
For Himalayan specialists, Ladakh (north-west India, on the border with Pakistan and China) has proven to be quite a goldmine in terms of folklore, mythology and cosmological studies. Since reopening to the outside world in the 1970s, ethnographers have swarmed there, attracted either by its status as one of the comparatively few Tibetan cultural areas open in a long-term capacity to foreign researchers, or as a component of wider Indian and South Asian studies of peripheral economies. Monisha Ahmed’s book fits into both area-study categories, but also has the distinction of being one of the few complete texts to break out of the mould of urban or agricultural studies that have dominated research in Ladakh. It is a pleasure, moreover, that this ethnographic mould has been broken in such fine style.

At first glance, Living fabric has the air of a coffee table book. Filled with vibrant photographs, maps and diagrams, there is something eminently visual about this work. It is, nonetheless, also a solid ethnography of the pastoral-nomad economy of the high pasture regions of Rupshu, and the author/publisher’s decision to produce a genuinely visual ethnography works very well, especially since the author writes to a very intimate, ‘hands-on’ level of experience that responds well to closely linked photographs and diagrams.

At the heart of Ahmed’s work is a study not simply of the practicalities of weaving as a focus for social acculturation among Rupshu’s nomadic pastoralists, but a linked examination of the religious and gender symbolism that attends weaving as a socially entrenched economic activity. In this respect, Ahmed’s study highlights familiar themes from the wider study of agricultural communities in Ladakh and its neighbouring kingdom of Zangskar, but refracted through the lens of the pastoral economy. Thus, gendered images of Tibetan Buddhism – such as Buddhism’s famous ritual subjugation of the chthonic she-demoness – become embodied within weaving as a mode of virtuous religious action designed to discipline women’s nascent demonic character. Nonetheless, the work also has strengths as a portrait of a particular moment in the development of Ladakh’s economy that contains a detailed examination of trading routes and prices, historic changes in the wool and pashmina industry, and discussions of the area’s integration into the wider Ladakhi economy.

Where the work is weak, however, is in its analysis. Despite Ahmed’s innovative approach in ethnographic terms, the work’s potential contributions to wider Ladakhi and Tibetan studies go largely unexplored in any explicit way. On a wider tableau, while extremely valuable as an ethnography, the author has missed the opportunity of drawing out some important analytical links between symbolism and gendered economy. Anthropologists from beyond the regional sphere – Bourdieu, Hugh-Jones, Waterhouse, Humphrey and Weiner – appear briefly, but their impact is skin-deep at best. While this is perhaps lamentable (from this reader’s perspective at least), it is unsurprising: with a few notable exceptions (Stan Mumford and Vincanne Adams come to mind), Tibetan and Himalayan studies remain, if not a theoretical desert, then a tundra at best. At present, this tundra is being increasingly colonised as a rich source of ethnographic data for use by external analysts with no real fieldwork experience in the area; as with all such extractive industries, the results of such entrepreneurship are far from satisfactory.

Altogether, then, this is a good and valuable ethnographic contribution, and should be applauded in those terms. Because of both the advantages and disadvantages mentioned above, those designing university courses in particular will find this an appealing and accessible introductory ethnography against which to discuss questions of
gender, symbolism and economy. In this respect, a paperback version would be useful.

MARTIN MILLS
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Dès la préface, Banks annonce l’objectif de son livre et le public auquel il est principalement destiné. Il s’agit d’inventorier tous les matériaux d’ordre visuel que peut rencontrer sur le terrain un chercheur en sciences sociales et d’explorer à l’aide d’exemples et le récit d’expériences leur possible utilisation concrète, pratique. Destiné à des chercheurs, anthropologues ou sociologues, n’ayant pas encore fait appel aux méthodes visuelles dans leurs enquêtes en sciences sociales, cet ouvrage propose une typologie quasi exhaustive de tous les éléments visuels, accompagnée d’une réflexion critique et de conseils quant à leur utilisation. Pour Banks, ce pourrait être un manuel utile pour des étudiants néophytes dans le domaine visuel sans pour autant pouvoir faire office de guide technique.

Le livre est composé de sept chapitres. Les chapitres 1 à 3 abordent certaines questions générales et introductives. Les chapitres 4 et 5 traitent des méthodes de recherche visuelle sous un angle pratique. Le chapitre 6 est consacré à la présentation des résultats issus de recherches visuelles. Enfin le chapitre 7, en guise de conclusion, exprime quelques idées d’ordre épistémologique.

Assez général, le premier chapitre est consacré à la lecture et à l’interprétation des images, en particulier des photographies. Souhaitant volontairement être simple, Banks a peut être quelquefois tendance à renforcer ‘des portes ouvertes’; par exemple, lorsqu’il remarque que les propriétés et l’interprétation des images varie en fonction des motivations et des époques. Le chapitre 2 explore toutes les relations possibles à l’image. Le grand mérite de cet ouvrage est en effet d’avoir pris en considération toutes les rencontres possibles d’éléments visuels et d’avoir traité de leur utilisation dans une recherche sur le terrain. Citons quelques formes visuelles mentionnées par Banks: les représentations visuelles de soi (les peintures rupestres), l’utilisation des médias et d’images par les autochtones (qui leur servent de modèles), l’utilisation qu’ils font d’une caméra video (usage documentaire, politique ou moyen d’accès à un certain statut social), la photographie occupe une fonction centrale, notamment comme ‘évidence’ ou témoignage.

Le chapitre 3 est consacré à l’aspect matériel du visuel. C’est sans doute là que manque une certaine référence à des écrits sur le sujet tels ceux de Roland Barthes (notamment, La chambre claire, Paris: Gallimard, 1980). L’exposé des relations entre forme et contenu d’une image, entre l’objet et sa représentation ne tiennent peut-être pas assez compte des récents développements dans ces domaines. Banks s’attache plutôt à bien observer toutes les situations de rencontre avec le visuel. Il examine également tous les aspects, tous les rôles de l’objet visuel: dans l’échange social (maintien de liens à distance à travers les photographies), dans les stratégies commerciales (développement du marché de la photographie), la taille d’une photographie révélant des informations quant à son usage, comme le format original d’un film sur les conditions de tournage. Banks traite également de nouveaux aspects liés à la numérisation et à la virtualisation.

Dans le chapitre 4, utilisant ses propres recherches en Inde, Banks, à propos de motifs figurant sur des tissus, discute l’évolution de son interprétation et insiste sur la nécessaire connaissance du contexte culturel pour une juste interprétation des images. Cet aspect concret de l’exposé me paraît très positif. Pour Banks, la présentation de documents visuels de toute nature et de toute origine lors d’entretiens sur le terrain, permettant de susciter des réactions et d’engranger de nouvelles connaissances, est un moment essentiel de la méthode visuelle. Les chapitres 5, consacrés à la réalisation d’images et 6, à la présentation des résultats d’une recherche comportant des méthodes visuelles, m’ont paru moins originaux, abordant des domaines déjà bien traités ailleurs.

En conclusion, Banks s’interroge sur la place du visuel en sciences sociales. Pour lui, les méthodes visuelles, c’est à dire s’appuyant sur l’image, doivent trouver leur place parmi toutes les autres à la disposition du chercheur. Pourtant l’ouvrage s’attache à convaincre que l’image, le visuel est partout: ‘La production d’images par des chercheurs ne peut se comprendre hors de la consommation d’images par tout le monde – chercheurs mais aussi universitaires – et bien entendu, par les sujets de la recherche eux mêmes’ (p. 177). Toute recherche en sciences sociales doit-elle comporter la prise en considération d’éléments visuels? A cette question, Banks répond négativement tout en faisant remarquer qu’il y a toujours, et dans toute société une dimension
Les méthodes de recherche visuelle sont, ou devraient être, une étape le long du chemin: un moyen vers une fin et non une fin en soi (p. 178).

COLETTE PIAULT
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What happens when an artist and illustrator, anthropologist and tourist becomes a carver among the Toba Bataks on Samosir Island, Sumatra? What insights does the experience of learning to carve bring to the anthropology of apprenticeship, complementing Ingold on hunting skills, Dilley on weaving, Marchand on minaret building? And how does one go about narrating, literally, what Kathleen Stewart has referred to as ‘the space at the side of the road’? In Hard bargaining in Sumatra, Causey invites the reader into this space, the preparing/selling kiosk that he shares with Partoho and his family. He does this by recounting the local stories he heard, the lessons he received and the tourist-carver interactions he observed and aided.

