

BOOK REVIEWS

MICHAEL ALLEN (ed.), *Vanuatu: Politics, Economics and Ritual in Island Melanesia*, Sydney etc.: Academic Press 1981 [Studies in Anthropology, con.ed. E.A.Hammel]. xviii, 393pp., Bibliography, Indexes, Maps. £30.40.

Ageing schoolboys will remember the New Hebrides as eccentric red inkblots on both the left- and the right-hand sides of Mercator's map. The home of *mana*, the John Frum cargo-cult, and the world's most prolific form of secret societies, these islands seem to have exerted an almost mystical hold on English-speaking ethnographers: Layard wrote only the first of his projected four-volume ethnography, and that 30 years after his fieldwork. Deacon's field-notes were collated into an unsatisfactory, posthumous edition. But the hold of the South Pacific on its visitors may be weakening. A memoir of Deacon is in press. Snippets of Layard's life appear in biographies of W.H.Auden. And now, Michael Allen, who has done much to revive interest in the area, has edited a collection of papers by 13 of the anthropologists who have recently worked in the archipelago (renamed Vanuatu on Independence in 1980). Allen sought 'high quality articles on favoured topics' rather than restrict contributors by making them conform to 'some predetermined editorial scheme'.

His endeavour was successful: we are provided with 14 essays which reflect the diversity of the islands and of methodologies. Unfortunately, I have only space to mention a few. Rubenstein writes incisively with fine detail on political process and the varieties of knowledge on Malo; Brunton gives a sociological explanation of the rise of the John Frum movement; Lindstrom perceptively describes the relations between speech and *kava* on Tanna; Jolly shows some of the ways, and in what sense, men exploit women in south Pentecost. It is refreshing to note that several contributors do not shy away from ethnohistory: Facey outlines the continuity and change in the nature of Ngunese hereditary chieftainship; Allen writes a stimulating essay on innovation, inversion, and revolution as political tactics in west Oba; Tonkinson delineates the changing relations between Christianity and tradition in south-east Ambrym; Philibert exemplifies indigenous reactions to the colonial order by detailing the modernisation of a peri-urban village. In the Preface, I was delighted to see a few lines of gratitude to Tessa Fowler, a resident expatriate of much standing, who has given so much help to what must have seemed an endless stream of researchers.

I must end on a sombre note because I doubt this edition heralds an imminent series of ethnographies on Vanuatu, given the present

and proposed cut-backs in the universities. One may grumble at the price and flinch at the typed format (depressingly reminiscent of doctoral theses) but the departure of three of the contributors already from social anthropology is sufficient augury for us all. We must pay our thirty pounds and be grateful.

JEREMY MacCLANCY

SUSAN BENSON, *Ambiguous Ethnicity: Interracial Families in London*, Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press 1981 [Changing Cultures, gen.ed. J.Goody]. ix, 150pp., Appendixes, References. £16.50.

In the fifties and early sixties much of British society was pre-occupied with the spectre of sexual relations and marriage between black and white. For the right the problem was 'the sexually predatory black male and his mongrel offspring'--'interbreeding' signalled the end of the Empire if not the death of European civilisation. An anxious British Medical Association called to the nation for 'chastity' to prevent 'children of mixed blood [who are] becoming an increasing problem'. For liberals and the left, on the other hand, intermarriage promised a solution to racism--by the removal of races. Both left and right regarded the question as primarily biological--racists of course believed that biology determines culture while liberals suggested that a uniform morphology would remove the origin of racism.

The spectre has now disappeared. Indeed it seems it never existed. There has been a surprisingly small amount of intermarriage and its frequency is still dropping. In this first look at the question in Britain, Susan Benson suggests that less than 20% of the black British population have had a white partner.

Studies of racism now focus on power and economics not on genetics and pigmentation. We know that in Japan 'untouchables', like minorities elsewhere, are characterised by poor health, unemployment and low IQ scores. They are, however, physically and genetically indistinguishable from the general population and are kept segregated only by the scrutiny of family genealogies at the time of marriage.

Intermarriage, then, cannot solve a biological racism but it does seem to signal the possibility that some people at least can build their lives without racism. What of those who have endeavoured to construct their personal identities in opposition to this dominant British institution? Benson looks at twenty families in Brixton in the 1970s. Her conclusions are sombre: 'Far from indicating emancipation from the racial attitudes of the wider society, such relationships reflect, only too clearly, a structure imposed by the system of race relations of which they form a part.'

