther sketches the history of the Ghanzi veld between 1800 and 1950, showing that the so-called Bushmen were able to protect their threatened political independence and cultural autonomy from African and European settlers.

Richard Lee’s rather nuanced analysis of oral history, the colonial archive and the archaeological
record pleads for a theorisation of the communal mode of production and an investigation of its effect on culture and worldview. Just as fine-grained is the approach adopted by Allison Brooks, who convincingly argues that interactions between foragers and others are characterised by varying degrees of dependency, and – though the fact goes unrecognised – that informants and assistants exert influence on the ethnographer. Barnard and Taylor, in turn, spell out the ethnic and linguistic diversity and fluctuation among the residents of the Kalahari; Marlowe argues that contact with the ‘outside’ does not necessarily imply loss of identity; cultural evolution is no linear process. Finally, Kohler and Lewis analyse the interactions between Congolese Bilo farmers and Twa foragers and find them mutually beneficiary. They emphasise more the symbolic and cultural dimension of these exchange relationships rather than concentrating on their economic aspects.

Though undoubtedly a valuable contribution to the debate, this volume does not escape the general flaws that characterise the Kalahari dispute: analytic rigour and nuance are often sacrificed to polarisation; core concepts such as autonomy or identity are hardly defined; and simple dichotomies such as slavery versus freedom, assimilation versus isolation or politics versus culture – and especially the inability to overcome them – dominate the discussion. The contributions and arguments in this volume are not always convincing, and the evidence presented is not always conclusive. Nor do the authors render themselves a service by ridiculing their opponents: it backfires upon their own contributions, creating the impression that they are preaching only to the converted. The issues raised in this volume are too important to tolerate such provincialism. The Kalahari Debate is no longer in this volume are too important to tolerate such provincialism. The Kalahari Debate is no longer.

In the opening chapter Kertzer and Arel provide an impressive review of the field and powerfully develop the book’s key theme – the ways in which the census does not just reflect social reality but shapes our social worlds. They advance their argument through an historical and international perspective that relates developments in western nations to global changes and continuities of colonialism and post-colonialism. Not surprisingly, Foucault informs their discussion of how censuses are the rewriting of papers given at a conference hosted by Brown University’s Watson Institute for International Studies. The book is organised into three sections. An excellent, lengthy introductory chapter on the role played by censuses in identity formation and struggle for political power is followed by three chapters on how censuses shape racial, ethnic and linguistic categories and boundaries and then another three chapters that focus on particular countries.

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The next three chapters take forward many of these themes. Melissa Nobles analyses the ways in which censuses shape racial discourse through an historical account comparing the United States and Brazil. The data produced by these surveys do not simply portray demographic ‘realities’ but ‘reflect and help to create political realities and ways of


Social anthropologists have not been noted for their analyses of the important process of categorising and enumerating populations through national censuses. Despite the long history of census enumeration in western nation-states and colonial territories such as British India, as well as the proliferation of national censuses in the post-colonial period, anthropologists have largely ignored the ways in which these surveys have shaped collective identities and social and cultural boundaries. Since British anthropologists are not renowned for their statistical expertise such neglect is unsurprising. However, in the process, the broader political context of the census and its role in reifying and essentialising collective identities have largely escaped the anthropological gaze.

This volume performs a valuable service by showing how such an investigation can engage with long-established anthropological concerns about the generation and maintenance of social and cultural differences. The pitfalls of many multi-disciplinary projects are avoided through the close collaboration between the contributors and the rewriting of papers given at a conference hosted by Brown University’s Watson Institute for International Studies. The book is organised into three sections. An excellent, lengthy introductory chapter on the role played by censuses in identity formation and struggle for political power is followed by three chapters on how censuses shape racial, ethnic and linguistic categories and boundaries and then another three chapters that focus on particular countries.

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thinking and seeing’ (p. 66). Furthermore, census bureaus are not objective enumerators but intimately involved in the political apparatus of the nation-state. Support for this interpretation of the census is provided in the next chapter by Calvin Goldscheider, who examines the history of ethnic categorisation in Israel, Canada and the United States. Instead of producing evidence of ethnicity and particular ethnic groups, these censuses actually advance a discourse about ethnicity. Dominique Arel follows with an analysis of linguistic categorisation, drawing on examples from Europe, Quebec, Imperial Russia and the USSR. The construction of collective identities through language is differentiated between projects that hark back to a pre-assimilation past and those that look to the future. Both projects are undermined by linguistic assimilation since, as Switzerland and the United States indicate, the assimilation of newcomers into the dominant language(s) depoliticises them.

Although these chapters illustrate their arguments through reference to particular countries, the next three chapters enable us to look in detail at how censuses operate in a particular national context. France is an important test case as the other chapters acknowledge. Alain Blum provides a fascinating account of how contemporary resistance to collecting data on ethnicity in national surveys is linked to the history of the census, shaped by the ambiguities of colonialism. He looks behind the polemical opposition between republican universalism and empirical reality to show how powerful institutions have bowed to the realities of France’s ethnic diversity. The next chapter provides a neat contrast. As Peter Uvin shows, national surveys in colonial and post-independence Rwanda and Burundi have played a major role in ethnic conflict. Here the link to politics is direct rather than, as the other chapters illustrate, expressed indirectly through identity. The volume concludes in Uzbekistan where David Abramson focuses on the census’s role in creating a new national identity after the collapse of the USSR.

A stimulating volume, then, which should encourage anthropologists to take the relationship between the census and identity more seriously.