Though written in a romantic and sometimes longwinded fashion (pages of redundant scene-setting sunset descriptions), Causey’s study of creativity, innovation and tourist interaction is a useful and curious addition to our understanding of the effects of tourism upon locals, as well as the locals’ effects upon tourists. Scripting a new language to describe this study, Causey refers to the sub-group of Toba Bataks who interact with tourists as ‘tourates’ (p. 31). They encounter the tourist in the market place, an ‘utopic’ third space – ‘a place in between reality and desire’ (p. 69) – where both parties can meet each other and experiment with expressing new performative selves. There, the tourist seeks to gain representations of the primitive and, there, the tourate seeks to gain the tourists’ attentions with a mixture of new but old-style authentic carvings. Partoho’s problem, for example, is how to carve an authentic antique, a piece with ‘provenance’, something that is original, new and traditional all at the same time, an object that will act as a synecdoche for all the buyer’s values and memories of their tourist experience. His most lucrative option is to ‘innovate tradition’ (p. 188), to work from museum photocopies or pictures from private collections to carve up new, authentic-looking designs which he will have exclusive rights over until they are seen and copied by his rivals. Causey refers to this process as the transformation of art by ‘conflation’ (p. 207), the etymological ‘blowing together’ of a new piece. It is these signature pieces that are dynamically restructuring Toba Batak art, producing ‘icons of place’ (p. 211) by mediation.

Causey’s book is, to some extent, what he is writing about. It is risky writing with much artistic (literary) investment; it sometimes sells itself and sometimes doesn’t. Like the tourist, sometimes his wares attract the reader – especially his micro-sociological study of host–guest interactions and confusions, and their effects upon local carving practices – and yet sometimes the boot polish wears a bit thin, revealing a lot of padding and contrived presentation. To invoke van den Berghe, this book is for a small and select audience of specialist academic tourists.

JONATHAN SKINNER
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Inimigos Fiéis est une étude ethnographique et théorique des Parakañas, groupe amérindien de langue tupi-guarani vivant dans l’état du Para et entrés en contact avec la société brésilienne entre 1971 et 1984. La population parakaña compte environ 700 personnes, regroupées dans sept villages, cinq d’entre eux situés dans le bassin du fleuve Tocantins et deux dans le bassin du fleuve Xingu. A la fin du XIXème siècle, les Parakañas se scindèrent en deux blocs ennemis – oriental et occidental – aux organisations sociales distinctes. Tandis que le système social des Parakañas orientaux se constituait principalement sur la base d’une chefferie, d’un système de moitiés exogamiques, d’un espace politique interne de discussion et d’un mode de vie principalement sédentaire excluant l’adoption d’un comportement agressif à l’égard des groupes étrangers, l’organisation sociale des Parakañas occidentaux se caractérisait par un système acéphale, le semi-nomadisme et un comportement guerrier tout entier tourné vers le meurtre d’ennemis et le rapt de femmes étrangères.
L'ouvrage, composé de sept chapitres, peut être divisé en deux parties. Dans la première partie (chapitres 1–3), l'auteur propose une reconstruction historique des processus ayant conduit à l'émergence de formes sociales distinctes parmi les deux blocs parakañas. Dans la seconde partie (chapitres 4–7), une analyse détaillée du symbolisme parakaña permet à l'auteur d'exposer son concept de ‘prédation familiarisante’.

Dans la première partie, l'auteur démontre que le processus de différenciation qui s'est produit entre les deux blocs parakañas suite à leur scission, peut être analysé comme le produit d'une interaction entre des déterminations externes et internes qui, au moyen d'une série de feed-back positifs, vinrent configurer non seulement des formes économiques mais également des formes socio-politiques distinctes. Les organisations sociales adoptées par les deux groupes firent en effet, en même temps qu’influencées par des forces externes, le résultat de processus internes dûment motivés. Ainsi, tandis que les Parakañas orientaux s’organisèrent sur les bases d’un modèle alternatif à la guerre, inventant tout une série de différences internes pour construire une nouvelle société unifiée à la posture défensive revendiquée, les Parakañas occidentaux trouvèrent, dans la guerre, le moyen de maintenir l’atténuation des luttes intestines.


A partir de cette analyse de la guerre chez les Parakañas occidentaux, l’auteur se ré-approprie le concept marxiste de ‘consommation productive’ et propose d’envisager la prédation et la familiarisation comme étant les deux phases d’un même processus de ‘production des personnes’. En épilogue, Carlos Fausto propose, comme instrument heuristique, la distinction entre deux types de systèmes de reproduction sociale amérindiens. L’un centrifuge, caractéristique des sociétés guerrières où le modèle de la ‘prédation familiarisante’ prédomine; l’autre centrripète, caractéristique des sociétés dans lesquels les biens et attributs se transmettent horizontalement et/ou verticalement à l’intérieur du groupe.

La prise en compte du rôle de l’histoire dans l’émergence des ‘formes socio-culturelles’ et la proposition d’un cadre théorique original (inspiré par le concept marxiste de ‘consommation productive’) permettant de penser la thématique de la guerre en Amazonie font d’Inimigos Fiéis un ouvrage de référence dans le domaine de l’anthropologie américaniste.

SOPHIE ABIVEN  
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The term ‘prickly paradigm’ is very apt in the sense that this text certainly does not fit into usual categories. It is neither an article, nor an essay, nor a book. The series editors call it a pamphlet. Likewise
the language and the way of arguing does not follow traditional academic norms. For instance, the list of references is called ‘Some further readings’ and is divided into sections on ‘Turkeys, thanksgiving and such’ and ‘Teddy bears and other animals’. But beware: it is not all fun. In the final section of the list (named ‘Moreover’, in characteristic tongue-in-cheek style) there are references to heavyweight theoretical thinkers such as Agamben, Kantorowicz and Schmitt. The list of references is symptomatic of the rest of the text, which switches playfully between discussions of the sovereign decision over death and life and the absurd details of thanksgiving rituals.

While some of the passages made me laugh out loud, the book is also deadly serious. As Fiskesjö comments himself in the introduction: ‘We laugh at them [these archaic rituals] as cute oddities that must have been left behind long ago. Not so.’ (p. 2). We cling to our belief that we are modern and that the presidential pardoning of a turkey on the White House lawn as a kind of first-fruit sacrifice before the killing of millions of turkeys for Thanksgiving is a left-over without any relevance to issues of real sovereign power. His main argument is that this pardoning of the turkey is an example of the sovereign’s right to decide on the exception, on a par with the governor’s right to pardon death-row prisoners and the United States’s creation of Guantánamo. Although he only draws Carl Schmitt explicitly into the discussion towards the end of the book, his whole argument is decidedly Schmittean.

With a few detours – of more or less relevance – he takes us from these curious rituals to discussions of US hegemony and Guantánamo as the exception that consolidates the sovereign’s power – a power that must be embodied in a person (thereby critiquing Foucault’s somewhat naïve concept of power as relations). I found his reflections on public secrets about sovereign power particularly intriguing: how the pardoned turkey rarely lives for long because its fragile bones cannot carry the weight of its hormone-overloaded body and how Theodore Roosevelt, who did not shoot the bear (Teddy’s bear), actually instructed his assistants to ‘kill it with a knife’. Could this be the public fantasy exploring the hidden truth of sovereign power through rumour and urban legend?

The book is highly recommended reading for anyone who is interested in understanding the horrific use of hegemonic power, the latest trends in theoretical thought or the hidden secrets behind their cuddly toys.

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*Wedding dress across cultures* est un ouvrage collectif et interdisciplinaire structuré en 14 chapitres consacrés au thème de l’habillement de mariage à travers le monde – Canada, Alaska, Japon, Corée, Inde, Angleterre, Russie, Équateur-Pérou-Bolivie, Swaziland, Maroc, Grèce, États-Unis et ses communautés d’Europe de l’est et de Thaïlande – et à ses systèmes de représentation.

Cet ouvrage peut être résumé en trois points. En premier, il ressort le manque d’un fil conducteur, étant les chapitres fort hétérogènes aussi bien dans le contenu que dans la qualité du texte. À titre d’exemple, alors que J. Mee et I. Safronova donnent la priorité à la description de la mode russe et anglaise entre 1917 et 1960 et à ses changements de style (chapitre 10), L. A. Meisch propose les habits et la cérémonie de mariage comme des éléments intégrant de l’organisation sociale Inca (chapitre 11). L’introduction, moins de quatre pages, ne contribue point à la compréhension de l’approche intellectuelle avancée par les éditeurs car elle ne représente qu’un agencement sans épaisseur de mots-clés tels que ‘cultural identity’, ‘tradition’, ‘cultural traditions’, ‘social groups, rite de passage’. Le chapitre des conclusions n’a pas été envisagé. Les seuls éléments de liaison entre les 14 contributions semblent être le sujet et le thème du changement socio-culturel, que l’on explique par l’impact de l’Occident (chapitres 2, 3 et 7) ou par des changements endogènes (chapitres 1 et 5).

En deuxième lieu, le manque d’une théorisation du changement et d’une mise en perspective analytique de l’histoire sociale, pallié par le descriptivisme. Faute d’une véritable analyse structurée au niveau du contenu, la mise en perspective historique constitue, parfois, le seul élément justificatif du changement dont il est question dans le texte.

