

RECENT BOOKS ON THE AMERICAS

WILLIAM K. POWERS, *Yuwipi: Vision and Experience in Oglala Ritual*, Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press 1982. xiii, 101 pp., Maps, Bibliography, Glossary, Indexes. \$9.50.

Powers, the author of an earlier structural analysis of Oglala (Sioux) myth and ritual (*Oglala Religion*, 1977), attempts in this book to exhibit the relations between three rituals: the vision quest, the sweat lodge, and a modern curing ritual called Yuwipi. Written in an enjoyable narrative style, *Yuwipi* describes the vision quest of a dissipated youth named 'Wayne' and the connected curing ritual of his father 'Runs Again'. Early chapters cover the necessary background, and the Postlude relates the dismaying fate of the aged Yuwipi specialist, Plenty Wolf.

The author disguises one or two names (at request) and creates at least one composite personage to protect private identities, but he derives his information from actual conversations and observation. His principal intervention is in drawing his evidence together to create a coherent narrative sequence, which he never witnessed exactly as described--the chief fictional invention of the book. He acknowledges these distortions and offers a succinct account of the true sources of each of his chapters. Nevertheless, the reader is left guessing as to what to make of the thoughts Powers puts into the heads of his characters. This doubt arises particularly concerning the vision. Oglala disapprove of revealing visions; that which the author offers comes from at least two different men, and Powers has never experienced one himself. The advantages which he tries to gain through his informal style, with its attention to the atmosphere of rural relationships and its impressionistic evocations of the South Dakota landscape, may justify dispensing with a more academic manner of

presentation. The book, however, is not the structural analysis the Preface implies it is. Evidently there is room too for alternative ethnographic studies of the Yuwipi and related rituals.

R.H. BARNES

JAMES AXTELL, *The European and the Indian: Essays in Ethnohistory of Colonial North America*, Oxford, etc.: Oxford University Press 1981. xii, 315 pp., Notes, Index. \$19.95.

One of the ten essays in James Axtell's *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethno-history of North America* closes with a quotation from the poet Marianne Moore succinctly analysing the hostile ambivalence displayed by European colonialists towards the indigenous peoples of the eastern seaboard of North America. Moore writes that the Indian way of life presented a 'scholastic philosophy of the wilderness to combat which one must stand outside and laugh since to go in is to be lost'. The laugh of colonialists who refused to investigate what they so loudly damned is a bitter and bloody sound as it echoes through the pages of books like Dee Brown's *Bury my Heart at Wounded Knee: an Indian History of the American West* (Picador: 1975). In *The European and the American* it is a more hesitant thing; its harshness is tempered by an unsettling awareness of the attractiveness of the multitude of indigenous cultures which met the Europeans when they first came to American shores. By the 19th century, when America committed itself to a program of genocide against the Indians, the white people of the nation had turned their backs on the dream of freedom the Indians had earlier evoked, and had succeeded in forgetting that Indian cultures had ever seemed to present options to their own. Axtell's book, through a rich presentation and careful analysis of the 17th-century and 18th-century materials (chiefly literary and journalistic) left by English settlers and travellers, portrays an earlier and somewhat more open-minded time when the two cultures struggled over which would have hegemony over the hearts and minds of the peoples of North America.

The Indians were literally struggling for their lives and for the minimal sense of coherence and continuity which made those lives worth living. European diseases caused an 80% reduction in the size of New England's native population during the first century of colonization. The magnitude of the death toll threatened Indian culture with dissolution: kin and clan

structures, central to Indian identity, were shattered, the transmission of technological and traditional knowledge was broken, leadership positions were left empty as political succession was thrown into confusion, and settlement patterns were abandoned as survivors dispersed or regrouped. The religious and cosmological beliefs of the Indians, which had sustained the communities for centuries, seemed invalid in the face of the disaster which had befallen the Indians, and the consequent loss of faith predisposed the Indians to seek the spiritual and material help of the whites.

That help was pernicious. The official spokesmen of the settlements, Protestant ministers, educators and respectable townspeople, were affronted by the 'godless self reliance' of the Indians and saw it as their duty to "reduce" the Indian's proud independence...to the total dependence of a "weaned child". 'Reduction' involved the eradication of all traces of Indian identity (including names) through isolating Indian students (usually chiefs' sons held hostage as guarantors of their fathers' behaviour) from their people and their culture in 'praying towns' or Indian schools. There they were taught a rhetoric of Christian submission and trained in vocations which offered no competition to white settlers--berrying, fishing for hire, making brooms, baskets and pails.

Christianized Indians as well as their 'savage' brethren were drawn into the white man's economy by the lure of European products; Robert Beverly wrote in his *History and Present State of Virginia* of 1705 that the best way of subjecting the Indians to the political desires of the whites was to 'multiply their wants and put them upon desiring a thousand things they never dreamt of before'. The Senecas of New York were valuing European artefacts over their own as early as 1650 as the three-to-one ratio of European to Indian grave goods indicates. The need for European guns, tools and alcohol led the Indians to massively over-hunt their territories. The hunger for furs to trade for alcohol and ammunition (even the European weapons which increased the Indians' hunting and fighting power increased their dependence on white ammunition merchants) spawned extensive warfare between competing tribes and this fratricidalstruggling, made murderous by the efficiency of rifles, assisted in the devastation of Indian populations.

One of the results of this depopulation was that Indians stopped torturing prisoners (Axtell, despite a vast respect for the indigenous populations, does not idealize them) and instead used them as replacements for tribespeople lost through warfare and disease. White prisoners were thus intensively familiarized with the complex and tightly-knit communal networks of their captors. The rhetoric of absolute otherness which the English colonial powers used to justify the exploitation and degradation of the natives failed when white people met Indians on their own ground. Truly 'to go in was to be lost'; Indians, freed of the constraints which bound them to white teachers and ministers, inevitably returned to their peoples' ways, but white captives

and others who had experienced Indian life frequently rejected repatriation. Furthermore, the idea of abandoning the strains of the increasingly overpopulated, fragmented and contentious Protestant communities for the freedom of the forests caught the popular imagination. An extensive and widely popular literature of captivity narratives sprang up and raised disconcerting questions about the central colonial values of humility, obedience and work. The possibility that Indian culture, already mortally infected by its colonial competitor, might in turn undermine the rigorous Protestant morality and agrarian capital economy of settlements was frightening.

The 18th century saw the mood of 'cultural competition' which had characterized the preceding century give way to the attitudes of racial hatred which would dominate the white man's relation to the Indians until there were no longer enough Indians to pose a threat to Protestant-capitalist culture. In 1711 the Virginia House of Burgesses voted a twenty thousand pound war bill 'for exterminating all Indians without distinction of Friends or Enemys'. Methods of extermination extensively practised in the 19th century were tried on during the Pontiac Uprising of 1763-1766 when the British High Command ordered the distribution of smallpox-infested blankets to Indians who had been driven from their homes.

The systematic destruction of Indian cultures ensured that there would be little left to posterity to evoke a vision of another American order. Early anthropologists like Morgan and Tylor were picking among the ruins of shattered cultures when they studied the Indians of late 19th-century North America, and twentieth-century ethnologists, well armed with metaphors and methods for appreciating the integrity of other cultures, find among the remnants of American Indian cultures nothing but alcoholism, poverty, degradation and forms of 'nativism' which speak more about how the dominant culture has defined the Indians than it does of their lost cultures.

The sort of library fieldwork practised by Axtell is the only means we have of approaching the many cultures which did not survive the European colonization of the world. Axtell contends that anthropologists have much to learn from the study of cultures destroyed in history (Nathan Wachtell's *The Vision of the Vanquished: the Spanish Conquest of Peru through Indian Eyes*, Harvester Press, 1977, is another important contribution to this endeavour). The synchronic approach to cultures fostered by fieldwork impels anthropologists to seek 'timeless explanations of cultural uniformities'. They fail to recognise that many characteristics of the cultures being studied are actually improvised strategies for maintaining some degree of cultural integrity in the face of the changes and challenges imported by invading cultures. Ethnohistory, the mating of anthropology and history, is meant to produce scholarly offspring who bear the diachronic dimensions of history and the synchronic sensitivity of anthropology, and *The European and the Indian* provides an excellent model for the discipline.

The book might have been improved by a chapter indicating the sources and evolution of the white myths of the 'Red Man' which finally dominated the American imagination, but such a criticism merely voices the reviewer's desire to see colonial attitudes clearly linked to the history of the Indians in the American west. The early stages of the struggle to convince settlers that peoples whose lives seemed emblems of the freedom and community they desired from their own were in fact 'living impediments to agricultural civilization' are well presented here. The next stage, that of impelling the settlers to uproot and destroy those impediments, is clearly prefigured in Axtell's provocative study.

GLENN BOWMAN

GARTH BAWDEN and GEOFFREY W. CONRAD, *The Andean Heritage: Masterpieces of Peruvian Art from the Collections of the Peabody Museum*, Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum Press 1982. vi, 101 pp., Bibliography. £6.30.

This booklet is published as a catalogue of the exhibition of the pre-Columbian artefacts held in the Museum's new 'rotating gallery' (presumably used for temporary displays). The catalogue's declared aim is 'to provide the visitor with an essay on Peruvian culture history, an interpretation of this civilization's aesthetic accomplishments, and a descriptive section detailing the major Peruvian art styles. The reading of this work will encourage an appreciation of the objects exhibited within an anthropological context of Peruvian civilization.'

