BOOK REVIEWS

A. DAVID NAPIER, Foreign Bodies: Performance, Art, and Symbolic Anthropology, Berkeley etc.: University of California Press 1992. xxix, 199 pp., Bibliography, Index, Figures, Plates. No price given.

David Napier's previous book, *Masks, Transformation, and Paradox* (Berkeley, 1986), was a fascinating cross-cultural study of the iconography of the Gorgon head. The ideas it developed, and the impressive skill with which they were presented, suggested that Napier might successfully use the same approach in the study of Western art. *Foreign Bodies* is, in a sense, the anticipated sequel. Of its five chapters, one is concerned with the depiction of the Gorgon in ancient Greece, one with seventeenth-century Italian architecture, and two with contemporary art in the United States. However, the theme that tenuously links these essays is not (as it was in the earlier book) the significance of a single symbol in a variety of contexts, but rather the capacity (or incapacity) of a culture to incorporate what is alien to it—a subject that is explored in very literal (i.e. corporeal) terms in the two essays where the field of reference shifts from art to medicine.

Napier's underlying thesis is that 'as a culture, we set up rules that proscribe any experiential venture beyond what is already known' and so distance ourselves from possibilities 'that are actually quite close and readily available' (p. xxv). The argument is developed throughout the book, but Napier is most persuasive when discussing contemporary art, particularly the refusal of the avant-garde to countenance any serious challenge to modern Western notions of individual authorship and property rights. Despite conscious identification with the 'primitive', avant-garde artists continue to place 'their unique names in bold print at the base of each work' thus revealing not only a 'metaphysical concern with Platonic individuation and "naming", but...the avulsion of individuals from objects in the environment that results from such thinking' (p. 32).

Against the focus on the uniqueness of individual experience characteristic of the Western tradition are placed the ideals of 'symbolic connectedness' and 'selective dissociation'. Napier argues that dissolving the distinction between the symbolic and the actual, or between metaphors and other forms of signification, contributes to selective dissociation—a loss of self which leads to engagement in a 'complex and highly dynamic world of symbolic activity' (p. 198). It is by no means clear how this takes place, and it might be argued that dissociation is more likely to be an impersonal than an interpersonal experience; but Napier, who shows little interest in the structure of the transpersonal or in the importance of communication, does not specify the conditions under which loss of self produces a corresponding gain in contact with others or even with the Other.

The conclusion that 'there are observable dissociative processes...[that] are not the negation of self-consciousness, but the deliberate recreation of the self through the engaging of metaphors that enable us selectively and creatively to imagine' (p. 199) may be vague, but the targets of Napier's increasingly pointed essays are not. Plato, Descartes, Freud and Reagan, the Judaeo-Christian tradition, monotheism and millennialism all become the focus of criticism as Napier seeks to explain the failure of artistic and therapeutic programmes in contemporary America. Whether one goes along with Napier's argument is largely a matter of trust. No one is likely to be in a position to evaluate all that Napier says about topics as diverse as minimalist sculpture, Attic black-figure cups, Balinese ritual trance and the immune system of the human body, and for this reason it is important that his readers should feel that they are being given a balanced and accurate account of the subjects discussed. Unfortunately, Napier does not always inspire such confidence. The chapter on 'Bernini's Anthropology' exemplifies the problem, and for this reason it is worth examining in some detail.

Napier observes that, when seen upside down, Bernini's design for the piazza of St Peter's is similar in shape to the wombs depicted on Gnostic gems. Following up the insight, Napier argues that this type of intaglio may have provided the formal symbolic design on which the piazza was based, and that the idea of employing the symbol may have been something that 'Alexander VII and Bernini privately discussed before submitting their revised oval design for the Piazza to the Congregazione in March 1657' (p. 119). The crucial steps in Napier's argument are as follows. First, the French antiquarian Peiresc gave Rubens an intaglio depicting a womb with a key placed on an altar. Second, it is 'a type of intaglio for which we have other examples', such as the four in the British Museum (the only examples illustrated in Napier's text), which also 'depict an altar upon which stands a womb with a key' (p. 119). Third, the meaning of these gems was known in the seventeenth century, so that Bernini, the Pope and their advisers could have appreciated the symbolic analogies between the womb and the piazza, between the key and the porch of St Peter's, and between the altar and the church of St Peter's. Fourth, the interpretation is transformed 'from speculation to probable truth' when one realizes that Peiresc knew Athanasius Kircher, an adviser to Alexander VII, and that Peiresc 'could have had such an influence on the papacy and on the application of an intaglio to an architectural scheme' (p. 126) since he had earlier interpreted a medal that influenced Bernini's design for the baldachin in St Peter's.

