

## BOOK REVIEWS

TANYA M. LUHRMANN, *Persuasions of the Witch's Craft: Ritual Magic and Witchcraft in Present-Day England*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell 1989. viii, 356 pp., Bibliography, Index, Figures, Illustrations. £17.50.

Not long ago, Alfred Gell published an article in *Anthropology Today* (Vol. IV, no. 2, 1988) speculating on the similarity between magic and science. Imagination, he contended, propels both endeavours; advances in technology and magical incantation alike depend on successful resort to fantasy. In magic, the imagination is persuasively engaged at the moment one utters a spell or performs a ritual action, while in the domain of technology, engineers first imagine a possible configuration or contraption and then work it out on paper. One must imagine flying before one can proceed to draw plans for an aeroplane. That magic perhaps has more to do with imagining desired results than with executing rituals, practising a form of misguided experimental science or otherwise taking its ground operations overly seriously, seems an interesting proposition.

*Persuasions of the Witch's Craft*, by Tanya Luhrmann, a Cambridge-trained anthropologist, adds a lot of grist to Gell's mill. The study is based on a period of fourteen months' field research in London, primarily among practitioners of ritual magic who organize themselves into separate, exclusive covens. These witches are shown to thrive within the general context (and networks) of the New Age movement, a vast umbrella of occult or naturist cures, therapies and religious practices: everything from tarot-card reading to neo-paganism.

Most covens preserve a high degree of secrecy regarding their practices. It is only after one is initiated that one can really learn the inner workings of present-day magic, and this may involve a long course of study as a novice. During her nine-month apprenticeship in one particular coven, Luhrmann was required to complete a half-hour exercise every day. These were then marked and returned every couple of weeks. Most of these assignments, certainly most of the practices and homework that she reports from other groups she joined, involved exercises in visualization and the scripting of rituals, using characters and themes drawn from world mythology, science fiction, history, or some combination of all of these. In one particular ritual the coven members, naked underneath their handmade magical robes—usually sitting in a circle in a darkened room in a terrace-house in London, but on this occasion on a weekend retreat at a Wiltshire manor-house—were asked to imagine themselves aboard Sir Francis Drake's *Golden Hind*. During the course of the ritual they sailed together around the world, eventually landing back in England. No one, not even the adepts who scripted and led the ritual, was entirely sure what it signified or achieved. Some reported seasickness, wobbliness and that they could taste salt spray.

Like this ritual, most of the magical rituals witnessed by Luhrmann seemed to place a premium on the creative invention of strange scenarios peopled by exotic characters. No voodoo dolls, no burning of pubic hairs, no potions for these magicians. But then the author moved strictly in white magic circles, claiming

black magic to be relatively rare in England. White magicians will sometimes undertake rituals on behalf of friends who need to find a flat or a job, and in one case a man enacted spells to help a woman he had met in Belgium overcome her epilepsy. Imagination is practically the London magician's only tool. If instrumentality is called for, then one imagines that instrumentality. (It is interesting, in this light, that John Lennon claimed he was accused of trying to work magic through his song 'Imagine'.)

*Persuasions of the Witch's Craft* must be the first full-scale ethnography of psycho-babble. Here is an example from page 246: 'Uranus in the sixth house of psychism is perfect for an astrologer, which I've got [sic]. Jupiter—I've got Jupiter in the ninth, which is to do with convention, and tradition...Jupiter's all about the past, the right and proper way to do things. That's what I like, you know, about being British.' The ethnography is detailed, and I wonder if witches and other New Age faithful will not comprise the most appreciative readership for most of it. The busy anthropologist interested in religion and cognition will turn to the book's concluding analytical chapters. Here the author tries to account for how normally rational, upstanding members of contemporary society manage to accommodate magic in their lives. How can computer programmers, for example, accept or even 'believe' in magic?

Most magicians remain sceptics for a long time, but as their experience of magic deepens, as they attend more rituals and interpret them in the company of fellow witches, they gradually place trust in magic. They slowly shift to another way of seeing and interpreting the world. Their heads full from science-fiction reading, imaginative pathworking sessions or whatever else is going, they begin to dream vivid fantastic dreams. Events which earlier they would have deemed coincidences come to be treated as consequences or side effects of magical action. Wrist-watches stop or pipes burst because of the presence of magical energy. The sceptic ends by defending magical practice against outsiders who cannot understand the 'plane' on which magic works. Luhrmann thus concludes that action precedes belief. One gets involved with magic and then begins to believe in it.

Comparatively little attention gets paid to *why* individuals turn to magic in the first place. It is asserted, for example, that computer people who know programming languages and are able to control and manipulate vast data banks already possess talents comparable to those of the magician. Do these very programmers not refer to themselves on occasion as 'wizards'? Luhrmann contends, quite plausibly, that magic fits easily into the categories and world-view of computer specialists and that this accounts for the ease and frequency with which they become magicians. Do we want to stop here? Perhaps it is too obvious to point out that magic highlights and depends upon human spiritual and emotional contact. Its rules and rituals are indisputably humanistic, and this quality must be very different from the computer world, where people interact with machines.

This book very ably shows and analyses *how* people get involved with magic and how they come to find magic convincing. It draws very widely and thoroughly on theories from cognitive and psychological anthropology and is a

useful guide to a very hot area of our discipline. One must not forget, however, that cognition takes place in a social context, often for reasons that are politically or economically motivated. This book tends to leave such issues unconsidered. Flights of fancy, feigned or felt, may transport one from the position of sceptic to that of believer. They also serve to elevate one in a hierarchy that places adepts at the top.

CHARLES STEWART

ALISON SHAW, *A Pakistani Community in Britain*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell 1988. 180 pp., Appendix, Index, Figures, Tables. £24.00.

PNINA WERBNER, *The Migration Process: Capital, Gifts and Offerings among British Pakistanis* [Explorations in Anthropology, A University College London Series; ser. eds. John Gledhill and Bruce Kapferer], New York etc.: Berg 1990. xii, 354 pp. References, Index, Maps, Tables, Figures, Diagrams, Photographs. £32.00.

These two books provide excellent, though very different, examples of writing on South Asian migrant groups in Britain. Although they are very different in style and analysis, the similarity in subject-matter—the ‘social organization’ of migrant Pakistanis in two British cities—renders them highly complementary. They also represent differing outcomes of the development of sociological interest in minority groups in Britain.