En troisième lieu, dans certains cas, la mauvaise gestion de la perspective temporelle, qui ne fait, surtout dans le chapitre 9, que diluer d’avantage la

Il est indéniable que *Wedding dress across cultures* fournit des informations de terrain détaillées et, parfois, bien agencées sur des aspects de l’histoire sociale qui demeurent des sujets de niche, tels que les ‘masquerade weddings’ aux États-Unis (chapitre 14). Le chapitre de L. Meisch sur l’habillement de mariage en Equateur, Pérou et Bolivie, ou encore le texte de P. Williams sur l’acculturation des communautés slovènes et moldaves aux États-Unis (chapitre 12) constituent des contributions intéressantes. Cependant, le but de l’ouvrage reste flou. S’il était question de proposer un produit pour grand public, tous les ingrédients y sont : la variété géographique, l’encadrement historique, quelques mots-clés du jargon de la divulgation scientifique, l’emploi de l’autobiographie et, surtout, un sujet qui sert de pôle d’attraction dans tout magazine féminin. Les propos des éditeurs Bradely Foster et Clay Johnson laissent, toutefois, le doute s’installer : ‘In spite of their intellectual approach, the authors avoid academic jargon and foreign words that are not directly related to dress, making the topic available to a wide reading audience’. Étant donné que la plupart des auteurs sont des académiciens ou des futurs académiciens, il est légitime de s’attendre à un travail d’analyse qui éclaire le fil conducteur de l’ouvrage. En dernier, dommage pour les photographies en noir et blanc.

**Cristiana Panella**
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*G-strings and sympathy* is an ethnographic exploration of how heterosexual male desire is constructed through discourses of sexuality, masculinity and consumption in the United States. Frank’s research sites are five strip clubs in a southern city that she refers to as Laureltown. Based on her doctoral work, Frank develops a rich ethnographic account of the strip clubs, with particular focus on their male customers, a section of the population frequently overlooked in studies of the sex industry. Despite six years’ first-hand experience gained working as a stripper while a graduate student, Frank is modest in the way she expresses her insights and analysis. Her project is not the only one to involve being both object and subject of one’s own inquiry: Erica Langley, a photographer who wanted to photograph peep-show dancers, had started to perform herself in Seattle’s ‘Lusty Lady’ club before publishing her book of the same title in 1997. Frank began working as a stripper in 1996, both to earn money and as part of a feminist theory project studying female objectification and body image. As she became involved in the adult entertainment world, Frank states that she grew to question the previous assumptions she had held as an anti-pornography, feminist undergraduate student. Furthermore, her curiosity about the motivations driving the men who attended the clubs where she was working intensified. They had no direct sexual release, no bodily contact, yet they were spending large amounts of money at such clubs. Unlike Langley, Frank does not use her insider advantage to concentrate on the dancers. Instead, she draws on her experience to map out how strip clubs operate and describe the ways in which strippers control their relationships with the customers; she uses her insights as a backdrop for three pieces of fiction that serve as interludes at the start of each section of the book.

The opening monologue – based on an interview with a disc jockey – outlines the rules of a particular club, Health Department regulations, how to flirt but not touch and how to get more tips from the customers. The reader is thus made aware of the very specific organisation of this leisure and entertainment world, and of the power of commodified sexual services and images. Yet Frank stresses that personal histories are not determined by cultural forces, even though they may be shaped by them. She explores the way in which attending a strip club becomes meaningful to men by basing her analysis on the men’s own speech acts and the implications she draws from their explanations. One interesting condition of her research seems to be the transgression inherent in her informants’ willingness to take part in the interviews. Transgression is one of the reasons why Frank believes men continue to visit the clubs. Clubs are ‘dangerous’ because they are not condoned by wives or girlfriends, yet the men do not see their attendance as ‘cheating’. In an era of Aids, strip clubs offer a secure, safe and controlled environment. The ‘positive’ predictability imposed
on club encounters by the strict rules still leaves room for fantasy, whereas the predictability of a monogamous relationship tends to dilute passion. This scope for fantasy and for going in and out of ‘play’ with the strippers spares men the burden of commitment and the performance anxiety associated with a direct sexual act. Clubs offer an erotic experience despite the lack of sexual release. Frank thus argues that it is more the interaction with the dancers than the performance aspect that attracts men to the clubs.

Frank draws her analysis mainly from writing on tourist practices. She explores the commercialisation and individualisation of leisure and entertainment in the late capitalist framework, where strip clubs have become places for the consumption of intimacy. The question of authenticity is developed as a central theme. By considering individual psychological processes and the interpersonal context and by questioning the meaning of intimacy, Frank demonstrates that authenticity is psychologically relative. Men seek authenticity in the services they pay for and take pleasure in finding out the real name of a dancer or her telephone number. Yet the numbers they are given are the ones dancers use solely for this purpose. Commodification alters what is deemed authentic, and Frank shows that we need to understand how these new forms become meaningful. This well-written, accessible and fruitful book offers a multi-layered analysis of contested issues.

HÜLYA DEMIRDIREK
University of Victoria (Canada)


In studies of the Caribbean, as in much of the world, coastal and fishing people are fairly invisible. This is unfortunate, for they can be interesting and revealing for a host of reasons. The result of two decades of research of various sorts, Fishers at work describes fishing people around the coast of Puerto Rico. These are coastal fishers, not those who work long-term on ocean-going vessels. They fish in waters around the coast, using a variety of forms of fishing, though traps (pots), nets of different sorts and line fishing predominate. Their reliance on fishing ranges from a minor supplement to other household resources at one extreme, to those who fish, fund other fishers and trade in their own and others’ catch at the other.

Puerto Rico has long been enmeshed with the United States, as a colony, dependency and locus of exploitation of various sorts. Appropriately, Griffith and Valdés Pizzini locate the fishers they study in the context of the changing relationship between Puerto Rico and the United States. Given the background of the people they describe, the pertinent part of that context is the changing ways the relationship with the US has affected access to US labour markets, as well as the Puerto Rican economy and thus employment opportunities there.

This concern with wage work may seem peculiar: after all, the book is about fishers. However, these people are not just fishers, at least not in any way that would be recognisable to those who think in terms of lives marked by single occupations. The vast majority move in and out of fishing as their main pursuit, and many also move from one fishing technique to another. In different analytical terms, they are mostly opportunistic fishers. However, such terms ignore the fact that ‘opportunity’ is often conditioned more by the state of the Puerto Rican cane harvest or the demand for agricultural workers in New Jersey or construction workers in New York, than by the run of groupers off the coast or the demand for lobster in local restaurants. As well, these different terms ignore the fact that, at least for the people Griffith and Valdés Pizzini describe, fishing is an important part of their own sense of who they are.

The authors describe the fishers they study primarily in terms of life histories, choosing different people to illustrate the different points they want to make. These generally revolve around the framework they use to make sense of the differences in types of, and reliance on, fishing. Fishers move unevenly between fishing and wage work, movement Griffith and Valdés Pizzini see in terms of trajectories leading to different locations on a continuum, with full proletarianisation at one end and full de-proletarianisation (household self-reliance) at the other. Many different factors affect where people end up on this continuum and how long they remain there. Key considerations are the state of labour markets, windfalls that can fund and equip a boat, the presence of kin and other links to fishing households, and the existence of a community of fishers and the organisations that assist individuals and support group interests.

Through this range of life histories, the authors consider a range of issues in the lives of fishers and in the study of people on the edges of the formal capitalist economy. I have focused here only on
their main arguments, for it is these that will situate Puerto Rican fishers and Fishers at work, workers at sea in the minds of those likely to read this review. While the book has much to offer those interested in the Caribbean and in fishers, it is important to recognise what it is not: a description of life in a Puerto Rican coastal settlement. One can catch glimpses of that life, but only in fragmented form. While this absence may be justified given the mobile and unstable nature of these people’s lives, it remains noticeable. However, this is a minor shortcoming in a work that increases our understanding of coastal fishing, so important in the Caribbean, and of the changing situations and choices in people’s lives that makes the category ‘fisher’ such a deceptive one.

JAMES G. CARRIER
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The people Mark Harris studied live in a fascinating environment – the floodplains of the lower middle Amazon in Brazil. At high water, their bankside homes, built on stilts, are islands against a vast flooded horizon; during the dry season, they work the land. They farm and raise cattle, but are also fishermen. Some of their crops (namely jute) are harvested when the waters reach the workers’ waists. During the floods, the cattle too are kept on raised platforms and fed their meals of river grass by boat.

The first chapter is entitled in Joycean fashion ‘river run’, an appropriate entry into the main line of argument. These people’s lives are best captured by the image of flux, not only in the constant adaptation to the rhythm imposed by this momentous river, but also in the fluidity and independence of their social units, the permeability of social boundaries and the capacity they have historically shown to adapt to changes in wider economic and political power relations. In Harris’s words, ‘the Amazonian people described here have a protean identity, which is expressed in what they do and how they do it, and is not established in collective, ethnic or class terms’ (p. 7).