It would serve as a useful background handbook for the non-specialist who might visit the exhibition or otherwise need an overview of pre-Columbian Peruvian art styles. As a catalogue of an exhibition, however, it gives little idea of those 'masterpieces' displayed. The art styles are illustrated by only one or two rather poor-quality, unscaled photographs each, with only the cover in colour. Without a wider pictorial description of the styles and their manifestations, it is difficult to form a coherent idea of the culture behind the style. In any case, the trend of many museums to exhibit 'masterpieces' leaves numerous questions about a group's material culture - indeed, the general anthropological context - unanswered.

LYNNE WILLIAMSON

H. DAVID BRUMBLE III, *An Annotated Bibliography of American Indian and Eskimo Autobiographies*, Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press 1981. 162 pp., Indexes. £6.60.

For a century and a half now, old country and North American literary interest in the New World native has been bifurcated into popular romance, be it fiction or non-fiction (e.g. James Fenimore Cooper's novel *The Last of the Mohicans*, 1826; Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's poem *The Song of Hiawatha*, 1855; the autobiography *Gerónimo's Story of his Life*, 1906; etc.), and scholarly interest (e.g. L.H. Morgan's *League of the Ho-de-no-saunee or Iroquois*, 1851; Henry Schoolcraft's *The Indian Tribes of North America*, 1853; Franz Boas's works etc.) which has fostered Amerindian studies and their contributions to the social sciences.

When the popular romantic school considers non-fictive Amerindian people it has tended to concentrate on the native in the singular - Black Elk, Pocahantes, the bogus Gray Owl - the personalities of biography and autobiography; scholars have been inclined to specialize in the native in plurality, his societies and institutions - the Eskimo, the Navajo, the potlatch - the subjects of North American ethnography.

The biography and autobiography are clearly distinct literary forms, in literate societies; in primitive societies with an oral tradition, those societies which attract a large part of anthropology's attention, the biography and autobiography of the native personality are post-contact phenomena, and their distinctions are often ambiguous in the early stages of contact with literate societies.

H. David Brumble III, in *An Annotated Bibliography of American Indian and Eskimo Autobiographies*, has provided a retrospective overview of American native literature as it has developed in the form of autobiography. Brumble recognizes the often tangled relationship between native biography and autobiography, and that some native autobiographies, especially the earlier ones, have involved significant prompting and collaboration by various types of literary associates, but he focuses the bibliography on native accounts in the first person, 'for a narrative which has been cast as an autobiography is at least *claiming* to be told from the point of view of an Indian, at least *claiming* either to be written in an Indian's own idiom or in a translation [of it].... A biography makes no such claim.' (Brumble's emphases)

Brumble's bibliography contains a total of 577 entries, 112 of which are cross-references, so that 465 entries are actual annotations. About a quarter of the annotated autobiographies are of 'book length', leaving the majority to slimmer texts, chapters and articles, and only a few of the latter are as short as one page.

The bibliography is up-to-date, with its most recent subjects in press. With a few exceptions (Rev. William H. Pierce and Randal MacDonald, to name two autobiographers) the bibliography

is remarkably complete. Amerindian autobiographies preceding 1850 are rare - only a few are listed. Two of these are *Life of Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kiak-kiak, or Black Hawk*, 1833 (206 pp.), a description of the Black Hawk War, and the couplet of booklets on Okah Tubbee 1848 (43 & 85 pp.), concerning Tubbee's involvement in the black-and-red fringe of slavery in America.

The first theme to develop in Amerindian autobiography was conversion to Christianity. This is not surprising, for conversion to literacy and Christianity were symbiotic in the mission school setting. To some extent the church's early encouragement of native autobiography was self-serving, and this has occasioned some indifference to this literary form. However, these Christian conversion texts provide a corpus of information which may be helpful for questions about the Christian Amerindian autobiographer - his role as spokesman for his people; his compulsion to exercise new-found literacy; his self-image as scribe and prophet, etc. The earliest listed mission material is a collection of inward and outward correspondence (a deviation, albeit a desirable one, from autobiography) of five Mohegan (*sic*) Indians who were trained at Dartmouth, U.S.A., to minister to their own people: *The Letters of Eleazar Wheelock's Indians* (1763-66), edited by J. D. McCallum in 1932 (205 pp.). Once Rev. Apes' *A Son of the Forest. The Experience of William Apes, a Native of the Forest. Comprising a Notice of the Pequot Tribe of Indians. Written by Himself*, 1829 (216 pp.), and *Memoir of Catherine Brown, a Christian Indian of the Cherokee Nation*, 1832 (138 pp.), were published, the Christian conversion theme was established in Amerindian autobiography - over forty other such works followed.

The format of the annotations is best described by the bibliographer:

Where a bibliographic entry contains two names before the title, the first is the name of the Indian autobiographer, the second is the name of the collaborator-editor-amanuensis. The name in caps is the one under which the book or article is most likely to be listed in card catalogs and indexes. Where there is but one name, it is, then, the name of an autobiographer who had no collaborator. [Also included are the] ... autobiographer's birth date, date of autobiography's composition, autobiographer's tribal affiliation, an account of how the autobiography was composed, and some general remarks about the autobiography.

This is an effective convention. It is used consistently and maximizes the ease of reading any one annotation. *Black Elk Speaks* and two other autobiographies each receive the maximum of two pages of annotation. Most annotations are one or two paragraphs in length.

Brumble safeguards the reader from misleading publications, and he does this with admirable economy. The most famous would-be Indian was that mid-war conservationist and author Gray Owl

(Englishman Archie Belaney, as revealed posthumously), and Brumble describes him with 'See no. 10.', which leads to a disclaimer of Belaney within an annotation of the autobiography of Anahareo, a bona-fide Indian and Gray Owl's wife! Similarly, the 1881 text *Ploughed Under: A Story of an Indian Chief, Told by Himself* is dispensed with by 'Although this is sometimes listed as an autobiography, it is fiction, published anonymously by Harsha, who was not an Indian.'

The author strikes a useful balance between including all possible Amerindian autobiographies in the bibliography and being very discriminating in the individual annotations. This is the major strength of the bibliography, its best recommendation to the reader.

Personal naming in American native groups, with its multiplicity and other complications, presents obvious challenges to the bibliographer, but the author 'decided to list that name, or version of that name, given most prominence in the autobiography', and can be credited with consistently observing that convention, as well as with cross-referencing the prominent name with its alternatives (e.g. Crashing Thunder with Big Winnebago, Sam Blowsnake, Gertrude Bonnin & Sun Chief). When the autobiographer's name is sexually nondescript, it is qualified, e.g. 'Pretty-shield (F); Fine Day (M); Feather Earring (M)' etc. Brumble is not too fastidious in this gender game, for he chooses not to qualify Asa Daklugie (who is a male), while requalifying the Zuni sheepman 'FaSiSo47A' as a male: 'With thanks, this is a pseudonym (M)' (granted, not all readers will be kinship jargonists!).

The subject index includes 86 entries. A useful refinement of topic distinction is often reflected by separate entries of related subjects: e.g. shamanism, witchcraft; war, WWI, WWII; courtship, marriage, sexual experience; hunting, trapping, whaling. However, and unfortunately, while modern drugs and peyote (with two and fifteen citations respectively) are listed as subjects, alcohol is not. Adoption and epidemics are not listed as subjects, although they figure in the annotations. The number of autobiographies matched to a given subject in the index is a good if rough guide to predicting the utility of the bibliography to a particular scholar. Those subjects collated most frequently to autobiographies are conversion to Christianity, hunting, marriage, tribal history, schooling, shamanism, visions and war, each featured in at least 29 autobiographies, with schooling enjoying the maximum of 84 collations.

The scope of the index of tribes, with its 109 groups, is most general in listing the Eskimo and mixed-blood Métis as individual 'tribes', and specific enough to enter Gitstkan and Tsimshian, for example, separately and in favour of Northwest Coast. To qualify the book's title, it should be mentioned here that no groups south of the Mexican-American border are considered, Indians and Eskimos of Canada and the U.S.A. are treated equally as generic American natives. One will not find tribes cross-referenced to country, province, state or regional

group in the index, although these associations are made within the annotations.

Although there is an 'Index of Editors, Anthropologists, and Amanuenses', there is no index of autobiographers, and this seems peculiar for a bibliography of autobiographies. However, the reader can retrieve annotations by autobiographer's name once he is acquainted with the arrangement of the bibliographical entries. Each entry is numbered, and each opens with the autobiographer's name. The 577 entries are ordered alphabetically, according to these opening names. If the autobiographer possesses multiple personal names then each is entered separately, with minor names cross-referenced to the major one, and only the latter introduces a full annotation. There are 112 such cross-references, and 465 full annotations. This arrangement is used consistently, but retrieval would be easier if the present bibliography were complemented with an index of autobiographers' names. If austerity is the priority, and it seems to be with this text, then the purpose and space of the main body of the bibliography would be more prudently served with the 112 cross-references removed from it to a full index of autobiographers' names at the end of the text. Multiple personal naming would be more effectively displayed in an index format.

The bibliography presents a list of 56 references which is noteworthy to social scientists with interests in general and Amerindian autobiographical literature. The titles include: *Autobiographical Acts; Criteria for the Life History; The Nature of Biography; The Life History in Anthropological Science; Design and Truth in Autobiography; Spiritual Autobiography in Early America.*

A chronological listing of birth, death and publication dates with the autobiographer's name would be a useful addition to this book. Such a tabulation would clearly exhibit the development of Amerindian autobiography. With the book as it is, if one attempts to group autobiographies by historical period one is obliged to check the dates of each of the several hundred citations in turn.

Letters and journals are intimate first-person literary expressions akin to autobiography. Brumble includes a couple of publications of these forms in the bibliography - *The Letters of Eleazar Wheelock's Indians*, and *Memoir of Catherine Brown* which contains Brown's letters and diaries - but he seems to have included these by exception, and one wonders whether he actively sought out other variants of autobiography. Archival holdings of such unpublished manuscripts, such as those of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, are available to scholarly research, but because Brumble has not described his methodology we do not know whether he consulted such North American sources.