The earliest literature, such as Desai’s pioneering *Indian Immigrants in Britain* (1963), took the ‘broad sweep’ approach, gathering together the scant official data and supplementing these with anecdote and cursory observation. From the latter part of the 1960s and through the 1970s, anthropologists were responsible for a succession of works that narrowed the focus down to a single group in a single location, but they were still determined to provide a well-rounded ethnography. The success of this approach was limited, however, for several crucial areas continued to be ignored, as they were in other branches of anthropology, most notably gender and proto-capitalist economic strategies. Classic studies from this period include Jeffery’s *Migrants and Refugees: Muslim and Christian Pakistani Families in Bristol* (1976), Tamb-Lyche’s *London Patidars* (1980) and Dench’s *Maltese in London* (1975). The sociologists meanwhile were producing ‘issue-oriented’ works: for example, Castles and Kosak’s Marxist study *Immigrant Workers and Class Structure in Western Europe* (1973), and Rex and Moore’s classic, *Race, Community and Conflict: A Study of Sparkbrooke* (1969).

In the 1980s, the two approaches began to draw together, as anthropologists became increasingly wary of the ‘total ethnography’ approach, while sociologists

realized the need for a sensitive ethnographic unpacking of the 'problems' that interested them. Single-volume ethnographies decreased, and the emphasis came to rest increasingly on collections of papers. An attempt to meet these two lacunae was seen first in the publication of Ward and Jenkins' edited volume *Ethnic Communities in Business* (1984), and then in Westwood and Bachu's collection *Enterprising Women: Ethnicity, Economy and Gender Relations* (1988). In the late 1980s and at the start of the 1990s it seems as if the wheel has turned full circle: ethnography from all areas of the world has become fashionable again, and works are now deemed 'new' ethnographies, or even, examples of 'the new ethnography'. Neither Shaw's nor Werbner's book is 'new' ethnography in the fashionable sense, but both reflect growing trends and concerns.

Shaw's book is a return to the monographs of the 1970s, but written with a sensitivity and understanding that surpasses all but the very best. In particular, her linguistic ability (conspicuously absent from some earlier monographs) and her detailed ethnographic knowledge of Pakistan give the work a scope and depth that is belied by the innocuous title and the—to my taste—rather crude jacket illustrations and design. Shaw's particular strength lies in marrying well-founded anthropological generalizations with acutely observed detail and first-person testimony on the part of the informants. Her focus is on the whole 'community' of Oxford Pakistanis, but she gives us very much an insider's view (by way of case-studies and direct quotation) and writes largely from the point of view of the women. This is not directly discussed in the book, but it is clear that this siting of herself on one side of the gender boundary is as much a theoretical strategy as it is a pragmatic one; for it is through a complex system of reciprocal gift-giving, *lenā-denā*, that Oxford's Pakistani women weave a network of contacts throughout the city. This network intersects with another, in which women also play a key strategic role, the *birāderi* or notionally endogamous group. *A Pakistani Community in Britain* is not, however, a 'women's studies' work but one which sensitively and clearly investigates the lives of a group of people living in an English city.

Shaw begins with a detailed and historically grounded account of the migration of the Pakistanis from the Panjab and other regions of northern Pakistan. Her discussion then moves through the early years of settlement in Oxford and the composition of households into the two major areas of investigation: caste, *birāderi* and marriage, and gift-giving and other forms of reciprocity (chapters 5 and 6). For both areas Shaw stresses the flexibility of the formal systems by which Pakistanis operate and provides, through case-studies, examples of the ways in which people, primarily but not exclusively women, negotiate relationships to create a sense of enmeshing. That is to say, 'community' is an emergent and processual phenomenon, not an a priori characteristic of such migrant groups. A rather less satisfying chapter on patronage and political leadership follows this discussion, and the book finishes (perhaps a little abruptly) with a chapter on the so-called second generation and its attitudes towards marriage.

Although there is an index, the book contains no bibliography, and the references are kept to a minimum. Its style and the tone of some of the references indicate that it is intended to reach beyond the narrow circle of academics interested in Asian minorities in Britain and indeed beyond anthropology and academia. It would seem ideal reading for those involved in the practical end of the race-relations industry; for example, two personal anecdotes (pp. 1-2 and pp. 135-6) relate how Shaw felt a sense of failure when trying to mediate between certain individuals and the local (white) state structures, and, although the experiences were educational, they act as salutary warnings against well-meaning but ill-informed attempts to promote 'racial harmony'.

Werbner's book may be contrasted with Shaw's on many levels. To begin with, Werbner's book is clearly 'designed', forming as it does one of the early volumes in Berg's new 'Explorations in Anthropology Series' for University College London. From the tinted photograph and six typefaces on the restful grey and green front cover, through the complex diagrams and horizontal-format tables inside, to the challenging statement of the series' intentions on the back cover, this book says: 'new', 'modern', 'path-breaking'. While Shaw's book takes the anthropological study of Asian-origin minorities in Britain outside academia, Werbner's book attempts to place it right up there as serious theoretical anthropology. This is certainly to be applauded: the study of minority groups in Britain has for too long been a ghettoized discipline, confined to internalized debates and attracting little interest from other anthropologists. Werbner demonstrates that serious theoretical work can be produced from data gathered right on the doorstep. I have to confess, however, that the particular theoretical stance she takes is not really to my taste. After Shaw's perceptive and highly readable volume, I found Werbner's rather cold and clinical. This seems, paradoxically, to be the result of too much attention to detail, of too many individuals and their doings. It is possibly because the particular events and people seem almost to be used as ciphers, demonstrating a point but appearing to lack character.

Like Shaw's, Werbner's book is based on a doctoral dissertation. In Werbner's case, her work was carried out at the University of Manchester, and the influence of the Manchester 'school' is strong. Network analyses are used extensively, and there is a flavour on occasion of structuralist-influenced transactionalism (for example in chapter 9, 'Wedding Rituals and the Symbolic Exchange of Substance'). Like Shaw, Werbner presupposes no a priori 'community', but unlike Shaw she indicates that it might be possible to locate an analytical community through computer-generated matrix analysis.

Despite the title of the book, there is no extended discussion of the details of migration, although there are short descriptions in the first chapter and then throughout the rest of the book. While I would still have preferred there to be such a discussion, I take Werbner's point that migration must be seen as a process, and that that process continues after the migrants have technically arrived. Like Shaw, Werbner is arguing for a processual view of migrant-group dynamics; her four or more years of fieldwork in the late 1970s, presumably followed by

continuing contact, allow her to take a moderately longitudinal view and prompt her, for example, to seek some way around the essentially static nature of much network analysis by introducing the idea of 'transitivity'. This is a gravitational phenomenon, whereby denser areas of a network (Werbner's networks are mostly of an informal leisure-based type, many of her male informants being self-employed, rather than factory-workers) tend to become more dense over time as two parties linked by a mutual third forge their own link.