One theme running through all these families is hypogamy: black men tend to marry white women only when these women are

their social or educational inferior. The Afro-British community is of course quite conscious of this. 'Black men's women', as they are known in Brixton, are frequently the socially disadvantaged. In the period when there were few black women in Britain, black servicemen on moving to a new camp would immediately see if there was a remand home in the vicinity--'because they were shut off from society they seemed to have more sympathy with us'. White girls now who are courageous enough to take a black boy-friend are regarded with suspicion by the boy's family--they are presumed to be promiscuous or socially inadequate. As a corollary to hypogamy, the doubly disadvantaged--black women--are unlikely to find a white partner. Interestingly, Benson's fieldwork suggests that such marriages achieve a more satisfying accommodation for both. This is achieved at a cost--the black woman is cut off from all ties except those through her husband--she becomes a classificatory white. The professional black woman typically has difficulty in finding any partner--black or white--unless she is prepared to accept a black man of inferior social status.

As we get to know the families it becomes clear that the white partner has no interest in the other's culture and indeed continues to subscribe to the usual stereotypes. The black partner is accepted as a person in spite of their biology--for culture is still believed to be biological in origin. Still less does it seem that these pioneers are evolving a new set of values. Their children, regarded both popularly and officially as non-white, express a clear preference for identification with white society.

Given her emphasis on the woman's perspective it is a pity that Benson avoids the question of European fantasies about black male sexuality. In the eighteenth century the white Jamaica historian Edward Long, in a typical combination of misogyny, racism and class prejudice, declared that 'the lower class of women in England are remarkably fond of the blacks for reasons too brutal to mention.' Here we have the folk articulation of hypogamy. That such fantasies persist is evidenced by 'the beachboy syndrome' of the tourist Caribbean and West Africa. In my own clinical practice I have frequently been asked to help young British blacks with white girl-friends who find themselves totally unable to live up to the sexual demands which the couples' joint fantasies have generated. How significant were these fantasies in the couple's initial relationship? Did they persist through years of marriage? The book after all is about the relationship between sexual activity and political ideology. Benson seems to have avoided the point at which they meet.

Her sensitivity to personal experience is such that we may regret the short ethnographic descriptions compared with her too extensive tables. She is to be congratulated for avoiding the facile suggestion that her families are somehow poised between two cultures: they are clearly articulating their personal positions by using the dominant symbolic pattern--the relationship between black and white. As she points out, intermarriage is not the solution to racism but it does provide a model by which we can understand certain problems which will be inherent in the solution.

A short protest. 'Miscegenation' (coined as a nineteenth-century journalistic hoax) although derived from *misc-* (mix) carries of course the connotation of *mis-* (undesirable). The use of 'interracial' suggests that 'race' is a valid concept. I should prefer in both instances 'intermarriage' or even the rather dated 'mixed marriage'.

ROLAND LITTLEWOOD

ANTHONY P. COHEN (ed.), *Belonging: Identity and Social Organisation in British Rural Cultures*, Manchester: Manchester University Press 1982. x, 321pp., Index. £7.50.

This book draws together the work and ideas of social anthropologists who, in recent years, have made systematic field studies in British rural communities. As such it is to be welcomed as an important addition to the existing corpus of British community studies; for it integrates, criticises and enhances much of the ethnographic literature which has preceded it.

Belonging announces its main concern as 'the ethnography of locality', an enterprise which necessarily addresses the nature of ethnicity. This concern is pursued at two levels: first, by analysis of the relation between a local collectivity and its constituent parts, and secondly, by investigation into how a local community is connected to the wider social totality in which it is placed, and how each mediates the other. Such an enterprise is to be seen as articulating a commitment to a specific ethnographic method and theoretic stance.

In his introductory essay, 'Belonging: the experience of culture', the editor declares a commitment to phenomenological method. Ethnographic craft is seen as consisting in interpreting the meaning of people's social experience in terms of their everyday language, values and beliefs. There is nothing strikingly novel about this kind of methodological perspective. As early as 1951 Evans-Pritchard argued that, in his view, social anthropology studies societies as symbolic systems rather than natural systems, that it seeks patterns not laws, and interprets rather than explains (*Social Anthropology*, p.62). Moreover, E-P saw this interpretative study as part of a more comprehensive task--the comparative study of social structures. And it is precisely this comparative element which is little evident in *Belonging*. There is an intellectual over-kill on describing and interpreting the particularities of local idioms and social forms, and an inversely proportionate lack of comparative study and abstraction. Even so, the ethnographies are good, due largely to the clarity and inventiveness with which the authors use a wide range of theoretical writings.