The main line of argument is a reasonably classic study in economic anthropology in the Marxian mould of peasant studies. Harris describes the way people manage to survive by constantly adapting both to ecological and economic changes. But he had another important tale to tell that would have been silenced by this economicist mould: the experiential side of this fascinating life-world and the independence and courage of the people who live it. He therefore inserts a series of experiential chapters, carefully crafted to give us the impression that they were taken straight out of his field-notes. They are captivating, full of theatrical impact and human empathy, and provide us with insights into the darker, irresolvable sides of human experience. One of them, ‘Possession’, is a particularly memorable account of his own involvement with a tragic event surrounding illness and shamanic cure.

Faced with two very distinct stories, Harris chose to leave them apart: the book merely brings together two separate narrative registers – an objectivist account and an experiential account. These are linked by a third narrative register: annotated photography. There is even a very successful chapter that is fully photographic. Our attention, therefore, is called to the urgency of the present need to rethink the accepted modes of ethnographic accounting, for the essential problem is left unsolved. How are we to integrate these three narrative modes? Is there no connecting link between the experiential, the visual and the ecological?

The author is conscious of the problem. He claims that there are ‘two dominant trends in ethnographic writing’: ‘reality . . . analysed with reference to laws and objective criteria’ and ‘reality as it is perceived’ (p. 216). (One is reminded of L. F. Duarte’s argument that the ‘social sciences’ are born of the tension between Durkheimian objectivism and Weberian Verstehen. ‘[Formação e ensino na antropologia social’, in O ensino da antropologia no Brasil, Rio de Janeiro: ABA, 1995.]) Harris claims that both modes are equally valid and that they are compatible: two sides of the ethnographic coin. However, as one closes the book, one cannot but feel that the compatibility is, in fact, equivocal.

The only reason the two modes appear mutually exclusive is the author’s unwillingness to break with the moulds of ethnographic narration that have been around for over fifty years (compare Clyde Mitchell with Ruth Landes, for example). In fact, although he argues that the two modes are incompatible, Harris does attempt to reconcile them, not only by including them in the same book, but in two other ways. On the one hand, he uses photography, a mode of narration that provides a context of verisimilitude allowing the reader to integrate the two other disjunctive accounts. It validates the ‘non-fictional’ nature of the other accounts, but it is left unquestioned. In fact,
ethnographic photography always worked in this way, which is why it is so easy to silence it methodologically, even in monographs such as this one where it plays a central role. The power of Harris’ beautiful (and repeated) picture of a woman paddling her canoe away from us towards a patch of river grass is that it instantly drives home the reality of this improbably watery world.

On the other hand, Harris approaches a bridge by means of a creative and interesting use of the Marxian concept of ‘work’, as ‘not simply an economic act’ but as ‘fundamentally related to a notion of identity’ (p. 162). In particular in the passages dealing with *panema*, a kind of evil force that takes away one’s capacity to work (pp. 156–63), he explores the permeability of that other anthropological ‘boundary’: the theoretical caesura between observation and experience that is enshrined in the time-honoured methodological paradox of ‘participant observation’.

Finally, a small criticism: in a book in which the number of Brazilian Portuguese words is reduced, I detected at least 15 mistakes that could not be local variants of speech. This observation is less puny than may at first seem; indeed, I have found that it is a common fact of ethnography. If our anthropology is to be more ‘symmetrical’ – and how can it fail to be so in Brazil, where the number and quality of local anthropologists is so high? – then the ‘other’ language becomes an integral part of our academic world. It is no longer mere transcription of the speech modes of basically illiterate people.

**JOÃO DE PINA-CABRAL**  
*University of Lisbon (Portugal)*


In a perspective that takes account of global–local relations, the ten articles in this book plus the editor’s detailed and thoughtful introduction offer a critical and multi-faceted take on the anthropological engagement with modernity, modern life, modern identity, modernism and their respective variations. The book is divided into three sections: an opening section of four contributions puts the emphasis on the question of the ethnographic applicability of the theoretical ‘modern’ framework; a second section shifts the focus towards a self-critical contextualisation of modern discourse; and the concluding section’s three articles deepen this concern further through an historically and theoretically wide-ranging perspective on conditions that create the discursive space of modernity.

The editor’s introduction forms a substantial contribution in its own right, as it not only pulls together the threads of the following articles but through its discussion of structural concerns common to all the contributions provides the reader with the tools necessary to understand the volume. Capitalism and globalisation are portrayed as two constitutive forces of the worldwide spread of modern life, while local conditions ask for critical assessment of their ‘vernacular’ expressions.

In Robert J. Foster’s chapter ‘Bargains with modernity’, the author raises the thorny question of whether a concept of modernity that has become increasingly vague in theory still retains a usefulness and meaning for anthropological enquiries. Inspired by the work of, for example, Giddens and Tomlinson, Foster advocates the formulation of a theory of modernity that goes hand in hand with empirical ethnographic research, thus allowing the connection of locally lived experience with world-historical social shifts on a global comparative scale.

While Foster’s article operates at a rather abstract level, its well-argued implications become fully visible in the section’s concluding ethnographic study, “Hands-up”-ing buses and harvesting cheese pops’.

Using the example of the Huli population of Papua New Guinea, Holly Wardlow analyses the effects of modern production, acquisition and consumption on gendered identity constructions. Her research reveals important aspects of gender in the self–conscious inclusion of modern objects (à la Simmel) in identity concepts. Wardlow concludes that modern distancing and disjuncture from tradition – two dynamics of modern life developed by Giddens – are not only directed versus an external other, but also manifest themselves internally, as seen in the case of Huli women who are in many ways restricted to the consumption and production patterns associated with traditional Huli culture.

In the book’s second section, ‘Accessing “local” modernities’ is also the ambition of Debra A. Spitulnik, who looks at the impact of western-style expressions (popularised, for example, in radio broadcasts), on the formation of modern identities among Zambians. Self-critical of her approach, the author maps a differentiated semantic and discursive field of new intruding referents to modern life, such as ‘continuous and quick action’, ‘newness and novelty’, ‘an idea of progress’, ‘consumption’, ‘prosperity and affluence’.
and ‘conversancy with outside forms of knowledge and goods’.

The book’s final section contains articles by Donald L. Donham, John D. Kelly and Jonathan Friedman. All three authors take the modernity debate back to more abstract and theoretical levels, particularly by situating their contributions within the field of world-system theory. Kelly points to the insufficiency of an analysis of the processes of modernisation that is restricted to such vague phenomena as capitalism and globalisation. In ‘Alternative modernities or an alternative to “modernity”’, he refers to the aesthetic theories of Michael Bakhtin, contending that a way to understand subliminal social forces such as modernisation is to concentrate on the subliminal opposite, the grotesque manifestations of power relations revealed in everyday life, such as the current hegemonic policies of United States. In ‘Modernity and other traditions’, Friedman opens an even larger historical perspective by suggesting that the discursive field of modernity – with its poles of modernism, traditionalism, postmodernism and primitivism – is itself part of a reoccurring structural, civilisational development.

Critically modern gains its strength through its well-balanced composition of articles concerned with both empirical and theoretical aspects of the concept of the modern. Even though no clear-cut definition is provided and the reader is left with many impressions of what modern life might finally be, this volume is a must read for those interested in anthropological takes on the modern. Self-consciously critical, the authors confirm Knauft’s introductory proposition that the concept of modernity, however blurred, is still thought-provoking and ‘good to think with’ for ethnographic research.

ULRICH UFER
EHESS–Paris (France)


This is a most valuable edited collection of studies about dreaming, culture and religion amongst indigenous, often newly Christianised, peoples across the western Pacific. It includes chapters on Indonesia, Papua New Guinea and Aboriginal Australia, and all the chapters contain ethnographic examples.

The book begins with a fine introduction by Lohmann setting the contents within the context of the anthropology of dreaming and the prevalent belief among indigenous peoples that the dream is the time and place when the soul travels to gain literal and symbolic knowledge about emergent futures, to contact the ancestors, to learn shamanic practices, and to gain curative and hunting wisdom. These themes occur in most of the chapters. Robbins analyses the role of dreaming in the Urapmin community in Papua New Guinea to show how dreams have a limited and fleeting charismatic authority as catalysts for healing social and political conflict. Stewart and Strathern study the Hagen and Duna of the southern Highlands of Papua New Guinea showing how the living and the dead interact through dreams and visions to create the lived social world of these people.

