

BOOK REVIEWS

KOFI AGAWU, *African Rhythm: A Northern Ewe Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1995. xx, 217 pp., Index; with compact disc. £52.95.

A first glance at the title of this book might provoke a jaded reaction: 'yet another book on African drumming?' But the dust jacket is sufficiently attractive to prompt one to read the notes and discover that Kofi Agawu is not so much interested in drumming as in the much larger picture of how the rhythms of music relate to the rhythms of language. This is, of course, not the first time that a connection has been made between music and language in Africa, though most of this discussion has centred on drum language, i.e. 'talking drums'. Agawu's approach is different and indeed broader, looking more importantly at song and other aspects of music and situating his discussion against a backdrop of daily life in an Ewe village more generally—a 'soundscape', to use Schafer's concept, of Northern Ewe society. The book is well organized and well written, accessible to the non-specialist and well illustrated by the accompanying compact disc, which often allows Agawu to make his point much more neatly than would otherwise have been possible. It should prove interesting not only to ethnomusicologists and others interested in African music and African languages, but also to those interested in African culture generally, as well as to anthropologists, linguists and others concerned with the possible relationships between music, language and culture.

In the Prologue, the author expresses his views on musical analysis, discussing some of the similarities and differences he sees in approaching African and Western classical music. He also examines the implications of the absence of a single word for 'rhythm' in the Ewe language: the fact that many different concepts in Ewe are bound together by 'rhythm' has led him to the broad approach presented here.

The first chapter is entitled 'Rhythms of Society', by which Agawu means the ebb and flow of various aspects of daily life from the perspective of their cyclical nature and periodicity, and obviously focusing on sound—the crowing of the cock each dawn, the pounding of mortars in food preparation, the ringing of school bells dividing the day, the different greetings used at different times of the day. But he also includes the rhythmic organization of other aspects of daily life: for example, the early morning sweeping of the compound (rhythm both in sound and in the pattern left on the ground by the broom). 'Physically as well as psychologically,' we are told, 'the Northern Ewe may be said to express themselves rhythmically' (p. 23). Possibly the most important aspect of this chapter, however, is the author's effort to integrate the various rhythms of the Northern Ewe soundscape into a coherent model. The basis for this is the notion of 'gesture', 'the physical manifestation of a more fundamental communicative urge' (p. 27). Gesture is the primordial rhythmic event which underlies spoken language, vocal music, instrumental music and dance. The latter, of course, can be seen as

stylized gesture, renewing the connection with the origin. A more or less linear structure or progression is suggested here: *gesture* > *spoken word* > *vocal music* > *instrumental music* > *dance* (> *gesture*). The succeeding chapters are designed to illustrate the rhythmic (and therefore gestural) basis of the component parts of this model and the dynamic that exists between them. While there is little direct reference to this model in the intervening chapters, it comes up for evaluation in the Epilogue, where the linear structure is revealed to be inadequate.

Of these middle chapters, Chapter Two, 'Rhythms of Language', is perhaps the most important. In it we find discussion of the rhythmic structure found in individual words in Ewe, greetings, riddles, announcements and prayers—all, in a sense, ritualized or in other ways formal uses of language. While we are shown in convincing and interesting ways that these forms of language have a rhythmic structure relevant to the book's thesis, this may also be the weakest chapter. The mainstay of Agawu's attempt to demonstrate the existence of a rhythmic structure in individual words of Ewe is to attribute stressed syllables to them. He apparently rejects the common notion (and rightly so, though the linguist/phonologist may wonder if for the right reasons) that tone languages like Ewe cannot have stress. However, it does not seem that what Agawu calls stress is what the linguist would label as such, and as far as I know, no phonological description of Ewe discusses stress, at least word stress of the sort proposed by Agawu. (It is noticeable that the difference between his stressed and unstressed syllables—where stress is indicated—correlates closely with syllable shape.) This objection aside, there can be no denying that the words of a language—any language—have a rhythmic structure, both in isolation and in context, whether or not the language has word stress. This draws attention to another, more serious and more general weakness: the author's reluctance to take into account 'ordinary' or 'everyday' discourse or conversation. This comes to the fore in this chapter and is again conspicuous by its absence from the Epilogue, though the issue is broached in the chapter on song. This may be a deliberate omission, as it seems to be Agawu's opinion that this most common type of language use lacks metrical (= rhythmic) structure, at least of a type appropriate to make it relevant to his model. The shortcomings of this chapter reflect the difficulties in undertaking multi- or interdisciplinary work when one is not trained in all the relevant areas.

Chapter Three, 'Rhythms of Song', first draws attention to the fact that the most prevalent musical form among the Northern Ewe is song—group singing—and not instrumental (especially drum) music. Agawu in fact points out that this is the case throughout much of Africa, contrary to the common Western conception of African music as being essentially built on the drum. An important aspect of this chapter is the author's focus on children's music, such as rhymes, and games with song and music as a didactic tool; he also draws attention to the essential unity of child and adult music in Ewe culture. In the central portion of the chapter, Agawu turns to look at the distinction frequently drawn between free and strict rhythm in discussions of African music, by which is essentially meant the difference between the rhythms of the spoken language and the rhythms of song. Here, he recognizes that there is, for Northern Ewe, no clear distinction between the two, that 'elements of speech rhythm may be found in songs in strict rhythm' (p. 73): 'Northern Ewe songs partake of both modes of rhythmic signification' (p. 82). This is neatly illustrated through a series of examples

on the CD. The closing portion of the chapter retreats on to perhaps more familiar ground for the musicologist, attempting to provide a detailed analysis of an Ewe lament in its own right, rather than as a token of a particular type. Although it is not immediately clear how this relates to the main theme of the book, it does reach back to the first issue Agawu discusses in the Prologue, mentioned above.

Little needs to be said here about Chapter Four, 'Rhythms of Drumming and Dancing': the relation between the two is of course well known, and their relevance to and place in Agawu's gestural model easily understood. Agawu, however, uses familiar themes here to reinforce his arguments that African music is founded on drumming and that drumming is only one of a number of forms of rhythmic expression.

These different forms of rhythmic expression, rhythms of speech, song, drumming and dance, their relationships and how they interact are examined in specific detail in the chapters on musical performance and folktale performance. In these, a more integrated or global picture of Northern Ewe rhythm is presented, and it is here that Agawu's case is essentially made. Again, little needs to be said—in fact, little really can be said, for, as Agawu points out, the key to understanding is in listening to the interplay and hierarchical structure of rhythm as illustrated by the performances on the CD.

The book closes with the 'Epilogue: Representing African Rhythm'. Agawu started out with a relatively simple gestural model of Northern Ewe rhythm in Chapter One. In the subsequent chapters this model is rarely explicitly mentioned, but it does become clear that a more sophisticated version is needed, one that can account better for the complex relationships among its different components. These relationships, and hence the limitations of the model, are discussed in the Epilogue. To give but a glimpse of these, in the central component of the model, *spoken word* > *vocal music* > *instrumental music*, a relation of *spoken word* > *instrumental music* needs not only to be recognized, but to be seen as more pertinent than *vocal music* > *instrumental music*; similarly, a relation of *spoken word* < *instrumental music* needs to be incorporated. Agawu's modesty in his reluctance to claim complete success for his model is somewhat refreshing, yet this modesty perhaps underlies his stated unwillingness to push the model a little further. More important, though possibly not unrelated, is his failure to recognize the true nature of the rhythmic structure of speech which, when taken into account, seems only to strengthen his basic premise, though not resolve all the details of the model. The closing pages of the book offer a discussion of representations of African rhythm that not only relates back to the opening paragraphs analyzing African and Western classical music, but at last also relates this theme to the central theme of the book (despite, perhaps, the author's protest to the contrary), in showing how an inability to understand the hierarchical or multi-tiered structure of African rhythm on the part of some researchers has led them to misinterpret this structure and has ultimately contributed to constructing the exotic status of African music.

BRUCE CONNELL

JACKIE ASSAYAG, *Au Confluent des Deux Rivières: Musulmans et hindous dans le sud de l'Inde* (Monographies Ecole Française de l'Extrême-Orient no. 181), Paris: Presses de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient 1995. 287 pp., Illustrations, Bibliography. No price given.

Organised into seven chapters—an introduction, followed by chapters on society, demonology, devotion, mythology, cult, politics and a conclusion—this monograph deals mostly with the northern districts of the state of Karnataka. Its focus is the reciprocal acculturation of Hindu–Muslim society. This is the backdrop against which recent outbreaks of ‘communal’ violence in India as a whole are interpreted. Assayag, an anthropologist, claims that even though the perception of difference may always predominate in conscious thought, one must not separate out Muslims from Hindus in seeking to understand local society. The Islamization that has been occurring in India for more than a thousand years must be approached through socio-genesis and the dynamics of acculturation. In the Introduction (pp. 29–31) the author states that the continuous preference of Muslims for trade and commerce over proselytism obliged them to adopt the language and culture of the indigenous populations. This means that Hindu and Muslim praxis are on the same level and that their mutual antagonisms mostly arose later, under British colonial rule. What has been remarkable has been their ability to adapt to one another.

The Introduction provides a statistical view of the distribution of Muslims throughout India (in 1981), as does Chapter Six, which surveys outbreaks of ‘communal’ violence nationally. Throughout this book, wherever the possibility arises, the author provides a comparative overview of India and situates Karnataka bibliographically in the context of studies of other areas of India. This gives the monograph the value of an introduction to a more general problematic through the prism of an area study.

But the primary quality of this work is the richness and diversity of the ethnographic descriptions. In Chapter One, ‘Society: Hindu and Muslim’, the author leads us to understand to what extent the two groups have adapted to one another’s existence by demonstrating the norms of commensality between the different castes, especially on anniversaries of the deaths of Muslim saints (*'urs*).

In the second chapter, on demonology, the pragmatic finalities of popular religion as practised in the jurisdictions (*walâya*) of the friends of Allah (*wali* or *pîr*) show that when sickness or other afflictions are at stake, only the surface of peasants’ cognitive universe regarding evil, its etiology and therapeutics is changed by religious affiliation. What is more, the axis of holiness of a saint only makes sense when one studies the armies of demons that surround his tomb. As Assayag says, ‘Comme la déesse, symbole de la centralité souveraine, a besoin de sa troupe de démons, l’axe (*quthb*) de la sainteté n’a de sens que parce qu’un détachement de djinns l’assiège et menace en permanence l’ordre du monde.’ There is no *dharma* without *adharmā*.

The chapter on ‘Devotion, Sufism and Fakirism’ illustrates the network of mutual influences which in Karnataka, and indeed in India in general, have been woven around *bhakti* and Sufism. Five kinds of mausoleum (*dargâh*) and their inheritors (*pîrzade*) are examined. Self-beheading as a form of devotion (see pp. 125–6) is shown to be common to both Hinduism and Indian Islam (a reference to Françoise Héritier-Augé’s

recent work on the anthropology of the body would have been useful here). Through his descriptions, Assayag has been able to observe and articulate a whole world of lower-caste religiosity, which, as he says, classical orientalism has traditionally disdained as poorly intellectualized and culturally composite. In the chapter on mythology (pp. 153–4) he evokes the complexity of this sociological perspective as presented by a thousand years of Hindu–Muslim co-existence: ‘à ménager en somme les exigences de l’autonomie individuelle, familiale ou lignagère, de caste ou de communauté, avec des contraintes de la cohésion et la nécessité de reconfigurer les traditions dont ils se réclament pour affronter les transformation de l’environnement.’

In Chapter Five, on the cult of the goddess and the saint, Georges Devereux’s notion of integrative and dissociative acculturation facilitates Assayag’s analysis (p. 165) of the cult of Yellamma (the universal mother) and her ‘great’ younger sister Matangi, ancillary duplication of her elder sister. This duplication permits a double divinity to be worshipped by groups of different status. The layered structure of the myth responds to the logical *bricolage*, in using the authority and symbols of different local interest groups. Assayag concludes (p. 173) by suggesting that ideological and praxiological configurations are continually renegotiated by the agents: ‘Constat qui modifie en profondeur et la conception de la religion, devenant toujours plus instrumentale, et les pratiques des agents, davantage tentés par les manipulations, quitte à convoquer, en les réinterprétant, les traits les plus archaïques de la culture.’