A common theoretic stance is detectable in all the contributions. First, there is a commitment to 'Interpretivist' theory,

derived largely from the writings of Clifford Geertz and, before him, Max Weber and Alfred Schutz. The intellectual tradition of 'Interpretivism' is less akin to the Durkheimian School, which has informed much of British social anthropology, and more in line with *Verstehende soziologie* which arose out of the German Romantic School of hermeneutics and the *Geisteswissenschaften*. 'Interpretivist' ethnography presupposes the hermeneutical principle of understanding the dialectical relation between the whole and its constituent parts. As Cohen, in agreement with Geertz's prescriptions, observes: 'the ethnographer must not only seek the overall cultural context: he must also elucidate the specific terms of any particular event and must address himself to the unique qualities of any relationship.' His focus is upon culture; and 'Culture to the Interpretivist, is Geertz's "web of significance"--a field within which meaning is made and shared'.

Another common theoretical stance is based on Fredrik Barth's concept of ethnic boundaries. (See Barth's *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, 1969.) A key statement regarding this comes early on in the book. Cohen writes:

The ethnography of locality is an account of how people experience and express their difference from others, and how their sense of difference becomes incorporated into and informs the nature of their social organisation and process. The sense of difference thus lies at the heart of people's awareness of their culture and, indeed, makes it appropriate for ethnographers to designate as 'cultures' such arenas of distinctiveness.

Ethnicity and locality, then, are seen as expressions of culture. 'Thus', writes Cohen, 'one can state a more general principle: that people become aware of their culture when they stand at its boundaries.' This theory disposes the contributors to analyse local communities as boundaries of commonality wherein distinctive meanings are constructed and expressed through particular idioms and modes of social organisation.

Finally, there is a countervailing concern with 'core-periphery' models--that is, with relating the esoteric particulars of peripheral communities to the complex state system of the British Isles and beyond. Local cultures are not presented as isolates; they are analysed in relation to the wider socio-cultural context.

These points of theoretical interest have largely shaped the structure of the book. Part One, 'Belonging to the Part: Social Association within the Locality', deals with the ways in which people experience local life. The papers here describe the elementary structures of belonging (including the ideology of difference), and show how these mediate the association between individuals and their community. The authors aim at disclosing local forms of social organisation through the terms used by the people themselves. Beyond ethnography there is an attempt to analyse the implications which indigenous perceptions of modes of close social association--kinship, neighbourhood, class, sect, ethnicity--have for the nature of local social process. To give a few examples, Cohen shows how bilateral kinship provides a means

for optimising access to limited resources. Robin Fox, in an illuminating essay on his Tory Island material, indicates further work is needed on partible inheritance and common ownership in Europe, and suggests a revision of the mechanical notion of 'norm' and 'deviance' and a new focus on the dialectical relation between principles and pragmatics. Marilyn Strathern relates English concepts of kinship and village status at the local level to nationwide divisions of society into classes. She also makes an interesting point of comparison with North American kinship in a foot-

In Part Two, 'Belonging to the Whole: the community in context', the focus shifts to analysing how local collectivities see themselves in relation to the wider social context. The nature of collective identity is examined with reference to its significance for internal differentiation, the formulation of behaviour in the community, and the framing of interaction between the community and the wider society. For instance, Peter Mewett, in a most stimulating essay, presents a perceptive analysis of the interaction between marginal esoteric cultures and mainstream culture, showing how esoteric cultures are gradually devalued as they become incorporated into the mainstream. He also examines how people's sense of, and attachment to, place affects their relationship with wider society. His analysis of migration accounts for the sentimental associations of 'home' as against the practical associations of 'away'. Strathern's essay in the second part presents a further variation on her kinship-and-village-as-class thesis, and argues that the Elmdoners' concept of 'village' is related to a set of symbols and values which refer to and derive from wider society.

The book has neither a conclusion nor a discussion of the data presented in the ethnographies. This is a drawback, as a discussion might well have suggested further ideas about concepts and areas for future study. But this is a minor criticism of an otherwise high-quality piece of work. The editor is to be congratulated for the thoroughness of his proofreading, and Manchester University Press for its excellent standard of production.

SCOTT K. PHILLIPS

WAZIR-JAHAN BEGUM KARIM, *Ma' Betisék, Concepts of Living Things*, London: Athlone and New Jersey: Humanities 1981 [London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology no. 54, gen.ed. A.Gell]. xv, 207pp., Appendixes, Glossary, Bibliography, Index. £18.00.

During the last decade much anthropological fieldwork has been carried out among the aboriginal peoples of the Malay Peninsula. So far, however, few publications have appeared. It is therefore particularly welcome to receive this study of one of the ethnic groups, the Ma' Betisék (previously known as the Mah Meri) of the

Carey Island off the west coast of the peninsula. The book is a revised version of a doctoral thesis submitted at the London School of Economics in 1977.