JOHN EADE
University of Surrey (UK)


‘For far too long, social anthropology has been seen as an academic discipline dedicated to the study of abstruse customs of out-of-the-way tribes.’ So begins Jeremy MacClancy’s rather ill-serving forward to this uneven collection of essays aiming to present a modern face of anthropology. MacClancy sets the tone, using the sensationalised and somewhat manipulated furore surrounding James Tierney’s book, Darkness in Eldorado, to take a meretricious swipe at an anonymised anthropologist (general readers in the United States and those in the discipline elsewhere will know that this principally means Napoleon Chagnon). Then, without pause for breath, he claims that the aim of his own book ‘is to reverse [the] trend in sensationalism and to re-emphasise the public value of the discipline’. Given MacClancy’s willing abandon of his own goals on the very page he stakes them out, it comes as no surprise to find that the two opening chapters from Philippe Bourgois and Nancy Scheper-Hughes represent anthropology in as sensationalist a light as you can get nowadays.

For all the brilliance of Bourgois’ work, it would be a strangely myopic reader who would not notice the exotic nature of this anthropological Taxi driver with the ethnographer hanging in there in the Harlem hallway as an armed and dangerous informant explains his latest crack deal. And as for Scheper-Hughes, the writer herself presents her field-site as a world of ‘kidnap, body-part sales and organ-theft’, in the analysis of which she can reveal an unacknowledged (collectively suppressed?) parallel between ‘death camps, torture camps and organ-harvesting camps’, as if the trade she were investigating had as its source the kind of organised horror that killed millions of Jews and Cambodians. After a few pages of this stuff it is hard not to imagine our guide to this ‘horrific world’ leaping, Harrison Ford-like, across some pit of venomous, biomedically modified snakes as she ‘follows the bodies’ to get her eyes to the ‘slop buckets’ full of ‘wasted organs’.

All of which leaves one wondering why MacClancy wished to describe this as anything other than exotic. Scheper-Hughes herself puts it this way: ‘of the many field-sites in which I have found myself, none compares to the world of transplant surgery for its mythical properties, its codes of secrecy, its impunity and its exoticism’. Even more bizarrely, this chapter is presented by the editor as a model of ‘what fieldwork is actually
sanitation and safe drinking water as means of non-individualist approaches to nutrition, focusing on non-biomedical issues and major review of the literature on diarrhoea patient–doctor discussion, and The Lancet ways to improve health outcomes through leader), before presenting work on non-biomedical medicine's shameful past medicalisation of homosexuality (' is the title of the main leader), before presenting work on non-biomedical ways to improve health outcomes through patient–doctor discussion, and The Lancet carries a major review of the literature on diarrhoea focussing on non-biomedical issues and non-individualist approaches to nutrition, sanitation and safe drinking water as means of disease prevention. But for medical anthropology to acknowledge this would remove the ground on which to posture.

One of the aims of the editor has been to provide a guide to outsiders seeking basic information on new anthropological approaches. Some of the essays – Michael Gilsenan's, Faye Ginsburg's and Chris Hann's come to mind – fulfil this function (though often less well than contributions by the same authors to other recent encyclopedic publications). The most conscientious of these authors have also provided brief annotated bibliographies of their field, but MacClancy failed to enforce uniformity on his contributors so the grander ones appear to have ignored requests to demonstrate anthropological value to 'the taxpayer' and unhelpfully provide long traditional lists of citations. Even here there is evidence of sloppiness. In one survey, 'Unravelling race' by Faye Harrison, the lesson of which is that that North American ideas of race are not universal, it is surprising to find no bibliographic reference to the writings of Virginia Dominguez, Loïc Wacquant or Anthony W. Marx, all of whom provide rather more concrete and focused discussions of the notion of 'racialisation' than the slightly moralistic stance-taking presented here. The same essay, incidentally, contains a number of serious inaccuracies: the Czech Republic's 1993 citizenship law did not deny citizenship to half of its Romany population – however callously it was designed – and biological anthropological colleagues will be surprised to know that a 'sizeable minority' of them have failed to move beyond 1930s ideas of race and that the rest have failed 'to acknowledge the complex nature of human population variation and biohistory'. Again, a glance at recent issues of journals like the Yale Journal of Health Policy Law and Ethics, Nature Genetics, Genetics, Science and Genome Biology would produce a fair list of colleagues on the biological side of the discipline who are not stuck in a theoretical time warp.

With all this said, I wonder if I have yet done justice to the quality of this book. MacClancy wants people outside the discipline to take this collection as representative of the breadth of our socially oriented work, but few will recognise themselves in his assertion that 'to most anthropologists the idea of starting out with a set of preformed questions is wrongheaded and complete anathema'. This is asserted, admittedly, while describing the open-ended nature of fieldwork and the general tendency to avoid questionnaires, but since the book is aimed at a
general readership such loose phrasing cannot but leave a false impression. Anthropology, I am sure MacClancy would agree, is characterised by an effort to try and dig beneath the flotsam and jetsam of daily events and ask profound questions about the nature of human diversity. It is often seen by its practitioners as a sister discipline to philosophy. But this perspective has got lost in MacClancy’s oddly Thatcherite desire to show the long suffering ‘taxpayers’ that we offer value for money and theory-free reportage.

Even at the level of solutions to ‘practical social issues’ – which is where MacClancy wishes to pitch the importance of those bits of anthropology represented in his collection – it is remarkable how the essays here have not been tailored to the world of policy. None of the contributors manages to produce anything resembling a policy statement (except perhaps the Survival International contributor, who is brought on in an epilogue to defend the existence – if not, God forbid, the study – of ‘abstruse out of the way tribes’). Writing policy is a damnably tough business and we belittle both ourselves and those who train themselves for such work if we pretend that, like some jack of all trades, we can turn our hands to it by little more than an act of will.