Chapter Six deals with the political frontiers created recently by the ‘memories’ of communalism, often using recently invented biographies. Assayag states (p. 207): ‘Le travail d’anamnèse qui dotait le saint des attributs du soldat de Dieu, revêtu de l’habit sacrificiel du martyr, prenait en charge la défense de cette frontière interne—indifférente à toute délimitation physique du territoire—par laquelle la communauté symbolisait à la fois sa cohésion sociale et son identité religieuse.’ Thus enters the distinction between *dâr al-harb* (non-Muslim lands) and *dâr al-Islâm*. There are two kinds of Islamic usages of ‘memory places’ in Karnataka. Where memory is well kept, full, the present is obliged to repeat the past, but where there is an absence of memory, this forgetfulness facilitates its being filled with contemporary events reinterpreted in the light of a ‘non-existing’ past. The heavy immemorial anchor of the *lettré* is an obstacle to manipulations by recent events, while the *profile rémanent* of the warrior allows him to be redrawn according to recent events. These two styles of memory contrast the chronological and historical with the collective memory of the groups, which is more genealogical and semiological. A *topos* can become consubstantial with the representation of local history (see pp. 210–13).

In the concluding chapter, Assayag admits that the conflation of cultural dynamics and socio-genesis are descriptive, not interpretative or explanatory concepts. And that is just the point, for his claim is (pp. 215–17) that the relationship between Hinduism and Indian Islam has constituted, and in some areas still does constitute, a cultural system. Acculturation permitted each tradition, through a *bricolage* not of their founding truths but of little pieces of truth, to displace tradition and conserve their own particularity. Even before these traditions had been written down, their founders were in contact with many different forms of thought. Since it is through social relations that actors make their traditions, a contextual and pragmatic approach is necessary. Types of sociability are plural, composite and conflictual. An anthropology of present

times, with its plurality of cultures, allows for a historiography of micro-histories, without texts.

Tradition is not an inheritance, patrimony or ethnicity, but a rivalry or competition between social partners. Agents debate, at many different levels of society, what constitutes the links that unite them, i.e. their identity. The intensity of their interaction is a tribute to agents' abilities to attribute meaning to these interactions. A dialectic of reciprocal assignments exists. The symbolic apparatus produced by their social life is a relatively coherent but profoundly unstable system. The variability of interactions creates free spaces for inventiveness or at least for normal dissent. Assayag ends his book with the words (p. 220): 'chacun vit, on le sait, de compromis qu'il invente et de contradictions qu'il gère. Or ce sont ces manières de réemployer à des fins propres l'ordre imposé...ce que Lévi-Strauss appelait joliment "les fleurs fragiles de la différence".'

STEPHEN C. HEADLEY

CHRISTOPHE VIELLE, PIERRE SWIGGERS and GUY JUCQUOIS (eds.), *Comparatisme, mythologies, langages: En hommage à Claude Lévi-Strauss* (Bibliothèque des Cahiers de l'Institut de Linguistique de Louvain 73), Louvain-la-neuve: Peeters 1994. 454 pp., References. BFr. 1600.

This Festschrift for Lévi-Strauss's eighty-fifth birthday grew from a number of workshops held in Brussels which were focused on comparativism of one kind or another. It starts with a facsimile of the great man's handwriting, plus a pen-and-ink portrait and six pages of 'bio-bibliographical presentation', but thereafter few of the contributors allude to their honorand. Rather than listing all sixteen authors, I pick and choose, but try to convey the range of the volume.

Vielle, a young but impressively well-equipped comparative linguist and mythologist, writes on Sir William Jones (the bicentenary of whose death was celebrated last year at University College, Oxford, where he was once a Fellow). Jones is, of course, famous for hypothesizing what linguists would now call proto-Indo-European, but his pioneering comparative exploration of Indo-European deities has been relatively neglected. Next, Dubuisson gives a convenient epitome of his bold and stimulating polemic, *Mythologies du XXe siècle: Dumézil, Lévi-Strauss, Eliade* (Lille 1993). He sees the mental worlds of each of these scholars as built around a single core concept, respectively Society, Mind (*l'Esprit*) and The Sacred; and in comparing the three men (together with the 'ultra-nominalist' Veyne and the 'bio-functionalist' Burkert), he hopes to found a comparative epistemology which can situate their approaches to *l'imaginaire* within the long-term history of European thought.

Four papers wrestle with particular myths or bodies of myth, including Melanesian (the experienced Guiart, writing in the tradition of Leenhardt) and Indian (Gomes da Silva). One highly Lévi-Straussian paper places the story of the Trojan Horse within a 'transformation group' of four stories—a group which to me seems too arbitrarily

constituted to be instructive. Sergent, in the sixth instalment of his Dumézil-inspired 'Culto-Hibernica', argues for the common origin of the Old Irish deity Oengus (alias Mac Og) and the Greek Hermes. I abstain from a glib verdict on such complex material but admit to worries about the ratio of *glissements* and *inversions* to convincing similarities.

In Part II, on languages, I shall remember best the argument by the Israeli Rosén on the origins of the Arabic grammatical tradition. The Arabic debt to Greek grammarians has long been recognised, but it concerns syntax and parts of speech: as regards morphology and phonetics the debt is apparently to India. Other articles concern the axes of successivity and simultaneity, of the syntagmatic and the paradigmatic; the need for experimental data to build a scientific approach to semantics; the sociolinguistics of Provençal (as distinct from the artificial construct of Occitan); the Flemish-Walloon debates of the 1840s; and much else. Interesting though individual articles are, one doubts whether English-language publishers could be persuaded to put such varied material between a single pair of covers.

N. J. ALLEN

SARA DELAMONT, *Appetites and Identities: An Introduction to the Social Anthropology of Western Europe*, London and New York: Routledge 1994. xi, 254 pp., References, Illustrations, Glossary, Directory, Indexes. £40.00/£13.99.

Filled with mismanaged anecdotal accounts, colloquial language and countless quotes taken from a variety of ethnographies of well-known anthropologists of European culture, *Appetites and Identities* reads more like a student travel guide than a serious academic book. In one broad sweep, Delamont has tried to transform a whole academic subdiscipline into a series of quirky misadventures spanning the European continent. Her cultural comparison of different European countries covers a wide topical range from cities, farming, fishing, food, gender, language and migrants, to politics, religion and tourists. The diversity of subject-matter does not in itself convey her seemingly endless ability to paraphrase in a notably feckless way.

To be fair to Delamont, she does provide the wary anthropological reader with a caveat stating that 'this book over-simplifies anthropology'. However, she also identifies her target audience as 'students studying European languages and cultures, doing degrees in European studies, plus those taking courses in the sociology, politics or anthropology of Europe' (p. ix). Should this book therefore be evaluated as an introductory text? Possibly, but the worry is misperception: will non-anthropology students think the anthropology of Western Europe a simple and undiscerning enterprise after Delamont's over-generalized account? Introductory academic works should not be exonerated if they produce misleading information through over-simplification. A propensity towards the popular and condensed versions of empirical information derived from social anthropological data may unduly distort a fieldworker's experience and research intention. While simplifying aims might seem to be a well-

intentioned way of disseminating greater awareness of a field like anthropology, the outcome could be most displeasing as a misconception by those less knowledgeable in the subject (as Delamont's case attests).

Let us not forget Delamont's true intentions. She is not bashful in stating forthrightly, 'I know that the way the discipline [of social anthropology] is presented here will be resented by scholars in that tradition. I have done this deliberately, cold-bloodedly, and ruthlessly' (p.ix). In acknowledgement of this surprising prefatory statement, one may simply point out the many flaws that are apparent throughout her book. First, her use of quotations from well-known anthropologists of European culture like Jeremy Boissevain, John Campbell, Malcolm Chapman, Loring Danforth, William Douglass, Michael Herzfeld, Peter Loizos, Maryon McDonald, Julian Pitt-Rivers and Nancy Scheper-Hughes—to name only a few—are borrowed from profusely to the extent of distraction. This is a clear indication of Delamont's lack of analytical skills and imagination for original research.

Secondly, she seems to have had great problems formatting her text. Why, for instance, do Chapters Two, Six and Seven have summary conclusions and not the remaining chapters? Further, her bibliographic usage is most inappropriate, since works are cited but not analysed in a thorough way. Certainly her bibliography is exhaustive, but it is uncertain why it needs to be so lengthy, given the lack of any proper synthesis of anthropological knowledge about European cultures.

Thirdly, what should perhaps raise the most ire in her book is its lack of reflexivity to past comparative approaches in the anthropology of Europe. It is obvious to anyone familiar with European anthropology that John Davis's classic *People of the Mediterranean: An Essay in Comparative Social Anthropology* (1977) stands out as a prime example of excellent comparative research. Delamont only cursorily mentions Davis at the beginning of her book, claiming that her examples are taken 'from monographs and journal articles which are not well known, or have been published since Davis wrote' (p. 2). The reader is left supposing that her updated comparative approach should therefore suffice as being entirely different. On the contrary, her 'Directory of Research Sites' directly mimics the careful mapping made by Davis nearly twenty years ago (which she altogether fails to acknowledge) of anthropologists' field sites in Western Europe. Those already familiar with *People of the Mediterranean* will also recall Davis's extractive reasoning in analysing a multiplicity of nuanced issues, such as economics, kinship, politics and social stratification, from his Mediterranean survey of anthropological contributions. Although Delamont proclaims so adamantly that her book is not 'for' professional anthropologists but for students, her flagrant omission of a classic text like Davis's, so identical in conception to her own, is unforgivable.

Fourthly, many of Delamont's statements are erroneous and unfounded, for example: 'Herzfeld, whose many publications on Greece will be cited in this book, is so enamoured of Greece that he has lost his scholarly detachment' (p. 14); 'A unified Europe is only going to work if those who cook in oil can accept that others cook in goose grease and vice versa' (p. 18); 'If the British are attached to sausages that are 50 percent bread, then directives about changing their content are an attack not only on the sausage, but on our taken-for-granted understanding of the world' (p. 40); 'Many supernatural beings swarm over Europe' (p. 171); 'If European people are

uncomfortable when their traditional food and drink is not available, challenges to the patterns of sex roles, with their deeply embedded symbolic loadings, are equally disturbing' (p. 192); 'If there is one issue as deeply personal as food it is language and dialect' (p. 193). The last sentence of the book reads: 'Anthropology can illuminate life after the eagle has vanished'—really? (p. 209).

In the final analysis, most scholars who are familiar with social studies of Western Europe will find this book an unappetizing and unsavoury intellectual experience. Nevertheless, *Appetites and Identities* can be read as a reference guide—that is, a quick perusal of the over-abundant quotations contained in the book from the minds and mouths of respected social anthropologists will indicate what sources the reader might want to consider for actual research on European cultures.

JOHN P. LINSTROTH

PHILIPPE DESCOLA, *In The Society of Nature: A Native Ecology in Amazonia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1994. xviii, 372 pp., Bibliography, Indexes, Figures, Tables, Illustrations. £45.00.

This book, based on fieldwork undertaken in the mid to late 1970s among the Achuar people of the Upper Amazon in Ecuador, is an important contribution to the ethnography of lowland South America. Its importance lies in the fact that it employs an ethnographic perspective to challenge the environmental determinism of cultural ecology that has dominated the economic anthropology of Amerindian tropical forest societies. The basic message is that the superstructure of any given society is not detached from social action but deeply embedded in the concrete fabric of material life. Descola shows that it is not so much material limitations that structure the Achuar economic system as their representation of nature as a sentient realm which forms a continuum with culture and their cultural values relating to work and well-being. The book is also an excellent example of a research methodology that aims to integrate quantitative and qualitative approaches to the economic anthropology of small-scale societies. In addition, secondary information on swidden societies in Amazonia and elsewhere is drawn on to provide rich comparative data on population density, productive output, land-use strategies and nutrition. As a consequence, this monograph may well become a standard text for anthropologists planning research on the economic life of hunter-horticulturists.

Rather than analysing social reproduction on a societal level, Descola focuses on the technical and symbolic relations between individual Achuar households and their tropical forest environment. In carrying out this ethnographic project, he conjoins a quantitative approach using empirical data on energy exchange, food production and time allocation with a quantitative interpretation of 'symbolic relations' with nature, as revealed in Achuar mythology, taxonomy, magic and ritual. A key objective of the book is to show how the Achuar represent nature and the ways in which this representation impinges on their production techniques. Descola describes an Achuar

cosmos peopled with anthropomorphic spirits. Nature is encapsulated in a 'great continuum of sociality'. In other words, the Western bifurcation of nature and culture does not rigidly structure Achuar knowledge or understanding about the world.