Studying the Ngaing of Papua New Guinea, Kempf and Hermann convincingly argue that the power of experienced dreamscapes can be effectively related to changing global and local power relations. The authors show how young peoples’ dreams, in adolescent initiation ceremonies, are embedded in perceptions of the superior technological power of whites and whiteness. Tonkinson compares the Ambrymese (Vanatu) and the Mardu (Western Australian Aboriginal) dreaming, showing that the former do not integrate their dreaming into their overall spiritual ontology, now incorporated into Presbyterianism, while the latter see dreaming as the creative source of new spiritual rituals and ascribe the generation of such dreaming to the dreamtime rather than to creative individuals. Poirier makes an excellent analysis of the social processes of dreaming amongst the Kukatja Aboriginals of the Western Australian desert, showing their belief in dreaming to be a core part of their unfolding emergent reality. Writing of the Yolngu of north-east Arnhem land (Australia), Keen argues that dreams are distinct from the dreamtime but that they are believed nonetheless to give new knowledge about ritual and religious practice, as well as being a way of maintaining links with ancestors.

Goodale in her study of the dreams of Tiwi islanders (north of mainland Australia) considers that dreaming is much less important spiritually for these Island aboriginal people than elsewhere in mainland Australia, but emphasises that the Tiwi specifically believe that Tiwi men commonly ‘hunt’ for their ‘yet to be born children’ in dreams. Hollan writes about dreaming in Toraja, Indonesia, by analysing nine dreams of an old man. He both situates his analysis within the context of Toraja
dream interpretation and also considers the intersubjective and projective context of the interviews, drawing out in particular issues of status and ageing between the anthropologist and the informant. Lohmann’s study of the Asabano people of Papua New Guinea masterfully analyses the interaction between dream, spirit trance and daytime consciousness in this social group. He shows how the night residue influences daytime experience for these people and how Christian imagery has colonised their nocturnal dream-space. He presents a continuum model of consciousness that includes both dream and trance, rather than designating these as altered states of consciousness following Bourguignon (1972: 422).

Kracke’s excellent epilogue effectively summarises the similarities and differences that emerge from these studies, particularly between Melanesia and Aboriginal Australia where the latter’s culture is substantially based on seeing dreaming and the dreamtime as ontologically prior to daytime reality. Kracke summarises the domains of dream knowledge gained from the dream interpretation practices of these groups, emphasising that the problems involved in knowing another’s dream are inherently no different from those involved in knowing another’s thoughts and experiences. He convincingly argues that the study of the dream is a vital part of our contemporary study of global religion.

The chapters in the book give an unrivalled view of dream theory and practice in this region. They also go far beyond the mere reporting of differing dream theories and practices; rather their studies are effectively situated within the context of the analytic issues emerging from the developing field of the anthropology of dreaming. This is an excellent book as both a whole and in its parts.

I A I N R. E D G A R
University of Durham (UK)


Angel Martínez-Hernáez’s deceptively simple question – ‘What’s behind the symptom?’ – is the starting point for an extensive excursion through rugged and little explored terrain that exists between psychiatric practice and anthropological theory. The question is elegantly framed. The author, inspired by the definitions found in the American Psychiatric Glossary, distinguishes between ‘signs’ and ‘symptoms’. ‘Signs’ are ‘characteristically part of a natural or self-evident reality which . . . only enters the domain of semiosis (signification) to the extent that they are interpreted, as a particular disease is inferred from a fever’. Symptoms, in contrast, ‘are the patient’s interpretation of a series of bodily, psychic and emotional sensations’ (p. 4). In asking, ‘what’s behind the symptom?’, Martínez-Hernáez is asking a question of interpretation: how may we (as psychiatrists and anthropologists) make sense of a verbal expression of distress?

Though it is expansive in its scope, the theoretical narrative is straightforward. Over recent decades psychiatric practice has increasingly been in the grip of a ‘neo-Krapalenian’ orthodoxy that seeks to interpret symptoms as signs of underlying biological conditions. In so doing the cultural frameworks that patients bring to the clinical encounter are disregarded and their words, stripped of all social and cultural contexts, become – like a rash – a means by which the doctor may arrive at a diagnosis of a sickness located in the workings of the human body. The problem is that, unlike other branches of medicine that have ‘something observable and measurable to rely on’, psychiatry is ‘almost completely limited to the domain of the patient’s utterances’ (p. 246). The transformation of psychiatry into a bio-medical science is therefore accomplished by a sly trick of interpretation in which symptoms are refied as signs, thereby becoming manageable within the ‘universalist paradigm’ of modern medicine.

Against the orthodoxy of ‘Neo-Krapalenian’ psychiatry, Martínez-Hernáez seeks to construct a theoretical framework in which symptoms may be properly understood as meaningful utterances. What is advocated is an interpretive anthropology of psychiatric symptomatology that owes a large, if partially unacknowledged, debt to Clifford Geertz’s The Interpretation of Cultures. Symptoms, Martínez-Hernáez argues, may be read as texts. To understand the meaning of these texts we must place them in their biographical and cultural context. Far from being a simple sign of real physical distress, the symptom is therefore a ‘collective representation’ which condenses a ‘wide range of symbols, situations, afflictions, diseases, events and emotions’ (p. 153).

There is much to recommend this book.

Working ‘toward an anthropology of the symptom’ Martínez-Hernáez finds a theoretical thread that links scholars as diverse as Michael Taussig, Erving
Goffman and Arthur Kleinman. The resulting narrative provides an original and engaging critical introduction to their ideas, although this introduction is shaped and limited by the author’s own peculiar theoretical agenda. More problematic is the discussion of psychiatric observation. In the most general terms Martínez-Hernández is correct in observing that there has been a shift towards more bio-medical paradigms in psychiatry. His representation of psychiatric practice as being wholly in thrall to a ‘Neo-Krapelian’ orthodoxy is, however, so crude as to give the impression that the psychiatrist is being made into a bio-medical ‘other’ against which Martínez-Hernández can define and valorise an anthropological self. It is simply not true that psychiatrists seek to interpret all utterances and actions as signs of pathologies located in the workings of the body. Indeed, one of the tasks of clinical assessment is to determine which symptoms are understandable within the patient’s biographic and cultural context and which are not. For example, the ‘stylised laments’ that characterise Finnish women’s mourning (p. 198) would be unlikely to be interpreted as a sign of depression; rather, they would be seen to be a symptom of recent bereavement expressed in a culturally appropriate manner.

This crude stereotyping of psychiatric practice is indicative of a deeper problem with Martínez-Hernández’s ‘anthropology of the symptom’. It is consistent with the logic of stereotype that the representation of the ‘other’ is simply a mirror image of our selves. So while ‘Neo-Krapelian’ psychiatry seeks to explain all symptoms as signs of illness within the body of the patient, the interpretive anthropology advocated by Martínez-Hernández seeks to explain every symptom as a cultural event. The curious result is that Martínez-Hernández tacitly accepts the very orthodoxy he vehemently rejects. He assumes that there are two ways of explaining expressions of distress: they are either attempts to give voice to bodily sensations, or they are symbolic constructions, which relate individual biography to cultural context. Within the theoretical framework developed by Martínez-Hernández, these two types of explanation are fundamentally incompatible. The first is the province of medical science, and the author is quite happy to concede that many expression of distress, such as a patient complaining about their kidneys (p. 246), may be usefully interpreted as slightly garbled attempts to describe a bio-medical condition. The second is the province of ethnographic interpretation.

The domain of anthropology is marked out accordingly by denying the embodied nature of certain kinds of emotions and experience. This denial is often accomplished simply by dismissing a concern about the quality of a patient’s experience as ‘mere phenomenology’. Once the problem of the body has been brushed to one side, the interpretative anthropologist can get on with the project of the hermeneutic study of symptoms as texts. The result is that Martínez-Hernández’s anthropology of a symptom reifies the very boundaries that have impeded a productive dialogue between anthropological theory and psychiatric practice. There is much common ground between psychiatrists and anthropologists. They share a concern with the complex relationship between embodied experience, individual biography and shared systems of expression. They both work between cultural interpretation and biological explanation to understand human behaviour in a way that neither denies our capacity to make meaning nor the fundamental processes that are inherent in our physical nature. It is therefore unfortunate that Martínez-Hernández does not seek to map this common ground and deepen our understanding of its complexities. Instead he chooses to divide the disciplines further by focusing on the areas of greatest conflict.

JOHN HARRIES
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and JANE CHEESEMAN
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Les Arabes Azawagh du Niger ne sont pas seuls à composer des poèmes à la gloire des rondeurs féminines, des redondances tissulaires et des marques qu’une attirance, prête à se rompre dans le désir, a étirées sur la peau. Les mains des hommes y trouvent matière de femme et leur regard y puisa la richesse fraîche accumulée. Sur nos papiers glacés, le style planche score mais dans la chaleur saharienne le corps gras et frais repose, comme ailleurs il rassure lorsqu’il contraste avec un environnement de labeur et de pénurie. Le statut social s’incarne en rombosse. Selon les lieux, les époques et les classes, le ventre des femmes, où bouillonne le lien des
hommes au monde, ingurgite leur maîtrise du rapport au troupeau et à la terre, ou régurgite l’image d’un rapport ‘light’ et peu sexué à une nature monnayée.