Michael Stewart
University College London (UK)


Aujourd’hui, les anthropologies de la mémoire et de la transmission suscitent un intérêt tout particulier. L’on remet les textes d’Halbwachs sur le métier, tandis que How societies remember de Connerton est devenu un must read anthropologique. Pour aborder les questions de mémoire et de transmission culturelles, des anthropologues (Bloch, Boyer, Sperber, Whitehouse et Højbjerg, parmi d’autres) ont mis l’accent sur la nécessaire collaboration de notre discipline avec les sciences cognitives. Au croisement de l’anthropologie religieuse et des dernières avancées dans le domaine de la cognition, la plupart de ces auteurs cherchent à montrer comment l’architecture cognitive humaine contribue à la génération, la transmission et la distribution des idées religieuses. C’est, précisément, dans ce nouveau champ disciplinaire, hérité de la lointaine psychologie des religions, que s’inscrit le travail de McCauley et Lawson, dont l’ambition générale est de fonder une théorie cognitive du rituel. Soucieux de renouer avec une perspective explicative, ces deux spécialistes des religions proposent une approche modélisante du rite et le donnent à penser comme une action. Ils entendent ainsi dé-sémiotiser le rite et porter leur attention sur la forme intrinsèque du rite et les contraintes cognitives qui la sous-tendent.

Armés de cet outillage conceptuel, McCauley et Lawson s’attachent à mettre en lumière le pourquoi et le comment de la transmission rituelle et, surtout, s’interrogent sur l’existence de propriétés formelles intrinsèques au rite qui le rendraient meilleur à transmettre. Dans leur perspective, c’est l’organisation rituelle elle-même qui est l’objet réel de la transmission. En effet, comment expliquer la transmission de formes rituelles complexes dans des sociétés où l’écriture est absente, et où la plupart des représentations publiques sont non-linguistiques et le plus souvent entourées de nombreux secrets et interdits (comme, par exemple, l’initiation baktaman décrite par Barth dans les années 70)? A les suivre, certains rites, ceux-là même qui parviennent périodiquement à accroître le niveau émotionnel des participants, sont plus susceptibles de favoriser la transmission et la persistance de la religion.

En fait, les deux auteurs essaient de compliquer les idées développées par Harvey Whitehouse, principalement l’hypothèse de la fréquence rituelle (ritual frequency hypothesis) d’après laquelle la charge émotionnelle d’un rite est inversement proportionnelle à la fréquence de ces performances, ainsi que sa théorie des ‘modes religieux’. Pour ce faire, ils nous invitent à introduire le concept de ‘motivation’ dans l’analyse du rituel. Certes, pour expliquer la persistance d’un rituel dans le temps, il faut invoquer l’existence de processus mémoriels (Whitehouse a introduit le concept de flashbulb memory pour désigner ces mémoires initiatiques traumatiques). Mais il est aussi impératif que les participants soient motivés à le transmettre. Afin de stimuler cette motivation à transmettre, certains rites doivent mettre en jeu un ‘apparat sensoriel’ (sensory pageantry) destiné à accroître les émotions des participants, et par-là même à persuader ces derniers de l’engagement d’entités surhumaines et de l’importance divine de ces rites. Autant dire que ces rites, à très forte charge émotionnelle et capables ‘d’énérgetter’ les participants au rite, sont
enjoyable CD provides an awakening. Since these are authentic field recordings there is no need to dwell on quality, conversations during dancing or orchestration techniques. One should not expect complete cycles of music for the CD is 31 minutes. Nor should one look for a diversity of genres: the disk includes ‘mestizo’ as opposed to ‘indigenous’ or ‘Indian’ music. Mendoza points out, and rightly so, that these labels are useless in the day-to-day living of jeronimianos or Cusqueños residents.

This narrative of the town of San Jerónimo, the Cusco departamento in south-eastern Peru, concerns a patron-saint fiesta that could also be used with a video tape of fourteen performance-segments available separately from the University of Chicago Press. Together these provide the well-nigh impossible: a totalising juxtaposition of texts, sounds and moving image. This combination may be contested by some, but I could see its benefits for classroom instruction.

The author discusses the racial/ethnic underpinnings of Peruvian society by providing a historical backdrop of current ritual practices. We are drawn into the lives of contemporary comparsas, dance troupes that are connected to their colonial antecedents, the cofradías or religious lay brotherhood. These performing ensembles are mortgaged to the ‘authentic’ ways framing patron saint celebrations into a melange of drama, folkloric revival and mass media venues. There are minute details of dances and processions, and equally interesting, fascinating costumes and masks. In chapter 6 we learn about the gender and generational aspects of the festival of Corpus Christi and how the ritual dance associations construct and negotiate their ethnic/national identities. However, the terms generation, youth and young are used profusely without concern to their homogenising qualities.

In contrast to such an immense knowledge of drama and hierarchy, the author offers a less satisfying treatment of the anthropology of dance. She discusses recent developments without real engagement with these concerns. A few scholars are mentioned (Cowan, Ness, Novack) with some earlier theorists (Royce, Hanna, Keakinohomoku). Others are left out (Boas, Kaeppler, Williams). Completely missing are the more novel attempts to describe dance and dancing as they capture and contest identity, ethno-national revival and what Cohen calls transnational ‘masquerade politics’. I would have loved to see how Mendoza engaged with her fellow anthropologists about dance theories, transnational cosmopolitan performances,
analyses of cross-cultural dance forms, and race and nationality, or how she would re-read Bloch’s notion of ritual and dance. Even a passing word or two to Katherine Dunham, one of the pioneers of dance scholarship who has recognised the importance of ethnic-racial identity in dance, would have made Mendoza’s study a more compelling story to read.

This is not a book by or for a dance specialist (though the author does note that she managed a crash course in Labanotation). Nor should we look for recent advances about the human body. Despite the CD included, this is not ethnomusicology either, despite the fact that the book is part of the Chicago Studies in Ethnomusicology series; there is hardly any analysis of the music, orchestration and melodies, though chapter 5 contains a description of a dance-drama with texts of particular songs performed.

However, to argue, as I have done above, in such seemingly critical voice about the missing theoretical frames and pioneering efforts this book should have encompassed, should not be taken too far in the light of the richness of the historical data it presents and the meticulous description of the Peruvian revival movement.