Napier's juxtaposition of the intaglio and the piazza is a characteristically brilliant piece of observation, and, if one sets aside the general inadvisability of interpreting objects upside down and the fact that ovals and quadrilaterals were a commonplace of Roman baroque architecture, the argument is quite appealing. But on closer inspection it emerges that the sources are misrepresented, and that every stage of the argument depends on the omission of important evidence. First, the intaglio Peiresc gave to Rubens has not been found, but it was described by Peiresc. To say simply that it 'depicts a womb with a key placed on an altar' is highly misleading given that Peiresc describes a womb with butterflies' wings (not mentioned by Napier) on an altar on which is depicted a cock and a phallus with legs (neither mentioned by Napier). Peiresc makes no mention of a key (although modern scholars infer that one was probably shown between the womb and the

altar), but he does describe the winged phallus, cock, and snail on the obverse of the intaglio (which Napier does not). Secondly, no other examples of intaglios showing a womb with a key placed on an altar are discussed in the sources to which Napier refers because Peiresc's intaglio is now considered to have been a Renaissance fake (a fact Napier obscures). As the standard work, Campbell Bonner's Studies in Magical Amulets, Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian (Ann Arbor, 1950), observes, 'the fact that the vessel [womb] rests upon an altar and has wings attached to it marks it as a forgery, because not one of the many genuine uterine amulets has these characteristics'. Other faked intaglios showing a womb with a key placed on an altar may perhaps exist, but none is mentioned in the literature. The four genuine gems from the British Museum do not (as Napier claims) 'depict an altar upon which stands a womb with a key': none shows an altar, and in the source from which the illustration is taken they are clearly labelled as 'uterus and key symbol'. Thirdly, seventeenth-century collectors knew that the gems depicted a womb, but Napier's sources give no grounds for the belief that any correctly recognized the key. The secondary literature is prudishly reticent on the topic, but the correspondence between Rubens and Peiresc (to which Napier does not refer, and presumably has not read) reveals that Rubens saw no key and that when he wrote to Peiresc asking what was shown between the entrance of the womb and the altar, Peiresc replied that, having compared the intaglio with others, he took the lines beneath the womb (which modern scholars identify as a key) to represent semen. The womb/key/altar symbol is thus a chimera: altars do not appear on the genuine gems, and the key, which does, was not correctly identified in the seventeenth century. Fourthly, since Peiresc died in 1637 (a fact Napier omits) his potential influence on the papacy in 1657 was indirect. There is no reason to suppose that he shared his passing interest in the intaglio with Kircher (whom he had not yet met) but, should he have done so later, he would probably have discussed it (as he did with Rubens) in connection with a bizarre theory about snails and the female genitals-a line of speculation that was, as Rubens (no prude) remarked, 'quite indecent'. If therefore, as Napier imagines, Bernini and the Pope discussed using Peiresc's understanding of the intaglio as the basis for the piazza, they would have spoken not of the symbolism of altars and keys, but of snails, and butterflies' wings, and of the divine, flying phallus.

It is easy to make slips in the handling of sources, and almost all iconographical interpretation is highly speculative anyway, but Napier's unwillingness to distinguish fact from fantasy remains disquieting for it suggests an alarming indifference to the trust a reader is required to place in an author—especially one as daring, creative and wide-ranging as Napier himself.

MALCOLM BULL

CHARLES STEWART, Demons and the Devil: Moral Imagination in Modern Greek Culture (Princeton Modern Greek Studies), Princeton: Princeton University Press 1991. xix, 330 pp. Bibliography, Index, Figures, Illustrations. £37.50/£12.50// \$49.50/\$16.95.