Brumble incorporates in his bibliography a Danish Rasmussen text translated into English, a Polish publication translated into French, a German reference, and an unpublished Spanish manuscript held by an American library. Again, because he does not elaborate on his methodology, one wonders if his review of non-English publications is exhaustive. It is doubtful -

acknowledgements go exclusively to American libraries. The question would be a pedantic tangent if Amerindian literature were strictly English-American - but it is not. Karl May (1842-1912), with his Indian *Winnetou* and other *Reiseschilderungen* novels, amongst other authors, has placed the Amerindian firmly within German literature. Browsing in 'Red' Indian bookshops on the Continent (as I have found in Zürich and Frankfurt-am-Main) convinces one of the German literary interest in the American Indian and Eskimo. (The elaborate Indian clubs of Germany are a similar manifestation of the interest.) Some seventy volumes of 19th-century manuscripts, journalistic and autobiographical writing by a Canadian Indian, are held in a British archive. Understandably this collection is not cited in Brumble's bibliography, but one wonders, with the diversity of colonial interests (especially French and Spanish) that there were in the New World native, how many other Amerindian narrations remain preserved in Europe.

There were 208 bibliographies in *American Literature* twelve years ago (Widener 1970). Brumble's bibliography serves its respective and useful niche there. More indexing would increase the convenience of the Brumble reference; selected portraits would enhance it aesthetically; and it wants an explanation of methodology; but even at this, the text is an excellent social sciences reference.

Good bibliographies encourage their own up-dating and revision. It is hoped that librarians and archivists in Europe and North America will check their holdings for possible additions to Brumble's first edition, and make them known to the bibliographer.

GRANT THOMAS EDWARDS

KALERVO OBERG, *The Social Economy of the Tlingit Indians*, Seattle, etc.: University of Washington Press 1980 [Monograph 55 of the American Ethnological Society, Robert F. Spencer editor]. xvi, 138pp., Bibliography, Index, Illustrations. £4.50.

Although written as a doctoral thesis in 1933, this study of Tlingit social economy did not appear in published form until forty years later. This is a pity, as the book provides a very clear and concise account of the traditional economic life of a society whose characteristic features (e.g. the potlatch, the emphasis on rank and wealth, a system of slavery etc.) have attracted wide interest in anthropology. What is more, being written at a time when many works concerned with 'primitive economics' concentrated mainly on technology, techniques, and environmental influences, Oberg's book is commendable in that, as its title suggests, the emphasis is placed squarely upon the way economic action forms part of, and is given meaning by, a wider framework of social and ceremonial institutions and values. In effect, the study is an early example of structural-functional analysis - although, by contrast to some other exponents of the genre, the author, to his credit, takes pains to stress the potentially disruptive as well as the integrative consequences of forms of economic behaviour.

As a piece of ethnography, however, the book does have its shortcomings. Prominent among these is the fact that while the Tlingit socio-economic order is to a great extent governed by symmetry and a balanced, bilateral reciprocity, and while many examples are given of usages that involve reciprocal exchange between phratries (the most inclusive of Tlingit social divisions based on matrilineal descent), Oberg does not give sufficient account of the existence in traditional Tlingit society of three phratries. (The answer to this puzzle, it seems, may lie in the fact that most of the institutions he describes operate at the level of the village, where in most cases only two phratries are represented.) One would also have liked to have seen a rather clearer treatment of the topic of rank, a term which the author seems to employ to refer both to a system of named classes and a less formal grading of lineal segments within and between house-groups (largely independent, local divisions of matrilineal clans).

Nevertheless, taken as a whole the book presents a cogent and totalizing view of Tlingit socio-economy that encompasses ecological and technological factors, and changes brought about by contact with Europeans, as well as the inherently social and culturally specific mechanisms of production, consumption, and exchange. In this respect, then, not only will it be of interest to students of Northwest Coast cultures, but it could also serve as a useful introduction to the topic of economic anthropology.

NORMAN E. WHITTEN, JR. (ed.), *Cultural Transformations and Ethnicity in Modern Ecuador*, Urbana, etc.: University of Illinois Press 1981. xvii, 811 pp., Bibliographies, Index. £23.80.

Books are rarely definitive for very long, and those whose central theme is that of social, political, economic and cultural change cannot be, by definition. However, the volume under review here can aptly be described as comprehensive. It comprises 811 pages, divided into four parts or 27 chapters plus a Foreword and an Afterword, and written by 28 contributors. There is probably not much more to be said just for the moment about cultural transformations and ethnicity in modern Ecuador. Furthermore, the title means what it says when it uses the word 'modern'. All the contributions appear to have been written between the end of 1977 and early 1981. It is rare for collections with a quarter the number of contributors to get put together that quickly. Congratulations for this are clearly due to the energy of the editor, Norman Whitten, who is also responsible for the Foreword and Afterword as well as a substantial chapter in the main body of the work. It is also an achievement to have brought together a set of contributions of such uniformly high standard.

When dealing with a volume of these proportions a reviewer risks writing little more than an extended contents page if he tries to mention all the authors and topics. In this case the division of the book into parts allows a way out of this difficulty. The four parts of which the book is composed show a progression from the more general to the more specific. Part I, entitled 'Theoretical and critical considerations', consists of four papers in which basic themes relating to ethnicity and change in Ecuadorean society are introduced. Part II, 'Infrastructure and socio-economic processes', looks in rather more detail at the material base of the society and the various processes at work in it. For example, Susan Scrimshaw describes how migrants from different parts of rural Ecuador to Guayaquil adapt past practices related to family size to their new urban setting. Or, Theodore Macdonald examines how Lowland Quichua have adopted cattle ranching as a strategy by which to retain their land in the face of legislation that threatened ownership. Parts III and IV are concerned with cultural transformation and adaptation in the Sierra and Litoral, and in the Oriente, respectively. The individual chapters consist of detailed studies of particular cases whether these be the weavers of Otavalo or Canelos Quichua ceramics.

The volume is explicitly built round what the editor refers to as 'critical anthropology', which he defines as commenting

meaningfully on the consequences of nation-state expansion and consolidation for the peoples constituted within its sphere of influence and control. It addresses recognized issues of contemporary relevance for the nation-state or any of its subject peoples. But it also delves into unrecognized or seemingly irrelevant issues to explicate

relationships not apparent in the usual process of government planning and development (p. 22).

This last is only attainable through the ethnographic endeavour, and it provides admirable justification for the study of 'exotica' with which anthropologists are so often accused of being preoccupied. An example of this is Frank Salomon's analysis of *yumbo* dancing in which he demonstrates that this age-old ritual is concerned with the paradox at the root of Ecuadorean ethnicity and nationalism. The national planner seeks to mould together the ethnic diversity in order to make it fit his preconceived, theoretical model of national unity. On the other hand, the folk model derives its notion of unity from the lived experience of diversity.

The chapters that caught my attention (for the simple reason that their subject-matter is closest to my own interests and without any suggestion that they are better or worse than any others in the collection) concern the changes that the Shuar and Achuar (Jívaroan people), the Wao (popularly known as the Auca), and the Siona-Secoya are undergoing. Some of the parallels between the experiences of these Indians at the hands of missionaries and those of the Trio in Surinam (aspects of which I described in *JASO*, Vol. XII, no. 1 (1981)) are quite striking. For example, James Yost, writing of the Wao, states 'the concepts of Christ and God were introduced and accepted as spirit beings who are more powerful than the evil spirits who can be sent to cause harm' (p. 695). Anne-Christine Taylor, referring to the Achuar, comments that 'certain Protestant evangelist notions closely tally with native conceptions' (p. 670). However, what differentiates the context of evangelisation here from that of the Trio case is its close involvement in the economic sphere. This is not surprising given the traditional association of shamanism with commercial trading routes within the Ecuadorean Amazon, and, as Taylor remarks, 'the religious practices of the missionaries are viewed by the Achuar in the same light as they view their own symbolic practices in the production of material values' (p. 672). What is surprising is the absence of reference to the influence of medical aid in the conversion process. For the Trio, it was the results of medical work, and not the provision of material goods, that demonstrated the superior power of the missionaries' supernatural agents.

There are a hundred other themes that deserve attention and there is something here to interest most readers, particularly those from Ecuador. If Ecuador is a country which has consistently understood the international nature of scholarship, through such volumes as this it reaps the value of that understanding. It is good that the Introduction and Part I are to be published in Spanish. The rest of it deserves to be as well.

PETER RIVIERE

DOUGLAS S. BUTTERWORTH, *The People of Buena Ventura: Relocation of Slum Dwellers in Postrevolutionary Cuba*, Urbana etc.: University of Illinois Press 1980. xxix, 143 pp., Bibliography, Index. £9.00.

NANCIE L. SOLIEN GONZALEZ, *Black Carib Household Structure: A Study of Migration and Modernization*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press 1980 [The American Ethnological Society, ed. Robert F. Spencer, Monograph 48]. xx, 142 pp., Bibliography, Index, Illustrations. £4.50 (Paper).

It was Oscar Lewis who noted that there appears to be a 'culture of poverty' common to those sections of populations living on the periphery of 'modern' society in nations all over the world (*A Study of a Slum Culture* New York 1968). The economic marginality of these sections in such societies is accompanied by their non-participation in the social and political life of the nation. They are sub-cultures within these societies and the culture of the group is passed from generation to generation without any significant importations from outside. Lewis can be accredited with popularising one view in a debate which has come to figure as one of the central problems for social anthropologists working in Central America and the Caribbean: to what extent should the way of life of those people standing in a direct relationship, yet marginal social position, to national economies be understood as systematically different from the dominant way of life? Have they a culture different from that possessed by the rest of society, as Lewis would suggest, or is their way of life merely an adaptation to the dominant culture whose values the people share although they are unable to act in accordance with these values because of the prevailing socio-economic climate? Such questions are fundamental to any research in Central America and the Caribbean.