I do appreciate the book for the unique view it offers and recommend it for anyone interested in movement, ritual ethno-national celebrations and national revivals, no matter what cultures and societies they study. It is an immensely important analysis of how one region and locals attempt to make sense of their lives and cope with everyday realities by relying on constructed ritual dance-dramas. The descriptions Mendoza provides are engaging and her portrayal of Cusco residents is vividly emphatic. Reading her analysis one gains a new understanding of what Peruvian performance is all about. This is a first-rate ethnography of a momentous symbolic aspect of Peruvian society by an American-trained, Peruvian-born anthropologist. It makes me understand Nietzsche better when he wrote: ‘I could only believe in a god who would know how to dance’.

LÁSZLÓ KÜRTI
University of Miskolc (Hungary)

contextualisation of early Protestant missionary efforts in the Hawaiian islands and the missionaries’ role in acting as mediators between Hawaiians and westerners. The role of the Hawaiian kings and nobility and their relations with the missionaries are examined as well as the shift of power that took place because of the growing influence of the missionaries and the introduction of liberal capitalism. The second chapter focuses on a detailed description of different Protestant missionary societies in New England, their goals and understanding of political virtue. The third chapter addresses the rise of political discourse with the detailed interpretation of examples of confrontation, as for instance the role of the traditional hula-dance and the prohibition of prostitution. Chapter 4 deals with the growing overlap between political, religious and economic interests in the Hawaiian islands in the early nineteenth century. Chapter 5 contains an interpretation of the evolution of Hawaiian constitutional monarchy while Chapter 6 deals with the incorporation of traditional concepts of kalai‘aina (politics) in the textual bodies of new laws. The conclusion emphasises the goal of exploring how western projections upon Hawaiian culture were made part of the scene of culture contact, and what real impact they had.

The author has made extensive use of primary sources, including many contemporary Hawaiian-language newspapers and dictionaries. Basic knowledge of Hawaiian history and specific historical developments is required for an understanding of the attitude of some key actors in local politics and some of the events. The personalities of the Hawaiian kings are touched on in a brief way, maybe too brief, as are ‘classic’ disputes such as the Sahlins–Obeyesekere discussion (p. 39). The book is aimed at the already informed and academic reader and lacks extended descriptions of events of historical importance, but the author creates a vivid image of the reciprocal influences and often fatal relationships between Hawaiians, foreigners and missionaries. It is a valuable book that contrasts with the almost countless compilations on Hawaiian history and makes a useful addition to ‘standard’ works like Kyukendahl’s three-volume edition on the Hawaiian kingdom and volumes on Hawaiian historical ethnography by Linnekin, Sahlins and Bushnell.

HERMANN MUECKLER
University of Vienna (Austria)


Lidia Sciama carried out fieldwork as a ‘returned native’ on the island of Burano in the northern part of the Venetian lagoon in the early 1980s. Her initial research was on housing, but soon expanded to cover issues of island identity, urban living, the continuing significance of family and kin in residence patterns and property transfers, the gender division of labour (traditionally fishing for men and lace-making for women) and islander involvement in issues of environmental pollution (exemplified by a vivid account of the midge plague of August 1988). This book is based on that original research, brought up to date in places with more recent information and references.

The island, half-a-square-mile in area, lies six miles from Venice, and many islanders commute there daily by boat, a journey of about 45 minutes. Tourists also visit the island in large numbers, and can now find lace from the Far East offered for sale as souvenirs, as well as much more expensive local work. A number of themes are woven through the book and detailed in individual chapters. Burano’s relationship with the municipality of Venice (to which it was joined in 1924) and its own particular history and sense of identity – marked out from the city and the other islands in the lagoon by differences in dialect and custom – are presented and discussed in Chapters 1 and 2. This sense of identity pervades the islanders’ relationship, a relationship in which the island’s inhabitants were frequently forced to act as deferential clients rather than fellow citizens with an equal claim to housing improvements and health and social services. These matters, which have only recently begun to change, are reviewed in Chapter 8.

At the time Sciama’s research began, the island population was 5,208, living in 1,520 dwellings, often with more than one family sharing accommodation. A decade after her research, the population had declined by 20 per cent (to 4,299), with far fewer children and more people over 60 years of age in the population profile, a situation that brings its own problems. In some cases in the earlier research, the links between co-residents and neighbouring families were through women (mother and daughters, sisters), in others through men (father and sons, brothers). Kinship diagrams and sketches of neighbourhoods, show patterns of changing residence as quarrels over inheritance and
property caused rifts between relatives (Chapter 4). A short chapter on stratification (Chapter 5) wrestles with the problem of using detailed anthropological knowledge of neighbourhood relations, friendship patterns, occupations and leisure activities, to cast light on the categories of statistics on employment and occupation from census data.

Historically, Buranelli men made their living from fishing in the lagoon, and many women were involved in fine lace-working, using a technique known as ‘stitch in the air’ (punto in aria). Stories of the origins of lace-working suggest links between women’s and men’s areas of occupation (copying the patterns of seaweed on rocks or of foam at the water’s edge). Discussions of ‘honour and shame’, at one time central preoccupations of Mediterraneanists, are shown to be still salient for understanding the association of lace-making with the female virtues of submission, passivity, diligence, purity and chastity (Chapter 6). The island’s lace-making school (closed down in 1972) was associated by locals (both men and women) with girls and young women (overseen by nuns, and unpaid for their work when training) in situations of surveillance and exploitation dating from the time when those from poor backgrounds were thought to be at particular risk from more lucrative but less morally defensible occupations. An illustration of contemporary lace-work (Figure 7.5) hints at a discussion of innovation and ‘authenticity’ in artistic craftwork which does not in fact appear.

The author, or possibly the publisher, has not been well served by pre-publication copy-editing. There are numerous errors of spelling, grammar, punctuation and expression; many references in the text do not appear in the bibliography; many dates of publication are incorrect and the style of citation is not systematic throughout. Nor are all the translations from Italian/Buranelli into English idiomatically phrased. The decision to present fewer than seven pages on ‘Religion and social change’ as a chapter in its own right (Chapter 3), seems to me to have been an error of judgment.