According to the Achuar theory of production, each task of material provisioning demands a particular set of 'symbolic preconditions' establishing cordial relationships with 'nature's beings'. These interpersonal relationships are realized through communication with plant and animal spirits by way of magical songs (*anent*). The Achuar value their personal *anent* as essential resources for individual and familial livelihood. These symbolic resources are believed to be necessary for harmonious relations between Achuar households and nature, which, in turn, secure adequate material conditions for the family. A joint analysis of the Achuar organization of household space and social etiquette and the content of different *anent* shows how the Achuar model relations with nature on intra-inter household sociability.

Within this conceptual scheme, the garden is a space of mothering and consanguinity. Crop husbandry is represented as the maternal nurturing of sentient plant-children and the establishing of friendly relations with the female garden spirit Nunkui. In contrast, hunting is conceived as a symbolic practice in which hunters enter into a seductive yet risky alliance with the spirits of animal affines. The consequence of the Achuar's social objectification of nature is that their livelihood priorities concentrate on maintaining convivial relations with nature's beings in order to ensure a satisfactory supply of game meat and manioc beer, two key products of the domestic economy which are central to the maintenance of domestic peace and to a household's ability to provide hospitality. However, maximizing the production of food would threaten the cosmic preconditions of production and result in metaphysical sanctions against any Achuar attempting such a goal. These ideas about production and consumption dominate Achuar mythology and Achuar socialization, both of which condemn 'overzealousness' and excess, giving primacy instead to self-restraint and bodily control.

This ethnography seriously challenges the cultural ecological paradigm as a useful theory for understanding Native Amazonian subsistence economics. First, Descola's empirical evidence demonstrates that there is no shortage of protein, food energy or labour in the Achuar subsistence economy. In fact, they enjoy an abundance of these factors, and rather than Sahlins' 'underproduction', Achuar households over-produce for their needs and under-use their available human and natural resources, only using a fraction of their potential labour force. Secondly, Descola questions the assumption that soils have a causal effect on Amerindian socio-technical systems by making one crucial observation: the Achuar utilize both relatively fertile alluvial soils and poor interfluvial soils, yet there is no significant difference in the productive effort or techniques they employ on these different sites. Specifically, although the Achuar carry out efficient maize cultivation and are well aware of the productive potential of this crop on the richer riverine soils, they choose to give it a minor role and devote the bulk of their gardening effort to manioc cultivation.

Descola asserts that it is the Achuar's cultural preference for moderate work practices, the central place of manioc beer in their concept of domestic harmony and their social objectification of nature that lead them to treat the riverine and interfluvial biotopes in a similar way. In short, it is the conceptual scheme underlying the cultural

construction of consumption and work and the 'socialization of nature' that mould Achuar land-use practices. A careful analysis of household labour and its relation to land use also demonstrates that production is the outcome of social negotiation between spouses and co-wives. Furthermore, major differences in the productive output of Achuar gardens are tied to the local prestige system, which involves household heads and women gardeners. Productive efficiency also varies according to an individual's knowledge and experience. It is, therefore, social factors rather than material or labour constraints that direct Achuar production. In sum, Descola's book reveals how economic anthropology must try to expose the cultural logic guiding indigenous livelihoods if the relationship between society and nature in Amazonia is to be understood.

Given the weight of the empirical and intellectual 'constraints' set out by Descola in this monograph, it will be interesting to see the 'adaptive response' of the American cultural ecological school to this powerful critique of material determinism.

TOM GRIFFITHS

GORDON MATHEWS, *What Makes Life Worth Living? How Japanese and Americans Make Sense of their Worlds*, Berkeley: University of California Press 1996. x, 277 pp., Bibliography, Index. £35.00/£13.95//\$45.00/\$16.95.

In addressing the central question proposed in the title of this book (*What makes life worth living?*), Gordon Mathews chooses as his focus the Japanese concept of *ikigai*, defined as 'that which most makes one's life seem worth living' (p. vii). Noting that there is no clear equivalent to this term in American English (nor presumably in English English), the author justifies its use as a legitimate category for cross-cultural comparison, claiming that '*ikigai* applies not only to Japanese lives, but to American lives as well' (ibid.). In exploring the comparative *ikigai* of his Japanese and American informants, Mathews conducted a hundred sets of interviews with a variety of individuals from both nations, presenting nine 'pairs' (one Japanese and one American) of these edited personal accounts as his ethnographic base, each pair followed by the author's commentary and analysis.

Mathews cites the three aims of the book as, first, introducing the concept of *ikigai*; secondly, showing that *ikigai* is not only a Japanese cultural concept, but a cross-cultural concept as well; and thirdly, exploring the broader question of what makes life worth living. In Chapter One, 'The Varieties of *Ikigai* in Japan', the author suggests that interest in and the significance of the concept has varied with the times, noting, for example, its association with self-sacrifice in the name of the nation in the pre-war period; its de-emphasis in the immediate post-war period, when people did not have the luxury of contemplating such questions; and the '*ikigai* boom', beginning in the 1970s and continuing to the present, which the author associates strongly with Japan's economic ascendancy, but also with changing demographics (primarily increases in life-expectancy and the rapidly growing population of aged people).

Noting a lack of consensus on the definition of *ikigai* in the discourse on the subject in the popular press, Mathews identifies two dominant conceptions of it: *jiko jitsu* (self-realization), which is *ikigai* located outside of the realm of social roles and obligations; and *ittaikan*, defined as sense of belonging to or sense of oneness with, which is *ikigai* integrated within such roles. Obviously representing a dichotomy between the individual or private realm and the realm of society, with its inherent duties and obligations—what the Japanese might refer to as *ninjo* and *giri* respectively—Mathews attempts to plot the *ikigai* of his interviewees along this continuum, observing (not surprisingly) that ‘the majority of Japanese I interviewed seemed to think of their *ikigai* neither as *ittaikan* nor as *jiko jitsugen*, but as ambiguously balanced in between’ (p. 22).

Part Two, which comprises the bulk of the text, consists of the edited interviews of informants, followed by the author’s commentary. Mathews describes his approach as phenomenological, focusing not on the cultural constructs of the societies in question, but rather on the empirical data provided by the individual accounts of interviewees who ‘are not cultural representatives, but...represent only themselves’ (p. 45). Claiming that ‘culture can only be investigated “from inside the self out”, not “from outside the self in”’ (p. 48), the author proposes that the personal accounts of individual actors as ‘culturally shaped shapers of their lives’ not only provide a focus for mediating the relationship between individual and society but also a means of addressing his broader questions. This emphasis on selves also seems to provide the justification for the pairings of informant accounts which are based largely on similarities in the age and professed *ikigai* of interviewees, emphasizing traits that the author points out may be shared to a greater degree between the paired informants from different cultures than between the individual and other members of their own society.

It is clear from the Introduction that Mathews has pursued his subject with much enthusiasm and energy, and certainly one of the most interesting and refreshing aspects of the text is its focus on the accounts of ‘real’ people. However, it is not clear exactly what the author’s handling of these accounts reveals. The text also suffers from a certain methodological looseness. Explaining that informants were chosen from one city in northern Japan and another on the west coast of the United States, the author claims that ‘these cities are similar in history and ambience’, but fails to explain exactly in what way or the significance of this somewhat surprising observation. A more fundamental problem lies in his handling of the concept of *ikigai*. Having noted that the concept has a specific resonance in Japanese society which it does not possess in the United States, Mathews is somewhat unconvincing in his attempt at a cross-cultural theory of *ikigai*.

More problematic, however, is his manipulation of the concept in his analyses of the personal accounts of his interviewees. Mathews seems excessively concerned with categorizing *ikigai* into types—family, work, religion and artistic pursuits, for example—and even assesses and evaluates these according to somewhat arbitrary criteria, almost as if his purpose is to identify the best *ikigai* and, by extension, the best locus for finding meaning in life. This process of extracting the (or a) dominant *ikigai* from his informants’ accounts and categorizing and comparing informants on this basis glosses what must be the more complex reality that there are several aspects which provide meaning for the lives of most individuals—work, family, hobbies, creative

endeavours, spiritual belief—and that these might be emphasized differently depending on the situation. Although one of the author's informants explicitly states that their *ikigai* consists of several elements in combination—'a kit', as this person put it—Mathews' tendency to play down this complexity in the classification of most of his informants seems slightly artificial and arbitrary, if not reductive. Labels such as 'minority *ikigai*' and '*ikigai* crises', which the author employs in his discussion, smack of jingoism and represent a departure from indigenous uses and understandings of the concept.

Noting the tendency of writings on Japan to 'oppose a unitary Japanese culture to a unitary American culture' (p. 10), Mathews emphasizes what Dorinne Kondo terms the 'crafting of selves', suggesting in his articulation of a cross-cultural theory of *ikigai* that 'the products of culturally and personally shaped fate, selves, strategically formulate and interpret their *ikigai* from an array of cultural conceptions, negotiate these *ikigai* within their circles of immediate others, and pursue their *ikigai* as channelled by their society's institutional structures so as to attain and maintain a sense of the personal significance of their lives' (p. 50). At times, this emphasis on 'selves' as a fundamental unit of analysis seems excessive, suggesting a disconnectedness of the individual from the wider social milieu and eclipsing relevant cultural considerations, as illustrated in this example: 'These two men can't be viewed as exemplars of Japan and the United States, but only as individual selves making enculturated choices' (p. 69).

It is perhaps this which, in the author's analyses of the paired accounts of interviewees, underlies a tendency to proffer psychological explanations which seem to assume universalist applicability without reference to more salient cultural factors. In his analysis comparing the personal accounts of a nineteen-year-old American woman expressing anxiety about her indeterminate future and a twenty-one-year-old Japanese woman who is clear on the paths open to her (Chapter 5, '*Ikigai* in Past and Future'), Mathews comments: 'The two women's accounts reveal a clear difference in self-confidence', noting that 'This difference seems largely due to their personal backgrounds. Ms Peters felt unloved as a child compared to her sister, as Nakajima-san did not; and Nakajima-san is two years older than Ms Peters and more sure of herself on the path to adulthood.... Nakajima-san seems to have a good command of the game of cultural success she is playing; Ms. Peters seems not to' (pp. 116–18). What Mathews fails to make clear, however, are the significant differences in the nature of the game itself and how this might affect the attitudes and outlooks expressed by these women.

In the same chapter, Mathews summarizes the differences in the *ikigai* of two older women whose accounts he compares, saying 'Murakami-san is a religious sceptic, while Ms Tucker is a religious believer; this is the clearest reason for their difference in *ikigai*' (p. 142). Glossing potentially significant differences in the nature and role of religion in the two societies, here again Mathews' comparative analysis rests on the dubious premise of universally valid categories of believer and non-believer, providing little explanation as to why an 'agnostic' in Japan (as Mathews labels this interviewee) can be validly compared with a Christian from Texas and, furthermore, how such a comparison is sociologically significant.

Such examples suggest a more general theoretical shortcoming in the analysis. In treating Japan and America as societies in 'similar states of late modernity' (p. 238),

Mathews makes too little of the fact that Japanese society may yet provide clearer answers to the question, 'How shall I live?' by more clearly defining the options available to individuals with regard to work, marriage and life-style than is the case in the United States, where such issues may be individually negotiated to a greater degree. Despite the rapid economic and social changes experienced in Japan in the post-war period, it is too early to assume the demise of meta-narratives in Japanese society.

All of this raises the broader question of whether the author has bitten off more than could or should be chewed in a single book. One can imagine that a study of *ikigai* limited to the context of Japanese society and perhaps further fleshing out the concept in historical perspective, as well as with respect to parameters such as age, gender and generation—all of which are touched on by the author—might have imparted a clearer understanding of *ikigai* and its significance in Japanese society (as articulated by Japanese individuals) and provide a more solid basis for cross-cultural speculation. On the whole, Mathews' attempt to achieve more ambitious aims in a single work comes up short, and it is difficult not to agree with the person, acknowledged by the author in the Preface, who 'would have preferred that this work be more theoretically rigorous' (ix).