One of Werbner's main foci is the gifting phenomenon, *lenā-denā*, and other aspects of the gift economy. Although her discussion is similar to Shaw's, Werbner goes a step further by examining the intermeshing of (largely female) gifting networks with (largely male) trading and business networks, both of which, by being locked within the migrant economic enclave, tend to mutual reinforcement. There is a semantically closed but dynamic cycle whereby mundane commodities are transformed into gifts that, by their exchange, support valued social relationships and enable businesses to prosper (through mutual aid societies and informal loans), thus indirectly generating further commodities. This I found the most challenging and exciting aspect of the book: an ethnographically rooted and original contribution to the debate on gifts and commodities; Werbner makes use of, and then goes beyond, Gregory's *Gifts and Commodities* (1982).

The book certainly has much to commend it (for example, the critique of positivist social geographers and their ideas of residential zoning on pp. 14-17) and it is packed with information. My criticisms are minor: little or no discussion of Pakistan or the Panjab, an absence of diacritics, and occasional irritating mistakes with regard to South Asia (Gujarat State, in India, is apparently intended in a reference on p. 91 (n.4) to 'Gujrat', a 'region' of India, when Gujrat is in fact a district in the Panjab). The very density of the information, however, and a rather awkward style, make it a difficult if rewarding read. I have already used *A Pakistani Community in Britain* as an introductory ethnography for undergraduates and shall be using *The Migration Process* for work on the economy with more advanced students.

MARCUS BANKS

INGVAR SVANBERG, *Kazak Refugees in Turkey: A Study of Cultural Persistence and Social Change* [Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Multiethnica Upsaliensis 8; ser. ed. Harald Runblom], Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International 1989. 185 pp., Summary in Turkish, Bibliography, Tables, Maps, Illustrations. SEK 137.

We are accustomed to thinking of Turkey as a state whose heavy-handed policies towards its own ethnic minorities generate a refugee problem rather than the reverse. In fact, Ottoman and modern Turkey have had a long history of receiving

substantial numbers of refugees from Central Asia and the Balkans. Svanberg's dilemma, in demonstrating an awareness of Turkey's human-rights record on the one hand and 'the Ottoman tradition of a generous refugee policy' (p. 62) on the other, is understandable. There is, however, plenty of room for cynicism. As Svanberg himself points out, refugees and immigrants from the Balkans and the Crimea bolstered the strength of the Muslim *millet* (religious community) under the rule of Sultan Abdulhamit II and provided manpower to a population depleted by countless wars. Circassian immigrants renowned for their military prowess packed sensitive border areas, and refugees from Central Asia added weight to the pan-Turkish myths that legitimated the modern Turkish state. Today, those who can lay no claim to Turkic ancestry, such as those fleeing the Iranian revolution, and the thousands of Bangladeshis and Pakistanis rendered homeless by the recent Gulf crisis, are classified as 'tourists' and experience the less benign side of these policies.

The Kazaks of Turkey are a small community of some 5000 Turkic-speaking Muslims who were forced to abandon their pastoral nomadic existence in Xinjiang following a history of marginalization at the expense of tsarist, Soviet and Chinese expansion. Resisting the Chinese communists in Xinjiang proved futile—Kazaks fled to Mongolia, Tibet and the Soviet Union, and some sought refuge with the Chinese nationalist government in Taiwan. In 1941, a small group of Kazaks fled China and reached India. Following the partition of India they, and the new arrivals who managed to survive the two-year journey over the Himalayas, were forced to move once again to Pakistan. In 1952, they were granted permission to settle in Turkey and sailed to Iraq to complete the rest of their epic journey to Istanbul by train. Many were resettled in small villages in southern Anatolia, though a number stayed in Istanbul. Upheavals in the rural economy and rapid urbanization resulted in many of the village Kazaks migrating back to Istanbul in the 1950s, joining millions of Turkish villagers, and from there—as opportunities arose—leaving Turkey to seek work in Western Europe and the Arab world.

At the outset, Svanberg limits his analysis to the question of Kazak refugees in Turkey, the aim of the book being to tell us something about the Kazaks and something about Turkey (p. 29). However, the fieldwork that Svanberg draws upon collates material gathered amongst Kazak refugees not just in rural and urban Turkey, but also in Sweden, Berlin, Taipei and elsewhere. The substantial fifth chapter, investigating 'Kazak Cultural Patterns in Exile', deals amongst other things with Kazak birth rituals in rural south Anatolia, engagement parties in Istanbul, funeral rites among Kazaks near Izmir, Friday mosque attendance in Taipei and the acquisition of horse-meat for consumption in Berlin. In this rich ethnographic material I found it difficult to identify processes of change peculiar to Kazaks in rural or urban Turkey. Even within Turkey, the different contexts in which Kazak identity is adapted and asserted are not clearly defined. The position of a Kazak living in a government-constructed refugee village in southern Anatolia, in bitter competition for land claimed by a neighbouring village of Yörük Turks, and of a Kazak running his own leather workshop supplying 'Afghan' coats to

European hippies in a suburb of Istanbul are quite different. We are not looking at a single process of migration, assimilation and counter-assimilation involving a single 'in' group and a single 'out' group, as the overall outline of Svanberg's analysis would imply, but a complex knot of such processes.

In the final section, Svanberg discusses the factors that have resulted in the regeneration of 'Kazak culture' in Turkey. This has arisen as a result of the activities of a number of political entrepreneurs who succeeded in distancing Kazak interests from those of Uighur and other 'Türkistanli' groups, encouragement from the state and various political organizations, and a certain pride in the economic niche in the leather industry that the Kazak have successfully managed to carve for themselves in Istanbul. The use of Herskovits' term 'counter-acculturation' to describe this process is somewhat misleading. Undoubtedly, this regeneration has taken place not in spite of, but because of the assimilation policies adopted by the state, in whose eyes the Kazaks are speakers of 'the' Turkish language, Muslims, and committed anti-communists. A perception of difference is explicitly cultivated amongst specific ethnic groups by many authoritarian states as 'evidence' of their power to unite. One must also take issue with Svanberg's statement that the Kazaks have not politicized their assertion of 'ethnic identity' as have the Kurds or Alevi. The politics of Kazak ethnicity conform for the most part to that of the dominant group and is thus invisible, whereas that of the Kurds does not. These points do not, however, detract from the value of Svanberg's book in providing rich material for the discussion of ethnicity and its relation to involuntary migration.