This book has much to recommend it, in its unusual combination of urban anthropology and small community focus, but its price and uneven presentation rule it out for student use and may even irritate others as much as this reviewer.

MARGARET E. KENNA
University of Wales Swansea (UK)


This is a very good and accessible textbook for French-speaking audiences. As noted in the introduction (p. 7), it follows upon the volume Eléments d’ethnologie edited by Robert Cresswell, and also published by Armand Colin in 1975 – but with much more in-depth coverage, and with extensive references that include works in languages other than French (especially English). This is an important and somewhat atypical step, since many French- and English-speaking anthropologists still prefer to use only their own native language in their research, thus ignoring a vast body of scholarship, not just in English or French, but even more in Spanish, Portuguese, and so on. (In areas such as the Balkans, unfamiliarity with local languages severely hinders research, as some of the most important written sources are available only in local languages.)

The book is a product of the collective effort of sixteen scholars, mostly from the University of Paris X – Nanterre, edited by one of the most brilliant and well-known French social scientists, Martine Segalen. Most of the authors are not very well known outside France, and it could be argued that the influence of some (like Segalen herself) is actually greater outside France. The book consists of fourteen chapters, divided into two parts: the first eight chapters deal with concepts (ethnicity, politics, religion and ritual, kinship, technology and economy, ecology, art and ethnolinguistics), while the second six are dedicated to ‘cultural areas’ (Africa, the Americas, Oceania, Europe, the ‘Arab world’ and Asia). Most of the contributions from the second part contain a list of monographs in their bibliographies; this should be very useful to students as well as readers who want to explore the issues mentioned further. The selection of the authors and their particular areas of expertise obviously influenced the choice and extent of the geographical coverage. For example, while some chapters (such as ‘Les études européanistes’ by Segalen) present a more in-depth analysis of the anthropological perspectives in a particular area, others (such as ‘Les études américanistes’ by Philippe Erikson, Jacques Galinier and Antoinette Molinié) offer only a cursory glance at the ‘state of the art’ of anthropology in that region.

The idea of ‘ethnology’ (ethnologie) that the authors explore here is on the lines of the concept of anthropology as it was developed in France from the
1950s – a science whose aim is to analyse the data obtained through field research (‘ethnography’). The analysis in this book is well-presented and well-written, and although the volume is primarily intended as a textbook, interested individuals among the wider public (‘general audience’) will be able to gain access to some important issues present in contemporary anthropology.

The idea of contemporaneity is particularly important. All the contributors, whether writing about politics (Marianne Lemaire) or about Africa (Michael Housman) cover both the history of the study of a particular concept or region and current issues in anthropological research. Some chapters include useful hints on potential methods to be employed in research projects (like the one on technology and economy, by Georges Guille-Escuret), while some, despite the valiant efforts of their authors, cover an area that is just too large to be successfully explained in this kind of text. An example is the chapter on India, the Himalayas, Southeast Asia, China and Japan written by Raymond Jamous, Anne de Sales, Bernard Formoso and Laurence Caillet.

Despite these criticisms and some differences between chapters (inevitable in a multi-authored volume), I wish to re-iterate the importance of introductory texts like these as teaching tools. Ethnologie. Concepts et aires culturelles represents a scholarly discipline very relevant to the world we live in today and invites readers to explore the diversity of human cultures as well as the fundamental humanity present across different traditions. In doing so, it also sets an important standard for similar textbooks in the future, with its combination of accessibility and depth. I can only hope that the book will also be read and used outside the French-speaking ‘cultural areas’. It certainly deserves it!

ALEKSANDAR BOSKOVIC
Rhodes University (South Africa)


Muslim symbols and sacred metaphors are more and more frequently becoming forms of political expression, and amid all this political discourse woman takes a central place. However, she does not seem to be portrayed as real, speaking with her own voice and on her own behalf, but, rather, as symbolic – as ‘the gates of the west’. Fundamentalists view her as an emblem of cultural awakening and the integrity and authenticity of Muslim values. Woman’s identity in Islamic society is often reduced to its religious dimension only; the division of women by region, ethnic identity, class and cultural group is completely overlooked. Likewise, the processes of social change and modernisation – like women’s dreams and aspirations – are ignored.

Very few of the numerous publications on Islamic fundamentalism that have recently appeared analyse the subject from a gender perspective. Lamia Rustum Shehadeh’s book seeks to answer questions about the role and place of woman in the ideology and political practice of fundamentalist movements, and, remarkably, about the causes of the popularity of fundamentalism among women. The author analyses the works and biographies of significant fundamentalist thinkers who played leading roles in the Islamic revival of the twentieth century, presenting the viewpoints of both the Sunni and Shiite versions of Islam, of representatives of both the radical and liberal movements, and finally of both sexes. The subsequent chapters are devoted to particular ideologues, each of whom might be called an architect of the Islamic fundamentalist movement. Their works are commonly known throughout the Muslim world and have been translated into many languages.

The first chapter describes the life and work of Hasan al-Bana from Egypt. He was the founder of the first fundamentalist organisation in the Muslim Arab world, the Muslim Brotherhood, which with time became a model for similar political movements. Chapters 2 and 3 deal with two representatives of the radical current of Sunni fundamentalism. Abu al-A’la al-Mawdudi was the most popular theoretician and fundamentalist politician of Pakistan and, at the same time, the founder of the influential Jama’at-i Islami. The Egyptian Sayyid Qutb, in turn, created and popularised the idea of Islamic activism. A literary critic, writer and poet, he was primarily a thinker advocating the need for a thorough social transformation based on the tenets of Islam.