Butterworth is writing of life among a section of the urban poor in Buena Ventura, a new housing project in Havana, Cuba - after the popularisation of Lewis' ideas - whereas Gonzalez describes the social organisation of the Black Carib population in a rural settlement in Guatemala before this thesis was formulated. Indeed Butterworth's study of Buena Ventura was a part of a project set up by Oscar Lewis in 1969-70, and his research design was formulated with the 'culture of poverty' thesis in mind. However when he comes to present his data he does not do so within this conceptual framework, being aware of its shortcomings. He discusses these in his Introduction but abandons any attempt to contribute to the continuing debate, contenting himself with 'a description, unique of its kind, of people living in a strange new environment and their reaction to it a decade after a monumental social and political upheaval'. The writer is able to avoid becoming embroiled in this polemic only because of the rare historical conditions which govern his chosen area of study. He is able to compare the life of the urban poor under a

capitalist regime with their life under socialism. Describing a post-revolutionary housing project, he considers the social, political and economic aspects of life which he observes and compares them with life in the urban slum previously inhabited by the majority of this population - a picture created out of the reports of the residents themselves. Although there has clearly been an improvement in the material conditions of life Butterworth shows that rapid changes in the economic and social order are not, in this instance, matched by rapid changes in behaviour. Traditional ways of acting, governed by the normative expectations of the people, endure despite changes in the dominant value system. On the other hand,

Even if people's behaviour did not change profoundly... they had to find new explanations to justify their behaviour, their attitudes towards others, and their relation to the larger society.

The delicate nature of the interaction of societal values with group norms is brought out in Butterworth's ethnography and makes up, in part, for the lack of analysis.

What is clear throughout his presentation is that the inhabitants of the housing project have brought with them a reputation for being slum dwellers and that they are very much regarded as the 'people down below' by their immediate neighbours. In fact Butterworth's contribution is to social policy rather than to social anthropology when he notes that while the slum dwellers felt a great sense of belonging, the inhabitants of the housing project 'suffered a double alienation from their neighbours and from larger society'. The Cuban government mistakenly rehoused the slum dwellers *en masse* in a housing estate lacking adequate facilities and physically segregated from a nearby residential area populated by more 'middle-class' people. He suggests that a mixing of former slum dwellers and former middle-class residents might have been more appropriate given the ideals of the revolution, but he finishes on a pessimistic note, doubting that this would have been any more successful under prevailing circumstances.

Gonzalez' book is based on a doctoral thesis written over twenty years ago, although valuable ideas from it appeared in article form prior to the book's first edition in 1969. The book remains true to the original thesis form. The author includes a review of more recent material in a Preface but she does not feel that subsequent publications warrant her modifying her original ideas.

Gonzalez is concerned with the consanguineal household. Previous studies, particularly in the Caribbean, have revealed communities with a high incidence of female-headed households (where authority is vested in women) accompanied by a mating pattern with a low incidence of marriage. Of these instances of female-headed households, the consanguineal household is by far the most common. In the consanguineal household all members are

related through a series of consanguineal ties, and no two members are bound together in an affinal relationship. It is always one of a series of household forms, each identified by the composition of the domestic group, particularly by the relationship between adult males and adult females. The household forms range from the nuclear family type of unit where the adult male and female are affines, to the consanguineal household where, if the adult male is present at all, he is related to the adult female cognatically. Gonzalez feels that the consanguineal household is the only one which is 'somewhat unusual', and she proceeds to provide us with an explanation for its existence.

First she hypothesises that the consanguineal household is an alternative type of domestic grouping that develops during the acculturation of populations lacking any long-standing cultural tradition to that which obtains in industrial society, where the usual domestic group is the nuclear family under the headship and hence authority of the adult male in the role of husband and father. She terms these societies 'neoteric' and distinguishes them from other 'traditional' societies which have '*structural self-sufficiency*'. Secondly she tests her hypothesis on a section of the Black Carib population living in Livingstone, a rural settlement in Guatamala. A historical account of the economic development of the Black Carib population is provided as background to a detailed description of the social organisation of these people. She finds that the primary mechanism of Westernisation is the recurrent migratory wage-labour of males for low remuneration. Finally a conceptual framework around the original hypothesis is constructed and this allows for comparison of the Black Carib household with households in other ethnographic areas affected by similar socio-economic conditions. Gonzalez recognises that communities composed exclusively of consanguineal households are nowhere to be found in the contemporary world but she suggests that the consanguineal household is prominent in those 'neoteric' societies characterised by male migrant wage-labour, with a resulting imbalance in the sex ratio.

Gonzalez does not acknowledge the 'culture of poverty' thesis but she is very much in its mould. The consanguineal household is seen as a response to the continuing situation of the economic marginality of the Black Carib in Livingstone, as elsewhere in Guatemala, and she seeks to find other examples of the phenomenon in different ethnographic areas.

I am using the word "type" in a technical sense [Gonzalez writes] much as it has been used by some archaeologists in referring to culture types.... That is a distinctive association or clustering of certain social or cultural forms. Ethnographically, a type is identifiable in particular time and space, as when I speak of Black Carib household organisation in 1956. Theoretically, however, a type may be said to recur whenever the necessary preconditions are present.

In her view the consanguineal household has evolved as a result of the vagaries of an economic system based on capitalism. It is a different type of household from that characteristic of other sections of the population where the conditions outlined above are not operative.

While Gonzalez' explanation is extremely plausible when applied to the Black Carib population of Guatemala, it becomes less so when applied to the population in certain other areas which exhibit a high incidence of the consanguineal 'type' household; Butterworth's Cuba for example. Butterworth notes that consanguineal ties were often strong in Buena Ventura. In fact 25 out of 94 households in the housing project were consanguineal according to Gonzalez' definition. This is somewhat over 25% as compared with 45% in Livingstone. While Cuba is a 'neoteric' society, the fact that females outnumber males 212 to 206 is hardly significant, especially as there is a fairly equal distribution of males to females throughout the age-range. What is more the new housing project is not characterised by migratory male labour. It appears that the occurrence of the consanguineal household in post-revolutionary Cuba does not conform to Gonzalez' model. In defence of her model Gonzalez might claim that post-revolutionary Cuba is moving from a situation of the economic marginality of the male in the lower sections of its population towards providing equal work opportunities for all sections of society, and thus the consanguineal household is becoming less common. We cannot tell; for Butterworth is unable to provide figures for household types in the slum. What we do know is that despite changes in external conditions there were no automatic changes in ways of behaving because traditional expectations remained, particularly as regards family life. While Gonzalez provides a satisfactory explanation for the consanguineal household in Livingstone this does not adequately explain the occurrence of the consanguineal household world-wide.

I do not agree with Gonzalez that the consanguineal household should be seen as representative of a *type* of domestic grouping which stands as an alternative to that found among other sections of the same society. Precisely the problem with Gonzalez' work is that society is viewed as constituted by a population of interacting individuals who share common beliefs and attitudes (culture) and participate in common institutions (ways of thinking, feeling and acting, roles, relationships, customs, practices etc.). Hence she talks of 'Black Carib society' and the consanguineal system that is characteristic of it. However societies in Central America and the Caribbean are not 'societies' in this sense. A view of society as a social formation by virtue of the fact that its members participate in the same system of production - a view that does not require actor consensus as a prerequisite of analysis - is much better suited to Central America and the Caribbean. The consanguineal household would thus be seen for what it is, an element of the social organisation of these people; for what is clear from both Butterworth's and Gonzalez' reports is that the household of husband, wife and

children is the ideal among these populations no matter what the empirical incidence of the various household types.

This criticism aside, Gonzalez' book, like Butterworth's, provides material of value to the anthropologist. Butterworth's new work provides an insight into a historically-specific situation of dramatic social change. He makes no claim for the universality of his conclusions and, within the limits he sets himself, provides a rounded description of urban life in Cuba under greatly differing social conditions. Gonzalez' re-issued work is stimulating, not only for its treatment of an interesting social phenomenon, but also as an example of fieldwork in an era which has proved a watershed for Caribbean social anthropology. The only pity is that her work did not appear in its full form until 1969 for it deserves a place alongside the pioneering work of social anthropologists like Raymond Smith and Edith Clarke. The fact that its first publication in paperback comes in 1980 testifies to the continued importance of her work and the renewed interest in the consanguineal household.

PHIL HARDING

ANTHONY SEEGER, *Nature and Society in Central Brazil: The Suyá Indians of Mato Grosso*, Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press 1981. ix, 267 pp., References, Index. £16.50.

For Anthony Seeger, the study of lowland South American Indians offers specific analytic tools to anthropology in general. The greater attention paid to ideas of what is social and proper, distinctive throughout much of the corpus of South American ethnography, can enrich traditionally 'empirical' approaches to social organisation. Elsewhere, for example, kinship structures have reflected principles of land and resource allocation, but by Seeger's account, central Brazilian kinship structures reveal an ideological basis closely tied to

cosmological principles. However, as Seeger's work neglects the basic ethnographic details of Suyá practical activity it fails to address this point. As an account of a Gê cosmology, it is worthwhile.

In the Suyá case, a conflict between 'human' and 'animal' (interpreted here as between 'society' and 'nature') is the most general and basic classifying principle. Additionally, particulars of the genesis and use of the body and of the development of the social persona explain social form insofar as these details can constitute a unified model of Suyá social organisation.