MARTIN STOKES

ROGER JUST, *Women in Athenian Law and Life*, London and New York: Routledge 1989. x, 298pp., Bibliography, Indexes. £30.00.

Having acknowledged that in many ethnographies women are represented through the eyes of men, Roger Just sets out to establish the 'cultural assumptions of the male society which has chosen to record its views for posterity in the enduring authority of written texts' (p. 3). To this end, an impressive array of Greek texts (all composed by men) are examined for evidence that might shed light on the way women were understood in ancient Athens.

Since men were debarred from participating in Athenian democracy unless their parents were both Athenian and married, the legal status of women (wife, concubine, courtesan) had important implications for men, of which women were necessarily aware. Presenting a variety of textual evidence (mainly legal), Just demonstrates that because women had this power to confer citizenship on their offspring, and because they had personal rights of religious and economic



inheritance, they could be manipulated (often by their *kyrios* or guardian/protector) to serve alliances beneficial to men.

Just takes issue with the common premise that fifth-century Athenian women were subject to 'Oriental' domestic seclusion. His sources show that Athenian women attended the theatre, the market, religious festivals, weddings and funerals—all public occasions at which men were also present. He does, however, concede that there were probable differences in the conduct of women according to the social class or status group they belonged to, and he suggests that different rules of morality were drawn up according to the status ideology of the householder. Just as political differences existed, so too did an ideological distinction between the 'domestic world of women' and the 'public world of men'. This even affected Athenian notions of beauty, as the highly valued pale complexion was achieved by lack of outdoor exposure. A strong sense of impropriety was felt if an unrelated Athenian male intruded upon a free woman.

While Athenian women had no constituted civic role to play, they were often instrumental agents in the policies of men. Sculptures, funeral reliefs and comic dramas all illustrate the closeness of relationships that existed between men and women in households where women could wield significant influence and authority. Yet Just still maintains that, on the whole, a physical relationship with one's wife had more to do with her childbearing capacity than with erotic or emotional sensuality. He also discusses the heterosexual relationships between men and women of different social categories, as well as the socially accepted and widespread phenomenon of homosexuality. But we are reminded that the plot of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (a sex strike by the wives of the Athenian citizens at war with Sparta) implies that most Athenian men would expect to find their sexual satisfaction with their wives.

The last three chapters analyse the characteristics typically attributed by men to women, as demonstrated mainly with reference to dramatic texts. That men should define women as their emotional counterparts is scarcely surprising. Thus the Athenian female acquired standard associations of 'timidity', 'self-indulgence and excess', 'enslavement to desires', 'irrationality and lack of judgement', in antithetical contrast to their opposed male virtues! There are many references in Greek comedy illustrating such associations, including dipsomania and a voracious sexual appetite, while tragedy furnishes many examples of the 'weak', tearful female. The author develops these ideas to show how female attributes were viewed by men as forms of enslavement, a concept which was abhorrent to the free Athenian male. Because of their disciplined, emotional and irrational nature, Athenian women had to be placed under the supervision and protection of a *kyrios* or 'guardian'. And just as women were excluded from city life, so too were their natural characteristics seen as being untamed and uncivilized: 'their integration into society was, as it were, artificial—the result of their subjugation and domestication by men' (p. 215).

The last chapter is devoted to showing how female characters from Greek myth and legend have constantly reinforced this view of the 'wild' and unknown

aspect of the female psyche. An examination of the marriage rituals that symbolize the introduction of cultivation offer an interesting analogy with the civilizing effects of marriage. Just sees the legend of the Amazons, for example, as a clear illustration of how the Greeks located women outside the boundaries of civilization, and how they were also symbolic of any challenge to Athens from the outside, particularly from the Persians (an idea also to be found in Hartog's recent *The Mirror of Herodotus*). Just's analysis of Medea and the Bacchantes arrives at a similar conclusion, suggesting that a permanent tension surrounded the position of women, who were both necessary to society but also estranged from it. This position is symbolized in the choice of Athena as the patron goddess of the Athenians, that is, a female with distinctly masculine qualities.

The discussion and textual examples in the last three chapters certainly provide more imaginative stimulation than the critical review of legal texts dealt with in the early part of the book. But feminist scholars may be disappointed by Just's analytical reliance upon familiar antithetical devices in characterizing male and female qualities in Athenian discourse (man:woman; public:private etc.) that was arguably more complex and contradictory in practice. Nevertheless, the book is very readable and well paced, though it might perhaps have been more logical to develop first the examples of female irrationality amply demonstrated in literary sources. Having done this, one could understand more readily why women in Athens were excluded from the public sphere and why they had to have a male protector placed over them to guard their honour and interests.

SHAHIN BEKHRADNIA

HARALD HAARMANN, *Symbolic Values of Foreign Language Use: From the Japanese Case to a General Sociolinguistic Perspective* [Contributions to the Sociology of Language no. 51; ser. ed. Joshua A. Fishman], Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter 1989. xi, 281 pp., Bibliography, Indexes, Tables, Illustrations. DM128.

If you heard about someone going out shopping in a Super Gran Turismo to buy Irish cake, Sorbet du Temps, Alpen Weiss and Crispina, then returning home to read Beruf and Elleteen, while drinking Sweet Kiss, or perhaps Protein Jeune, and smoking the odd Cherry, you could be forgiven for being confused about where the person in question was located. It would not be far-fetched to suggest somewhere in Europe, or perhaps a cosmopolitan part of North America like New York or Montreal, but you would be a long way out. For these product names are all currently in use for locally made goods many miles away in Japan. In Japan too—a monolingual country where Japanese is the only language widely understood for more than the most basic of exchanges—foreign words stand out

everywhere. In advertisements, shop signs, on clothes and on television, foreign visitors may constantly see and hear reminders of their own native environments, but they will be reminders only. It is unlikely they will make much sense of them, they may even find them hilarious, or possibly, quite offensive.

