

BOOK REVIEWS

ALAN DUNDES (ed.), *The Flood Myth*, Berkeley etc.: University of California Press 1988. vi, 437pp., References, Index. \$48.00 / \$15.95.

Flood myths, which are treated at length in the first volume of Frazer's *Folklore in the Old Testament*, possess an enormous literature, to which this anthology provides an excellent introduction. The editor, the prominent Californian anthropologist/folklorist, contributes a brief introduction to the whole book, helpful contextualizing notes before each of the twenty-six readings, one essay of his own, and a commented bibliography. Few cross-references are provided, but the volume makes sense as an ordered whole.

We start, inevitably, with extracts from Genesis. An Old Testament scholar neatly teases out the two versions which have been combined in the text we now read - P, that of the Priestly writer, and J, the Yahwist source. Christian tradition naturally tended to assume that flood stories reported from other parts of the world were derivative from the true, Noachian version, so when George Smith reported to the Society for Biblical Archaeology in 1872 that he had deciphered a very ancient Assyrian version (in the Gilgamesh epic), he caused something of a sensation. Smith himself, on first reading the relevant tablet, ran around the room in his excitement and began to undress! Subsequent work assembled a number of other ancient Mesopotamian versions, the earliest going back to before 1800 BC; and it is generally agreed that the biblical version is essentially the same story as is told in the non-Jewish traditions.

How should one attempt to understand this body of tradition? One notably implausible essayist tries to interpret the myth in terms of Canaanite fertility rituals: Noah is 'the genius of vegetation'. Only marginally less wildly, Woolley claims to identify *the* flood in his excavations at Ur, and proposes that the story was among the oral traditions which Abraham carried with him when he left that city. But the topic cannot really be tackled without taking account of versions from further afield, and the anthology moves on to Ovid's Philemon and Baucis, who lived in southern Turkey (the mainstream Greek myth of Deucalion is treated only in passing). Hologeistic comparativism comes into its own with Frazer, who devoted his 1916 Huxley Memorial Lecture to the subject; but he was only following in the footsteps of German scholars such as Andree, Usener and Winternitz, who are less well known in the English-speaking world.

How can this almost global distribution be explained? Many, Frazer included, settle for a polygenetic naturalistic theory of local inundations recorded in 'folk memory', but there are other types of approach. Thus the jurist Kelsen sees in the narrative an

expression of the principle of retribution, 'one of humanity's oldest ideas'. The psychoanalyst Róheim sees myths in general as originating in dreams, and flood myths in particular as the retelling of waking dreams resulting from pressure in the bladder. Dundes himself associates the widespread appeal of flood myths with a different fluid-filled bodily cavity: the deluge is the cosmogonic projection of the waters released by the bursting of the amniotic sac, a projection due to male envy of female creativity.

After these pleasing theoretical adventures we return to regional studies. The reviewer was particularly interested to encounter, from a hitherto unpublished M.A. thesis on Mesoamerican flood myths, the motif of the Mysterious Housekeeper who is taken as wife by the lone survivor from the flood. The motif is not only alien to Christian tradition, which has so often infiltrated oral tradition in the Americas, but is also said to be unknown in European folklore. The author, Horcasitas, cautiously identifies cognates elsewhere in North and South America, and I have elsewhere recorded very similar myths in East Nepal and briefly noted their salience in the Himalayan region ('Jaw-Khliw cycle'). Here is another shred of evidence for those who suspect that cultural similarities between east and west shores of the Pacific (e.g. as regards shamanism) are due to a common heritage more ancient than students of language families have usually claimed to identify.

Other regional pieces cover South America (in Lévi-Straussian/semiotic jargon), the Cameroons (the relative rarity of indigenous flood myths in Africa has often been remarked upon), Philippines (an Eliadean approach), North Thailand, Central Indian tribals, the Tamils (by Shulman; highly complex material treated with textual erudition), and apocryphal Jewish tradition. Kolig reports on Northwest Australian aboriginals, for whom a small whitish monolith in a certain clay pan represents the remnants of Noah's ark; he argues against aetiological theories which see myths as originating in a response to physical features of the landscape. Francis Lee Utley provides a thoroughly professional sample of folklore studies in the Aarne-Thompson tradition. His essay, based on study of no less than 275 versions, presents the (mainly oral) variant of the Bible story in which the Devil attempts to destroy the ark and attains entry to it through Noah's wife - a variant which recalls the behaviour of Mrs Noah in Britten's *Noye's Fludde*.

Four concluding essays describe attempts over the last four centuries to reconcile the flood with contemporary notions of geology. The final piece, by Stephen Jay Gould, dates from 1982, and tells of the court case at Little Rock, Arkansas, where fundamentalist 'Creationists' attempted to control the teaching of science in schools.

If anything is missing, it is any sustained questioning of the central category itself. Why should one distinguish deluges from cosmic catastrophes due to earthquake, fire, snow and the like? How do flood myths relate to creation myths involving primal waters but not involving the destruction of most of a pre-existing humanity? And what about those myths, so common in the Sino-Tibetan area, where the emphasis lies on the process of drainage of waters which may be primal but are explicitly localised rather than cosmic?