This excellent book originated in an Oxford D.Phil. thesis supervised by John Campbell. The fieldwork was carried out in 1983 and 1984 in a remote village on the Aegean island of Naxos, and might have resulted in another local study of a 'traditional' society. But Stewart was fortunate, as it turned out, in having an issue on which he wanted to focus: the role of *exotiká*, 'demons'. These demons did indeed prove to open the door to an understanding not only of 'his' village, but of Greek culture more generally. Anthropologists will be pleased to see a book that combines proper fieldwork with a serious analysis of texts spanning a millennium and more (his texts range impressively from ninth-century ecclesiastical manuscripts from Mt Athos to reports by nineteenth-century travellers and twentieth-century folklorists). Historians will welcome the book for its contribution to their investigations of *mentalité*.

The first two chapters offer an introductory ethnography of Naxos and of Stewart's village, Apeíranthos, which acts as a general orientation for those not familiar with modern Greece. Stewart sketches the socio-economic setting, the configuration of gender-roles, and the local saints and festivals that form the religious framework within which he places the *exotiká*. In this and the other ethnographic sections of the book, Stewart displays an attractive openness as to how he went about getting information, and about the precise contexts in which people told him things. We think, for example, of the occasion on which a close acquaintance, somewhat under the influence of alchohol in the small hours, produced on a cigarette box a sketch of his standing in relation to heaven and hell; the sketch is quite rightly reproduced (p. 114). This technique not only makes for anecdotal vividness, it also allows the reader to assess the quality of what is reported.

The principal argument of the book, broached in chapter 3, is that the *exotiká* are to be seen not as an area of folklore or quaint superstitious belief, but as powers that have to be interpreted in the context of Orthodox Christianity. In other words, the often malevolent demons are manifestations of the Devil, as saints mediate the power of God. In pursuit of this argument Stewart rejects the pervasive assumption that the *exotiká* are part of folk/popular, in contrast to official, religious belief. He argues, surely rightly, for the interrelationship between official, doctrinal religion and local practices, and thus gives proper weight to a historical analysis of Orthodox traditions about the Devil and to official Church rituals and texts. From the point of view of the villagers there are not separate great and little traditions, but only their one tradition.

This is an attractive argument, which has much to be said for it. We are, however, a little worried that the case is pressed too hard. As Stewart admits (pp. 159-61), the case works best at a macrocosmic level, while at a local level *exotiká*

can grant favours to people (as saints can) and saints can be invoked by means of spells (as *exotiká* can). The hardline folklorist would perhaps suggest that the suggested relationship between the macrocosmic and microcosmic is not obviously supported by the fieldwork presented here and seems rather arbitrary: that is, the link between *exotiká* and the Devil is much less close and tidy than Stewart argues it is.

Another problem is that Stewart does not raise questions about the exotiká in light of his analysis of gender relations within the village (pp. 66-75). For example, he states that the stories could be told to mixed or even wholly male audiences (p. 108), but most of his actual informants seem to have been women. We wonder if anything more could have been made of this, along the lines of James Taggart's Enchanted Maidens: Gender Relations in Spanish Folktales of Courtship and Marriage (Princeton, 1990), a book cited by Stewart. Then there are several important issues on the conceptual level. First, Stewart proposes that Greek ideology exhibits two levels, one of religious authority, and the other of political and military power, but does not follow through on this suggestion with respect to our understanding of the position of women. Second, his suggestion that 'the community of nereids represents an imaginary social structure that reverses the position of women and men alike' (p. 177) requires further comment, given that nereids are clearly both female and destructive, attacking young women and babies (pp. 173-6), and often harming or killing the men with whom they dance or have intercourse (pp. 4, 175). (On this latter point, Stewart does not remark on the particularly interesting reversal of the positive macrocosmic relationship of God and a mortal woman, resulting in the virgin birth of Christ, and the negatively regarded microcosmic unions of nereids and mortal men, which can also produce unusual children (p. 175).) Finally, it is rather striking that the great majority of the exotiká (neuter plural) are in fact groups of monstrous females (see Stewart's useful list in his appendix 1), with a minority of (mainly) singular males. John Gould (Journal of Hellenic Studies, Vol. C (1980), p. 56) has noted the existence of such collective female monsters in ancient Greece as something requiring comment. We mention this here, not necessarily to suggest continuity, but to note a similar and in both cases asymmetrical pattern.