Chapters 4 and 5 discuss the philosophy of two religious men of great learning and theorists of the Islamic revolution in Iran that led to the creation of the first Islamic state in the twentieth century. Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and Ayatollah
Mortaza Mutahhari represented the radical movement within Shiite Islam. By developing the doctrine of wiliyat al-faqih [the guardianship of the jurist], they laid the foundations for the theocratic rule of the Islamic republic of Iran. Chapter 6 is a splendid analysis of the work of Zaynab al-Ghazali, a famous Islamic activist who founded the Muslim Women’s Association, which numbered three million members shortly before it was dissolved in 1964. Al-Ghazali claimed that only an Islamic state based on the tenets of Islam can fully guarantee the realisation of women’s rights and freedoms.

The next two chapters are devoted to representatives of a moderate current within fundamentalist thinking: Hasan al-Turabi and Rashid al-Ghannoushi. The former was an ideologue of the Islamisation process of Sudan, which brought about the coming into existence of the first Sunni Islamic state in the world. The latter, the Tunisian al-Turabi, was the founder and main leader of the Islamic Tendency Movement, which discarded western secularism but stressed the significance of democracy, pluralism, freedom and human rights. The last chapter discusses the views of a moderate Shiite man of learning from Lebanon, Sheikh Hussein Fadlallah. His ideology, which culminated in the creation of an Islamic state, was based on two assumptions: the modernisation of Islam and the unification of all Muslims.

Striving fully to reconstruct the social order, fundamentalist ideologists ‘do not seek to reproduce the past, but to reconstruct society through a process of Islamic reform in which the principles of Islam are applied to contemporary needs,’ as John Esposito points out. ‘Each speaks of a comprehensive reformation or revolution, the creation of an Islamic order or state, since they regard Islam in scope and a faith-informed way of life’. The status of woman is at the centre of the struggle for the new Islamic order. A condition and, at the same time, a guarantee of this new and better reality is the return to the traditional model of family. A natural consequence of this process, according to the thinkers presented in Shehadeh’s book, is the apotheosis of the role of the mother and wife, fully subordinated to the man, as well as sex segregation in the public sphere and restitution of the veil. The analysis pivots on the issue of the uses of religion in the struggle for political influence and power. Fundamentalism aims to attain political goals by making religion political.

In recent years, political disputes both in Europe and America have been dominated by reflections on Muslim fundamentalism. The book by Lamia Rustum Shehadeh is a crucial and competent voice in this discussion. Dealing with an aspect hitherto largely neglected, it becomes an invaluable source of knowledge on the social processes taking place in the world of Islam.

**BEATA KOWALSKA**

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This book is a masterfully edited publication and interpretation of a book entitled *Icones* that preserves a series of thirty prints and their captions extracted from a larger travel account named *Itinerario.* Both works date from the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. Brought to Europe by a Dutch voyager, Jan Huygen van Linschoten, the prints and their accompanying texts depict and describe the populations, customs and fauna of South Asia.

The book is subdivided into two main sections: an introductory and interpretative chapter written by Van den Boogaart and thirty facsimile prints, together with translations of their Latin subtitles. Van den Boogaart introduces the reader to the book and to its author’s history. Van Linschoten first arrived at Goa in 1583, not as a servant to Dutch Protestant merchant capitalism, but as an individual journeyman who travelled ‘to satisfy his curiosity about the wider world’, finding employment in the bureaucracy of the global Spanish monarchy. This makes his case somewhat special. Upon his return to the Dutch Republic nearly ten years later Linschoten turned his knowledge about Asia into prestige and fame. He was appointed commander of an ambitious but unsuccessful scientific voyage for a northeastern route to China and became internationally known through the publication of his *Itinerario* (1595–6) and of his *Icones* (1604).

After explaining the historical relevance of these publications as a source of information about distant but economically highly important regions of the early modern world, Van den Boogaart goes on to give a detailed interpretation of the prints. It is here that the book gains its significance also for anthropology. If analysed in its entirety the series of thirty prints reveals a four-tiered sub-pattern that
conveys an early modern anthropological description of Asian peoples and customs. With much care and a hoard of references to primary and secondary material, Van den Boogaart assesses the Icones as a ‘Depiction of hierarchy of civility’, as a presentation of ‘Ethnic couples’, of ‘Elite processions and ships’ and of ‘Fruits, plants and trees’. Van den Boogaart can show that the underlying concern was to give a comparative presentation of Asian societies whose ‘civility’ was measured against European standards. Scales to measure civility are social stratification (as seen in clothing and presentations of the body as well as in a society’s ethnic composition), technological skills (as represented in tools and types of ships), morality and sexuality (as revealed through dress and posture) and public religion.

Van den Boogaart repeatedly raises the question of the depictions’ reliability and credibility. The Icone’s author had claimed to provide a ‘natural and verisimilar illustration’, drawn ‘from life’ or ‘from nature’. Nevertheless, Van den Boogaart is able to prove that substantial modifications and additions were made to the original sketches before the plates were published. These modifications enhanced stereotypical features and may have been added with a view to enhancing the books’ instructive and ‘edifying’ account of hierarchies of civility, an argument that runs all through this pictorial classification of early modern Asia.

The thirty plates and the commentary on them provide anthropologists and historians with a first sprouting of that ever lingering conflict between, on the one hand, the presentation of the other and, on the other, the observer’s analytic tools and the expectancies of readers back home.

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The significant contribution of this book is to examine the construct of the other from an interactional perspective as a ‘mess of encounters’ (p. 160) between colonist and colonised in nineteenth-century India and Britain. Van der Veer examines processes, movements and prominent people and scholars to argue against essentialist ideas of a colonial relationship, in the process questioning both the separation between secularity and religion and between Britain and its colonial other. Van der Veer points out that how Britain defined its other in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was not just in terms of the French and Catholic, but also the Indian and Hindu. The accounts probe otherness, both between and among colonial and colonised where differences and similarities were imagined and managed through religious and racial discourses that were also gendered. In illustrating the connections, van der Veer argues for a more representative visibility of the origins of modernity, not merely in western civilisation, but also in the varied interactions of the colonial setting.