Harald Haarmann has set out to examine and analyse this abundant use of foreign words and phrases in Japan, particularly in a manifestation he calls 'impersonal multilingualism', the multilingualism of the mass media as opposed to its use in colloquial speech. In this form, he argues, the use of languages foreign to Japan can be seen as having prestige functions, allowing members of the community to feel cosmopolitan and 'modern' without ever leaving their own shores. However, the language chosen is definitely not that of minority communities present in Japan, such as the Koreans, nor is it even necessarily language used by other native speakers. It is language adopted by Japanese people for their own purposes, and different languages have taken on different roles in vernacular discourse. English, for example, by far the most commonly used, is a vehicle of modernity; French, one of elegance. German is associated with the serious world of business, but also with the untranslatable *Gemütlichkeit*; Italian, on the other hand, stands for sporty cars and tasty cookery. Haarmann writes: 'whereas Japanese is the basic means for the transfer of practical information, foreign languages...predominantly serve as "exotic spices" in order to titillate the visual and auditory senses of the public' (pp. viii-ix).

Haarmann's study does not stop with this rather impressionistic statement, however. Indeed, this is just the beginning of a careful and detailed presentation of the use of foreign words in the Japanese media, a discussion of some of the attitudes of its consumers, and an attempt to draw out some of the lexical and semiotic implications for the more colloquial language. Using this detailed Japanese case as his prime example, Haarmann then tries to show how it is just an extreme version of a process he calls world-wide 'symbolic internationalization'. In the final chapter, the Japanese material is compared with linguistic borrowings elsewhere, notably in Vietnamese, Finnish, German and Maltese, where he illustrates both differences in the positive avoidance of borrowings from certain languages and similarities in the prestige functions and subsequent symbolic value of foreign elements.

Haarmann demonstrates both the extraordinary aspects of this Japanese cultural borrowing and the way in which it may be subsumed into a more general theory of acculturation. In written advertising copy, for example, Japanese, together with the various languages from which it borrows, provides several writing systems to draw upon, and this range of choice offers possibilities for multiple meanings as well as for 'stimulating and attractive optical sensations' way beyond those of most other languages. In television commercials, the Japanese use foreign names, foreign actors, foreign locations and foreign slogans for a much greater range of even home-produced items than any other people in the author's considerable acquaintance. Although it is clear from research on audience attitudes that many of the foreign words and phrases remain quite alien to Japanese viewers, it is also

evident that some of them are gradually being absorbed into colloquial language too, even at basic levels such as those dealing with numbers and colours.

Haarmann's general sociolinguistic theory is concerned with the adoption of elements of language, notably English, as part of a process of internationalization, but specifically through features which go beyond the needs of practical communication. These are the features with symbolic value, found particularly in commercial ventures such as advertising and sales drives, whose adoption he calls symbolic internationalization, but which, with time, may also enter the language of their adoption for more straightforward practical communicative purposes. Haarmann presents the Japanese case not only to provide a detailed example of this process, but also in the hope of stimulating research elsewhere into the working of this form of symbolic internationalization, which he briefly shows exists in a number of other linguistic contexts.

The book is interesting on several counts. First, it is probably the most systematic description and analysis of the extraordinary phenomenon of Japanese adoption and adaption of foreign words and other symbols, particularly for their own commercial purposes. It therefore brings an objective, quantitative eye to a subject that foreign visitors to Japan have for years noticed and discussed in a more impressionistic way. It also offers a number of explanations for why the phenomenon should be so widespread in Japan, yet succeeds in casting it into a wider sociolinguistic theoretical framework, important for Japan specialists who grow tired of the country being described as 'unique', a 'special case'. The value of the theory itself is a matter I must leave linguists to assess.

From an anthropological point of view the book is a little frustrating, for it seems to change tack just when the analysis becomes most intriguing. A detailed discussion of the use of specific foreign words is, for instance, limited to a very few examples, such as the use of various forms of 'new' in the context of modernity, and the association of *élégance* with Frenchness. There is also little attempt to relate to each other different words from the same language in their Japanese context, which might enable one to build up a more detailed picture of local meaning. The chapter on semiotic implications of foreign language use, which includes a promising discussion of the impact of the simultaneous presentation of different writing systems, is not only very short, but also moves rather quickly into a more linguistic concern with the way the mass media provide a bridging function, allowing the words they use to move eventually into colloquial language. Nevertheless, the book will be of intrinsic value for researchers in many areas because of the comprehensive nature of the lists it provides of loanwords used in various Japanese contexts. This cannot help but complement the usually more *ad hoc* gleanings made by observers in this field. Haarmann's detailed presentation of data thus opens up his study beyond his stated aim of stimulating comparison from linguists working in other areas.

JOY HENDRY

GLORIA GOODWIN RAHEJA, *The Poison in the Gift: Ritual, Prestation, and the Dominant Caste in a North Indian Village*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press 1988. xiv, 286 pp., References, Index, Figures, Tables, Maps, Illustrations. £13.50.

It is a pleasure to review a book that lives up to the promise on the cover. *The Poison in the Gift* is indeed 'a detailed ethnography of gift-giving in a North Indian village that powerfully demonstrates a new theoretical interpretation of caste'. The detail and the density of description are impressive, and the whole is marshalled to form a sustained attack on Dumont's *Homo Hierarchicus* (with others, such as Mauss, Heesterman, Marriot and Inden, and Trautmann, being chastised for going along with Dumont in one way or another). Of all the attacks on Dumont that have emanated from Chicago over the years, this is the most radical and at the same time the most grounded in solid ethnography.

It is a great and welcome strength of *The Poison in the Gift* that its author was not afraid to devote the bulk of her space to rituals and the language used to articulate them. Ritual in India has too often been left to textual scholars. In some places the accumulation of Hindi words makes for heavy going, but the overall coherence of the book, and the pervasive themes running through the rituals, carry one through.

The symbolic heart of rituals in Pahansu, Raheja's village in western Uttar Pradesh, is the transfer of inauspiciousness. 'Inauspiciousness' translates a number of Hindi terms, all of which refer to unwelcome states or afflictions which bring misfortune. Since Dumont, Raheja argues, anthropologists have been concerned above all with ranking or hierarchy, but this is to miss what caste is really about. The form of inter-caste relations may be hierarchical—though even this Raheja contests—but their content is the removal of inauspiciousness.

It is the duty of the specialist castes to take gifts (*dān*), and the associated inauspiciousness, from donors. (To get rid of the inauspiciousness received in this way, they have to pass on the gifts to others.) In this context, Brahmans, Barbers, Sweepers and so on, are all equally recipients of inauspiciousness, and their rank *vis-à-vis* the donors is irrelevant. The local dominant caste, the Gujars, are proud of the fact that they give but do not receive *dān* (except for 'the gift of a virgin' at marriage). They do, however, give *dān* to their own married-out daughters in many ritual contexts. Specialist castes give *dān* in this way even more often: in many of the contexts where Gujars give *dān* to specialists, specialists themselves give it to their married-out daughters. This suggests a radically new perspective on north Indian hypergamy. The son-in-law is no longer the superior, god-like figure of other ethnographies; rather, he has the difficult task of accepting the *dān* of the bride and the associated inauspiciousness, and his wife has to continue to accept such *dān* on various occasions thereafter.