The wider context of belief in *exotiká* is also depicted. Stewart acknowledges that today 'public interest in these demons appears to be on the wane' (p. 108) and notes that most of his informants were older people, who themselves often set their stories a generation or more back. Here the issue of great and little traditions recurs. Educated Greeks, and the official line of the Church, reject *exotiká* as primitive superstitions. Apeíranthos is not immune to such attitudes: many villagers have emigrated to Athens and risen in society, but maintain links with their ancestral village (many have registered to vote there, and many return each summer). Those who have stayed are naturally influenced by the attitudes of a class to which they may aspire. As Stewart argues, this Gramscian explanation in terms of hegemony is indeed more satisfactory than conventional explanations in

terms of individual rationality and the superiority of models drawn from natural science.

Demons and the Devil operates admirably both at the village level (of Apeíranthos and of other places for which records survive) and at the broader Greek level (both in terms of social class and of religious organization). The exotiká can no longer be seen as a topic of marginal importance. But like most anthropologists and folklorists of Greece Stewart operates with the assumption that Greek culture is impermeable to the outside world. He does, like Margaret Alexiou, trace elements of his picture over long stretches of time, but only in relation to one minor motif (human sacrifice at the foundation of a building) does he admit the possibility of diffusion of tales (p. 89). Is the association of modern Greek nereids with water to be explained simply in relation to the fact that classical Greek nereids were water nymphs? Or should one rather note the prevalent connection between women and water. In the world of the Grimms' fairy tales, for example, fire belongs to men, and water, especially in wells and streams, appertains exclusively to women (see Ruth B. Bottigheimer's Grimms' Bad Girls and Bold Boys: The Moral and Social Vision of the Tales (New Haven and London, 1987), pp. 24-35). Closer to Greece, it would also be very valuable if Greek anthropologists paid some attention to Turkey (difficult though that is because of the barriers of modern nationalisms). The world described earlier this century, especially in Asia Minor, in Richard Dawkins's Modern Greek in Asia Minor (Cambridge, 1916) and in Frederick Hasluck's Christianity and Islam under the Sultans (Oxford, 1929) was destroyed by the fiasco of the Greek invasion of Turkey and the exchange of populations of 1922-23, but before then there was a wealth of creative borrowings from Turkey (Stewart notes (p. 62) the shadowpuppet character Karangiózis). How many of the exotiká were common currency for Greeks and Turks alike? And how far in the 'lingua franca' of the Levant was the gorgóna, half-woman and half-fish, which may attack ships at sea, calqued upon 'frankish' (European) ideas of mermaids? These are questions to which there may be no answers, but it is one of many merits of this stimulating book that it turns one's mind to an even broader canvas.

SIMON PRICE and LUCIA NIXON

HASTINGS DONNAN and PNINA WERBNER (eds.), *Economy and Culture in Pakistan: Migrants and Cities in a Muslim Society*, London: Macmillan 1991. xiv, 287 pp., Index, Bibliographies, Tables, Figures. £40.00.

This collection of essays sets out a bold agenda for the anthropology of contemporary Pakistan. As its editors argue, earlier ethnography of Pakistan had become peculiarly limited in its regional and theoretical scope. Until recently, the mainstream anthropology of the country was preoccupied with the Pakhtun peoples of the North-West Frontier Province, its theoretical capital locked into once vital but increasingly wearisome debates about tribal segmentary politics and agnatic rivalry. The neglect of rural communities elsewhere, notably in the Punjab and Sindh, precluded intellectual dialogue with other South Asian anthropologists, hindering the development of any regionally specific social theory appropriate to Pakistan's Islamic cultures. More surprisingly, few anthropologists working in Pakistan had addressed its major social and economic transformations effected through massive labour migration and urban expansion occurring within the country's turbulent history of less than half a century. It is on these neglected issues of migration and urbanization, with particular reference to problems of communal identity engendered by demographic displacement, that the ten essays of this innovative volume resolutely concentrate.

The magnitude of migration to Pakistan's urban centres is most visibly manifest in shanty-town squatter settlements (*katchi abadi*) around such cities as Karachi. Two Dutch anthropologists, Frits Selier and Jan van der Linden, report on their recent surveys of refugee housing in such settlements, drawing upon a major research programme on this topic at the Free University of Amsterdam. Both authors provide valuable information about migrants' personal and collective strategies in investing in such illegal housing, although their stark sociometric approach might have been rendered more comprehensible with greater reference to indigenous explanations of the rational life-choices they ascribe to urban refugees. Their essays do, however, highlight many interesting questions—about the variable deployment of housing as symbolic and material capital in contexts of status insecurity—that other urban anthropologists might pursue.