It is clear from the Introduction that the writing of this book was something of a personal quest, and one suspects that this may have resulted in the highly subjective nature of much of it, ultimately eclipsing its value as a contribution to the understanding of Japanese society. None the less, the personal accounts which the author has so painstakingly recorded and edited are interesting for their honesty and diversity, and Mathews is forthright in acknowledging the potential shortcomings of his approach in his opening remarks, providing a translucent account which allows the reader to judge its merit.

WILLIAM KELLY

MINDIE LAZARUS-BLACK, *Legitimate Acts and Illegal Encounters: Law and Society in Antigua and Barbuda* (Smithsonian Series in Ethnographic Inquiry), London: Smithsonian Institution Press 1994. xxv, 357pp., Bibliography, Index, Tables. £38.25/\$58.75.

Throughout the English-speaking Caribbean, topics such as kinship, class and gender are in a state of 'continuing struggle between lawmakers and ordinary men and women who, in the course of their daily lives, alter in practice the purpose and the meaning of lawmakers' law' (p. xi). Such tensions are examined by Lazarus-Black on Antigua and Barbuda in an account which is historical and contemporary, based on both historical colonial archives and histories of Creole life, and contemporary court cases of bastardy and child maintenance. In doing so, Lazarus-Black exemplifies Foucault's theorizings and fills a void in Caribbean kinship studies.

Lazarus-Black's discourse revolves around Foucault's distinction between 'systems of legalities' and 'systems of illegalities'—between the ordered formal legal institutions

such as courts, codes, judges and juries on the one hand, and the morass of informal breaches of codes, explicit tolerance of illicit behaviour and defiance of the law on the other. Her account of life in the common order—of common-sense knowledge about family in the present—is ‘conditioned by collective representations from the past’ (p. 5). This means that the historical presentation of Creole society begins with an articulation of the political structures of colonialism, the underlying assumptions contained in British law and the sociology of slavery.

In the seventeenth century, when Antigua was settled and a Creole society was fashioned, England neglected legal affairs and decentralized the legal system to allow local lawyers and judges to fashion local laws. Many of the local laws expired after a period of only two years, so Antigua and other Leeward Islands were able to meld their own indigenous system of legalities and slave codes. Examples of early slave laws range from the need for a permit for a slave to leave an estate to sell sugar or cotton or rum to the permanent ban on slave assembly, theft or drinking. However, Lazarus-Black notes that in the eighteenth century, there began a slow but ‘gradual incorporation of slaves into the island’s broader system of criminal and civil justice’ (p. 35). This began with acts such as a 1723 Bill making it illegal to wilfully kill, mutilate or dismember a slave, and culminated with the Amelioration Act of 1798, which stipulated slaves’ living and working conditions (except under special circumstances or during cropping time, slaves were expected to work *only* between 5 a.m. and 7 p.m., and they had to be given rations, clothing allowances, health care and holidays).

Fitting the plantation, production-oriented society, a variety of statutes were constituted, statutes which varied in their relevance and applicability to different categories of people in Antiguan society, whether slaves, servants or free persons. In effect, three broad social ranks were legally sanctioned, controlled and consolidated in what can be described, after Foucault, as a ‘specially created architecture for production’ (quoted p. 38). One of the key components in such regulation of the behaviour of slaves and free persons was in the ordering of their family lives. By treating kinship law as a Geertzian cultural text, the author is able to extrapolate ‘the assumptions and presumptions it contains about the natures of men and women, the duties and obligations of husbands and wives, the relations between parents and children, and the crucial links between kinship and property’ (p. 55).

On Antigua (1644), incest was punishable by death, whereas in England there was no criminal law penalizing incest until 1908. On Antigua, a minister would incur legal fines if he tried to wed a free person and a slave, and the free person would have to pay the owner for the slave, or work for that owner for four years. On Antigua a slave was inheritable, slavery being transmitted to a child through its mother, despite the institutionalized convention within English common law that a person’s status was determined by his father, and property was inherited through males (pp. 62–70). Such were the legalities of Creole society. The illegalities, however, present an account of a society where obeah, concubinage and ‘visiting relationships’ were—and are—rife, and where obeah was utilized as an alternative system of ideology, power and justice outside the rule of law. Concubinage persisted as a viable mating form in the free black and coloured sectors, which were constrained by legal and Creole norms, and visiting relationships allowed free men and free women greater control over their own personal affairs and households, while assuming less responsibility for others.

From Chapter Five to the end of the book, Lazarus-Black looks at the post-emancipation period, from 1834 to 1986. She examines the slow legal integration of illegitimate children into society, from the legitimization of slave unions following emancipation in 1834 to the Status of Children Act (1982) and the Births Act (1983). The 1982 Act effectively legitimized illegitimate children, giving them the same rights, privileges and obligations of children born in legal unions. Twenty years earlier, illegitimate children such as the present Prime Minister V. C. Bird could not have received secondary education (p. 227). The Act fits into a wider discussion of 'constitutional decolonization', or what Henry defines as 'the delicate art of transferring formal power to a colonized people without radically altering the structure of the society or negating imperial economic interests' (p.240).

Within the dialectical relationship between the legal and the illegal, the changing status of illegitimate children allows the author to comment upon colonial and post-colonial rule on Antigua and Barbuda, manifested through the creolization of local law. In so doing, she incorporates other material concerning the adoption of children by the extended family in the United States in order to satisfy their immigration laws. She then presents her present-day ethnography of Antiguan family cases at court which reveal why and when the litigant presses a case and what it reveals about Antiguan notions of 'justice'—what Geertz refers to as the people's 'legal sensibility' (quoted p. 192). Her findings are that women use the courts selectively, and that their use reveals a family ideology in which 'a man owes the mother of his child "respect"' (p. 200). If a 'big man'—a man of stature and authority in the community, a man who can maintain many children and multiple visiting relationships—fails in his perceived duties (to pay child support to the mother, for instance) then the mother will seek to ridicule him in public by taking him to court with the sole intention of shaming him into payment. Thus cases are brought to court and quickly dropped once they have achieved the aim of raising the woman's standing in the community. In this way, 'respect' becomes a fetish, a commodity desired by Antiguan men and women. As such, it is possible to witness a woman taking a man to court for failing to provide for their child, and then getting him bailed rather than letting him go to jail.

In conclusion, Lazarus-Black presents a historical and contemporary ethnography of legitimate acts and illegal encounters, of colonial Acts and Creole counters, of governing ideology and family resistance. Theoretically, 'law' is treated as a place 'for communicating meaning and cultural significance' (p. 249), where the anthropologist can explicate conceptions of man and woman, race, labour and justice, marriage and home, colonial law and systems of governance, Creole forms of knowledge and mechanisms of resistance. The volume is a valuable contribution to kinship studies, Caribbean ethnographies and legal and historical anthropology.

JONATHAN SKINNER

KAY MILTON (ed.), *Environmentalism: The View from Anthropology* (ASA Monograph 32), London: Routledge 1993. 240 pp., x, Index, Figures, Maps, Tables. £40.00/£14.99.

This fascinating collection, based on the 1992 ASA conference 'Anthropological Perspectives on Environmentalism', achieves the goal of demonstrating the contribution of anthropology to the environmental issue. It maintains a dialogue with other disciplines, including sociology, law and geography, while retaining its anthropological grounding, managing to address the relationship between humans and their environment, objectivity and environmentalism, and indigenous views of nature.

The collection includes papers on the discourse of environmentalism, emphasizing the importance of NGOs in anticipating potential problems (Grove-White); the way environmentalists advocate the cause (Harries-Jones); the use of 'science' by environmental organizations; and the subsequent strengths and weaknesses of the employment of scientific experts (Yearley). This point is examined further by Warren, who emphasizes the need for scientific expertise in the creation of environmental legislation. On the subject of law, MaCay examines the concept of 'public trust' with a view to improving stewardship, illustrating her argument with detailed legal cases.

Other papers move into the more traditional anthropological territory of speaking and interpreting for the 'Other'. So we find Einarsson revealing the Icelandic whalers' perspective ('unsaleable fish is waste'), implicitly indicating the problem of ethnocentric environmental imperialism. Bird-David examines tribal metaphors of human-nature relatedness and treats the reader to a variety of explanations, including hunting as a sexual encounter, the transformation of persons into things and the forest as a caring parent. The symbolization of animals is a subject which Richards explores through Mende thought, broaching the problematic themes of murderous animals (leopards and chimpanzees), witchcraft and rationality. The link between elephants as bush clearers and the ancestors is particularly poignant.

Ellen introduces a sense of sanguinity, cautioning against the 'myth' of traditional people's innate environmentalism. He draws attention to the Nuauulu people who have a complex categorical construction of their environment but do not have the historical experience to anticipate the future regarding development and logging. However, we should never be complacent about local knowledge, as Sillitoe argues in his examination of the Wola people's apparently off-hand nonchalance regarding soil types. Their seeming lack of interest belies experience and becomes understandable to those with a (Western) scientific bias after rather tedious measurements of soil-type and locations.

It may seem a gigantic intellectual leap from the cultivator's perspective in New Guinea (the Wola) to the cosmological view of a sixteenth-century Venetian, but this is a small step in anthropology, and Ingold's diagram-rich analysis of the typology of environmentalism (globe and sphere) offers an excellent tool with which to negotiate the varying terrains of environmentalism. The deceptively simple difference between spheres and globes reflects the common dyad of subject-object which appears throughout other papers dealing with local viewpoints. Ingold stresses the predominance of global imagery as associated with the triumph of modern science but sees a

subversive growth in 'cosmologies of engagement' which will provide 'sources of insight'.

The treatment of the environment as an object (globe) distinct from humanity permeates political discussions and the power of technology exemplifies this, as Prato shows in a discussion of political decision-making in Brindisi, where traditional parties do not deal adequately with an ecological issue involving the development of power stations. Equally intrusive was the plan for the construction of a chemicals factory in County Cork, which provoked a protest and general local opposition. In his paper, Peace relates how scientific discourse within the public enquiry (a 'theatre of control') managed to overpower the common-sense opposition in which other environmental disasters (Piper Alpha etc.) were significant, and subsequently apparent 'objectivity' was overruled.

The politics of eating greens (i.e. organic foods) attracts a diversity of interested parties, not all of whom are motivated by environmentalism. Yet in her paper James foresees the organic food issue as a vehicle for integrating environmental principles into British culture. In this instance cultural symbolism plays a leading role, a phenomenon that Milton addresses in the introduction. And symbolism comes to dominate the discussion of contemporary neo-paganism as examined by Lührman, especially in the powerful form of the Dark Goddess, which leads Lührman to suggest that 'the truly feminine is a powerful, ugly, devouring hag'. This unnerving proposition becomes more approachable when seen as a transformation of frustration into violence as opposed to creativity, a not uncommon facet of female deities. But the real point of interest lies in the resurgence of romanticism as a return to the subject-subject relationship between humanity and nature. This symbolic interaction between the two conceptualisations underpins the intellectual reasoning of different people throughout this collection.

In summary, this book possesses the qualities of many collections of conference papers: it has considerable breadth of interest and wealth of information, while being short on theoretical analysis and ethnographic data. This work is timely in that 'environmentalism' might be seen by some to be just another fashionable topic, a view which the contributors stridently disprove. Anthropology still has a lot to say about the environment.

DON MACLEOD

MAURICE BLOCH, *Prey into Hunter: The Politics of Religious Experience*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1992. xiii, 117 pp., Bibliography, Index. £25.00/£8.95.

This short book, based on the Lewis Henry Morgan Lectures for 1987, advances a clear and challenging thesis: all religious ritual is based on a common core, a similar symbolic structure of 'rebounding violence'. This is, as the author acknowledges, an expansion of ideas he expressed in his earlier *From Blessing to Violence: History and*

Ideology in the Circumcision Ritual of the Merina of Madagascar (Cambridge University Press 1986).