Retournons à la société calme que nous décrit Rebecca Popenoe. Le corps des femmes, chez les Azawagh, est le pivot de l’organisation sociale d’un groupe que l’auteure décrit avec une fraîcheur et un respect qui font, de cette étude anthropologique de premier ordre, un livre agréable à lire, ouvert à des questions nouvelles sur l’usage social du corps et sur l’intersection entre rapports de genre et rapports à l’environnement. Dans la plus pure tradition anthropologique, et avec bonheur, l’auteure réussit à nous livrer un point de vue intérieur à la société qu’elle nous fait connaître.

Ibn Battuta mentionne, en 1352 déjà, la coutume d’engraissement qu’il observe dans la région. Les petites filles y font la douloureuse expérience de l’alimentation forcée en même temps qu’elles assimilent les manières qui feront d’elles les objets des désirs sur le marché matrimonial. Ce n’est pas leur puberté, mais le désir qu’incite chez les hommes la maturité artificielle, qui indique leur nubilité. Devenir femme au plus tôt est le meilleur moyen d’attirer un homme riche et les parents veillent donc à confier leur fille à une parente assez impitoyable pour parvenir au résultat: une jeune fille présentant les signes d’une maturité sociale, symbole de l’acceptation des rapports sociaux dans son corps qui refuse les aliments ‘chauds’, masculins, s’enfle de bouillies lactées et se polit de son corps qui refuse les aliments ‘chauds’.

Le Musée royal de l’Afrique centrale, Tervuren (Belgique)


Since the 1960s, Caribbean carnivals have become popular festivals in most of the major Caribbean migration destinations in North America and Britain. This book examines the development of the Brooklyn Carnival, tracing the festival’s historic roots in Trinidad, where it became an important framework within which to seek social recognition and developed into the form that became established abroad. The book goes on to describe how the carnival first emerged during the late 1940s as an outdoor festival in Harlem, the area of settlement for early Caribbean migrants, but moved to Brooklyn during the 1960s, as Caribbean migrants began to settle in that part of the city. It was here that it developed not only into the main West Indian cultural festival in New York, but the public event that puts the population of Caribbean origin on the ethnic map of the United States.

The book argues that the Brooklyn Carnival has achieved its central position in a complex interplay between, on the one hand, individual migrants’
desire to congregate and celebrate a festival that they know from their Caribbean homeland and, on the other, wider political concerns to promote a festival that can create public awareness of the existence of a large ‘Caribbean community’ in New York. In the multicultural environment of the city such awareness can enable this segment of the population to gain access to economic resources. It is argued that the Brooklyn Carnival’s ability to accommodate – and feed on – personal motivations and desires for self-realisation as well as broader, political struggles for social and cultural recognition is central to its continued success. Whereas the first tends to involve a carnival of spontaneous interaction, private socialising and unrestricted movements, the second leads to a carnival of scheduled programmes, public events and organised parades. Without the personal, social dimension the enthusiasm for the carnival dies, but without the public visibility the celebration loses its ability to promote a political agenda.

The author argues that the carnival has not just become a powerful institution in Caribbean identity politics in New York, but a central symbol in the formation of a ‘Trinidadian transnation’, defined as ‘a group in diaspora that imagines itself as a collectivity with a specific history and a body of quantifiable traits and characteristics in relation to a nation or nation-state that exists in the present in a putative homeland’ (pp. 1–2). The growing significance of the notion of the ‘transnation’ is related ‘to the flourishing of the ideological principles that celebrate multiculturalism, diversity and ethnic difference, and reward those distinctions in various ways’ (p. 7). A main concern of the book is thus ‘seeing the manifestations of cultural politics in the lives of transnationals and in seeing the ideological implications of recognition politics in the formation of the transnation’s collective sense of itself’ (p. 16). The last part of the book is therefore devoted to showing how this transnation has influenced carnival celebrations in Trinidad in recent years.

The book describes well the intricate, contradictory yet mutually interdependent interests and concerns at stake at carnivals. It is less successful at showing how they are played out at actual carnival celebrations. Thus the book has little in the way of thick ethnographic description that might give the reader an understanding of how the various members of the ‘transnation’ experience carnival celebrations in Brooklyn and Port of Spain, and deal with the many different layers of meaning that can be attributed to the festival. The author rightly describes the Brooklyn Carnival as an outgrowth of the Trinidad Carnival. Yet, it is apparent that it caters not just to the immigrants from Trinidad, but to a much wider population of Caribbean origins. Indeed the author notes, ‘The importance of Carnival to the West Indian community lies in its ability to impart ethnicity to West Indians’ (p. 123). This leaves one to wonder how the vast majority of this ‘community’, who are not of Trinidadian origin and who have rather different carnival traditions, perceive and practice the carnival? Do they embrace it as an expression of the cultural identity of ‘the Caribbean community’? What does it mean, anyway, to be part of a ‘Caribbean’, ‘West Indian’ or ‘Trinidadian’ ‘community’ – all different terms that the author uses? What is the relationship between these communities and the African-American population, which also seems to play a role in the carnival celebrations? And how do these communities articulate with the various ‘transnation’ involved? A fuller discussion of some of these questions would have made this an even more rewarding book.

KAREN FOG OLWIG
University of Copenhagen (Denmark)


The book under review is based on two years of anthropological fieldwork among the To Pamona of central Sulawesi, formerly known as the Bare’e-speaking Toradja. This latter designation was also used in the title of a voluminous ethnography by the Protestant missionaries Kruyt and Adriani, published in 1912 – a work that may be compared to other great studies by missionaries like Junod, Tessmann or Leenhardt. Adriani was seconded by the Dutch Bible Society to study the language, while Kruyt, who had been sent out by the Dutch Missionary Society in 1891, had to concentrate on the actual conversion of the natives. Characteristic of the method they employed was an emphasis on retaining as much of the existing culture as the converts themselves would feel to be compatible with the Christian message. This conception was firmly rooted in an evolutionary understanding of the gradual development of religion culminating in the superior ethical self-consciousness of late nineteenth-century western civilisation. The
approach was, at least in theory, very different from many other contemporary efforts to Christianise the population of Indonesia.

It is therefore highly interesting to see how the church that developed from these initiatives functioned in the ‘New Order’ Indonesia of the early 1990s. In my opinion, Schrauwers provides an excellent account, integrating solidly researched empirical data with several highly relevant theoretical discussions about the nature of peasant societies, the rationalisation of religious traditions and the culture politics of the Indonesian state. He gives clear arguments for the interpretative choices he has made. A very basic decision was to focus on the ‘conflicting discourses of church and state rather than upon an individualised, exoticised ethnographic other’ (p. 13). Thus we are spared the evocations of obfuscating ambiguities that would represent the literary turn in recent Indonesian ethnography. Nor are we subjected to the authorial fantasies that often have to pass as phenomenological analyses of imagined subjectivities. Instead Schrauwers shows how the viability of households is guaranteed through bilateral kin groups controlled by local elites. Cycles of feasts – the most important of which is the wedding – that rotate among the members of the church’s various worship groups play a key role in this respect, as they are based on a gift economy. However, the argument becomes less convincing when Schrauwers uses the concept of ‘pillarisation’, as applied to an episode in recent Dutch history, to analyse and explain the relationship between church and state among the To Pamona, both in colonial times and more recently.

In the Netherlands pillarisation (verzuiling) refers to multiple social segmentation in balanced opposition. The institutions and organisations that are nowadays called ‘civil society’ are divided according to religious persuasion or world view, uniting leaders and followers, or managers (regents) and clients, on the basis of a shared ideology. However, in contrast to what is normally understood as constituting ‘civil society’, pillars also comprise political parties organised along the same lines. In the Netherlands the system flourished for half a century, from the introduction of universal suffrage in 1917 until its collapse in the late 1960s, when for a number of disparate but coinciding reasons it was felt to be superfluous and hence a burden one had better get rid of. Originally, most of these ‘pillars’ were social movements aiming at changing the whole society of which they were part. However, as their visions were utopian, for the time being the logic of the system required that every pillar would tolerate the other pillars and cooperate to keep such ambitions under control.

I do not therefore agree with Schrauwers that the Protestant church of the To Pamona was ever meant to be the core of such a pillar, as there was no pillarised segmentation of To Pamona society. It is quite clear that Kruyt wanted to retain the cultural cohesion of the To Pamona and not create a division between converts and pagans. In my view, analysing later developments in central Sulawesi in terms of ‘pillarisation’ is equally unenlightening in spite of certain superficial resemblances.