Status preoccupations among urban migrants are also the subject of Michael Fischer's ambitious essay on marriage choice in Greentown, Lahore. Composed of refugees and rural migrants, the residents of this new community have had to reconstruct traditional networks of kinship and affinity within a social universe of strangers. In contrast to common realliances among kin groups in rural Sindh, Fischer reports an avoidance of marriage with affinal relatives in Greentown, indicating a novel strategy of dispersed alliance coexisting with close cousin marriage. Following local explanations of marriage choice in terms of relative family 'honour' (izzat), Fischer isolates this notion as a 'primary cultural parameter' of social status, ultimately reducible to an index of 'control' over dependents, which he argues is open to increasing ambiguity in the evaluation of marriages between strangers. Patterns of in-marriage and out-marriage in Greentown are thereby related to alternative strategies of consolidating existing prestige or gambling on its increment, by respectively reducing or exploiting such status ambiguities. Despite this intriguing use of informational models of ambiguity, Fischer's general argument does seem flawed by his gross reductive treatment of the moral discourse of 'honour'. As we learn in Jan van der Linden's earlier essay, the notion of izzat embraces incommensurate qualities of appropriate modesty and self-respect-'something in the heart that cannot be seen'-as much

as overt status, prestige or power. Like comparable notions of honour in the Mediterranean, the rhetorically versatile discourse of *izzat* may be employed equally to deflate or reinforce status pretensions, of which manifest 'control' over dependents is only one aspect of a compound moral evaluation. Yet Fischer is to be commended for foregrounding the significance of such reputational notions that match status in the language of honour, which clearly demands further research in Pakistan.

Broader perspectives on migration in the economic and political history of Pakistan are presented in two synoptic essays by Omar Noman and Hamza Alavi. Noman provides a masterly overview of the complex effects of labour migration to the Gulf states in recent years, when as many as two million migrant workers were contributing in remittances as much as 15 per cent of Pakistan's GNP. Hamza Alavi's rigorously argued essay—on shifting coalitions of interest and patronage underlying the emergence of increasingly violent ethnic politics in Sindh—similarly illuminates the highly complex and contentious manoeuvres of regional separatist movements in Pakistan.

Other contributions treat processes of migration and urbanization as an explanatory background for examining specific cultural institutions characteristic of modern Pakistani society. Pnina Werbner's chapter on 'Factionalism and Violence in British Pakistani Communal Politics' manages to make analytical sense of the highly personalized and volatile constellations of local-level 'party gamesmanship' (patti bazi), endemic in all Pakistani urban communities, through a subtle combination of Barthian game theory and Mancunian network analysis. Wenonah Lyon's study of the social stratification of medical practice in Lahore, derived from fieldwork in the same community of Greentown treated by Michael Fischer, also brings ethnographic light to a practically applied problem: the declining response of this community to a subsidized medical clinic, which she relates to a mismatch of status expectations in the interactions of doctors and their In explicating this breakdown in the symbolic rather than technical patients. communication of medical knowledge, Lyon shows that the urban poor, while universally respecting Western allopathic medicine in preference to traditional Asian techniques of healing, regard it as a material stock of pharmaceutical 'cures' rather than as a clinically informed regime of curing; hence the professional qualifications of doctors are considered secondary to the kind of goods they proffer and the manner of status interaction through which their clinical seances are conducted. A further reading of her well-documented case material might also suggest that the most valued material tokens of medical care (pills, saline drips and injections) have been absorbed by the urban poor into their own petty-gift economy of reciprocal favours and services, comparable to similar small tokens of sympathy and celebration exchanged at rites of passage.