The author presents the belief system of the Ma' Betisék via two central concepts which she suggests are fundamentally opposed. They are both expressed in the relationship of the Ma' Betisék to plants and animals. Whereas the concept of *tulah* expresses the idea that plants and animals were 'cursed' by the ancestors to become food for the Ma' Betisék, the concept of *kemali* contradicts this view by expressing an essential unity between humans and animals and plants by virtue of which it is fundamentally wrong to exploit the latter two as food 'because they are human'. *Kemali* is invoked as an explanation for illness and misfortune. From this one might expect a conflict to result, but Karim argues that each view comes into operation only on such occasions as it reinforces the particular occurrence, and that *tulah* and *kemali* are mutually exclusive.

By taking examples of Ma' Betisék myths she shows that the two views are exemplified in the mythology also in mutually exclusive ways. Each myth deals either with *kemali* or with *tulah*. Karim is concerned with demonstrating the consistency by which the two sets of values are manipulated side by side in a system which 'functions as a pendulum. Both systems of ideas have equivalent statuses but neither system can ever be maintained for long since they both refer to events or activities that occur daily', and again, 'both are equally relevant and important. They are only coherent when they are operationalized, not otherwise.' It might have been interesting to consider the possibility that an interactive relationship pertains between the two concepts, that neither can exist without the other, and that the very paradox of their incompatibility gives vitality to both.

Although a wider spectrum of ideas and connections might have been usefully explored, including some reference to similar concepts found in neighbouring aboriginal groups, this is a well-written and well-documented study, filling an important gap in our knowledge about Malay aboriginals. The author also gives valuable information in appendices, listing twenty-four myths in full, as well as several songs and spells.

SIGNE HOWELL

ROLAND LITTLEWOOD and MAURICE LIPSEGE, *Aliens and Alienists: Ethnic Minorities and Psychiatry*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books 1982. 242pp., References, Index. £3.95.

Born in Jamaica, Evadne Williams came to Britain when she was thirty. Now in her mid-forties, she remains unmarried and has devoted her time to nursing and to her local Pentecostal Church.

Littlewood describes his first encounter with Evadne:

She saw me quite happily, immediately grabbing my arm and making me sit down, but then started sobbing against my shoulder. Before I could ask what the trouble was she suddenly gave a scream and rolled over on the floor crying out something I could not grasp. It was difficult to understand exactly what she was saying, but her speech had a coherent rhythm, something like that of an evangelical preacher or a racing commentator. Suddenly she jumped up, sat down next to me again and explained rather breathlessly and at great length that she was being unfairly treated in the hospital for spreading the word of God and that she was being martyred. Then she quizzed me on my knowledge of the Book of Revelation.

She started singing gospel hymns and, pushing me into a corner of the room, began an ecstatic dance on her own, punctuated by rousing cries of 'Praise the Lord'. She would not answer any questions and I sat by helpless....

A case of excessive religious enthusiasm, or does the inappropriateness of Evadne's behaviour suggest mental disorder? When ten or so of her Pentecostal friends arrived to help assess what was going on, Littlewood was astonished at their judgement: her enthusiasm was attributed to her being 'sick in the head'; it was not held to be anything like speaking in tongues. Littlewood decided to follow their advice to give Evadne an injection immediately.

The problems raised by this episode mark the beginning of Littlewood and Lipsedge's interest in transcultural psychiatry. *Aliens and Alienists* is the outcome, and, although claiming to present a 'theoretical framework', is best regarded as conveying a number of insights as to how to understand and help people like Evadne.

Beatrice Jackson is also from Jamaica. Like other West Indians in Britain, she is held to be both alienated and anomic: alienated in that she is unaware that her understanding and appreciation of the outside world is mistaken; anomic in that she readily suffers from subjective discomfort accompanied by feelings of loss of integration, purpose, and significance. Her life in Britain has taken the form of erecting alienated defences against her anomie--first as a sinner, then as a patient with abdominal pain, and finally as a psychotic. The ultimate step into 'mental illnesses' occurred when her son disrupted her 'symbolic' world view (basically identification with white society, regarded as good) by telling her that the police, representatives of white society, are bad. To medicalize Beatrice would be to fall in line with her own game, providing increased substance to the last of the 'increasingly maladaptive' positions she has adopted. It is better to concentrate on changing her understanding of her situation: 'If we can show her...the social origins both of her difficulties and also of the ways by which she has tried to solve them, we are offering her a powerful way to adjust reality to conform to her needs rather than the reverse.'