As in van Gennep's and Turner's theories, rituals are seen to consist of three phases. In the initial stage, rituals are about the aggressive domination of the forces of life (or 'vitality', as Bloch calls it). During this stage, violence is directed at individuals or at animals identified with them. In the next stage, ritual separates the principal actors from the forces of life, thus bestowing a transcendental quality on them. Finally, with this transcendence incorporated, the actors gain a new and more powerful form of vitality which gives them new powers in life. Bloch concludes: 'The symbolism of rebounding violence offers at least three alternative avenues of legitimate practice and in addition any mixture of the three: (1) the assertion of reproduction; (2) the legitimation of expansionism, which itself takes one of two forms; (a) it may be internally directed, in which case it legitimates social hierarchy or (b) it may be externally directed and become an encouragement to aggression against neighbours; (3) the abandonment of earthly existence.... Which particular alternative dominates and informs action is largely, though not exclusively, determined by people's evaluation of their politico-economic circumstances' (p. 98).

Bloch pursues this theory through detailed examination of a large number of examples from across the world. Ideal type (my term) number 1 is illustrated by the Orokaiva, the Dinka and the Buid of the Philippines. Ideal type 2a, used to explain the subordination of women, is discussed using Maria Phylactou's data on Ladakhi marriage and applied to other subordinate groups using David Lan's work on the Shona. Ideal type 2b is advanced using the examples of Hindu India (following Parry, Heesterman and Biardeau) and Japan. Ideal type 3 stands for millenarianism and is illustrated by Bloch's own material from Madagascar and the history of early Christianity.

In the final chapter, Bloch looks at the Ma'Betisek aborigines of Malaysia as described by Wazir-Jahan Karim (*Ma'Betisek Concepts of Living Things*, Athlone Press 1981). One of the ways this people deal with recalcitrant disease is to enact rituals that 'conjure up a truly radical rejection of rebounding violence' (Bloch, p. 104). Bloch uses this to deny the implication that 'given the raw materials of our shared perceptions of the processes of life and with the limited tools of ritualization and metaphor at our disposal, the constructions of rebounding violence...are the only way in which the necessary image of society as a transcendental and legitimate order can be constructed.... [P]erhaps the Ma'Betisek example...may show that, when in real trouble, we are able to analyse and criticize the very basis of our ideologies, to begin to demystify ourselves and to search for fundamentally different solutions' (p. 105).

Such a brief summary cannot do justice to either the clarity or the richness of the exposition. It is bound to raise many questions which can really be answered only by reading for oneself how Bloch applies the theory to particular cases.

Perhaps inevitably, there is sometimes more than a whiff of special pleading. Bloch has to work hard to demonstrate that Japanese Shintoism exemplifies rebounding violence, since it is a religion that abhors animal sacrifice. Japanese Buddhism exemplifies the scheme, it is argued, because the 'outward journeys' that it organizes, both in pilgrimage and symbolically, can 'be considered as forms of attacks on, and renunciations of, vitality' (p. 55).

There is in Bloch's theory no suggestion that the 'central core' undergoes any historical development or that scriptural or soteriological religions might be any different from the others. Now that he has left the Merina example in *From Blessing to Violence* behind, it is evident that the theory is essentially ahistorical. Bloch's insistence that the religions even of non-literate peoples make essential claims to transcendence is certainly well taken. As presented here, however, it seems that his theory has little or nothing to say about what difference it makes that a religion is written down, universalist or pacifist. Readers of Bloch's other work will be interested to see that this book makes no reference to Marx (unless the Utopian hope quoted above, with which the book ends, can be considered a homage to him). Nor do Bloch's very interesting ideas on ritual language play any explicit part in the present theory.

Along the way, there are several highly enjoyable gems—for example, Bloch's demonstration that certain well-known opposed theories of sacrifice are really partial and can be reconciled within his own, more encompassing theory. With its short and punchy theme, *Prey into Hunter* will surely be widely read and used, both by researchers and for teaching. Whether his theory is wholly correct or not is ultimately less important than the fact that it is clear, ambitious, and to a degree testable. Bloch indeed invites readers to try it out on their own material. Whatever may be the case in other branches of science and scholarship, it is surely true that anthropology advances more by fertile and creative error than by dull and worthy truism. Bloch's book is no mere 'important contribution to a debate' but ought itself to revive a debate about general theories of religion and ritual that anthropologists have all but abandoned.

DAVID N. GELLNER

VICTORIA A. GODDARD, JOSEP R. LLOBERA and CRIS SHORE (eds.), *The Anthropology of Europe: Identities and Boundaries in Conflict*, Oxford and Providence: Berg 1994. x, 310 pp., Index. £34.95/£14.95.

The present volume is billed on the cover as the first book on the anthropology of Europe to come out since 1989, though in their introduction (p. 30) the editors mention that it originated in a 1992 conference held at Goldsmiths College, University of London, on 'The Anthropology of Europe: After 1992'. These two dates, though ostensibly significant for eastern and western Europe respectively, differ considerably in their popular resonance. For the east, the changes of 1989 were far-reaching, simultaneously opening up the region to ideas of capitalism, democracy and nationalism, not to mention personal liberty and responsibility. For the west, however, 1992 represented little more than another notch in the process of convergence between states, one which to many also represented an increase in the level of threat to national sovereignty and ways of life. While the east was shedding its international system, western Europe was trying to develop one of its own in the face of the scepticism and indifference of much of its population.

In fact, all but two articles in this book are about western Europe—hence, perhaps, the editors' own preference for the later date as its point of reference. They cite as their main concerns not simply changes in the way Europe is being structured, but also their articulation with ethnicity, nationalism and gender in particular. There is thus a contrast with Sharon MacDonald's recent and equally valuable edited volume, *Inside European Identities* (Berg 1993), in that local identities in Europe are emphasized less and the larger picture more.

The papers dealing most closely with the theme of western integration are those by Ruth Mandel, on moves to reduced the numbers of migrants coming into the European Union, with special reference to Turks in Germany; Soledad Garcia, on the notion of European citizenship, examined through the experience of Spain; Cris Shore and Annabel Black, who tackle the question of the construction of a specifically European identity by Brussels bureaucrats; Joseph Ruane, who shows how European integration is affecting the Republic of Ireland; and Gareth Stanton's paper on Gibraltar, which examines the Rock's idiosyncratic status as a disputed territory outside the EU and a smuggling conduit, showing what this means for an already 'contradictory' Gibraltar identity. One theme linking the first three papers is the question of civic rights. Migrants are faced with increasing difficulties in claiming any in Europe, the image of the EU is seriously hampered by its lack of democratic credibility, and even Spain is shown to suffer in respect of the rights it grants its citizens in comparison with other EU countries. Shore and Black also contribute to the anthropology of bureaucracies, showing them to be makers of meaning like any other identifiable group, a change from the social dynamics approach to institutions deriving from sociology. Ruane's paper shows how European integration is a strategy exploited by both conservative nationalists and liberal cosmopolitans in Ireland, the former on the basis that Europe, with its subsidies and opportunities to circumvent lingering British influence, is good for Ireland, the latter that Ireland, with its tradition of neutrality and internationalism, is good for Europe. In addition, the liberals see reference to Europe as a way of easing two key Irish problems, the border and immigration, both of which will effectively be internalized by European integration.

Jeremy Boissevain's paper is almost programmatic in suggesting which issues will become prominent in the immediate future: he identifies changes in economic activity, minority interests, regionalism, external and internal migration, tourism, and nostalgia and the heritage industry. Josep Llobera examines past anthropological approaches to nationalism in the work of Arnold van Gennep and Marcel Mauss. Although Mauss's writings on this topic appear somewhat fragmentary—and Llobera prefers to stress their relevance to events since 1989—what both authors say is of value in being much closer than we are to the great explosion of nationalism in the late nineteenth century (though building on earlier roots, of course). Llobera mentions a critique to come from his pen of Louis Dumont's study of German identity (or what Dumont prefers to call German 'ideology'), which I for one look forward to.

In the two papers specifically on eastern Europe, Glen Bowman explores the applicability of a Lacanian perspective to the ethnic violence in the former Yugoslavia, while Malcolm Chapman examines Polish attitudes to the newly intrusive western capitalism which Poland has been one of the most successful eastern states in coping with. Finally, three papers deal with different aspects of gender in the European

context. Victoria Goddard is concerned to recast the 1960s and 1970s theme of honour and shame in a more contemporary gender-based perspective, while Dolores Comas d'Argemir's also suggests revising this older dichotomy in the light of the influence of government welfare policies on local gender constructions. Oonagh O'Brien examines the ways in which gender informs ethnic identity among French Catalans, showing that women are more important here, especially as they get older.

The editors end their introduction with a plea to anthropologists to take the regional, national and global dimensions as well as the local ones into account in work on Europe. This will entail adopting a proper historical perspective and supplementing traditional fieldwork with other (largely unspecified) methods. The latter two points have always been associated in anthropology: the abandonment of secondary texts and the expedition as basic sources in favour of fieldwork led to a rejection of history in the work of Malinowski, which made anthropology permanently self-conscious about its sister discipline, even after it had begun to take it into account again (though more as construction than fact). Nor has any great progress been made on the question of how the regional, national, global etc. dimensions can properly be studied using anthropological methods, especially given the competition from other disciplines here, including political science, economics, and history itself. The editors of this book eschew any programme and confine themselves to the exploration of these issues. In doing so, however, they not only point to the problems that still have to be overcome but also begin to indicate how they might be.

ROBERT PARKIN

BURKHARD SCHNEPEL, *Twinned Beings: Kings and Effigies in Southern Sudan, East India and Renaissance France*, Göteborg: Institute for Advanced Studies in Social Anthropology 1995. viii, 137 pp., Figures, Maps, Bibliographies. No price given.

This is a book about interregna, the problems of transfer of sovereignty and succession to office, and the use of effigies in ritual symbolizing such transitional periods. The study is comparative, starting with medieval and renaissance England, then going on to discuss, in tandem, the cults of Jagannath in Orissa (India) and of Nyikang among the Shilluk of the Sudan, before returning to Europe with a closing discussion of medieval and renaissance France. The earlier work of the historian Kantorowicz forms the starting-point and provides a theoretical back-drop throughout, as well as being Schnepel's main source for the English case, while another historian, Kantorowicz's pupil R. E. Giesey, is used for France. However, the parts on Jagannath and the Shilluk are based as much on Schnepel's own fieldwork in both areas as on published sources. The chapters, or 'sections', are short and move swiftly through the arguments; the bibliography is divided thematically.

Schnepel shows convincingly first, that while there is a tendency among Western historians to view interregna as both dangerous and inconvenient, other societies may regard them rather as an opportunity to make symbolic statements about the renewal

of the whole society after the demise of the ruler; and secondly, that there is no one model of either interregna or the ways in which they are overcome. This is evident both from the direct comparison of societies and from historical changes, especially in relation to the two European examples. However, one constant theme is the notion of 'twinned beings', i.e. the circumstance that figures denoting sovereignty often have two forms of personhood, one which perishes with the corporeal form, the other enduring as spirit, legal corporation or some image of sovereignty. Thus the spirit of the god Nyikang moves between different bodily kings, who in life are assimilated to him but who inevitably decay (and may be helped to die), whereupon uncertainty reigns until it emerges which body Nyikang will henceforth occupy. Effigies are important in representing Nyikang in the rituals effecting the transition of sovereignty. In Orissa, by contrast, the effigy of the god Jagannath has almost permanent importance, and decay takes the form not of the bodily death of the king—who is but Jagannath's servant—but of the delapidation of what is a wooden structure in a hot climate. None the less, there is again an association between sovereignty and the god, who survives in spiritual form the periodic demise of his corporeal aspect.

This basic theme seems a perfect candidate for Dumont's work on hierarchical opposition as revised for ritual by Serge Tcherkézoff (see *JASO*, Vol. XXV [1994], pp. 133–67, 229–53), since the encompassment of the corporeal aspect by the spiritual ceases with the demise of the latter. In the subsequent ritual, their separation is evident, until they are reunited at the rite's supreme moment. Schnepel's emphasis, however, is on the variations in the ethnography rather than on how they may be represented theoretically. In its succinctness, this short but stimulating and detailed volume is a model of how to present a key ethnographic idea in such a way that it may be taken up by other researchers. It also contains good accounts of the rituals involved, especially in relation to the Shilluk, known since Frazer for both divine kingship and their reputation for ritual regicide. The book is therefore to be recommended as a contribution to the anthropology of kingship and ritual.

ROBERT PARKIN

ADAM KUPER (ed.), *Conceptualizing Society*, London and New York: Routledge (EASA Series) 1992. ix, 152 pp., Indexes. £10.99.