Finally, there are several informative chapters examining the significance of Islam in the light of Pakistan's contemporary social and political upheavals. Saifur Rahman Sherani's '*Ulema* and *Pir* in the Politics of Pakistan' analyses the significance of spiritual 'masters' (*pir*) in popular politics, exploring the

problematic relationship of these mystical leaders to orthodox preceptors of Islam (the *ulema*), as well as the extraordinary electoral powers they command through the votes of their devotees. Akbar Ahmed's chapter, on the infamous Hawkes Bay incident of millenarian mass suicide in 1983, documents the potentially cataclysmic powers of Shiite spirituality, latently rooted in a sectarian ideology of martyrdom but triggered by conditions of social instability, here related to overseas labour migration. A contrastively irreverent approach to Islam is given in Hamza Alavi's passionate diatribe on behalf of his beleaguered sisters against Pakistan's religious leaders as 'custodians of ignorance' and malicious 'mischief-makers' in their repression of women's freedom. Alavi is an unabashed progressive rationalist who has little patience with ideological or scholarly apologies for Islam's patriarchal gender relations, and he certainly presents a horrifying catalogue of violent abuses against women under Islamic legislation. Yet his humane and forthright convictions sadly pre-empt understanding of the evident appeal of resurgent Islam to so many women as well as men in contemporary Pakistan. Nevertheless, his outspoken defence of the embattled women's movement in his country is properly included in this collection, which gives its readers a multifaceted perspective on the many social, moral and practical dilemmas that now confront Pakistan.

Although only a few chapters in this diverse book fully achieve the theoretical and comparative promise of the editors' introductory essay, all valuably contribute to a vital display of interlocking research programmes entailed in the still nascent anthropology of modern Pakistan. Given the dearth of recent ethnography on this country, and in view of the global significance of processes of migration and urbanization that it exemplifies, *Economy and Culture in Pakistan* provides an indispensable contemporary ethnographic guide to a region of great importance in the developing world.

PETER PARKES

JOHN WESTERN, A Passage to England: Barbadian Londoners Speak of Home, London: UCL Press 1992. xxii, 314 pp., Index, Tables, Figures, Plates. £30.00.

Although having the same title as Nirad Chaudhuri's recent volume, Western's book is very different from that cultural memoir. Having started apparently as a social geographical project, it uses interviews with a number of Barbadian Londoners. The older generation had been recruited in the 1950s by London Transport and the NHS; now self-consciously almost middle-class, their children either professionals or in business, they give a powerful and moving account of settlement in Britain. Belying the Bajan reputation for humourlessness and prickly sensitivity, Western's informants recall in wryly ironic idiom their early struggles for housing (in the time of Rachman), for job promotion (before the Race

Relations Acts) and personal acceptance (at the time of the Notting Hill riots). They describe the way in which they now identify themselves as British: like the Nuer (or anyone else), segmentary categorization places them as Bajan relative to Jamaican, as West Indian relative to Asian, as Black relative to English, and as British against the rest.

Deliberately selected by Western as 'successful' people, they are hardly representative of Black Britons-certainly more ambitious, perhaps more conservative, and with a qualified approval of Margaret Thatcher, having a distrust of 'Brixton' and 'the wrong type of West Indian'. They are ambivalent about affirmative action and even about the annual carnival. Yet they are hardly parochial snobs, even if they now live in the suburbs and their thoughts have turned to flower gardening, shopping malls, the education of their grandchildren, and even, in one case, golf. The geographical aspects (of housing, movement within London, areas for work, of friendships and return holidays) are not overemphasized and the book is refreshingly engaged, albeit at times rather undertheorized. Is there anything special about Barbadians—the 'Little Englanders' of Caribbean satire-compared, say, to Jamaicans or small islanders? Perhaps some valuing of education, 'good behaviour', self-discipline, self-sufficiency and entrepreneurship-what is generally described in the Commonwealth Caribbean as 'respectability'? And what can we say of those who failed—racism, happenstance or personality? Does it make sense to describe Bajans as being successful in Britain, Jamaicans as having failed? Is there a Bajan struggling to get out of every Jamaican? Or the reverse? Or both?

Western's warmly engaged book claims to offer no more than people's own self-presentations. And he does this very well indeed, allowing his own liberal values, professional interests and ethnicity (White English, American domiciled) to provide a sympathetic sounding-board for his informants. The ironies of Black British experience are brilliantly illustrated in his reproduction of a *Punch* cartoon from July 1982. Over the garden fence of an obsessively neat suburban house, a rather prim elderly White couple inquire of their Black neighbours (similar age, similar house, similar appearance, he in tie and sleeveless pullover, shirt sleeves neatly rolled up, patiently watering his flower bed, she knitting demurely beside him in a deck-chair, their tortoise basking on the trimmed lawn): 'We're sorry to bother you, but Dorothy and I are rather concerned as to whether or not you will be rioting this summer?'

ROLAND LITTLEWOOD

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