Aliens and Alienists raises many issues, too many for the book

to be as comprehensible as the subject matter demands. Essentially, though, it is a critique of current psychiatric treatment of immigrants. Comparing men born in England with those born in the West Indies, the rate of hospital admission per 100,000 of the male population over fifteen years old for schizophrenia is 87 and 290, and for affective psychoses (including depression) 45 and 30. The authors suggest that 'the diagnosis of schizophrenia will probably become less common as psychiatrists take more of an interest in the experience of their minority patients'. But it is not simply that current psychiatric diagnoses reflect a tendency to fail to defuse bizarre behaviour by placing it in its proper sociocultural context. In addition, psychiatrists are accused of articulating our racial stereotypes:

The practice of psychiatry continually redefines and controls social reality for the community. Whatever the empirical justification, the frequent diagnosis in black patients of schizophrenia (bizarre, irrational, outside) and the infrequent diagnosis of depression (acceptable, understandable, inside), validates our stereotypes.

More explicitly still, we are told that psychiatry

must always remain conscious of its role in disguising disadvantage as disease and its tendency to offer an identity which is only that of the invalid. The dominant racialism of our age is reflected not just in the theories and practices of psychiatry but in its very structure....

The authors claim that a more relativistic viewpoint--trying to understand mental disorder as an intelligible response to alienation and anomie--will help improve diagnosis and treatment. The relationship between mental 'illness' and the organization of values and meanings is of course a long-standing anthropological concern. Putting it crudely, many have argued along the lines that depression is the absence or rejection of meaning, anxiety the surfeit of meaning, and schizophrenia the division of meaning. The folk therapist has been regarded as the agent who tries to make sense of the patient so as to restore the normal order. So it comes as no surprise to find Littlewood (who does research at the Institute of Social Anthropology, Oxford) and Lipsedge (who also has cross-cultural interests) arguing that 'even the mentally ill are making meaningful statements', and then suggesting that treatment takes this fully into account.

At times the authors write as though mental illness is only a semantic or political construct: it is 'not a "thing" located in the individual but a concept which both explains and controls relations between individuals.' However, we are also told that 'after a certain point, serious mental illnesses have a momentum of their own and they cannot be modified easily by a change of atmosphere or by psychotherapy.' It is confusing to read on the one hand that it is 'essential' for the psychiatrist to distinguish between serious mental illness and 'situational reactions', and on

the other that it is 'unproductive' to question whether mental illness is rooted in biology or culture.

Those who are suffering, society at large, even psychiatrists, no doubt sometimes use mental illness as a stratagem, often in the course of 'race' relationships, and it is the great virtue of this book to illuminate these manoeuvres. However, there must come a point when some immigrants should be treated as invalids, whatever the consequences for their identity, future prospects, and for our stereotypes. The view that mental illness is not 'a "thing" located in the individual' but a 'concept' used to convey messages about adverse circumstances and to articulate relationships reflecting the impact of immigration could have an unfortunate consequence: it might encourage psychiatrists, perhaps immigrants themselves, to desist from engaging in what has to be done--medical treatment. The authors indicate that they do not intend to show that 'psychiatry is a vast conspiracy'. However, by not clearly and consistently acknowledging the endogenous or biological basis of some cases of mental illness, by emphasising the extent to which mental illness is bound up with the problems of immigrants, and by pointing to the racist implications of psychiatry, the authors could perhaps make it more difficult for immigrants to receive and accept treatment of a medical variety.

PAUL HEELAS

CHRISTINE OPPONG, *Middle Class African Marriage: A Family Study of Ghanaian Senior Civil Servants*, London etc.: George Allen & Unwin 1981 [1974]. xx, 160pp., Appendix, Bibliographies, Index. £4.50.

The Akan peoples live in southern Ghana, in what was known in the colonial days as the 'Gold Coast' and 'Ashanti-land'. Oppong classifies them into Coastal, Eastern and Interior Akan, which include a number of groups that share many common cultural features; but there are major differences among them too--particularly regarding the importance of matriliney. Some of the Coastal Akan, for example, attach less importance to matrilineal descent groups than do the Interior Akan; the former have been more exposed to Western influence and culture than the latter.

Senior Akan public servants come from different backgrounds, a fact to which Oppong draws our attention. They have had access to modern higher education, which has equipped them with various skills and enabled them to fill the vacancies created by the withdrawal of British colonial officials from the public sector at Independence in 1957. Some have had further training abroad. More men than women have benefited from higher education, but women through their husbands have enjoyed the benefits which seniority in the public service brings--bungalows at Government-subsidised rates, cars, refrigerators, etc.--a legacy of the colonial era. This stan-

dard of living was very high when compared to the neglect of the rural areas.