In the current age of post-modernist recursivity in ethnographic writing, this collection of essays offers a welcome and stimulating, if in some ways conventional approach to conceptualizing ourselves and others. The volume celebrates the inauguration of the European Association of Social Anthropologists (EASA) and its first conference held in Portugal in 1990. The six papers, edited and commented upon in the introduction by Adam Kuper, challenge and confront previous representations and applications of the terms 'society', 'culture', 'individuals' and 'relationships'. Kuper outlines the ways in which the jobs of fieldworker and theorist have intertwined and diverged in anthropological history, rather like the strands of a double helix leading us to the

present state of examining not how we make sense of society, but for whom society makes sense. The book is divided into three sections of two essays each focusing on individuals and networks, parts and wholes, and the individual and nature. Each author attends to the failures of outmoded theoretical models and perspectives by addressing the non-conformity of the fieldworker's experiences and conceptual frameworks with those of the actors he or she wishes to portray.

In his opening discussion of 'society', Fredrik Barth laments the tunnel vision which views society as closed and bounded. This ideology, he says, has been constructed by anthropologists to facilitate the incorporation of the piecemeal nature of fieldwork data. Instead, he argues, all societies are open and disordered: the homogeneity of individuals occurs in 'action' and 'event'. Barth deconstructs society to the level of 'behaviour' and 'meaning', which constitute 'events', with a conglomerate of them comprising a system. 'Society' for Barth is necessarily unstable and polyphonic, a cacophony of multiple voices creating the dynamics of the system. Individuals are not puppets to be placed within a pre-determined drama of interaction.

Ulf Hannerz develops this scheme into a globalistic view of networks of experience. He takes Barth's proposition a stage further by suggesting a level of abstraction at which networks may construct a 'perspective of individual's perspectives'. The motives, rationales and intentions behind a person's networking of relationships with others becomes the organizing principle of self. While the idea is commendable, one is led to wonder how the motives influencing each individual's perspectives can be coherently presented as a global ecumene.

The flaws of previous models of society form the basis of Daniel de Coppet's paper on parts and wholes. He asks whether the successions of 'isms' in anthropological theory have blurred the edges of indigenous concepts. He sees the moves through diffusionism, historicism, functionalism, structuralism and symbolism to modernism as creating opacity in the conceptualization of society. This has led to the post-modernist nihilism of dissection and dissolution of the ideology of 'otherness' and the fragmentary nature of the voice in its representation. The way forward, he urges, is that of contextually constructed truths, so that comparison functions at the level of ultimate values. However, he does not clarify whose ultimate values we are comparing. If we compare ultimate values, do we not establish an 'ultimate comparison of ultimate values' (if such a comparison can be conceived of) and thus create a separate value altogether?

In these eternal tangles of conceptualization, Marilyn Strathern's essay offers a glimmer of hope in analysing the uniqueness of the 'person' in contrast with 'personal relations' and kinship models. Strathern uses the non-conformity of Garia kin relations as her model of how a person's identity is both male and female and yet distinct. She deals specifically with the erroneous history of the individual perceived as part of external organizing principles and relations situated within a whole. Like Barth, she recognizes the fallacy of endorsing one socializing principle over another, which alters the view of the whole. In so doing, she concludes that what makes 'a person' does not depend on their personal relationships, so that the correlation between the organizing principles of kinship and society are not necessarily congruent.

The final section of the book questions anthropological precepts that approach nature as a world that is 'out there', beyond the experiences of individuals, to be used

merely as a tool for symbolic analogies. Philippe Descola uses the equivalences of natural and human phenomena to provide the 'principles of the construction of reality'. He discusses the distinctions between totemism and animism to reinforce his premise that the Tukano, Jivaro and Arawak conceive of the world as a closed system where humans, plants and animals live and die in one conceptual space. This bounded order, derived from the idea that it is no longer strategies that are the focus of conceptualization but the means by which those strategies occur, stands in stark contrast to Barth's assertion that 'society' must be disordered. While Descola is concerned with cosmological ordering, Barth's concern is societal. The two perspectives occupy the extremes of a broad spectrum of theoretical possibilities.

The collection is especially worthwhile for the contribution made by the final paper by Maurice Bloch. He gives a lucid and comprehensive account of the problems of the processes of experience, thought, value and action. His concern with the sense and sensitivity of 'the other', and the difficulty of reconciling the concepts of experience, sight and sensation with a language of representation, are inviting in their frankness. In attempting to find a solution to the problem of representation, Bloch feels that the actor's concepts should speak for themselves to the point of blatancy. He does not turn their processes into Descola's 'products of operation', although both see social relations and natural processes as interlinked. In representing this, Bloch allows the conceptualizations of society to originate from 'mental models' that are those of indigenous internalization. We are thus challenged to consider how to put more of the actor and less of the observer into our conceptualizations of how other societies think.

The differing strategies laid out by each author highlight the very immediate and real concerns of past and present theoretical trends. The issues presented are crucial to the continuing development of anthropological thought, which makes this collection one which every social anthropologist ought to read.

FIONA MAGOWAN

GEORGE E. MARCUS (ed.), *Perilous States: Conversations on Culture, Politics, and Nation* (Late Editions 1: Cultural Studies for the End of the Century), Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press 1993. viii, 381 pp., References, Index, Photographs, Figures. £15.25/\$21.75.

Assembling something coherent to say about this collection of essays is a salvage attempt in picking among the refuse of 'post-modern' anthropology. At best these essays offer the reader a series of conversations with individuals about political and cultural aspects of different modern states. The social actors chosen for these essays (along with their authors) seem to be searching for their own sense of *manqué* for meaningful identity in the modern world. At the very least one can expect a series of subjective accounts of different people from Argentina and eastern Europe to South Africa that read more like tape-recorded transcripts. This montage is representative of the current fad among some American anthropologists, the tendency towards the 'post-

modern', with all the stale feelings of uncertainty, crisis and phenomenological abuses of language. To some such a trend might still be appealing. To the rest of those who feel they are too post-modernly inept as to cope with a barrage of fetid exegeses alive with feral bombast, by all means avoid this book.

The premise of *Perilous States* is to disregard anthropological methods altogether. As Marcus states in his introduction, 'this is a first in a series of annual volumes that sends anthropologists and other kinds of scholars back to particular sites...and asks them to operate somewhat outside their usual genres of work. They are asked to trade the scholarly treatise or essay...in a manner more evocative of journalists or correspondents' (p. 1). The format for the book according to the 'Marcus Group' is 'reportage' which gives a voice to 'social actors through imaginative constructions of interviews and conversations' (p. 2). In this way, the contributors would like to make the world and the people in it more immediately accessible, like turning on the television or rather opening a newspaper page (which ethnographic film already provides in a much more vivid and meaningful way). The contributors seem to hope that their approaches will evoke new meaning for the social sciences with this annual series. They want to popularize anthropology using journalistic zeal and repackage it into something it is not with a better look and feel (pp. 3-4). Such thoughts create more of an eerie feeling of 'World Disorder' in the social sciences which likewise have provoked grandiose language more akin to cargo-cult behaviour than empirical objectivity. Their style is 'documentary impulse' and 'worlding impulse' to address the end of their century, their '*fin-de-siècle*' (pp. 4-5). Unfortunately, the reader may expect to be assailed with more of the same after the book's introductory of post-modern promises, such as anomalous interviews, confusing conversations, fragmented thoughts, pathetic jargon, and overall an hope for something better in essay after essay.

There are some overall comments to make about this loose package of essays which may be summed up in a pithy way. First, the book lacks a common theme. There is nothing in these essays which ties them together. The book reads like a Joycean stream of consciousness, moving from one personal opinion to the next without the clear contextual analysis inherent in any social-science discipline.

Secondly, it is difficult to discern what relevance this book has to an understanding of national cultures in general. The text is disordered. The reader is led on a survey of contradictory opinions about culture and politics without historical or social contexts in which to grasp implied realities in varying declarations.

Thirdly, the essays are presented in an inept manner. Throughout the book there is a predominance of chaos in the dialogues and monologues, which altogether lack accompanying objective analysis. The reader is left in a sea of scattered flotsam of cultural, national and political ideas.

Fourthly, the book is written entirely in nonsensical subjectivity. This tendency is a great peril for anthropologists who prefer this genre of writing. Anthropology is based upon objectively derived empirical data of social action and social organization.

Fifthly, most of the people interviewed in these essays have either too narrowly defined political views or are marginal people in their own societies. Specifically to point out this criticism, here is a brief overview of all the essays. Bruce Grant's essay interviews six Russian writers who have very specific political views. Kathryn Milun's paper is centred around three Hungarians—an anthropologist, a film-maker and a punk

rock star. Each of these people have peculiar views about Hungarian political culture and seem more to represent marginal aspects of the society. Fischer and Grigorian's interviews of intellectual politicians evoke narrow points of view about the Armenian nation and culture. Two urban shamans from the Sakha Republic of the former Soviet Union interviewed by Marjorie Balzer tell us little about Sakha provincial life in general. Balzer also fails to explain why both these shamanic leaders are controversial with Sakhan people. Michael Fischer's fragmented interviews with a Polish philosopher thoroughly confuse the reader. There is no sense that anything can be gained from his 'dialogic play' on the romantic notion of the Polish nation obfuscated in muddy philosophical language and abstract dialogues (p. 195). Douglas Holmes's paper 'Illicit Discourse' portrays a French politician of the extreme right in his probe of extremist conservative European politics. Papagaroufali and Georges's essay focuses on an interview with a politically leftist Greek intellectual woman. This woman's views are only representative of the minority feminist position in Greece. Julie Taylor interviews a dissident military officer whose comments provide a limited perspective on Argentina's 'Dirty Wars'. David Coplan chooses to record conversations with a radical and controversial South African musician.

Lastly, the experiment of the contributors to present ethnographic material in a journalistic manner has failed. It is uncertain how such techniques can be considered pioneering when their use is inhibiting and their presentation choppy. The effect is altogether disconcerting to those more accustomed to an intellectual portrayal of similar issues.

In general, this mosaic of essays tells us more about the contributors than the subjects interviewed for this volume. What these pieces share is a need to shock the social-science reader rather than truly contribute anything of significance to an understanding of social upheaval in the modern world. The experimentation of using journalism and correspondence techniques is cloaked by an inability to write about emerging civil societies, democratic struggles, ethnic violence and market economic systems in a lucid fashion. Those who are willing to scavenge for new ideas about culture and politics among the nebulous conversations of the interlocutors in this volume might be better served in a café.

JOHN P. LINSTROTH

M. HITCHCOCK, V. T. KING and M. J. G. PARNWELL (eds.), *Tourism in South-East Asia*, London: Routledge 1993. ix, 373 pp., Index, Figures, Tables. No price given.

There is a lot of information in this book. It has something for sociologists, geographers, economists, conservationists, students of politics, students of tourism and, yes, social anthropologists. In fact, it stands as an example of the fundamental difficulty of studying tourism: how to classify the information? Nevertheless, the problem is solved by dividing (but not explicitly) the chapters into subject areas, which this reader would define as cultural theory, local experience, economics, history and

environmental issues. This is all fruitful territory for the anthropologist, and those interested in South-East Asia will find this book—which grew out of the AGM of the ASEASUK for 1991—a worthwhile and provocative read, while those interested in the anthropology of tourism will benefit from its breadth of study and depth of detail.

More specifically, the contributors deal with issues ranging from the problem of tourism fieldwork (Wilson) and the sociology of development (Wood), to the phenomenology of prostitution (Cohen) and early Borneo travellers (Sanders). This illustration cannot do justice to the diversity of topics covered, all of which are intimately tied in with tourism and satisfy the editors' intention to present different disciplinary perspectives on the characterization and effects of tourism development in various countries.

In the opening section Wilson reviews the theoretical development of tourism within anthropology, drawing attention to the 'ethnographic time-traps' and citing the study by Greenwood on Fuentarrabia, claiming that his conclusions have been refuted by more recent fieldwork. This, of course, is wholly relevant to all anthropological fieldwork and neatly encapsulates the problem of change. Wood sees culture as the 'missing concept in the sociology of development' and asks whether tourism can be separated from a culture, highlighting development as a form of discourse, whereas Picard argues that culture has been transformed by tourism into Bali's main economic resource.