In complete contrast with gifts called *dān* there are other prestations, not believed to transfer inauspiciousness, which are viewed simply as payments for services rendered. Whereas it is the right of the *jajmān* (patron) to give *dān*,

which his Brahman, Barber etc. cannot refuse, it is the right of the service caste to receive these other prestations, and they feel no shame or reluctance to claim their due in this case. Raheja claims that all previous discussions of the *jajmānī* system, that old anthropological chestnut, have been vitiated by the failure to distinguish these two sharply contrasted types of prestation. Her discussion also has important implications for the analysis of kingship in South Asia, as she is well aware, since Gujars occupy the position that, on a wider and more munificent scale, Hindu kings once did.

To my mind, there are two critical questions raised by Raheja's book. How pervasive is the complex of ideas and practices relating to inauspiciousness which she has described so well? Secondly, do her findings refute Dumont, as she herself believes? No doubt the jury will be out on these issues for some considerable time, but it is worth hazarding some immediate judgements.

Raheja is probably right to castigate previous researchers for not paying sufficient attention to inauspiciousness, to the different categories of prestation, and to the double-edged nature of *dān*. However, I wonder whether she does not presume too wide a distribution for the exact complex of ritual interdependence found in Pahansu. She writes: 'Fuller's assertion that in the South notions of *dān* as tainted by evil and sin are absent or at least relatively unstressed may simply be an artifact of his focus on temples and temple worship' (p. 36). Raheja recognizes three possibilities in the transfer of inauspiciousness (p. 84): it is transferred either directly to specialist (or daughter), or to specialists (or daughter) on behalf of a spirit or divinity, or directly to spirit or divinity with no human intermediary. The latter possibility is only rarely exemplified in Pahansu. In a note (p. 260-1, n. 10) Raheja mentions that two or three Gujar families in the village have joined the Radhaswami sect and do not participate in the complex of *dān* described for the rest of the village. She speculates that the prevalence of transfers to people, and the relative lack of transfers to deities, has to do with the small influence in Pahansu of *bhakti* devotionism (of the sort practised by the Radhaswamis). One could take this lead from Raheja herself and, adapting her judgement on Fuller, say that her stress on the transfer of inauspiciousness to other human actors is an artefact of her focus on a small village in Uttar Pradesh in which temple worship is unimportant.

In short, while it is certainly true that anthropologists should have paid greater attention to *dān* and other prestations, it is by no means clear that all South Asians agree with the inhabitants of Pahansu that inauspiciousness must always accompany *dān*. It may do so, in some circumstances, and particularly when given in connection with death or severe misfortune, but there are methods of preventing the transfer. In other parts of South Asia it is probable that much greater use is made of transfers to deities and spirits. This is so among the Newars in Nepal: there is considerable disagreement between them over whether inauspiciousness is transferred to specialists with *dān*, although the possibility and the danger are acknowledged.

In rejecting Dumont, Raheja returns to a Hocartian interpretation of the caste system, which places kings at the centre. Instead of hierarchy, she wishes to talk of mutuality and centrality: the former refers to contexts of inclusion, where specialists and daughters are referred to as 'ours', the latter to contexts of exclusion where they are treated as other and as recipients of *dān*. This is a welcome change of emphasis. Dumont certainly pushed his interpretation further than he should: his theory of Hindu kingship has always been the weakest point in his overall position, and Geertz's acceptance of it in *Negara* led him to overlook the strong similarity between kingship in Bali and medieval India. However, Raheja's attack on Dumont is restricted to the presentation of data, rich as they are, from one village. She does not attempt to synthesize data from the whole subcontinent, nor does she propose a sociological framework that includes the West, in the manner of *Homo Hierarchicus*. Furthermore, Raheja does not deny that concepts of purity and impurity are used in Pahansu; rather, like her Gujar informants, she plays down their importance for most interaction within the village. One can therefore imagine a revised Dumontian framework incorporating Raheja's insights, though no doubt others would prefer the reverse. Whatever consensus emerges on this, if indeed a consensus does emerge, Raheja has written a book no South Asianist can afford to ignore.

DAVID N. GELLNER

FRANCIS ZIMMERMAN, *The Jungle and the Aroma of Meats: An Ecological Theme in Hindu Medicine* [Comparative Studies of Health Systems and Medical Care], Berkeley etc.: University of California Press 1987. xiii, 223 pp., Figures, Maps, Tables, Appendix, Notes, Sources, Index. \$30.00.

This is a work of remarkable scholarship in which the author attempts to do no less than characterize the very nature of Hindu medical knowledge and to demonstrate its shaping by environmental realities, religious values and the demands and constraints of poetic language. Zimmerman also sets out to show how an orthodox science concerned with prolonging and saving life reconciles the need for violence, in the form of providing animal flesh to nourish human flesh, with Hindu religious principles. The condensation of such an endeavour into a volume of little more than 200 pages means that the book at times makes difficult, even impenetrable reading, especially for those unfamiliar with Ayurvedic doctrine; yet overall it is a lucid and convincing work. A short review cannot hope to do justice to the wealth of material presented in this volume, and I will attempt only to summarize some of the main arguments.

Ayurveda is shown to be an anthropocentric science which subsumes ecological, zoological and botanical classifications and descriptions into a system

of therapeutics. The consideration in successive chapters of Indian geography, the subcontinent's history of human migration and land clearance, the distribution of animal species, and the circulation and cooking of substances and juices in a great ecological chain of being demonstrate the interweaving of cosmology and 'biogeography' into the applied science of Hindu medicine. The book is replete with topics upon which social anthropologists are likely to pounce in delighted recognition, the contents page being thick with titles such as 'A Dialectic of Space and Time', 'A Multifaceted Knowledge', 'Logic and Cuisine'.