To his credit, Seeger presents a cohesive and systematic guide to Suyá conceptions of economic and political life. What this study needs, though, is a clear understanding and a concise statement of the impellent natural/social conflict, the dialectic behind the details. Lacking this, the work suffers from a confusion of principle and manifestation, a confusion which is itself manifested in a conflicting, mixed bag of explanatory tactics. Thus, curiously, Seeger's extended discussion of odour classification, with its well developed references to human social classification, is ambiguous in wording, and suggests simultaneously that taxonomy both reflects and underlies social morphology. 'Thus men transform nature, but nature also transforms society' writes Seeger, neglecting the greater subtlety of his own *caveat* that nature (and here odour) is socially constructed.

This problem emerges again in Seeger's treatment of leaders, ritual specialists, and witches, whom he attempts to locate in a scheme of spatial, functional, spiritual and sensuous components. According to Seeger's description, political leaders are central, belligerent, pungent, and articulate. They distribute goods and co-ordinate secular activities. By contrast, odourless ritual specialists are spatial butterflies who co-ordinate ritual activity and orate centrally, but whose spirits leave them and live outside the social village domain. Witches, the most easily classified group, are peripheral, anti-social, and responsible for misfortune, and they have an exaggerated and animal-like visual acuity.

When the three roles are reconciled within one framework, the nebulous nature/society 'principle' cannot explain their relative importance in terms of local ideas. For example, odour would indicate that ritual specialists are more 'social' than the others, but spatially they are more 'natural'. To solve this conundrum, one might rank the contexts in which certain properties are manipulated, or perhaps assert different values for the different social idioms. But Seeger, who does neither, gives us no comprehensive system within which to understand and evaluate different kinds of human activity.

This theoretical shortcoming, coupled with its ethnographic lacunae, prevents *Nature and Society* from advancing structural explanation of Gê political life. However, despite its weaknesses, this study is highly recommended for its interesting presentation of Suya cosmology, and for keeping important issues at the centre of anthropological concern.

N.E. FRIED

ARTURO WARMAN, *"We Come to Object": The Peasants of Morelos and the National State* (translation by Stephen K. Ault), Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press 1980. viii, 313 pp., Maps, Bibliography. £12.00.

The crucial role in the Mexican Revolution of the peasants of Morelos state and how the struggle affected their way of life are the basic themes of this work. Warman approaches the subject with the intimate feeling for and knowledge of the setting, the people and the institutions that only a national writer can have. The author succeeds superbly in doing what many anthropologists say they do and which few foreigners can actually do, that is he places the study firmly in its context within the national culture and relates local changes to those occurring in the nation as a whole. Also, Warman is at greater liberty to be critical, at times to the point of being ironic and polemical, of the changes and injustices that took place, and is able to do this without provoking resentment on the part of other Mexican intellectuals.

The fact that the author is a Latin American anthropologist means that this work has a strong historical quality to it; so much so, that Warman feels it necessary to defend himself in the Introduction by demonstrating that his work is really anthropology and neither history, descriptive monograph nor heroic romance.

We anthropologists explain something as sonorous and serious as class struggle with data like the increase in the price of soap. The people who receive us buy less in order to wash the same clothing, which remains clean but a little less white, a bit soiled. To go on about whiteness and cleanliness is not dramatic, but how important it is!

This example, which involves a seemingly mundane article, is the first indication of how detailed the book becomes, especially when treating technological and socio-economic change. And, it is exactly by way of this wealth of detail that the author wishes to demonstrate the unique quality of the Revolution in the South of Mexico, how the Zapata movement was different from peasant uprisings elsewhere in Mexico and the world. The leaders, local people themselves, sincerely attempted to fulfil peasant demands as a long-term goal. They took novel measures to avoid guerrilla chiefs turning into corrupt *caudillos* as well as to keep professional revolutionaries and romantics of urban origin at arms length. This was important to prevent the movement from degenerating into banditry or being used by ambitious outsiders as a step in the direction of goals other than those desired by the people who were doing the hard work of fighting. The peasants had no lofty visions of state-directed development. They simply wanted land and to get the corrupt, oppressive government off their backs. They provided the force that helped to win the war but they did not possess the requirements, i.e. formal education and knowledge of bureaucratic niceties, to get their way in the political manoeuvring that followed. Land distribution took place early and extensively in Morelos state but merely as a measure to quiet the unrest there, so that the government could get on with the business of industrialisation.

Excluding the Introduction and Conclusion, the book can be divided into three parts, each representing a different historical phase: the formative period, the revolutionary period and the modern period. Each part is equal in size and in importance to the principal theme, that of the survival of the peasants as a social type despite all that was done to try to change them. The story is one of their persistence while confronted first, with the expansion of the colonial and capitalist sugar mill *hacienda*, then the brutal repression of their movement by the State in the hands of the *hacienda* owners and later by the urban revolutionary elite, and finally the erosion of their income by decades of discriminating inflation and price control by which they were forced to finance the industrial development of Mexico.

In the first part of the book, detailed historical material is given on the social and economic changes from the Conquest up to the eve of the Revolution in 1910. While the latter part of this is necessary in order to show the causes of the peasant rebellion, one wonders perhaps whether so much description from the early history is really required even if it does relate to the survival theme.

The chapters on the Revolution and its aftermath, from 1910 to 1940, are the core of the work and portray, event by event, the course of the campaigns against the government and the politics of betrayal by which the urban forces rearranged themselves to hand over control from power group to power group without finally giving in fully to peasant demands. To be sure,

the *hacienda* lands, at least in Morelos state, were distributed, which gave the peasants a new lease of life, but a new group of local exploiters moved in to occupy the vacuum left by the fall of the sugar mills. These individuals had not fought in the Revolution but, together with the city industrialists, they were those who most profited from the rise of the economic and bureaucratic power of the centralized Revolutionary government. The industrialisation policies of the latter were to become the chief bane in the life of the rural folk because a greater surplus on their part was demanded. In textbook fashion, it was expected that the agricultural sector would export to pay for capital importations and would produce cheap staples for the industrialising cities. A number of programmes were implemented to transform the *campesinos* into *los farmers mexicanos*, to discourage them from their near total reliance on subsistence maize cropping and to induce them to grow other commercial crops for the cities.

The inclusion of the third part, entitled Recent Years, is more of a postscript as far as the Revolution is concerned. However, it is absorbing material for those who are interested in modern change in Latin America. For specialists in this region, familiar themes concerning the economic and cultural integration of peasants into a larger national society in the throes of industrialisation are encountered. A number of subjects are well treated, such as how peasants came to cope with inflation, rising population pressure on the land, the emergence of new needs for manufactured goods and the discontinuance of local crafts, increasing commercial farm production for distant markets involving great risks, rural exodus and the growth of towns and cities based on the expansion of commerce, the civil service and in general the valuation of all that is urban.

Missing, however, in the last part, and indeed throughout the book, is greater detail of social and religious changes in lifestyle. The author provides a wealth of information on technological and economic change and a thorough analysis of the ideology of the ruling groups of the country but a well-rounded presentation of the lifestyle of the people of Morelos is lacking. More undramatic material about whiteness and cleanliness might have been included.

Apart from this reservation, Warman's work is a rich source of information on rural change in Mexico and will appeal to specialists of Latin America. Also, the book is required reading for scholars interested in peasant revolutions.

SCOTT WILLIAM HOEFLE

BOOK REVIEWS

MICHAEL ARIS and AUNG SAN SUU KYI (eds.), *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson*, Warminster: Aris and Phillips 1980 [Proceedings of the International Seminar on Tibetan Studies, Oxford 1979]. xx, 348 pp., Illustrations, figures. £12.00 (Paper).

Ever since Tibet lost its independence in 1959 and thousands of Tibetans fled to India, and in smaller numbers to Nepal and Bhutan, Tibetan studies entered a new phase. In the past, when only a few people were allowed to visit Tibet, the pioneering work on Tibetan religion and history had been done by a small group of men who had a personal and academic interest in studying Tibetan culture. Apart from them, there were individuals who visited Tibet and wrote their travelogues. After 1959 a new impetus to Tibetan studies was given by two main circumstantial factors. One was the relatively easy access to Tibetan people who lived in different refugee settlements, and the other was the publication of Tibetan books on a large scale. Nowadays, mainly due to the efforts of the Tibetans in exile and the American mission in Delhi of the Library of Congress, we possess practically the whole Tibetan literary lore. Most of the Tibetan refugee settlements in India have monasteries and the daily life in them is almost a replica of life as it was in Tibet. Of course, changes have taken place, but for the time being the style of life is Tibetan. Those who wish to work with Tibetan communities or with learned monks can always find a place or person to work with. The Tibetans in exile also make an effort to preserve and to make known their culture and religion to the outside world on which they suddenly depend so much.

The number of people interested in Tibet and Tibetan studies has multiplied several times, though the prospects of obtaining university posts have decreased due to the general economic recession. Despite this sad situation, especially in Britain, many young Tibetologists pursue their work. In 1977 a small group of young Tibetologists gathered in Zürich to meet their colleagues and to exchange experiences of Tibetan studies. The proceedings of that seminar were published in 1978 (*Tibetan Studies*, edited by Martin Brauen and Per Kvaerne, published by Völkerkundemuseum in Zürich). The next seminar, a direct sequel to the Zürich gathering, was convened at Oxford in 1979. This time it was decided to invite Tibetan scholars of all generations. Some seventy scholars from twelve different countries gathered for one week in July at St. John's College. Professor David Snellgrove acted as the chairman and Michael Aris as the convenor of the seminar.