But we must not forget that culture is not homogeneous. King reminds us that the interrelations between culture and tourism are complex, and he laments the lack of studies on the 'cultural effects of tourism'. Selwyn can see cultural effects in the view from the tourist brochures, which he argues sell 'space in a world of Peter Pans', pointing to an individualistic new world order. Unfortunately his usage of post-structuralism and post-modernism seem to be interchangeable and mars this otherwise enlightening paper. Dreams are also packaged in Java in the performance rituals, but Hughes-Freeland sees tourism as 'one aspect of cultural development' and views tradition as a 'description of ideas' rather than historical continuities. She also observes that tourism can be a scapegoat for the state's problems.

Stepping beyond the dancing girls, Cohen gives an account of prostitutes who deal with Western tourists and draws attention to their view of this trade as one involving luck, risk and rewards, in which the highest prize is leaving the game with a man. He argues that the women hold simultaneously Western and traditional Thai attitudes towards their clients and subsequently draws attention to cultural divides, but in doing so he risks becoming too functionalist in his conceptualization of individual world-views.

Tourism can become a political tool as well as an economic one, and Richter sees a critical future for tourism policy in which the policy-makers should be more accountable. The micro-economic complexities of this business are made clear by Sinclair and Vokes in their examination of topics such as supply, demand and price determination. This paper is complemented by one taking a macro-view, in which Walton looks at economic development in ASEAN, drawing attention to the industry as an amalgamation of separate industries and its broad costs and benefits. Parnwell, on rural handicrafts, brings the economic jargon into the grassroots perspective, highlighting the huge amounts of money being spent on cottage-industry products. He

also analyses the relationship of tourist art to so-called 'real' art and suggests that it may be supportive of traditional craftsmen (another form of cultural involution).

Just as art may be seen as a product of historical circumstances, Stockwell, in a study of early tourism in Malaya, sees tourism as a product rather than a cause of the growth in the travel industry during the colonial period. It is refreshing to see tourism portrayed as an effect rather than a cause: Sanders, continuing the historical theme, looks at earlier travellers in Borneo and demonstrates the power of the image as created by the mass media, an image manipulated today by local people.

The natural environment has played a large but predominantly silent part in many of the papers mentioned so far, but the final four contributors focus specifically upon environmental issues. Parnwell, in his study of Thailand, believes that tourism is a form of resource exploitation and that development must be in tune with the needs of the environment. Although sympathetic to environmental issues, Hitchcock draws attention to the need to include local people in resource management, offering the example of the island of Komodo and its dragon population as a successful animal reserve which has human population problems. Cochrane points out that attitudes of Indonesians and Malaysians towards the 'forest' are different from current Western ones, drawing attention to the benefits of national parks and the need to promote and manage them. This observation on indigenous views indirectly leads to the final chapter, in which Din advocates the inclusion of local inhabitants in decision-making: 'A sustainable mode of tourism development is one which considers both the ecological and the social carrying capacity of the destination area.' This rightly draws attention to the importance of social considerations when dealing with the environment and tourism, fittingly ending a collection of papers which amply demonstrate the need to share discoveries and ideas across the various academic disciplines interested in tourism.

DON MACLEOD

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

- ABELMANN, NANCY, *Echoes of the Past, Epics of Dissent: A South Korean Social Movement*, Berkeley and London: University of California Press 1996. Bibliography, Illustrations, Index. £38.00/£13.95/\$48.00/\$18.00.
- ABRAHAMS, RAY (ed.), *After Socialism: Land Reform and Social Change in Eastern Europe* (New Directions in Anthropology; 6), Providence, Oxford: Berghahn 1996. ix, 221 pp., References, Illustrations, Index. £35.00.
- AKIMICHI, TOMOYA (ed.), *Coastal Foragers in Transition* (Senri Ethnological Studies; 42), Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology 1996. 227 pp., Bibliographies, Illustrations, Index.
- ALMEIDA, MIGUEL VALE DE, *The Hegemonic Male: Masculinity in a Portuguese Town* (New Directions in Anthropology; 4), Providence, Oxford: Berghahn 1996. 186 pp., Bibliography, Illustration, Index. £30.00/£12.95.
- ARDENER, EDWIN (ed. ARDENER, SHIRLEY), *Kingdom on Mount Cameroon: Studies in the History of the Cameroon Coast, 1500-1970* (Cameroon Studies; 1), Providence, Oxford: Berghahn 1996. xx, 380 pp., Bibliography, Illustrations, Index. £40.00.
- ASSAYAG, JACKIE, *Au Confluent des Deux Rivières: Musulmans et Hindous dans le Sud de l'Inde* (Monographs de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient; 181), Paris: Presses de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient 1995. 287 pp., Bibliography, 48 illustrations. No price given.
- AUGÉ, MARC, and CLAUDINE HERZLICH (eds.), *The Meaning of Illness: Anthropology, History and Sociology* (Social Orders), Australia, UK: Harwood 1995. vii, 231 pp., References, Index. \$48.00/£29.00.
- BALICK, MICHAEL J., and PAUL ALAN COX, *Plants, People, and Culture: The Science of Ethnobotany*, New York: Scientific American Library 1996. ix, 228 pp., Bibliography, Colour Illustrations, Index. \$32.95.
- BANKS, MARCUS, *Ethnicity: Anthropological Constructions*, London: Routledge 1996. viii, 210 pp., Bibliography, Index.
- BANKS, MICHAEL *et al.*, *Careers and Identities*, Milton Keynes: Open University Press 1992. x, 219 pp., References, Illustrations, Index.
- BARNARD, ALAN, and JONATHAN SPENCER (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*, London: Routledge 1996. xxiv, 658 pp., Glossary, Indexes. £75.00.
- BARNETT, WILLIAM K., and JOHN W. HOOPES (eds.), *The Emergence of Pottery: Technology and Innovation in Ancient Societies*, Washington and London: Smithsonian 1995. xviii, 285 pp., References, Illustrations, Index. £42.95/£23.25.
- BAUMANN, GERD, *Contesting Culture: Discourses of Identity in Multi-Ethnic London* (Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology; 100), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996. xiii, 215 pp., References, Illustrations, Index. £40.00/£14.95/\$54.95/\$19.95.
- BAXTER, P. T. W., JAN HULTIN, and ALESSANDRO TRIULZI (eds.), *Being and Becoming Oromo: Historical and Anthropological Enquiries*, Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet 1996. 310 pp., References, Maps. SEK 200/£19.95.
- BECKER, ANNE E., *Body, Self, and Society: The View from Fiji* (New Cultural Studies), Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 1995. xvi, 206 pp., Bibliography, Illustrations, Index. £32.95/£13.95.
- BENNETT, JOHN W., and SEENA B. KOHL, *Settling the Canadian-American West, 1890-1915: Pioneer Adaptation and Community Building: An Anthropological History*, Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press 1995. xiii, 295 pp., [10]p. of plates, Bibliography, Illustrations, Index. £47.50.
- BERGENDORFF, STEEN, *Faingu City: A Modern Mekeo Clan in Papua New Guinea* (Lund Monographs in Social Anthropology; 2), Lund: Lund University Press 1996. xii, 279 pp., Bibliography, Illustrations, Index. 250 SKr/\$38.

BERLAND, JODY, WILL STRAW, and DAVID TOMAS (eds.), *Theory Rules: Art as Theory/Theory and Art*, Toronto, London: YYZ Books and University of Toronto Press 1996. 320 pp., References. £39.00/£13.00/\$60.00/\$19.95.

BIERSACK, ALETTA (ed.), *Papuan Borderlands: Huli, Duna, and Ipili Perspectives on the Papua New Guinea Highlands*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press 1995. xiv, 440 pp., References, Illustrations, Index. \$59.50.

BIERWERT, CRISCA (ed.), *Lushootseed Texts: An Introduction to Puget Salish Narrative Aesthetics* (Studies in the Anthropology of North American Indians), Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press 1996. viii, 325 pp., Bibliography, Illustrations, Index. £38.00.

BIOLSI, THOMAS, *Organizing the Lakota: The Political Economy of the New Deal on the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations*, Tucson and London: University of Arizona Press 1992. xvii, 244 pp., References, Illustrations, Index.

BLAIR, EMMA HELEN (ed.), *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes...* (Bison Book [facsim.] ed.), Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press 1996. 412 pp., Bibliography, Illustrations, Index. £23.95.

BOISSEVAIN, JEREMY (ed.), *Coping with Tourists: European Reactions to Mass Tourism* (New Directions in Anthropology; 1), Providence and Oxford: Berghahn 1996. viii, 264 pp., References, Illustrations, Index. £35.00/£14.50.

Borec: Revija za Zgodovino, Literaturo in Antropologijo, 542–543 (1995); 546–547 (1996).

BOYD, ROBERT, *People of the Dalles: The Indians of Wascopam Mission* (Studies in the Anthropology of North American Indians), Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press 1996. xi, 396 pp., References, Illustrations, Index. No price given.

BRAUND, KATHRYN E. HOLLAND, *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685–1815* (Indians of the Southeast), Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press 1993. xvi, 306 pp., Bibliography, Illustrations, Index. No price given.

BRINNER, BENJAMIN, *Knowing Music, Making Music: Javanese Gamelan and the Theory of Musical Competence and Interaction*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press 1995. xxiv, 363 pp., [8]p. of plates, Bibliography, Discography, Glossary, Illustrations, Index, Music. £47.95/£17.95/\$59.95/\$22.50.

Cambridge Anthropology, Vol. 18, no. 3 (1995); Vol. 19, no.1 (1996).

CAMINO, LINDA A., and RUTH M. KRULFELD, *Reconstructing Lives, Recapturing Meaning: Refugee Identity, Gender and Culture Change*, Basel: Gordon and Breach 1994. xviii, 253 pp. No price given.

Canberra Anthropology, Vol. 19, no.1 (1996).

CECIL, ROSANNE (ed.), *The Anthropology of Pregnancy Loss: Comparative Studies in Miscarriage, Stillbirth and Neonatal Death*, Oxford: Berg 1996. xii, 226 pp., References, Indexes. £29.95/£12.95.

CEVALLOS-CANAU, FRANCISCO JAVIER *et al.* (eds.), *Coded Encounters: Writing, Gender, and Ethnicity in Colonial Latin America*, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press 1994. viii, 298 pp., Bibliography, Illustrations, Index.

CHATTY, DAWN, *Mobile Pastoralists: Development Planning and Social Change in Oman*, New York: Columbia University Press 1996. xiv, 230 pp., References, Illustrations, Index. No price given.

CHRISTIAN, WILLIAM A., Jr., *Visionaries: The Spanish Republic and the Reign of Christ*, Berkeley and London: University of California Press 1996. xxii, 544 pp., Bibliography, Illustrations, Indexes. £32.00/\$39.95.

COHEN, COLLEEN BALLERINO, RICHARD WILK, and BEVERLY STOELTJE (eds.), *Beauty Queens on the Global Stage: Gender, Contests and Power*, New York, London: Routledge 1996. vii, 256 pp., References, Illustrations, Index. £40.00/£12.99.

Collecter: La Mémoire de l'Autre (Collection Modal), Niort: Geste 1991. 137 pp., Bibliography, Illustrations. 170 FF.

Critique of Anthropology, Vol. 15, no. 4; Vol. 16, nos. 1, 2 and 3 (December 1995; March, June and September 1996).