**JAN J. DE WOLF**

Utrecth University (The Netherlands)

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This is a collection of twelve informative studies of the various ways in which the (mainly wartime) past of the United States is remembered and commemorated through the creation and exhibition of parks and memorials. The volume presents the work of public historians and archaeologists in a way that has much to interest anthropologists, geographers and sociologists. Yet the volume’s overall lack of concern with the wider context of the theorisation of ‘collective memory’ does not quite do justice to this otherwise impressive array of examples of the multivocality and contestation of issues around the topics of ‘memory’ and ‘history’.

The volume is divided into three parts, the first of which centres on ‘the exclusionary past’. Horning’s chapter spearheads the volume with a comparative look at how the creation of two national parks unearthed and preserved in one case, but destroyed in the other, evidence of previous settlement. This chapter questions such concepts as ‘restoration’ and ‘nature’ that are central to the process of memorialisation and the making of parks and that run through the volume. In the second chapter, Workman traces the movement of the statue of the leaders of the suffrage movement in the United States from the basement to the rotunda of the Capitol, showing how the decisions relating to this movement are indicative of the sideling of the struggle of women for rights, but also how they are
equally indicative of the debates around feminism. Seibert’s chapter is an example of how archaeological research can be used to shed light on those parts of American history that forms of commemoration forget. In this effort to reconstruct a social history of ‘the role of slavery in the Civil War’ (p. 77) she presents convincing data that could contribute to the discussion around what Hobsbawm and Ranger call ‘the invention of tradition’ – a possibility that is only referred to in passing, however. Dubel’s contribution offers another set of compelling data, this time evidencing the internment after Pearl Harbor of Japanese Americans in ‘concentration camps’ – a definition that has in the post-war period been rendered contestable because of its entanglement with specific understandings of what constitute ‘human rights violations’. Brown’s chapter focuses on the ‘conflict of interpretation’ over the killing of Native Americans at Wounded Knee, and shows how this conflict is played out in memorial celebrations and how it relates to the policies that make these memories official.

The second part of the book traces ‘the making of a patriotic past’. Here Temkin raises the issue of multivocality but also that of how landscape is experienced, using the example of the freezing of time in the successive policies of the National Park Service regarding the commemoration of the ‘Civil War’s bloodiest day’ (p. 123). Shackel provides an in-depth analysis of the Robert Gould Shaw memorial, focusing on the details of the memorial, the background of the artist and the debates about its depiction of African-American troops. Burgess offers an eloquent analysis of the subtle meanings and interpretations associated with Arlington National Cemetery in a chapter that pays attention to an array of symbolic associations that utilise, among other things, conceptualisations of sanctification and gender.

In the final part, dealing with nostalgia and heritage, Palus examines the landscaping of Acadia National Park through the building of carriageways by John D. Rockefeller Jr. and argues that in constructing the landscape under change as already historical, the tension between commodification and preservation is effaced. Beasley describes the processes involved in determining the site of and establishing a memorial celebrating the birth of George Washington – two projects that are interestingly shown to have overlapped temporally, so that the latter came to define the former. Donovan explores the silence about one of the bloodiest strikes in US history in official presentations of Camden Yards that focus instead on Babe Ruth. In the final chapter, Pitcaithley traces the ‘discovery’ and various reconstructions of Lincoln’s birth cabin in what is aptly described as ‘the ordeal of the Lincoln logs’ (p. 248), offering ample material for reflection about the links between heritage, memory and myth.

Overall, the volume offers a wealth of information that could be of value to academics and practitioners in the areas of museology, national landscaping, archaeology and American studies, even though the wider theoretical implications for the major debates around ‘memory’, ‘myth’ and the reconstruction of the past are for the most part rather left implicit.

OLGA DEMETRIOU  
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Sans l’être dans les faits, le livre peut cependant être divisé en trois parties, faisant suite à une brève introduction. Dans cette dernière, Srinivas exprime son désir de voir la recherche sociologique élargir son intérêt aux textes littéraires et notamment à ‘l’autobiographie anthropologique’. Ce genre de textes permettrait en effet de répondre au mieux à la demande particulière de l’anthropologie sociale indienne, qui s’est toujours largement tournée vers l’étude indigène sous la forme d’une ‘sociology of the self’ (p. xi).
Ces remarques préliminaires de Srinivas semblent devoir justifier la présence de la première partie, clairement autobiographique, et atténuer ainsi le manque de cohérence apparente de l’ouvrage. Le premier chapitre (‘Itineraries of an Indian social anthropologist’) prolonge l’introduction, en ce qu’il nous relate le parcours académique et les options méthodologiques de l’auteur. Dans le deuxième chapitre (‘My Baroda days’), plus anecdotique et moins pertinent, l’auteur revient sur sa carrière en Inde, spécialement sur les années passées à l’université de Baroda. Le dernier chapitre de cette partie (‘Bangalore as I see it’) est, selon l’avis même de l’auteur, très singulier. N’apportant rien de particulier à l’ouvrage, il décrit la ville de Bangalore, où l’auteur passa les dernières décennies de sa vie.

La deuxième partie réunit quatre chapitres constituant le corps même de l’ouvrage. Étudié pendant le premier séjour de l’anthropologue à Rampura en 1948, le processus de la dispute devient le lieu d’interprétation privilégié de l’analyse des rapports de force entre les acteurs des différentes castes du village. Dans les premiers et troisième essais (‘The study of disputes in an Indian village; ‘A joint family dispute in a Mysore village’), Srinivas explique sa démarche, notamment les difficultés méthodologiques liées au problème particulier des disputes et au rôle de l’interprétation faisant suite aux prises de note. Les deuxième et quatrième essais (‘A caste dispute among the washermen of Mysore’; ‘The potter and the priest’) montrent l’importance de la caste comme fait social central, auquel est liée la notion capitale de pollution. L’auteur s’attache à souligner la nécessité de considérer l’unité effective du système des castes dans sa dimension régionale, villageoise et non au niveau des grandes catégories indiennes.


L’intérêt majeur de cet ouvrage réside principalement dans le choix de son matériel. La période autant que le cadre sélectionnés permettent au texte de dépasser le cliché habituel d’une Inde rurale intemporelle, en pointant le doigt sur les changements intervenus dans la société indienne avec l’accès à l’indépendance du pays. Malgré le manque de cohérence de l’ensemble et l’aspect parfois décousu des récits, l’ouvrage de Srinivas fournit une lecture captivante. Si ce livre risque de laisser sur sa faim les différents spécialistes des disciplines couvertes, il demeure toutefois très intéressant pour toute lecture introductive sur les différentes facettes de la société rurale indienne.

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The body and issues of embodiment have become a locus of social and cultural research, debate and discussion, generating a huge amount of theoretical and to a lesser degree empirical literature. In such a saturated field of inquiry finding a new perspective is not without its problems. Nevertheless, this edited collection, which brings together a variety of interdisciplinary approaches, offers a refreshing take on the ongoing challenges entailed in examining, both ethnographically and theoretically, how bodies come to matter and the methodological issues at stake in such a project. Contributions are drawn mostly from anthropology, cultural studies and sociology, bringing an exciting breadth and scope to the topics covered and permitting a fruitful interlinking of themes and issues, even as individual concerns arise out of specific disciplinary agendas.

The somewhat schematic organisation of the book into three sections – from ‘doing’ research on the body (Part 1) to more theoretical issues (Part 2), to Part 3 which combines theory and...
ethnography – does provide a strong framework for the collection. However, this belies the way that topics, theoretical approaches and methodological stances can be traced through, and often pull in tension with each other across the separate sections and chapters, a feature of the book that is usefully developed in the introduction and conclusion.

The hidden, silenced or abject body is one such linking theme, dominant in Part 1, where what seem at first common and well-known topics are handled in new ways. These include tattooing among working-class Londoners (Back), children’s perspectives on racialised bodies (Ali), and the narrativised and embodied negotiations undertaken by male models (Entwistle). But other parts of the book use neglected arenas of analysis — historic shifts in the social and cultural meaning of the sun and its attendant materialities (Carter and Michael), contemporary food writing (Probyn) and the experience economy embedded in the tourist and leisure industry (Thrift) – to shed new light on how the body becomes part of an extended social and material nexus. Another thematic trajectory, the ‘performing body’, is also approached in different multi-layered ways. Contributions here include Wainwright and Turner’s examination of the narrativised experiences of aging ballet dancers, Ness’s reflections on the kind of phenomenological approach constituted by different observatory or participatory modes of research engagement, and Shepherd’s re-situating of the ‘cyborg’ through an examination of seemingly disparate modes of performance practice where bodies and objects are conjoined. Other linking and cross-cutting themes include ‘spectatorship’, the ‘gaze’, ‘bodily matter’ and ‘leisure’ (to name but a few), all of which are refracted in different ways through separate contributions.