Opong's study explores the conflicts and pressures members of this elite group have to withstand in the urban milieu and how conjugal ties between husbands and wives are affected in the process. Western ideas and the emulation of the life-styles of their colonial predecessors incline them to seek the ideal of monogamous conjugal family life and the joint accumulation and distribution of wealth within the nuclear family. Traditional norms however enjoin sharing among kin, the spouse and children being viewed as affines. Where a senior public servant's education was financed by the extended family his improved circumstances are viewed by kin as the reward of their investment materially, if not also morally and spiritually, and they therefore claim the right to benefit from the material resources accruing to his position. The wife, for her part, also considers the claims of the kin of the husband as unacceptable in view of her own contribution to the conjugal family. This self-interest of the participants mars conjugal relations. There is in some cases an on-going latent war between kin and affines, which erupts occasionally in the form of a confrontation between wife and husband's sister. The wife feels particularly vulnerable. The conjugal relationship is characterised by strain and mutual suspicion and some marriages break up before long, owing to inadequate adjustment. Many factors influence the relationship, among them the educational background of the parents and grandparents of the couple. The 'small bilateral family' is a necessary adjustment to the urban milieu, and couples who come from this educational background boasting of literate parents and grandparents adapt more easily to this kind of small bilateral family more or less insulated from the interference of kin. The Coastal Akan would seem to be more successful in this respect than their interior neighbours.

The study is about social change in Akan societies and begins where the older ethnographies of Rattray, Fortes, etc., leave off; and in this respect the book is an excellent supplement. The author, herself the wife of an Akan senior public servant, is very familiar with the Ghanaian situation, having also been a student and lecturer in the country. The appeal of the book goes beyond catering for the interests of scholars. The Akan people themselves would find it useful, as would the general reader. I prefer, however, the earlier title, *Marriage Among a Matrilineal Elite: A Family Study of Ghanaian Senior Civil Servants*, as it leaves the potential reader in no doubt as to the book's content. The present title by contrast is misleading in many ways. Rough sterling equivalents to prices quoted in the local cedis and pesewas would, no doubt, be appreciated by non-Ghanaian readers.

A. AWEDOBA

ILSE SCHWIDETZKY, BRUNETTO CHIARELLI and OLGA NECRASOV (eds.), *Physical Anthropology of European Populations*, The Hague etc.: Mouton 1980 [World Anthropology Series, gen.ed. Sol Tax]. xii, 386pp., Appendices, Biographical Notes, Indexes. DM 92.00.

The wealth of volumes containing hundreds of valuable papers resulting from the IXth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences has been somewhat devalued by the publication of this 'catch-all' collection of poorly translated and/or badly edited papers on potentially interesting physical anthropological topics. This volume is divided into two parts, recent populations and prehistoric populations, and prefaced with a long introduction of 58 pages, by far the most useful contribution, detailing the type and scope of anthropological work being carried out in particular European countries. The second most useful contribution is presented as an appendix and consists of a directory of European anthropological institutions. The intervening papers are, for the most part, merely short presentations of raw or slightly cooked data--that is, if palatable, certainly not digestible without further treatment on the part of the reader.

On the whole, the second set of papers, those on 'prehistoric populations', are of somewhat greater quality than those of the previous section by virtue of the type of data available for study. It appears that when faced with a restricted data set (such as single fossils or small bone collections from cemeteries), paleo-anthropologists switch to a higher plane of reasoning that attempts to derive as much significant information as possible from the evidence and, in so doing, produce an altogether more complete, albeit more speculative, interpretation of the fossils. When faced with the enormous amount of information obtainable from living populations, the essays tend to become much more specific and concentrated to the degree that one forgets that the objects being studied are human beings. It is ironic, at least to this reader, that studies of extinct or prehistoric hominids attempt to present a more rounded picture of the individuals than those concerned with extant populations.

The studies of modern populations presented in this work also miss the important opportunity of discussing the implications of their particular conclusions to the study of extinct populations; namely, what does all this sub-specific physical variation of modern populations tell us about the relatively neat scheme of specific and sub-specific variation in the extinct species of Homo (e.g. *H. sapiens neanderthalensis*, *H. sapiens rhodisensis*, etc.) or the extinct species of Australopithecines (e.g. *A. robustus*, *A. boisei* or *A. africanus*). Surely one of the justifications of studying living populations is the elucidation of the adaptive processes that may have influenced past evolutionary trends and if not, then physical anthropology has driven itself into the cul-de-sac of triviality.