Flood myths are doubtless the most studied of all widely distributed myths, but there are plenty of questions still to be asked.

N.J. ALLEN

MARCEL DETIENNE, *The Creation of Mythology* (transl. Margaret Cook), Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press 1986 [1981]. xii, 134pp., Notes, Indexes. £21.25 / £9.25.

The 'mythology' of this book's title refers both to myths themselves and to the scientific/academic endeavour to describe and analyze them, corresponding to the Ancient Greek terms *muthos* and *muthologia* respectively. Detienne is particularly interested in the second term, first coined by Plato, for its constituent roots indicate how mythology (in both senses) gets created; a rational discourse (*logos*) describes a false or fanciful discourse (*muthos*). For Plato, myths were ridiculous ideas often promulgated in faulty arguments. Worst of all, myths were mere repetition, stories which people mouthed unreflectingly. He pointed contemptuously to mothers and nurses who corrupted the minds of young children with such fables. The ideal republic needed to discern and exclude myths in order to stem the pernicious tide of tradition, even if this meant placing the great poets under ban. Yet, how free of myth was Plato's *Republic*, with its musings on the nature and fate of the soul? And how discontinuous with the notion of tradition were his *Laws*, which attempted ultimately to codify custom so that it could be consensual and thus coercive?

Every age has its own scientific discourse, its own *logos*, which it can apply to the study of myths. The eighteenth-century Frenchman Fontenelle considered myths as stories which primarily gave pleasure to the imagination while failing to persuade the intellect. For late nineteenth-century academicians such as Max Müller, Paul Decharme and Adalbert Kuhn, who held chairs in Comparative Mythology (or something similar), myths were marked by their scandalous quality. Indeed a number of Greek myths do tell of incest, cannibalism, murder and castration. In order for the Greeks to remain the admired bearers of shining reason, such tales had to be placed in perspective, which meant inventing a category separated from reason and sometimes even religion. For Tylor, myths represented fairly rational accounts of savage and barbarian fantasies which were not that different from the reveries of our own childhoods. Only mature adults in civilized societies (England and a few other places) had emerged from the mythologizing state into a reasonability enabling them both to sympathize with, and to study, myths. Detienne astutely notes that Tylor was a Quaker who had elevated himself even above sectarian squabbles within the Christian Church.

Twentieth-century theories of myth are still thicker on the ground, and Detienne briefly reviews the contributions of several thinkers, notably Lévy-Bruhl, Cassirer and Lévi-Strauss. The point is that each attempt to determine what myths are, each mythology, amounts to nothing short of a full-blown philosophy. In the appraisal of A.J. Greimas, 'the interpretation of myths gives rise to a new ideological language, that is to say, a meta-language with its models and concepts' (cited here on p. 115). Such an observation leads back to Ancient Greece, where philosophy first became aware of its own existence through the contemplation of myths. This, at least, was Cornford's opinion of the Milesian philosophers as contrasted with Hesiod.

Detienne also reviews some of the other concomitants of the rise of philosophy. In G. Thomson's estimation, the coinage of money paved the way toward abstraction, while for J.-P. Vernant it was politics which laid the foundations of systematic rationalism. In the archaic period *muthos* was initially indistinct from *logos*; both simply meant 'speech'. One of the first indications of the emergent inferiority of *muthos* comes from a political incident on the island of Samos reported by Herodotus. A group of islanders, common people, rose up and seized control of the island from the ruling tyrant who, along with the local nobility, labelled them *muthietai*, 'a bunch of pseudos', in comparison to the *polietai*, the 'true' occupants of the polis.

Ultimately Detienne contends that mythology, in the sense of a science of myths, originated in Greece and that every subsequent attempt to derive a science of mythology bears comparison with the ancient experience, for in some fashion it retraces the same steps. As he puts it, 'to speak of mythology is always to speak Greek' (p. 123). This contention, that anthropological theorizations are mirrored by Greek (ethnographic) phenomena, strikingly resembles the view taken by Michael Herzfeld in his recent *Anthropology Through the Looking-Glass* (Cambridge 1987). Although Herzfeld is concerned with modern rather than ancient Greece, both see Hellas as a model for developments in the field of anthropology generally.

Unfortunately, however, the message of *The Creation of Mythology* is obscured by the author's prose style, which is replete with *entre nous* witticisms and obscure *sous-entendus*. A share of the blame must undoubtedly rest with the translator, who has not rendered the text into satisfactory English, preferring instead to preserve the author's long sentences intact. A prime example of this would be the unintelligible five-line concatenation on page 123, the opening clause of which is cited above. As if this were not enough, the volume is studded with misprints, misspellings and anomalous citations of book titles and authors' names. Finally, in the notes all page numbers of cross-references to other passages in the text are left blank, indicating that the book was carelessly rushed into print. These obstacles to clear comprehension make it likely that only earnest devotees of Detienne or committed students of the history of mythology will make headway with this book. Others will prefer to consult his earlier *Dionysos Slain* or else await future publications which will, one hopes, receive better treatment from an English-language press.