The papers, of which forty-nine are included in the volume under review, were delivered during the nine sessions arranged according to related subjects, the most general division being

that of papers which referred to inner Tibet and papers referring to the Tibetan borderlands. The papers reproduced in the volume are arranged according to the alphabetical order of the contributors and the structuring of related papers no longer applies. For the purpose of this review, I will group them as follows: Religion and Philosophy; History and Politics; Arts and Crafts; Linguistics and Miscellaneous; and Anthropology.

There are over a dozen contributions on religion and philosophy. The most original and interesting ones are those of S. Karmay on the ordinance of *lHa Bla-ma Ye-shes-'od*, the king of *Pu-hrangs*, sent to the Tibetan tantric practitioners to warn them of various tantric abuses; M. Kapstein's on the *Shangs-pa bKa'-brgyud*, a little-known and yet important religious tradition whose teachings centred around the doctrines of Niguma; P. Berglie's on Mount Targo and Lake Gangra, two places of pilgrimage for the *dpa'-bo*, spirit-mediums whose chief activity was to cure illnesses. Two other contributions which merit mentioning here are Lokesh Chandra's provocative reinterpretation of *Oḍḍiyāna* and P. Williams' clear exposition of conventional truth (*kun-rdzob bden-pa*) according to *Tsong-kha-pa*. Other papers on religion and philosophy such as for example Nathan Katz's discussion of a tantric confessional text or Karen Lang's on *Āryadeva*'s exposition of the *Bodhisattva* Career contain good and valid materials but lack originality mainly because a lot of the same or similar materials can be found in many books already published in the West.

The only contribution on the Bonpo religion is Per Kvaerna's preliminary study of Chapter VI of the *gZer-mig*, a two volume biography of *gShen-rab*, the founder of *Bon* religion. The Bonpos in exile have published a large portion of their religious books which are now available to Western scholars. Their religion and traditions require urgent study. It is perhaps correct from an academic view-point to purport that *Bon* religion is a somewhat incongruous form of Tibetan Buddhism. However, it must be accepted and admitted that the Bonpos do possess a large literary lore and traditions of their own which form one unique phenomenon which survived in Tibet despite the animosity of Tibetan Buddhist religious orders and rulers.

The papers on history and politics are perhaps the most original and of great interest. Hugh Richardson, in whose honour the proceedings of the Seminar were published, gives a succinct and vivid description of the *Rva-sgreng* Conspiracy of 1947 which took place during his stay in Tibet. Here we have a good example of the complexities and intrigues that went on in Tibetan politics. Other original and good papers are by M. Aris on the very little known *Mon-yul* Corridor, by L. Petech on the Mongol census in Tibet in 1268, and by J. Kolmaš on the negotiations which took place in the twenties of this century between the British in India and the Tibetans concerning the Indo-Tibetan frontiers. Two other contributions of good quality are by G. Uray on *khrom* - administrative units in Tibet in the 7th-9th centuries - and by C. Beckwith on the expansion and wars of the Tibetan Empire during the same period.

Many books have been published on Tibetan art but on the

whole much remains to be done, in particular, on different artistic schools in Tibet and the classification of deities belonging to various tantric cycles and traditions. A complete study of different *bris-yig* (manuals for painting) and regional artistic traditions would yield the long awaited materials for dating and distinguishing artistic styles. Despite a great interest in Tibetan art, a lot of the work of many art historians is based merely on guesswork. Kathleen Peterson's paper on Tibetan iconometry is an interesting one but it is yet another repetition of what is already known. The description of casting bells by V. and N. Rong is of value for it puts on record a very little known and endangered craft known only in some parts of Tibet.

Not much has been known about Tibetan music in the past. At present there are several people who pursue research in this field. Contributions by M. Helffer on the musical notations of the hymn *rTsa-brgyud-ma* and R. Conzio's on the method of playing the drum and cymbals among the *Sakyas*, both very good, are just two samples of the progress that has been made in sorting out musical notations and methods of performance. Also more and more interest is being taken in Tibetan medicine. E. Finckh's description of the theory and practice of Tibetan medicine gives a general but quite comprehensive outline of this discipline.

The discipline of Tibetan linguistics is relatively well established but by no means fully developed. A number of detailed studies were published but much remains to be done, especially about different Tibetan dialects. In England a good number of short studies have been written on the subject by Dr. K. Sprigg and Professor W. Simon, mainly in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London. Those interested in linguistics will find in the volume at least two good papers, one short one by P. Denwood on Ladakhi language, and one by N. Narkyid on the gender markers in Tibetan morphology.

Some of the contributions at the Seminar cannot be clearly classified under any concrete heading mainly because they relate to two or more subjects at once. I shall consider them under the heading of miscellaneous papers. A. Blondeau's excellent analysis and classification of *Padmasambhava's* biographies according to Tibetan sources adds a new dimension to the study of this mysterious personality. C. Corlin's paper on the house of *rGyal-thang* is quite fascinating. It shows how the symbolism of house structure can be interpreted according to folk religion and its ritual significance. There is one excellent contribution on the development of Tibetan currency by N. Rhodes. M. Broido's exegetical contribution on the term *dingos-po'i gnas-lugs* and Helmut Eimer's on the Second *A-kyä* are two examples of detailed scholarly work full of information but yet unfortunately uninteresting to read. One contribution which is evidently missing is one on Tibetan astrology; indeed very little is available in English on this fascinating subject.

There are some half a dozen contributions which fall within the category of Tibetan anthropology. Perhaps the most original

paper in terms of approach is the one by N. Allen on the comparative mythology of the 'Bodic speakers'. In his paper he puts forward a theory and gives examples of how one could examine the relationship of different 'Bodic' speaking groups, in and around Nepal, to the mainstream of Tibetan culture. There is no doubt that much light can be thrown on primitive Tibetan culture and religion by studying peoples who relate to the Tibetans but do not possess their literary heritage of Indian Buddhist origin. For example, in some portions of Tibetan religious literature, especially those parts relating to rituals (e.g. *gto*) and to indigenous Tibetan deities, there are a good number of ancient elements garbed in Buddhist terms. To recapture the originality of such elements a study of more primitive groups would certainly yield materials for their understanding.

S. Macdonald's scholarly paper on the creative dismemberment among the Tamang and Sherpas of Nepal is a good example of how an anthropologist can use written works. Two other papers, one by G. Clarke on the lamas of *Yolmo* and one by B. Aziz on *Pha-dam-pa Sangs-rgyas* provide us with good anthropological information seldom collected by classical Tibetan scholars.

Anthropological studies published so far (for the review of some of them see *JASO*, Vol. XI, no. 2, 1980) are a substantial contribution to the understanding of Tibetan culture. However, some of them do not inspire much confidence not only in Tibetan scholars in general but Tibetan anthropologists in particular (see for example criticism of Sherry Ortner's *Sherpas through their rituals* in *JASO*, *ibid.*, pp. 111ff). Dealing with Tibetan culture is a complicated matter. Apart from the living tradition of ancient beliefs and legends, which have been transmitted orally, Tibetans possess a vast literary lore dealing with practically all aspects of Tibetan culture and society. When doing fieldwork, and in particular at the time of evaluating the material, it is imperative for an anthropologist to refer to at least some literary sources and to be able to relate his/her findings, and interpret them in the wider context of the Tibetan world. Ever since the publications of *The Sherpas of Nepal* in 1964, Tibetan anthropology seems to have been somewhat seriously challenged and attacked by other Tibetan scholars (see for example a review by D. Snellgrove in *Central Asiatic Journal*, Vol. XI, 1966, pp. 199-219). This situation is changing since more and more anthropologists interested in working on subjects related to Tibet, possess a working knowledge of the Tibetan language and a wider knowledge of Tibetan culture.

To assess the situation of Tibetan studies on the basis of the contributions in this volume it can be asserted that while in the past the main interest centred almost exclusively on history and religion, nowadays we have scholars and amateur enthusiasts who pursue work in almost every field of Tibetan studies. More and more new publications appear from the most unexpected parts of the world. Furthermore, it is no longer a question of Westerners working alone. There are a number of Tibetans who live and work in Western universities and institutions, and contribute, in

Western languages, to the understanding of Tibetan culture.

The editors Michael Aris and his wife Aung San Suu Kyi must have worked very hard, for the volume is practically free of editorial mistakes. But it is quite difficult to be perfect in such a complex publication. Just two examples of minor errors: there is no note to the asterisk on page 301; is our Tibetan colleague called Pangling (as in the table of contents) or Panglung (as in the notes on the contributors on page 346)?

The publishers have produced a good example of an occasional publication. However, since the publication was subsidised and the Proceedings of the Seminar were dedicated to Hugh Richardson, the last of a distinguished series of foreigners who visited Tibet before it was taken over by the Chinese in 1959 (the volume contains his appreciation by D. Snellgrove and a complete bibliography), one would expect a rather better and more elegant publication; at least a hard bound one.

TADEUSZ SKORUPSKI

JAMES CLIFFORD, *Person and Myth: Maurice Leenhardt in the Melanesian World*, Berkeley etc.: University of California Press 1982. xi, 256pp., Bibliography, Index. £21.50.

Maurice Leenhardt is the sort of man who diminishes us all. In his life he was husband, father, missionary, ethnologist; twenty-three years in New Caledonia with the *Canaques*; persistent activist, though contained within colonialism, against the wilder (and the more subtle) outrages committed by colonialists; theoretician of 'mission science'; writer of several distinguished monographs ('Dig into [Leenhardt's] dictionary,' Mauss instructed his students; 'he transports you into another world.');

author of that 'resurrected' (did it ever die?) anthropology *Do Kamo: Person and Myth in the Melanesian World* (English translation Chicago 1979). It's a good story and Clifford tells it well.