To be fair, this volume does contain one useful paper, 'Man in the Italian Alps: A Study of the Pleistocene and Post-Glacial Evidence' by F.G.Fedele, and several humorous contributions. On the humorous side we are told that although Parisians are taller

and more slender than other Gauls, they are no more intelligent (G. Oliver and F. Bressac, 'The Anthropology of a Capital City and Considerations on Urbanization'). Advances in time travel are also implied by the paper presented by V.V. Bunak, 'The Fossil Man from the Sunghir Settlement and His Place among Other Late Paleolithic Fossils', where he cites I.G. Pidoplichko (*Pozdnepaleoliticheskie zhilishcha iz kostel mamonta na Ukraine* [*Late Paleolithic Dwellings from Mammoth Bones in the Ukraine*], Kiev 1970): 'Mammoth hunters lived and moved in small groups formed around one hearth (four or five in most cases) that from time to time united for a joint hunt or feast.' Alas, to have not only sufficient information to say 'four or five' but the certainty to say 'in most cases' must surely be the greatest of pleasures.

All in all this book is best left on the shelf to be referred to solely as an address directory for various anthropological institutions and as a guide for the tabular presentation of data.

JOHN DUMONT

BRONISLAW MALINOWSKI and JULIO DE LA FUENTE, *Malinowski in Mexico: The Economics of a Mexican Market System* (edited by Susan Drucker-Brown), London etc.: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1982 [International Library of Anthropology, gen.ed. A.Kuper]. xiii, 202pp., Bibliography, Index, Illustrations. £12.50.

This book includes the first English publication of the Mexican research in which Malinowski was engaged when he died in 1942. It is in the form of an essay entitled 'The Economics of the Mexican Market System: an essay in contemporary ethnographic and social change in a Mexican valley'. The essay is based on the findings of two periods of fieldwork in the Oaxaca Valley (Malinowski's first sustained fieldwork since the Trobriands), carried out with the assistance of Julio de la Fuente (who is co-author of the essay) and Valetta Swann, Malinowski's second wife. Malinowski was getting ready for a third period of fieldwork when he died. The work described in the essay was clearly part of a larger research project and mainly covered the field situation. A definitive study of the market system was to follow. Although the essay has never before been published in English, a copy of the typescript was made available to the Inter-American Indianist Institute and published, in Spanish translation, by the Students' Society of the National School of Anthropology and History in Mexico City in 1957. It was originally written with students in mind and is concerned with methodological issues of applied anthropology.

The essay has been edited by Dr. Drucker-Brown, who was engaged in re-translating the Spanish copy when the original English copy was made available to her by Helena Wayne, Malinowski's daughter (see her informative account of the migration pattern of Mal-

inowski's Oaxaca field-notes since his death in *RAIN*, No.49, April 1982, pp.9-10). In editing the essay, Dr. Drucker-Brown has rearranged the chapters and incorporated items of correspondence between de la Fuente and Malinowski highlighting issues on which the two men disagreed. In the long introductory chapter, Dr. Drucker-Brown has placed the essay in its historical context, rather necessary in view of the fact that forty years have elapsed since it was first written. Under separate sub-headings she covers the contribution of Julio de la Fuente, the wider political context of the essay, its position in the context of Malinowski's work, modernisation in the Oaxaca Valley and a note on subsequent research. Clearly one of Dr. Drucker-Brown's intentions is to bring the name of Julio de la Fuente to the knowledge of Western anthropologists. She undoubtedly is the person to do it since from 1957 to 1969 she worked under his supervision at the National Indianist Institute in Mexico.

This work can be assessed in relation to Malinowski's writings, a theory of market economics and to Mexico and its socio-economic development in particular. Starting with the latter, it is encouraging that the original purpose with which the work was conceived has been served. It forms the basis of subsequent studies of markets in Mexico and as a guideline for planned economic change. In addition, the practical advice and Malinowski's 'functionalist' approach were major themes which were incorporated into the courses given at the National School of Anthropology and History in Mexico. As far as its importance in relation to theories of market economics is concerned, it is clearly a pioneering work. Attention is focused on a single institution which linked the urban community of Oaxaca to a series of other rural localities. The text is filled with the imponderabilia of detailed fieldwork observations and the way in which they may lead to the formulation of theoretical questions. Considered in relation to Malinowski's other writings, this essay may be seen as a further development of the theme that preoccupied Malinowski in Africa: culture contact and change. In Mexico it was taken one step further to include the methodology of social change. Although de la Fuente was a student of Marxism, Malinowski did not avowedly owe allegiance to any political party. The method of planned social change suggested in the essay is not 'unilineal' but rather 'multilineal', at the base of which lay Malinowski's 'functional' theory that all aspects of social life are interrelated.

Dr. Drucker-Brown has done an admirable piece of work in presenting this long-lost essay to Western anthropologists. It is lamentable that she did not have access to the rest of the Oaxaca field-notes which remain across the Atlantic in the USA. They would have added greatly to bringing out the personalities of the authors as well as Valetta Swann, who, in the words of Malinowski, '...contributed to the work by drawing a number of plans and keeping a detailed diary during one of the most interesting phases of our fieldwork....'