- DANIEL, E. VALENTINE, and JEFFREY M. PECK (eds.), *Culture/Contexture: Explorations in Anthropology and Literary Studies*, Berkeley and London: University of California Press 1996. vi, 410 pp., References, Index. No price given.
- DE COPPET, DANIEL, and ANDRE ITEANU (eds.), *Cosmos and Society in Oceania* (Explorations in Anthropology Series), Oxford: Berg 1995. vi, 338 pp., References, Illustrations, Index. £44.95/£16.95//\$52.95/\$22.95.
- DEMOS, E. VIRGINIA (ed.), *Exploring Affect: The Selected Writings of Silvan S. Tomkins* (Studies in Emotion and Social Interaction), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1995. xix, 516 pp., Bibliography, References, Illustrations, Indexes.
- DOUGLAS, SUSAN J., *Where the Girls Are: Growing Up Female With the Mass Media*, New York: Times Books 1995. 348 pp., [14] pp. of plates, References, Illustrations, Index.
- DUARA, PRASENJIT, *Rescuing History From the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press 1995. x, 275 pp., References, Index. £25.50/\$32.00.
- DYK, WALTER, *Left Handed, Son of Old Man Hat: A Navajo Autobiography* (Bison Book [facsim.] ed.), Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press 1995. xiv, 378 pp. £11.95.
- EDWARDS, DAVID B., *Heroes of the Age: Moral Fault Lines on the Afghan Frontier* (Comparative Studies on Muslim Societies; 21), Berkeley and London: University of California Press 1996. xv, 307 pp., Bibliography, Illustrations, Index. £40.00/£15.95//\$50.00/\$20.00.
- EICHER, JOANNE B. (ed.), *Dress and Ethnicity: Change Across Space and Time* (Ethnicity and Identity Series), Oxford: Berg 1995. xiv, 316 pp., References, Illustrations, Index. £39.95/£14.95.
- ELIADE, MIRCEA (trans. Rosemary Sheed), *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (Bison Book [facsim.] ed.), Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press 1996. xxi, 484 pp., Indexes. £16.95.
- ELLEN, ROY, and KATSUYOSHI FUKUI (eds.), *Redefining Nature: Ecology, Culture and Domestication* (Explorations in Anthropology Series), Oxford: Berg 1996. xxii, 664 pp., References, Illustrations, Index. £19.95.
- EMIGH, JOHN, *Masked Performance: The Play of Self and Other in Ritual and Theatre*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 1996. xxii, 336 pp., 8 pp. of plates; References, Illustrations (some colour), Index. £36.95/£17.50.
- ERLMANN, VEIT, *Nightsong: Performance, Power, and Practice in South Africa* (Chicago Studies in Ethnomusicology), Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press 1996. xxv, 446 pp., References, Discography, Illustrations, Index. £59.95/£19.95/£75.00/\$24.95.
- Etnolinguistica* 2 (1994).
- FINEMAN, MARTHA ALBERTSON, *The Neutered Mother, the Sexual Family and Other Twentieth Century Tragedies*, New York, London: Routledge 1995. ix, 239 pp., References, Index. £37.50/£12.99.
- FIRTH, RAYMOND, *Religion: A Humanist Interpretation*, London: Routledge 1996. 243 pp., References, Index. £40/£14.99.
- FOSTER, ROBERT J. (ed.), *Nation Making: Emergent Identities in Postcolonial Melanesia*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press 1995. vi, 280 pp., References, Index. \$47.50.
- FOWLER, IAN, and DAVID ZEITLYN (eds.), *African Crossroads: Intersections Between History and Anthropology in Cameroon* (Cameroon Studies; 2), Providence, Oxford: Berghahn 1996. xxvii, 213 pp., Bibliography, Index. £30.00/£11.95.
- FOX, JAMES J., and CLIFFORD SATHER (eds.), *Origins, Ancestry and Alliance: Explorations in Austronesian Ethnography*, Canberra: Department of Anthropology, RSPAS, ANU 1996. viii, 336 pp., References, Illustrations, Index. A\$35.00.
- FRICK, JOHANN, *Zwischen Himmel und Erde: Riten und Brauchtum in Nordwestchina* (Collectanea Instituti Anthropos; 42), Sankt Augustin: Academia 1995. 310 pp., Bibliography, Illustrations. 78 DM.
- FUJITANI, T., *Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan* (Twentieth Century Japan; 6), Berkeley and London: University of California Press 1996. xiv, 305 pp., Bibliography, Illustrations, Index. £32.00/\$40.00.

- GALLOWAY, PATRICIA, *Choctaw Genesis, 1500-1700* (Indians of the Southeast), Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press 1995. xv, 411 pp., Bibliography, Illustrations, Index. £62.00.
- GEORGE, KENNETH M., *Showing Signs of Violence: The Cultural Politics of a Twentieth-Century Headhunting Ritual*, Berkeley and London: University of California Press 1996. xv, 339 pp., References, Illustrations, Index, Music. £38.00/£13.95/\$48.00/\$18.00.
- GILSENAN, MICHAEL, *Lords of the Lebanese Marches: Violence and Narrative in an Arab Society*, London: I. B. Taurus 1996. xv, 377 pp., Bibliography, Illustrations, Maps, Index. £14.95.
- GODDARD, V. A., *Gender, Family and Work in Naples* (Mediterranea Series), Oxford: Berg 1996. x, 264 pp., Bibliography, Index. £34.95/£14.95.
- GODELIER, MAURICE, *L'Énigme du Don*, [Paris?]: Fayard 1996. 315 pp., Bibliography. 150 FF.
- GONZALEZ, GILBERT G., *Labor and Community: Mexican Citrus Worker Villages in a Southern California County 1900-1950* (Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Centennial Series), Urbana: University of Illinois Press 1994. xiv, 252 pp., [10] pp. of plates, Bibliography, Illustrations, Index.
- GRAFF, HARVEY J., *Conflicting Paths: Growing Up in America*, Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press 1995. xiii, 426 pp., References, Index.
- GRAY, ANDREW, *The Arakmbut: Mythology, Spirituality and History* (The Arakmbut of Amazonian Peru; 1), Providence, Oxford: Berghahn 1996. xxv, 324 pp., Bibliography, Illustrations, Index. £40.00.
- GRIFFITHS, TOM, *Hunters and Collectors: The Antiquarian Imagination in Australia* (Studies in Australian History), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996. xiv, 416 pp., Bibliography, Illustrations, Index. No price given.
- GUTMANN, MATTHEW C., *The Meanings of Macho: Being a Man in Mexico City* (Men and masculinity; 3), Berkeley and London: University of California Press 1996. xiv, 330 pp., Bibliography, Illustrations, Index. No price given.
- Hacia una Nueva Carta Etnica del Gran Chaco* 6, 1995.
- HAMINGTON, MAURICE, *Hail Mary?: The Struggle for Ultimate Womanhood in Catholicism*, New York and London: Routledge 1995. x, 216 pp., [References], Index. £37.50/£12.99.
- HANNERZ, ULF, *Transnational Connections: Culture, People, Places*, (Comedia) London: Routledge 1996. ix, 201 pp., References, Index. £45.00/£12.99.
- HART, JONATHAN, and RICHARD W. BAUMAN (eds.), *Explorations in Difference: Law, Culture, and Politics* (Theory/Culture), Toronto, London: University of Toronto Press 1996. xi, 246 pp., References. £35.75/£16.00/\$55.00/\$24.95.
- HARVEY, PENELOPE, *Hybrids of Modernity: Anthropology, the Nation State and the Universal Exhibition*, London: Routledge 1996. ix, 208 pp., Bibliography, Illustrations, Index. £40.00/£13.99.
- HASTRUP, KIRSTEN, *A Passage to Anthropology: Between Experience and Theory*, London: Routledge 1995. xiii, 217 pp., References, Index. £40.00/£13.99.
- HEBARD, GRACE RAYMOND, *Washakie: Chief of the Shoshones* (Bison Book [facsim.] ed.), Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press 1995. xxii, 337 pp., Bibliography, Illustrations, Index. £11.00.
- HEELAS, PAUL, *The New Age Movement: The Celebration of the Self and the Sacralization of Modernity*, Oxford: Blackwell 1996. ix, 266 pp., [8] pp. of plates, References, Illustrations, Index. £45.00/£13.99/\$49.95/\$21.95.
- HILL, JONATHAN D. (ed.), *History, Power, and Identity: Ethnogenesis in the Americas, 1492-1992*, vi, 277 pp., Bibliography, Index, Maps. £30.95/£14.95/\$32.95/\$15.95.
- HITTMAN, MICHAEL, *Corbett Mack: The Life of a Northern Paiute* (Studies in the Anthropology of North American Indians), Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press in cooperation with the American Indian Studies Research Institute, Indiana University 1996. xvi, 390 pp., Bibliography, Illustrations, Index. £42.75/£17.00.
- HORN, NANCY E., *Cultivating Customers: Market Women in Harare, Zimbabwe* (Women and Change in the Developing World), Boulder, London: Lynne Rienner 1994. xiv, 186 pp., Bibliography, Illustrations, Index.

HOXIE, FREDERICK E., *Parading Through History: The Making of the Crow Nation in America, 1805–1935*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1995. vii, 395 pp., Illustrations, Index. No price given.

HUANG, CHUN-CHIEH, and ERIK ZURCHER (eds.), *Time and Space in Chinese Culture* (Sinica Leidensia; 33), Leiden: Brill 1995. 400 pp., References, Illustrations.

HUTCHINSON, SHARON E., *Nuer Dilemmas: Coping with Money, War and the State*, Berkeley and London: University of California Press 1996. xvii, 408 pp., Bibliography, Illustrations, Index. £40.00/\$13.95/\$50.00/\$18.00.

IMAMURA, KEIJI, *Prehistoric Japan: New Perspectives on Insular East Asia*, London: UCL Press 1996. x, 246 pp., References, Illustrations, Index. £45.00/£17.95.

INHORN, MARCIA C., *Infertility and Patriarchy: The Cultural Politics of Gender and Family Life in Egypt*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 1996. x, 296 pp., References, Illustrations, Index. No price given.

ITEANU, ANDRÉ, and ÉRIC SCHWIMMER (eds.), *Parle, et Je t'écouterai: Récits et traditions des Orokaïva de Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée* (L'aube des peuples), [Paris?]: Gallimard 1996. 260 pp., [24] pp. of plates, Bibliography, Illustrations. 140 FF.

JAMES, WENDY, GERD BAUMANN, and DOUGLAS JOHNSON, (eds.), *Juan Maria Schuver's Travels in North East Africa, 1880–1883*, (Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, 2nd Series; 184), London: Hakluyt Society 1996. cvii, 392 pp., Bibliography, Illustrations, Index. £35.00.

JARRETT-MACAULEY, DELIA (ed.), *Reconstructing Womanhood, Reconstructing Feminism: Writings on Black Women*, London: Routledge 1996. xvii, 206 pp., References, Index. £37.50/£12.99.

Journal for the Anthropological Study of Human Movement, Vol. 8, no. 4; Vol. 9, no.1 (Autumn 1995; Spring 1996).

Journal of Asian and African Studies, nos. 50–51 (1996).

JUILLERAT, BERNARD, *L'Avènement du Père: Rite, Représentation, Fantôme dans un Culte Mélanésien*, Paris: CNRS 1995. ix, 289 pp., [12]p. of plates, Bibliography, Glossary, Colour Illustrations, Index. 180 FF.

KAPCHAN, DEBORAH, *Gender on the Market: Moroccan Women and the Revoicing of Tradition*, (New Cultural Studies) (Series in Contemporary Ethnography) (Publications of the American Folklore Society, New Series), Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 1996. xvii, 325 pp., Bibliography, Illustrations, Index. £40.50/£18.95.

KAPLAN, FLORA E. S. (ed.), *Museums and the Making of 'Ourselves': The Role of Objects in National Identity*, London: Leicester University Press 1996. xi, 430 pp., References, Illustrations, Index. £49.99/15.99.

KAVANAGH, THOMAS W., *Comanche Political History: An Ethnohistorical Perspective, 1706–1875*, (Studies in the Anthropology of North American Indians), xvi, 586 pp., References, Illustrations, Index. £42.50.

KEGG, MAUDE, *Portage Lake: Memories of an Ojibwe Childhood*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 1991. xx, 272 pp., Glossary, Map.

KENNEDY, N. BRENT with ROBIN VAUGHAN KENNEDY, *The Melungeons: The Resurrection of a Proud People*, Macon: Mercer University Press 1994. xviii, 156 pp., Illustrations, Index.

KERSENBOOM, SASKIA, *Word, Sound, Image: The Life of the Tamil Text* (Explorations in Anthropology), Oxford: Berg 1995. xx, 259 pp., Bibliography, Glossary, Illustrations, Index. Includes CD-i. £34.95/£14.95/\$45.95/\$19.95.

KINGERY, W. DAVID (ed.), *Learning from Things: Method and Theory of Material Culture Studies*, Washington and London: Smithsonian 1996. x, 262 pp., References, Illustrations. £30.50.

KIRIN, RENATA JAMBRESIC, and MAJA POVZRANOVIC (eds.), *War, Exile, Everyday Life: Cultural Perspectives*, Zagreb: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research 1996. x, 304 pp., References. \$17.00