Zimmerman acknowledges his intellectual influences—Bachelard, Foucault, Dumont—early in the book, and any suspicions that the work may conceal notions heretical for a pupil of the last of these are quickly put to rest. Zimmerman asserts that while medicine, being concerned with the urgency of physical sickness, tends peculiarly to contradict the principles of orthodox Hinduism, it is encompassed none the less by the religious tradition. His portrayal of the 'ecological theme' of Ayurveda generally supports this view; the concepts of 'appropriateness' (*satmya*) and of a continuous ecological flow and cooking of juices (previously proposed by him in other work and incorporated here) could be characterizations of more general themes in Hindu culture, and bring to mind particularly the 'transactional' or 'ethnosociological' approach developed by Marriott and other anthropologists of South Asia at Chicago.

The book falls roughly into three parts. The first three chapters describe aspects of the 'biogeography' of the Indian subcontinent as represented in the three primary treatises of Ayurveda. Here, Hindu medicine is portrayed as resting on a fundamental ecological opposition between *jangal*, dry lands, and *anupa*, marshy lands, from which further distinctions and oppositions follow. The polarity between these two ecological types is, in Zimmerman's view, a literary collective representation that is based on empirical realities. Accordingly, his exegesis is supported by extensive reference to empirical data and the use of maps showing the spatial distribution of ecological regions, fauna and flora. Particular attention is given to the positively marked category of *jangala* and to the reversal of meaning from Sanskrit to English 'jungle'.

In chapters 4 and 5 the 'logico-poetic' nature of Ayurvedic texts is considered. Ayurvedic discourse is composed of profuse combinations and recombinations of adjectives that are used selectively, in accordance with the compositional constraints of the hemistichal structure of the texts, to qualify the various subjects under consideration (meats, plants, environments, people). The constraints of poetic form are shown to shape the actual content of the texts (medical knowledge) by dictating the choice of a particular term from a range of possible synonyms. The details of this discussion are difficult for the reader unfamiliar with Sanskrit or theories of poetics to follow, but its implications are easy enough to grasp, and the overall argument compelling.

The final chapters, where the uneasy relationship between medical discoveries and the dictates of religious doctrine is addressed, are probably the most interesting for social anthropologists of South Asia. The flesh (and blood) of carnivores is the



ultimate remedy for the restoration of human health in Ayurveda, because in the Indian 'Great Chain of Being' that which is organically most similar to an organism is also most nourishing for its eater. Zimmerman endorses the standard view that Ayurveda's weaknesses as a medical science result from the constraining influence of Brahmanism. As an orthodox science (*sastra*), Ayurveda reiterates the themes of *dharma*, sacrifice and non-violence that are pre-eminent in the enveloping Hindu tradition; but as medical science, priority is given to *artha*, health or prosperity in life. The use of meat and blood in therapeutics is justified by reference to Vedic injunctions that allow the rules of moral conduct to be disregarded in order to save human life. Indeed, we learn that in such circumstances the special *dharma* specified in religious texts for times of emergency and distress is realized, wherein violence committed for saving human life is not a source of sin. An associated discussion of the special place of the king as hunter and meat-eater, and of the focus placed in the medical texts on preserving royal health, itself makes a significant contribution to the understanding of kingship in India.

*The Jungle and the Aroma of Meat* is an elegant and fascinating exploration of the different layers of knowledge that comprise Ayurvedic medicine and its particular articulation of dimensions of orthodox Hindu tradition. Although parts of the discussion are frustratingly intricate and even obscure, those who are familiar with almost any aspect of Hindu culture will find clearly recognizable images and ideas in the medical doctrine that Zimmerman explores. More specifically, the book shows how the repetitive and often apparently spurious discourse of the texts provided practical medical knowledge. It is written with persuasive elegance and conviction, and for the language alone, in its weaving of enthusiastic commentary and poetic flourishes that self-consciously evoke the flavour of the Ayurvedic texts they describe, this book deserves strong recommendation—at least to South Asianists.

H. S. LAMBERT

BRUCE KAPFERER, *Legends of People, Myths of State: Violence, Intolerance, and Political Culture in Sri Lanka and Australia*, Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press 1988. xv, 244 pp., References, Index, Plates. \$29.95.

Many readers, especially citizens of the two countries concerned, might not think a comparison of Sri Lanka and Australia an obvious project to undertake. For Kapferer, an Australian who has conducted field research in Sri Lanka during times of strife, matters are different. The problems addressed in this book are those of modern nationalism, a political development of recent European origin that now has a worldwide effect. Nationalism is about the state and the person and

the relationships between them. That the particular configurations of different nationalisms will vary is to be expected from the differences in historical and cultural circumstances in which they take root. Nationalist ideologies tend to exploit these very particularities. Scholars of nationalism face the dilemma of approaching a nationalist ideology within its own terms, and therefore being captured by it, or from without, and therefore risk imposing on it the presuppositions of some other ideology, very likely another modern nationalism.

The dilemma is explicitly addressed by Kapferer, who does not claim to be able to escape from the limitations of his own ideological background. Emotionally, Kapferer may well be more of an Australian nationalist than he admits, and by that paradox familiar to anthropologists he may in the same way be a Sri Lankan nationalist. Intellectually, he is opposed to nationalism and its violent potential. The violence and intolerance of his subtitle are the real occasion for addressing nationalism.

The nation and the state form a unity in the nationalism of the Sinhalese Buddhists. Other peoples are enclosed by the state and held subordinate to the Sinhalese Buddhists, protecting their integrity as persons: 'The encompassing and ordering power of the state is hierarchical, and the integrity of nations, peoples, and persons within the Sinhalese Buddhist state is dependent on the capacity of the state to maintain by the exercise of its power the hierarchical interrelation of all those it encloses' (p. 7). The fragmentation of the state leads to the fragmentation of the nation and of persons.

Australian nationalism is, of course, the very opposite of hierarchy. In egalitarian Australian ideology, the state is subordinate to the will of the nation and people. Persons are autonomous individuals. Their integrity is endangered by the ordering power of the state, which mediates between nations, peoples and persons.

Australian nationalism, which Kapferer takes to be an almost perfect example of the ideological form of the modern Western type, and Australian racism exhibit the potentially destructive and socially fragmentary powers inherent in the modern Western nation state. The escalating ethnic violence in Sri Lanka since 1983 reveals the weakness of its own formula. Both the egalitarian and the hierarchical forms of nationalism have destructive implications for peoples subjected to them.

The book is therefore of interest to anyone concerned with the modern state and nationalism. It is not just a regional tract for Sri Lankan or Australian enthusiasts. The author has attempted a form of comparison in which the integrity of the two cultures is maintained, with neither reduced to the other, while they mutually illuminate each other. To say that the process only serves to exaggerate differences is to overlook the fact that both Sri Lanka and Australia are treated as exemplifying a modern phenomenon, the state and the nation comprehended in an ideology of nationalism.