E.D.HUNT, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire AD 312-460*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1982. x, 248pp., Bibliography, Index. £16.50.

This book provides a new collation of material on Christian pilgrimage for scholars interested in following the anthropological leads of Maurice Halbwachs (*La Topographie Legendaire des Evangiles en Terre Sainte: Etude de Memoire Collective*, Paris 1941) and Victor and Edith Turner (*Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*, Oxford 1978) into this field of historical Christian ritual. Hunt's book (a rewritten Oxford thesis) investigates the origins of the pilgrimage to Palestine in a more meticulous and systematic manner than did Jonathan Sumption's earlier *Pilgrimage: An Image of Medieval Culture* (London 1975) and in so doing provides the anthropologist with a clear and concise vision of the establishment and early propagation of a holy centre for empire and imagination.

Hunt's study is bipartite. The first six chapters deal with the roughly synchronic aspects of building a Christian showpiece and drawing the imagination of an empire to it, while the final four sections diachronically illustrate the way church and court factions used Jerusalem as a legitimizing device in the former's struggle for orthodoxy and the latter's scramble for power. Chapter 1 deals with Constantine's programme of glorifying the Holy Land as both testimony to the Christian nature of his empire and proof that his rule fulfilled biblical prophecies announcing the coming of a new David. Chapters 2 and 4 treat the elaborate stratagems the court and Christian ideologists affected to link the biblical past with the imperial present; the mosaics of S. Pudenziana in Rome, which portrayed biblical incidents occurring in the basilicas which Constantine built on sacred sites, and the sewing of a fragment of the cross into the bridle of Constantine's horse, which fulfilled Zechariah's Old Testament prophecy that horses' harnesses would be inscribed 'holy to the Lord', illustrate two different devices for bringing the sacred past into contact with the present. The Jerusalem liturgy, which spread through the influence of pilgrims and propagandists from the Palestinian city throughout the Roman Empire, is shown in chapter 5 to be what Geoffrey Dix calls a 'sanctification of time' (*Shape of the Liturgy*, Westminster 1945)--a sacralization of the present through ritual re-enactment of the past. Chapters 3 and 6 deal with the logistics of late classical travel, the allure and dissemination of Holy Land relics, and the growing wealth of the Jerusalem bishopric and the local monasteries. The final chapters are enmeshed rather tightly in the specific court intrigues and church controversies which weakened the Empire in its twilight years. The Holy Places in this period were courted by politicians (and especially their wives and mothers) with immense benefices and called upon by Orthodox theologians who used Palestine's biblical sites as concrete proofs of the Church's claims about Christ's substantiality and the nature of his mission.

Hunt places this material firmly in an historical context and for this the anthropologist, dazzled by the historically careless acrobatics of the Turners' study, is grateful. On the other hand,

Hunt fails radically to see pilgrimage against a socio-cultural background, and this failure throws into question the validity of his portrayal of late classical pilgrimage. Hunt, a traditional British historian, neglects to consider the significance of persons and practices which were not acknowledged in the materials left to posterity by a political and clerical elite. It may be difficult for the historian to 'see' what an elite literature deems unworthy of recognition, but surely the appropriation of a popular tradition by an emperor of dubious religious feeling has to be read in the light of the nature of pilgrimage and the localization of the holy prior to Constantine's rise, the characters of the Mediterranean cultures which the holy places were to appeal to (to this day the majority of pilgrims come from the Greek Orthodox agrarian classes), and the effects of the establishment of Palestine as a sacral centre on the beliefs of the general population. It is difficult to ascertain from Hunt's study whether pilgrimage affected anyone outside the cloistered upper echelons of Roman society and, if so, how. Anthropologists and various social historians (Bloch, Duby, LeRoy Ladurie, Thomas and Brown) recognise that the 'history of great men' is made in an effort to influence, counter and control the practices of the silent many. Constantine adopted and proclaimed Christianity as a means of transforming a welter of diverse peoples into a single empire under one god and one emperor, and his 'creation' of Jerusalem as a pilgrimage centre was a set piece in that attempted transformation. The reviewer cannot in justice ask Dr. Hunt to provide a complete cultural history of this immense imperial programme in addition to the well-researched study of Palestine pilgrimage he has given us here, but I can suggest that locating the pilgrimage tradition within this wider context would show it to be a keystone to the understanding of the history of Christian Europe rather than simply an elaborate ritual played out by an elite few in a dusty corner of the empire.

GLENN BOWMAN

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