The biography opens in the last decades of the nineteenth century with an account of Leenhardt's frustrated education and of the influence of his father, both pastoral teacher and eminent geologist (a common saying of his: 'Facts are a Word of God') who inculcated his students with habits of close observation and direct experimentation. Later chapters give us Leenhardt the young evangelist based in the interior of New Caledonia trying to make friends, trying to learn the vernacular, trying to convert *Canaques*, trying to mould Christianity into a Melanesian shape, trying to comprehend exactly what it was he was doing. Branded as an *indigèneophile* by the expatriate administrators and

capitalistic planters with whom he jousts, Leenhardt attempted to mediate between two worlds, between custom and Christianity, between communalism and colonialism, between native rebels and foreign repressors. Back in France, excluded from missionary boards by diffident little men scared of a 'radical', he held the chair at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes, successor to Mauss and predecessor of Lévi-Strauss.

But it is in Part Two of the biography that the meat of Leenhardt's ideas, cured by Clifford, appears. Leenhardt sought open-ended dialogue, a continuing process of mutual interpretation by both 'informant' and 'interviewer' paced to Melanesian rhythms. Rather than indulge in the satisfaction granted by self-validating methodologies, Leenhardt emphasized reciprocal interaction and cultural expressivity. Religion, for instance, 'was not a closed "system" of beliefs or symbols but an open field of expressions in partial *ad hoc* formulation.' Innovation was not a structural embarrassment, it was integral. Mixing phenomenology with sociology, Leenhardt did not banish emotion to the effective end of a causal relationship, but made it an essential component of mythic participation: the fundament of his concept of *personage*. As Clifford summarises it,

Myth is a valid mode of present knowledge fixed and articulated by a "socio-mythic landscape". Place here assumes a density inaccessible to any map, a superimposition of cultural, social, ecological, and cosmological realities. Orienting, indeed constituting the person, this complex spatial locus is not grasped in the mode of narrative closure by a centred, perceiving subject. Rather, the person "lives" a discontinuous series of socio-mythic times and spaces - less as a distinct character than as an ensemble of relationships.

Clifford writes with thought, sensitivity, and clarity. There are no clichés here. His conception of anthropology as the complicit manufacture of ethnographic texts by co-authors (the 'informant' and the 'interviewer') should make anthropologists ponder, yet again, the nature of their enterprise and the status of their final scripts. His working distinction, within ethnographies, of 'interpretation' and 'text', the latter open to re-appropriation by modern indigenes and to re-interpretation by anybody, offers a partial way out from the critique of anthropology as handmaiden to colonialism. Clifford sets his man in his different contexts but, wisely, infers no fictive 'inner self' for Leenhardt, rather he portrays him in his own ethnographic terms: a personality of plenitude, not an individual whole incapable of assimilation. Delightful vignettes are not excluded, however. We read of Leenhardt, then veteran missionary, surprised and saddened to realise his mentor and latter-day father-figure, Lévy-Bruhl, had failed to grasp the meaning of a simple folktale. We are told the anecdote of the student who asked, 'But, *M. le Pasteur*, how many people did you *really* convert during all that time out there?' His reply: 'Maybe one.' - i.e. himself,

for Leenhardt, constantly rethinking his ideas, incorporated his notions of Melanesian female 'life' principles and male virtues of 'power' into his conception of God. To him the roles of missionary and ethnologist were not opposed but complementary in a most intimate fashion. His work is still without equal among the ethnographies of island Melanesia and, in these 'post-structural' times, it remains valuable reading for anthropologists whose interests are not restricted to the bottom left-hand corner of the South Pacific.

To list my (very minor) criticisms of this splendid book would be mere carping. The single major disappointment of this handsomely produced volume is its price: at twenty-one pounds a copy it will be found only on the shelves of academic bookshops and university libraries - an unworthy fate for a work that deserves a wider audience.

JEREMY MacCLANCY

RODNEY NEEDHAM, *Circumstantial Deliveries*, Berkeley, etc.: University of California Press 1981. xiii, 109pp., Bibliography, Index. £9.00.

This set of essays consists of lectures given to academic audiences in Britain and America, and a paper which was written as a contribution to a collaborative volume entitled *Indigenous Psychologies*. In format, length and approach it is a sequel to previous sets of essays, *Primordial Characters* (1978) and *Reconnaissances* (1980).

The general premise of the present volume is 'that social facts may be revealingly analysed by reference to characteristic features in polythetic combination' (p.1). These features are said to be underlaid by 'primary factors of experience' which constitute the universal fundamental components of culture; 'primary factors', the author argues, correspond to aspects of thought and imagination; among these are symbolic complexes recognisable as 'archetypes', and more idiosyncratic forms of affective representation which are defined as 'paradigmatic or exemplary scenes'. These conceptual pre-suppositions inform and shape the comparativist investigations of the five chapters.

The first chapter, 'Essential Perplexities', was delivered as an inaugural lecture at Oxford in 1977. In this piece Professor Needham presents a concise formulation of his conception of social anthropology, especially his stress upon 'the crucial feature of comparativism'. As Evans-Pritchard did before him, Needham locates the discipline in the scholastic tradition of the humanities, and he outlines the theoretical shifts which have occurred throughout anthropology's intellectual history. In the fourth section of the lecture the author outlines the conceptual particulars of his approach (the idea of 'primary factors', for instance). The lecture concludes on a sceptical note with the prediction that 'before very

long he [Man] will make an end to everything, so that hereafter we shall be as though we never had been'.

Indeed the sceptical attitude is intrinsic to Needham's style of thought and writing. The second chapter, 'Physiological Symbols', is a sceptical scrutiny of a posited class of physiologically-determined symbolic components of human thought: right and left, the half-man, white-black-red, percussion, and elementary designs. He concludes that under a sceptical scrutiny this posited class of physiologically-determined symbols falls apart. By recourse to Jung's notion of 'archetype' he proposes to account for the connection between physiology and symbol.

The third chapter, 'Inner States as Universals', prescribes a contextualist methodology as the appropriate procedure whereby an ethnographer may elucidate the culturally-specific psychological meaning of forms of behaviour. And this relates to a larger concern about assumptions among historians and anthropologists that inner states, dispositions, and capacities are the same everywhere and have already been adequately described and discriminated by the psychological vocabularies of Western languages. (This was the point of Needham's enterprise in his *Belief, Language and Experience*.) The author argues sceptically that there can be no such certainty that inner states are constant and universal, and this argument is connected with his use of the polythetic method of classification. He writes,

what is known of one instance cannot be imputed, by inference from class membership, to another instance. This means that 'anger' in another civilization is not equivalent to anger in our own. More generally, the outcome is that inner states are not universals and do not in this sense constitute natural resemblances among men.

'Characteristics of Religion', the fourth piece, is marked by a Pyrronian tone of openly sceptical detachment and categorical uncertainty. The author eschews the aim of defining 'religion', which he considers is 'hardly a distinct object of thought'. And yet he uses the concept in an apparently reified sense; for he does not specify what social facts are being pointed to by the use of the word, even in its common sense use for which he opts. Rather, he focusses attention on possible 'characteristic features' which are, in each case, dismissed as not characteristic. Indeed a more telling title might have been 'Not the Characteristics of Religion'. The conclusion of the essay is that the entire repertory of 'religious' thought and action, which is symbolic by nature, may be considered as composed of 'archetypes' which are to be ascribed to 'cerebrational vectors', that is, 'normal operations of the brain'. Well, yes. But what is the explanatory force of this formulation as an account for the 'characteristics of religion'? More largely, does this fulfil the stated aim of 'trying to determine - in the train of countless other investigators - what we are really talking about when we speak of the religion of others'? It would appear to be saying that imaginative proclivities (including 'religious' ones) are associated with the brain. Anything we think or do is bound to relate somehow

to the nature of the brain. Although this essay serves an important function of questioning accepted suppositions about the characteristics of religion, its conclusion, that religious thought and representation are based on the normal operations of the brain, does not seem to illuminate the nature of this complex human phenomenon.

The fifth and final essay, 'Existential Quandaries', argues that social anthropology can help human beings to establish the actual bounds of their understanding and social organisation, and can thereby reveal the essence of human nature. Needham surveys such problematic topics as identity, emotion, order, certainty and purpose. Although the outcome is either 'skeptical or disruptive or negative', Needham hopes that his readers will learn to evade the constraints of ethnocentric prejudice by acquiring a more comprehensive view of the global diversity of social life.

In general, this is a stimulating book. Although its sceptical cast is sometimes perplexing, it does propose a programmatic challenge; namely, to explore more thoroughly the human imagination and the culturally-specific resources for affective representation.

The University of California Press is to be congratulated on their superb quality of production. Regrettably a paperback edition is as yet unavailable. The price of the hardback puts it beyond the range of most students.

SCOTT K. PHILLIPS

JOY HENDRY, *Marriage in Changing Japan*, London: Croom Helm 1981. 239pp., Appendix, Bibliography, Index. £14.95.

Marriage is an event which holds great fascination for the Japanese, frequently entails extensive ceremonial and social interaction, and apparently merits the expenditure of huge sums of money. It is regrettable that it has not captured more serious attention from earlier social anthropologists, yet perhaps we should not be surprised to find so little Western material on Japanese marriage, for the social anthropology of Japan in general is so poorly represented. For this reason alone, Joy Hendry's book may be welcomed. It is a valuable contribution to our understanding of a society which has risen so rapidly to prominence in the developed world, and which yet remains so enigmatic to many.