The accounts critique and shift the idea of Habermas’s rational public sphere as one to be centrally resituated as religious and where religion informs the construction of national identities. The book offers details of these religious public spheres to overturn both the modern secular nation-state and the divide as a construct of a rational Britain and a religious India. Van der Veer argues for the centrality of religion in the public spheres in Britain and India. While there was continual Christian interference in British policies, this provoked reformist Hindu activities as a public sphere reminiscent of evangelism in Britain. The notion of secularity provided Britain with the ‘conceit of religious neutrality’ (p. 54) which, in turn, placed an emphasis on race and racial superiority rather than religion as the focus of difference. While, as van der Veer shows, discourses and activism around various religious movements in Europe, America and India fed into these interactions, the projection of a secular imperial power both obscured the role of Christianity in colonialism and also invented a superior Britain on the basis of scientific discourses. He examines how this notion of superiority relied on a historical re-invention of the British nation, where the origins of modernity had to be traced to the past and inventions of various traditions, not least the concept of liberty offered as a British tradition that was difficult for others to attain. Van der Veer shows how Indians examined the idea of this superiority as Christian rather than secular and, as in the teachings of Swami Vivekananda, ‘posed the superiority of Hinduism’s spirituality over western materialism’ (p. 54).

In providing details of how the ‘other’ was constructed and mediated through movements, texts, scholars and leaders, the book constantly shifts the discussion between India and Europe.
Van der Veer examines forms of internal missionisation in India and looks at how Hindu movements from the Brahmo Samaj and the Ramakrishna mission to the Arya Samaj produced the Hindu public. He considers how Christian morality linked into nationalism in nineteenth-century England. The discussion ranges from the Arya Samaj reformist approaches vis-à-vis Aryanism to the significance of Max Muller’s work in both India and Britain. The book considers the emergence of Hindu nationalism that was spurred by theosophy and probes how this nationalism emerged. Many Hindu men were seen as effete, a perception entangled with muscular Christianity, and Indians made their Boy Scout movement independent after Baden-Powell refused their translation of English ‘honour’ into Indian ‘izzat’. Van der Veer points out that how these encounters around sexuality and gendered identities occur crucially displays the ‘instability of colonial encounters’ (p. 105).

The book considers various approaches to Christianity as a universal religion. The Hindu encompassing of Christianity was one approach by which Christianity could rescue ‘decadent’ Hinduism. This approach, however, was rejected by the Hindu reformist leader, Swami Dayananda, who located such reform in Vedantic teachings. Christianity was also able to make use of the notion of progress, despite the way this was seen as separate from religion. Van der Veer discusses the opposition between religion and liberal thought as one rooted in the Enlightenment. He noted that while John Mills in his essay ‘Liberty’ espoused religious diversity, this was conditional on such views being part of ‘modern civilisation’ (p. 18) where progress was set against religion. Van der Veer critiques this opposition to show how evolutionary theory was implicated in the ‘joint predicament of nationalism and imperialism’ (p. 18).

This book will add to our understanding of the role of religion and nationalism in contemporary situations of violence where debates about difference and the other have re-emerged as a probing of civilisation itself but remain implicated in perceptions of colonial interactions.

**Narmala Halstead**

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Cet ouvrage collectif consacré à la musique et à la danse populaires qui se sont développées dans certains milieux urbains à la fin du dix-neuvième et au début du vingtième siècle, présente des essais sur le flamenco (Espagne), le tango (Argentine) et le rebetika (Grèce). Ces genres, qui ont connu des évolutions comparables, partagent entre eux plusieurs traits – notamment ceux liés aux rapports entre les sexes et à l’expression de la sexualité – tout en s’inscrivant dans une recherche identitaire voire, avec le temps, délibérément nationaliste. En outre, ils sont apparus à une époque où le développement urbain et la formation d’une classe moyenne favorisaient des liens transculturels tout en stigmatisant une partie de la population: immigrée, rurale ou semi-nomade. Entre passion romantique et recherche d’exotisme, dans une atmosphère souvent qualifiée de sulfureuse associant ces milieux marginaux à une bourgeoisie naissante, les musiques populaires et les danses qu’elles généraient subjuguaient et déstabilisaient.

La femme, impliquée dans ce contexte, comme artiste, danseuse, chanteuse ou simple inspiratrice, était perçue comme trop proche de la nature ou associée aux instincts libidinaires pour être fiable ou respectée. Suivant les périodes, on la voit sur le devant de la scène ou au contraire confinée dans l’intimité des lieux domestiques mais elle est, toujours, à la fois dangereuse et secondaire. L’homme, lui, exprime son incontestable virilité et, dans la danse, met sa partenaire en valeur avec un noble désintérêtement qui confine au mépris.

En réunissant les articles autour de cette thématique complexe et paradoxale, William Washabaugh a lui-même essentiellement développé les aspects relatifs au flamenco. Dans un premier temps, il étudie la part dévolue au chant des hommes et analyse, notamment, Flamenco, le film de Carlos Saura qu’il déconstruit partiellement pour ses aspects trop ‘nettoyés’. Les femmes, déifié et dénigrées dans le même temps, sont à la fois un modèle et un répulsif. Il explique comment, selon lui, les hommes ont repris à leur avantage des caractéristiques vocales féminines tout en préférant ne pas côtoyé leurs consoeurs dans les bars où ils se retrouvaient pour chanter. W. Washabaugh se consacre ensuite à l’homme en tant que danseur agressif et autoritaire face à une femme symbolisant la nature dont la puissance séduisante est dangereuse pour la dignité. Il n’hésite pas à comparer le danseur au courageux matador qui affronte le taureau avec panache.