As a result, the ongoing tensions between semiotic and phenomenological approaches to the body and embodiment that have long been a part of Cordas’s work, are neither sidelined or dismissed but directly and variously confronted. In two of the most interesting articles the challenge of bringing the embodied, lived and experiencing body into view leads both towards ‘physical matter’, the neuro-reductionism of biological psychiatry and cognitive science (Martin) or the moment between consciousness and action – what Thrift calls the culture of the ‘half second delay’ – and entails examining how the materialities of the body (and mind) are being taken up or appropriated, in these cases, by the drug and leisure industries respectively. Even as tracing these interconnections seems to mean that the body often disappears, it also illustrates how the ‘matter’ of the body is embedded, reproduced and sustained through such linkages, a paradox that is powerfully generative for many contributors.

The multi-layered approach that is such a striking feature of the collection is also evident in the methodological discussions that are woven through it. There is, for instance, an important lack of reticence in considering the role and/or embodied engagement of the researcher. This includes discussion of the use of photographs and narratives of family and friends (Back) or the challenges of ‘studying up’ (Probyn). At the same time one wonders whether a number of contributions would have benefited from a more experimental presentation with visual material.

As a whole the collection presents a distinctive contribution to ethnographic and theoretical engagement with the body and issues of embodiment.

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This is one of the latest in a seemingly endless stream of publications on shamanism, and one of the most extensively researched and analytically refined. The author began his professional career as an archaeologist who became personally involved with neo-shamanisms. This well-documented study is an exploration of the implications of that encounter between academic orthodoxy and a multi-faceted popular movement within urban, western civilisation. The author observes that figures as diverse as Shakespeare, Michael Jackson and the Pope have all recently been labelled ‘shamans’. For Wallis, the category properly includes a wide range of modern artists and occultists, from Madame Blavatsky onwards. He concurs with received opinion in equating Eliade’s mid-twentieth century description of shamanism as a primal religion of worldwide extent with its
modern emergence as an academic subject; but where Eliade presented shamanism to the west as a coherent system of thought and action, the controversial works of Carlos Castaneda, from the late 1960s onwards, encouraged westerners to become shamans themselves. For Wallis, who admits to being ‘inspired’ by Castaneda, the latter’s true value lies in his successful promotion of what in anthropology is called the ‘experiential’ approach to field research, involving total participation in the non-ordinary reality of her/his ethnographic subjects. This approach, Wallis says, is also common among a wide range of counter-cultural spiritual seekers, including pagans, witches and druids.

Among the numerous varieties of neo-shamanism to have appeared since the 1970s, Wallis also devotes particular attention to the teachings of anthropologist Michael Harner, author of the do-it-yourself guide *The way of the shaman*, and developer of a set of supposedly culture-free techniques called ‘core shamanism’, through which westerners can experience what Harner calls ‘the shamanic state of consciousness’. Wallis emphasises, however, that neo-shamanism is far from monolithic and that Harner and his many followers are in no way representative of the bewildering variety of neo-shamanisms – the plural is insisted on – currently on offer to the western psychic consumer. Furthermore, Harner’s version of shamanism, like many others (though not all, apparently), characteristically avoids the ‘dark’ side of traditional shamanism: the evil shaman and lethal spirits, and the horrendous sufferings of the involuntary shaman who has been chosen by the ‘good’ spirits. Wallis compares his own ‘coming out’ as a neo-shaman with the recent emergence of ‘experiential’ anthropology. He maintains that shamanic techniques that dissolve the solid self of modernity necessarily lead to new knowledge. That knowledge includes ‘a richer and nuanced understanding of neo-shamanisms’ (p. 8). It appears from Wallis’s account that shamanic ideas and practices are widely diffused in the world of the occult, from pagans, druids and wicca to chaos magickians, and are continually recycled through social networks.

To compile this synoptic picture of a dynamic and many-sided socio-cultural phenomenon, Wallis draws on an impressive wealth of academic and non-academic sources, and a mass of field data. His work is also an impressive demonstration of intellectual continuities between the shamanic world and current thinking in anthropology, archaeology and psychology. Wallis points to the involvement between the multitude of neo-shamans and current intellectual issues in gender theory, especially queer theory. He concludes that, ‘a great many people from all walks of life are implicated in the issues neo-shamanisms raise’. Dismissing claims that neo-shamanism is apolitical, Wallis accuses ‘Wannabe Indians’ of perpetuating a notion of the ‘Indian’ as other, and of romanticising Native Americans of the present into an idyllic mould. However, urging his ‘nuanced’ assessment of neo-shamans, Wallis assures us that ‘in all their diversity, neo-shamans reject any of the attempts at generalisation which derisive critics impose’.

What Wallis evidently seeks to achieve in this important book is a thorough and long overdue deconstruction of the terms ‘shaman’ and ‘shamanic’. I was slightly surprised, however, that he neglected the broadly similar ideas of anthropologist Alan Campbell in *To square with genesis*. Wallis thoroughly examines the controversy surrounding the issues of sacred sites in prehistoric Britain, from Stonehenge and Avebury to the recently discovered ‘Seahenge’. Another chapter considers the thorny issue of the ‘cultural appropriation’ by western academics as well as neo-shamans of indigenous shamanisms, particularly in North America. There is a lengthy and scholarly examination of the evidence for ‘Celtic’ and ‘northern’ shamanisms. This book could well become a classic text for students of shamanisms, old and new.

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La problématique du livre d’Alasdair Whittle, professeur d’archéologie à l’Université de Cardiff, peut se résumer à une question centrale: quelle était la vie quotidienne d’un groupe humain de la période du Néolithique? Cette question peut paraître triviale dans le domaine de l’anthropologie dans la mesure où l’étude de la vie quotidienne est justement au centre de l’intérêt scientifique de la discipline. Toutefois dans le cadre de l’archéologie
et plus particulièrement pour la période du Néolithique, caractérisée par l’apparition de l’agriculture, la domestication des animaux et la sédentarisation de l’homme, la démarche se révèle intéressante et l’approche de l’auteur originale.

A côté des méthodes scientifiques propres à l’archéologie et les résultats qui lui offrent le matériel de base à son travail, Alasdair Whittle cherche à illustrer le cadre de vie d’un groupe humain du Néolithique par le biais d’exemples ethnographiques, censés évoquer, selon lui, la complexité et les multiples dimensions des identités, des individus et des habitudes quotidiennes en ce temps-là. Il pense que cette approche anthropologique est nécessaire dans le contexte particulier qui est celui de l’archéologie, dans laquelle se côtoient les comptes-rendus des fouilles archéologiques d’un site particulier, riches de détails, mais dont la richesse fait justement s’estomper les traits généraux de la période du Néolithique, et les ouvrages cherchant à réaliser une large synthèse théorique de tous les éléments mis en évidence lors de ces fouilles, mais qui ont par contre la tendance à dissimuler les détails au profit d’une généralisation des faits nécessaire à la constitution d’une base théorique et systématique opérante pour l’analyse scientifique. Pour illustrer son propos, l’auteur s’intéresse à plusieurs cas concrets comme celui de la culture des Rubannés (culture de la céramique rubannée linéaire), dont le moment d’apparition dans l’histoire n’est pas encore clairement établi, en prenant comme objet d’étude le passage à une sédentarisation progressive de cette culture par l’apparition de maisons longues caractéristiques. Il s’intéresse également aux stations néolithiques dans le domaine alpin et finalement il met en avant les disparités régionales (Hongrie, Alpes-Jura et Grande-Bretagne) qui démontrent que le passage à la sédentarisation ne s’est pas réalisé selon les mêmes modalités partout; et en intégrant des données ethnographiques et anthropologiques (Les Foi de Nouvelle-Guinée, les Nuer du Soudan, etc.) qui s’appuient sur des faits archéologiques attestés, pour tenter d’évoquer ce qu’aurait pu être la vie quotidienne de nos ancêtres.

Le souci de rendre lisible par un large public un système culturel disparu est la ligne directrice du livre, en rendant explicite la complexité de cette période préhistorique et en établissant les tensions récurrentes entre l’individu et la collectivité, la diversité et l’uniformité, les changements et la stabilité. Mais selon l’auteur, c’est seulement en renonçant à compartimenter par catégories les éléments découverts qu’on pourra, par la restitution, et par la comparaison les mettre en lien afin qu’ils fassent système. Loin d’être anodins, les gestes de la vie quotidienne renseignent sur les systèmes de croyances et la culture du groupe observé, et à ce niveau d’interprétation, qui dépasse largement le fait archéologique, l’ouvrage d’Alasdair Whittle s’intègre de manière opérante dans une perspective anthropologique. On pourra regretter toutefois l’absence d’une véritable conclusion à cet ouvrage remettant au centre les aspects méthodologiques propres à la comparaison de deux périodes historiques distinctes, car s’il est un point faible dans l’ouvrage d’Alasdair Whittle, c’est peut-être le sentiment d’un manque de justification des choix méthodologiques opérés au profit d’une présentation de diverses tendances théoriques parmi lesquelles l’auteur ne fait pas un choix tranché préférant en tirer les avantages respectifs.

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