Kapferer's writing is fluid and powerful. He presses his analysis with determined energy, and he attempts to give various positions their intellectual due. Although only committed nationalists would disagree with his evaluation of

nationalism, the intellectual manner and ease of the prose may distract the reader's attention from the fact that the book is an extended polemic setting out a political position to which the author is very strongly committed. The fact that this is so can be seen from a recent objection by a Sri Lankan scholar to applying 'nationalism' to Sri Lanka because of its pejorative associations. Saying that the inter-ethnic violence in Sri Lanka is related to a Sri Lanka nationalism is therefore a political and not just a scholarly choice.

The book has been criticised because its description of difference can play into the hands of the nationalists it opposes. But such a criticism can be and has been used against almost any style of scholarship: it amounts to a demand for silence and must be resisted. The complexity of the two cultural systems, as described here, guarantees the groundlessness of any charge that the author has treated Sri Lanka and Australia as mirror-images of each other. Even stranger is the charge that the picture presented in this book precludes rational criticism of nationalist politics. Finally, it is wrong to say that Kapferer uses Dumont's work, to which he is of course deeply and explicitly indebted, as the sole key to nationalist logic. Much of the book's programme is Dumontian in inspiration, but the product is not that of a disciple.

The work invites, and can be expected to draw, controversy from both scholars and laymen. It will probably prove a battleground for disputing the nature, practice and purpose of comparative anthropology. It is an excellent example of what comparative anthropology can be, and it is likely to become a popular teaching text.

R. H. BARNES

JÉRÔME ROUSSEAU, *Central Borneo: Ethnic Identity and Social Life in a Stratified Society*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1990. xv, 308 pp., Appendices, References, Index. £40.00.

This very thorough and useful survey of the literature on the people Rousseau defines as 'central Bornean' covers not only published work but a large body of unpublished work as well, including the archives of the Ministry of Colonies in The Hague; manuscripts in, and the archives of, the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Leiden; and the Harrison Central Borneo documents. This information has not been gathered together before, although Rousseau himself has already published an extremely exhaustive bibliography on central Borneo (in a 1988 Special Issue of the *Sarawak Museum Journal*).

Rousseau admits in the conclusion to his new book that the category 'central Borneo' may be a questionable one. It is basically defined geographically: central Borneo peoples live in 'the area above the rapids', and central Borneo has as its historical core the Apau Kayan. However, he also separates off central Borneans

from the 'lowland ring of shifting cultivators' on the basis of a lower population density and also, more importantly, the presence of a 'developed stratification system with which is linked hereditary chiefship' among those central Bornean people who are agriculturalists (p. 11). (He also provides an exhaustive discussion of hunter-gatherers resident in this area.) He argues that while (as he has argued before) one cannot make a sharp distinction between an egalitarian lowland ring and a stratified central Borneo, there is 'an ideological contrast in the management of inequality and political structure' (p. 12). However, he admits that there are people whom he has not included among his central Borneans who have the more developed 'stratification' that he sees as typical of central Borneo agriculturalists, such as the Maloh and probably the Ngadju. He also admits that there are no rituals or beliefs common to central Borneo as a whole. It would thus appear that it is the geographical definition of the category of central Borneo that Rousseau relies on. However, the fact that he argues that some central Borneo peoples have moved down river and now occupy lowland niches confuses the issue and tends to shift the definition of central Borneo away from geography, placing emphasis instead on cultural links that are difficult to define.

One of the focuses of the book is an interesting discussion of ethnicity. As well as examining ethnicity and inter-ethnic relations between different agriculturalist groups Rousseau also looks, in the context of his discussion of ethnicity, at the relationship between agriculturalists and nomadic hunter-gatherers and at that between central Borneans and Malays.

Rousseau looks at a number of features of central Bornean groups that are characteristic of non-central Bornean groups as well. This includes a swidden system of agriculture focusing on rice as the staple, combined with a reliance on the forest for protein and other foods and for materials for handicrafts. However, he argues that in central Bornean groups there is a greater involvement of men in rice agriculture than is typical of, for example, the Iban.

Another feature of the groups Rousseau classes as central Bornean that is also typical of the other Bornean groups is the focal nature of the household, which is the social, jural, economic and religious basic unit. The household is, as with other Bornean groups, based on the stem family. The position and status of the individual within the household is marked by the use of teknonyms, death names and old-age names.

One of the main focuses of the book is the subject of social stratification. Rousseau argues, as he has elsewhere, that there are two ritual levels but three estates among central Borneo agriculturalists, and that these central Borneans are at 'an early stage of class formation', in other words, that there is exploitation of the lower estates by the upper (p. 199). His model derives largely from the Kayan data with which he is most familiar and does not in its entirety apply to certain groups that he includes in the category of central Bornean—particularly the Kelabit and related groups, as he is himself aware. Rousseau suggests that among the Kelabit 'aristocrats' are not as strong as they are among other central Bornean groups. I would suggest that the difference lies in the fact that there are no clear-

cut divisions between strata among the Kelabit and related groups, but rather a hierarchy with an infinite number of points.

Rousseau tends to stress the discontinuity between strata, emphasizing the class divisions he sees emerging. It might be useful in this context to consider the nature of status differentiation among the Kelabit. It can be argued that the differentiation between individuals belonging to different households is parallel to that between individuals within the household, which Rousseau has highlighted as characteristic not only of central Bornean groups but of groups in other parts of Borneo as well. Among the Kelabit the household is internally differentiated into 'big people' (*lun merar*) and children (*anak adik*), with the term 'big people' also being used to refer to leaders of the longhouse. Thus the parent-child axis is used as a model for hierarchical differentiation. The leading couple of the longhouse—the equivalent of Kayan aristocrats—may be said to be conceptualized as the parents of the other members of the longhouse, which, it may be argued, can be presented as equivalent to a symbolic higher-level household.

It is possible that such an analysis might be fruitfully applied to other central Bornean (and indeed other Bornean) societies. It might also add to our understanding of the nature of stratification in the area and lessen the gap and explain similarities that Rousseau has himself pointed to between societies that appear to be 'stratified' and those, like the Iban, that appear in some ways to be 'egalitarian'. Such an approach to 'stratification' has the advantage of presenting status differentiation as an integral part of the social, economic and religious system of the group, rather than as a problem that has to be explained.

MONICA JANOWSKI

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