À sa suite, Timothy de Waal Malefyt insiste sur tout ce qui, dans le flamenco, procède de ’contrastes
complémentaires’ en lui donnant une tension dynamique. Le flamenco authentique et privé, associé à l’identité culturelle, est antagoniste de celui, destiné au grand public, qui est offert en pâture aux touristes. Cependant, l’un et l’autre sont complémentaires et se stimulent réciproquement. De la même manière, les femmes coopèrent dans la sphère domestique et ‘complètent’ les hommes qui expriment leur esprit de domination et de compétitivité dans les espaces publics.

Tout aussi pertinentes sont les contributions relatives au tango, que l’on doit à Jeffrey Tobin, Marta E. Savigliano et Donald Castro. La manière dont la masculinité et la féminité s’expriment dans ce genre s’y trouve subtilement analysée: de l’apprentissage de la danse dans un contexte ‘homocentrique’ assumé sans jamais être franchement homosexuel jusqu’à la femme-objet que le danseur projette magnifiquement tel son phallus dressé, en passant par le portrait de Carlos Gardel, évanescence, presque transfuge et transsexuel. Gail Holst-Warhaft et Angela Shand consacrent leurs recherches au rebetika, toujours selon cette même thématique qui valorise le comportement masculin et satanise celui de la femme dont les danses lascives relèvent d’influences orientales.

Pour donner à ces différentes analyses et recherches de terrain une perspective comparatiste plus globalisante, la contribution finale de Gerhard Steingress rassemble et traite les différentes données fournies par les co-auteurs. Les aspects historiques, transculturels, ethniques et politiques sont repris pour une vision qui fait de cet ouvrage un tout cohérent particulièrement bien documenté. Seul l’article de Susan C. Cook sur le couple de danseurs américains Irene et Vernon Castle vient étrangement rompre la cohérence thématique de l’ensemble. Il n’est de toute évidence pas moins intéressant, ni moins documenté mais se construit pratiquement en s’opposant aux autres analyses. Il est vrai qu’en cela, il répond aux ‘contrastes complémentaires’ auxquels nous ont habitué les auteurs de ces pages. En effet, S. C. Cook y explique comment ces danseurs ont littéralement policé les chorégraphies populaires pour les rendre dignes d’une société américaine bien pensante qui doit rester coïncée. Les corps se sont figés pour garder dignité et bienséance, les danses sont dévitalisées, dépassionnées, désincarnées. L’histoire se déroule sur fond d’influences afro-américaines, elles aussi soigneusement triées pour ne pas choquer la société blanche. La danse n’est ici effectivement qu’un divertissement sans âme, correctement exécuté et hygiénique. Ou comment donner aux autres styles leurs lettres de noblesse!

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The present book is mainly based on papers presented at a plenary session of the American Society for Ethnohistory, held in October 2000. The Amazonia of the title refers as an ethnological category not only to the peoples of the Amazon drainage basin, but also to those of the Orinoco basin and the area between. However, it is not clear to me why the contributions should be characterised as dealing with histories and historicities. The editor explains that history would consist of the texts, representations and performances that make specific histories, while historicities would refer to the cultural contexts within which such histories are meaningful. This latter usage is different from, if not opposed to, the dictionary meaning of the word historicity which indicates the reality of past events according to objective criteria. My spell-check does not even acknowledge the plural of the word, but that is, of course, typical for neologisms and this might well be one. The announcement of a symposium entitled ‘Cultures and historicities’ to honour the research career of Marshall Sahlins on 17 April 2004, which came to my notice when writing this piece, is perhaps an indication of its growing acceptance.

Whitehead himself uses this distinction in his analysis of landscape as a testimony to the activities of ancestors and spirits among a group of Amerindians in Guyana. It is also employed explicitly in the chapter by Perez about a group of Venezuelan maroons. They use the epic of their flight and origin as an independent community in the eighteenth century as a guide in their dealings with external political and economic power. Farage shows that narrative conventions, which are also part of historicity, may contribute to systematic oblivion in her account of the involvement of Wapishana Indians in a rebellion against the Guyana government in 1969. In contrast, another
group of Guyanese Amerindians, the Makushi, are described by Riley as using all kinds of past events, whether or not they are historically verifiable, to assert themselves in the context of the Amerindian rights movement. This is also the setting in which the Ye’kuana Indians of the tropical forest of Venezuela try to establish territorial rights by tracing the foundational journeys of the mythical first leader (culture hero) of this group. The story of their project is told by Medina, who was employed by a Venezuelan NGO supporting the initiatives of these Indians for land demarcation, economic development and biodiversity conservation. In her paper Vidal concentrates more explicitly on the map-making activities of various Arawakan groups in colonial times and later, showing a similar preoccupation with traditional religious notions as the Ye’kuana. An extreme example of the way in which native cosmology and folk psychology offer room for an ethnocentric and even solipsistic deconstruction of the past is offered by Cormier in her essay on the Guajá Indians from Maranhão state in Brazil. The book concludes with two archaeological studies that extend the meaning of historicity beyond ‘the horizon of events that are actively circulated in narrative’ (p. xviii).

Accepting the importance of historicity as explored in this volume, it is curious that the historicity of the enterprise itself is not discussed. Three of the speakers were from the same research institute in Caracas. According to the preliminary programme there would also have been three contributors from Brazil, although only one of their papers is included in the book. It is also notable that the participation of these ‘colleagues from outside the United States’ was funded by the Wenner Gren Foundation (p. xx, note 1). The resulting concentration on Venezuela and Guyana was hardly mitigated by the inclusion of two papers not presented at the ASE meeting (p. vii). One would have liked some reflection on the bias created by the policies (or accidents) of exclusion and inclusion that shaped the participation in the meeting and the contents of the book. Another, to my mind rather surprising, omission is the lack of any reference to the discussions heralding the publication of Tierney’s *Darkness in Eldorado*, coinciding almost exactly with the ASE meeting, and its extended aftermath. Surely, for anyone interested in unravelling the Amazonian ‘historicities’ of American anthropology the ‘history’ of what happened constitutes a supreme revelatory moment.

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