However, *Marriage in Changing Japan* does not set out to solve grand social enigmas, nor (despite the publisher's choice of title) even to describe and analyse contemporary marriage across the whole of Japan. The author spent time in Kurotsuchi, a community of 54 households, 'with a rural atmosphere', and this book is based upon that fieldwork experience. Its tone is informative, rather than analytical; indeed, it stands well as a partial ethnography of that region. Chapter Two is useful not only because it describes the local context for the marriages we read about later, but also because

the style of community activity indicated here is in many ways characteristic of much of rural Japan.

Readers unfamiliar with Japan's social past and present should also benefit from the first chapter ('Historical Context'), which introduces the traditional notions surrounding relations between the sexes, and within and between families. At the beginning of this century, the 'Confucian-coloured' values of the *samurai* family system were propagated throughout society, and an individual's obligation to be devoted and loyal to his or her family was stressed. The Japanese term *ie* actually implies more than 'family', for it may include household members not biologically related, and certainly includes past and present members (ancestors and their descendants). Since one of the foremost duties of the living members of the *ie* is to ensure continuity by the provision of descendants, marriage is an affair of concern to many more people than the two individuals most directly involved. Furthermore, it is because marriage is an affair of households that it is an event of significance to the whole community.

Dr. Hendry does succeed in making very clear why it may be said that a bride 'marries' the whole household, not just a single member of it; the very word used for the woman who marries in (*yome*) means 'daughter-in-law' as well as 'wife'. Normally, it is the woman who leaves her natal home to join the household of her husband. There, she may have to adapt to new ways and often spends more of the day in interaction with her husband's relatives (particularly his mother) than with him. The husband may himself be a comparative stranger, and is rarely as familiar as he would probably be after a Western-style courtship. This is associated with the different ideology pertaining to the institution: it is not traditionally viewed as being primarily a setting for the intimate companionship of two individuals, but in terms of its significance for the household.

Although young people today still answer 'Why marry?' in these traditional terms, modern influences prompt many responses which do stress a more romantic ideology. This is even more the case in Japanese cities. However, there is a marked discrepancy between what young people say they endorse, and what their actual marriage practice shows to be current. It is now popular to enthuse about unions based on love, but - at least in Kurotsuchi - to accept a spouse chosen by one's parents is in practice more common (it is also common to submit to parental disapproval of a suitor chosen by oneself).

On matters like these, it is illuminating to examine specific cases and read quotations from the author's fieldwork interviews. It would, however, be helpful to know how general or typical these findings are. Both attitudes and practice regarding marriage do vary between city and village, and between different regions of the country. Sometimes it is not clear how freely we may generalise from the Kurotsuchi material to the rest of Japan, although the plentiful bibliography should be useful here. Nevertheless, it is occasionally disappointing to find certain issues which do have a wider setting not to have been given a more extensive treatment. For example, the discrepancy between what people say about getting married and what they actually do has been commented upon by other observers; it is interesting, not only because it is a very large discrepancy, but also because of its central position in any consideration of social change

regarding marriage.

While the author does not venture on a broad or analytical discussion of this issue, she does provide some reasons why young people may have problems in fulfilling their romantic ideals. For example, in rural Japanese community life the sexes are often segregated, making it difficult for young people to interact comfortably and freely with their contemporaries of the opposite sex. This makes more understandable the continuing importance of procedures surrounding 'arranged' marriages. These are described with thoroughness - how suitable prospects are found and investigated by a family, the crucial role of the go-between, the *miai* (mutual viewing, when the two young people officially meet, and normally have the opportunity to form their own opinion of the proposed match).

Dr. Hendry makes a conscientious effort to explain the delicacies of translating Japanese terms like *renai* (which may be inadequately glossed as love or passion, but needs her illuminating discussion to be more fully understood), and she frequently refers us to the historical background and development of traditions and usages concerned with relations between the sexes. Literary orientalist may however be dissatisfied that this work does not contain as much reference as it might have done to Japanese social history, religion and philosophy in general.

The sections on the relevant ceremonial and symbolism are very full, and clearly reflect the author's intimate participation in the social events surrounding a wedding in the community. By the end of her book, it is easy for the reader to appreciate how the *community* is such a salient context for marriage - for a wedding serves as an opportunity for households to maintain or adjust their position in the local social order (as expressed via the formation of alliances, the style of the accompanying gifts, feasts, etc.). It is with justification that the role of marriage is described as 'pivotal', for it is a time of transition and redefinition for individuals (as they enter adult status), households, and the community. A marriage manifests continuity - synchronic and diachronic - and holds a mediating place between the frequently opposed elements associated with life and death, beginnings and endings, Shinto and Buddhism. These important ideas are given rather short shrift in the concluding chapter, further casualties of the (otherwise laudable) economic presentation.

Although this book is not a general treatment of marriage, many social anthropologists will probably be struck by the similarities with marriage traditions in other parts of the world more often studied by them. This subject also holds great interest for those interested in the position of women in society. Feminists may be disappointed by the cursory treatment of the woman's view of Japanese marriage (women seem to be at a distinct disadvantage here, but frequently claim to be satisfactorily compensated by the joys of child-rearing). Because the subject-matter of this book should attract readers from a variety of fields, it would be difficult to please all the audience all of the time. It was perhaps the wisest compromise to decline from producing volumes of discursive text, in favour of this very readable and fascinating study, with its accompaniment of generous footnotes and references (including Western and Japanese

sources). It is hoped that Dr. Hendry's publication will stimulate more research and writing on this challenging area.

ROSAMUND BELL

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OTHER NOTES AND NOTICES

ANTONY HOOPER, *Why Tikopia Has Four Clans* (with a Comment by Raymond Firth), London: The Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland [Occasional Papers no.38], 1981. vi, 70pp. £6.00.

In a review of Firth's *History and Traditions of Tikopia*, Edmund Leach hit upon the fact that the Tikopia have precisely four clans (like the four clans of the Trobrianders and the five of the Kachin). 'For Firth, the existence of these "fours" is just one of those things, an accident of history. To me it seems a structural fact of the subtlest significance though I cannot unravel the plot on the present evidence.' In this pamphlet Hooper sets out his own attempt to unravel the plot, in the course of which he touches on a good deal more than the question of clanship. In the reply by Firth which makes up the final portion of the paper, Firth politely but ambiguously commends Hooper's subtlety and ingenuity and praises his respect for the data, barring certain misapprehensions. Firth maintains though that the number four in clan terms is 'a bit of a blind alley'. He tries to do the topic in by finishing with an elaborate spoof, showing by structural analysis that the number four has governed the succession of Kings and Queens of England. The two scholars, having made themselves expert on the same body of facts, can agree on nothing about the significance of those facts. To decide for himself, the reader would have to become expert too. This publication is an attractive invitation for him to do so.

R.H.BARNES

BECKY A. SIGMON and JEROME S. CYBULSKI (eds.), *Homo Erectus: Papers in Honor of Davidson Black*, Toronto etc.: University of Toronto Press 1981. xiv, 236pp., Map, Bibliography, Index. £21.00.

This Festschrift is in honour of the Canadian anatomist-cum-palaeo-anthropologist, Davidson Black, who first identified and introduced the hominid species *Sinanthropus pekinensis* (*H. erectus*) from the evidence of teeth recovered from Chou-kou-tien, near Peking. Though he was not the discoverer of the fossils he was responsible for determining their significance and place in the framework of human evolution. This book seeks to re-establish the memory of Davidson Black in the minds of nascent scholars and to honour him with the results and controversies deriving from his original delineation of the species *Homo erectus*.

The Festschrift consists of fifteen papers that fall naturally into three sections a historical account of Davidson Black's pub-

lished works and achievements; regional studies of the occurrences of *H. erectus* fossils; and an attempt at a synthetic organisation of the data into a general scheme of Middle Pleistocene human evolution. Although the seasoned physical anthropologist will find nothing new within these pages, the emerging student will welcome the generally lucid presentation of the variability among *H. erectus* fossils and the taxonomic and interpretative controversies that the variability generates in the character of the 'evolutionary tree' of fully modern man.

JOHN DUMONT

J.DAVID LEWIS-WILLIAMS, *Believing and Seeing: Symbolic Meanings in Southern San Rock Paintings*, London and New York: Academic Press 1981 [Studies in Anthropology, con.ed. E.A.Hammel]. xiii, 131pp., Appendix, References, Index, Illustrations. \$43.50.

Believing and Seeing examines the meanings of rock paintings discovered in the Drakensberg Mountains of South Africa. Dr.Lewis-Williams presents interpretations for a comprehensive survey of rock paintings done by the southern San or Bushmen living in the region around 500-100 B.P. He analyses the artwork on the basis of such readily identifiable features as colour, human and non-human subjects, sex, etc., producing a statistical foundation for further analysis. Based on the quantitative results, the eland is seen to be one of the most salient factors of San art. Armed with this knowledge the author has reviewed the available ethnographic data, primarily that collected by Bleek and Orpen in the nineteenth century, together with his own notes on the !Kung. His findings are presented in an examination of a number of San paintings most of which feature elands and humans, though some depict only human figures. In every case Dr.Lewis-Williams points to the eland as the central symbol pervading many of the essential aspects of San life. The material is presented in a very clear and straightforward manner providing an interesting approach to the understanding of rock paintings.

This work claims to be based on statistical findings, yet these are not adequately presented even in Appendix form. Leaving that aside, in examining the symbolism of San rock paintings, Dr.Lewis-Williams has exhaustively covered the subject of the role of the eland; but wisely, he states that this work should not be seen to have illuminated all possible associations between the ethnographic evidence and the paintings. A major criticism of this work must, however, be directed not at the author but at the publisher of this work. Although the author claims that the drawings presented depict the subject matter more clearly, I would suggest that it is a deficiency of the book not to include a single photograph of a rock painting.

DAVID van ROIJEN

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