FRANÇOIS HARTOG, *The Mirror of Herodotus: The Representation of the Other in the Writing of History* (transl. Janet Lloyd) [The New Historicism: Studies in Cultural Poetics 5; gen. ed. Stephen Greenblatt], Berkeley etc.: University of California Press 1988. xxv, 381pp., Index. \$42.00.

The first part of Hartog's book is concerned with the building up of evidence to show how Herodotus used the method of systematic differentiation to represent a concept - in this case 'The Scythians'. Using evidence from the relevant passages, Hartog suggests that they were represented as fundamentally different because of their nomadism. By drawing on an impressive wealth of classical sources, he demonstrates his point meticulously, showing that in accounts both preceding and succeeding Herodotus, the Scythians were described as anarchic, uncultured, or savage, all of which could be traced back to their nomadism and apolitical (NB literally 'cityless') life in implied contrast to the Greeks' 'cultured' city life. Herodotus, however, gave the representation a positive rather than the usual negative interpretation by use of a novel twist, imputing to the Scythians a rational justification in adopting this way of life, which was a strategy to avoid falling into the hands of an enemy.

The discussion that follows throughout the second section is devoted to examining the techniques used by Herodotus to persuade his readers to believe in 'the other' being constructed in his text. Hartog seeks to analyze the 'operative rules in the fabrication of the other', examples of this representation having been cited throughout the first part. Hartog briefly touches upon the question of the reference point in the first section, and in the second section he elaborates on this point. Undoubtedly, the implications of the shared knowledge of a confident and imperial power as was fifth-century Athens is particularly interesting to those familiar with arguments raised by Edward Said, Rana Kabbani, Clifford, Marcus, *et al.*

By giving copious examples of the rhetorical or literary devices of inversion, analogy and comparison, and the representations of the miraculous, Hartog shows how Herodotus' audience would have received the text. He then goes on to discuss how credibility is invested in the narrator by examining the part played by the narrator's authority. The veracity of all his statements is founded on 'autopsy', (literally 'own eye') i.e. himself as witness to an event, a place, a practice, etc. The narrator relies on oral information, the discussion of which Hartog ties in with a consideration of Goody's theories of literacy. Hartog examines other strategies used by Herodotus as narrator to persuade his reader of the credibility of his text: first, the presentation of several different versions of an oral account, at times offering his own evaluations of each, at times offering none, but most often giving his reader the impression of using his own criteria for judgement; secondly, the different levels of identity through which the narrator operates, such as: I Herodotus living in Athens, we Greeks altogether, we the Black Sea Greeks, etc.

Hartog concludes his study by examining the effect of Herodotus on those who succeeded him. Despite plagiarisms by some later travel writers and historians, he was repudiated as a liar by most who came after, often on the grounds that his accounts were just too fantastical to be acceptable: in other words, his representation of the other was too 'different'. He was only rehabilitated in 1566, by Henri Estienne, at a time when the spate of travellers' accounts of the East was just beginning. Having been shown the way by Marco Polo, they were suddenly encouraged by the recently prevailing conditions of European imperialism and the search for information, new trade and missionary links. These circumstances were similar to those in which Herodotus composed his *Histories*. Estienne was able to show, by analogy with the reaction and attitude of his contemporaries to accounts of contemporary others, that Herodotus was not lying, and that 'if we consider the differences between our own and those of neighbouring peoples, we shall find them hardly any the less strange in their own places'.

Hartog's final conclusion is that the template underlying the whole text is a representation of power, which is to be understood in the appropriate context of fifth-century Greece. He provides scant information on this period of history, however, presumably in the expectation that anyone reading this book will have sufficient familiarity with it to appreciate the implications of his images.

Although the book is dense and demanding, it is readable and enjoyable. Because it is novel in its treatment of the problem of Herodotus' reliability, through considerations other than merely those of his sources, Hartog's study provides intellectual stimulation for the classicist. It is also of value to anthropologists interested in the representations of power.

SHAHIN BEKHRADNIA

CLAUDE LÉVI-STRAUSS, *Anthropology and Myth: Lectures 1951-1982* (transl. Roy Willis), Oxford: Basil Blackwell 1987. viii, 222pp., Index. £25.00.

The French academic world is curiously devoted to publishing not merely full articles, books and reviews, but reports of a sort that would never see the light of day here: they range from the interim *positions de thèses* of doctoral students in a journal like *ASEMI* to Mauss's *interventions et débats* that Victor Karady, as editor, included in the master's collected *Oeuvres*, and from the collective research reports of CNRS *équipes* to the annual reports of professorial lecturing at the Collège de France and elsewhere. The present book falls into the last category. It is a careful translation of Lévi-Strauss's *Paroles données* (Paris: Plon 1984), though the English title is misleading: these are not actual lectures

(Lévi-Strauss doesn't work that way), and perhaps forty per cent of them are devoted to kinship and the values associated with it, and not to myth at all.

Unlike the translator, I am inclined to doubt that the publication of such reports serves a useful purpose in general, even if the occasional exception may be granted for such an influential and controversial figure. But even this case is no real substitute for the author's own more extended treatments of these topics, nor for the flood of others' exegeses of his work that has been let loose. At around nine pages to the pound it all adds up to an expensive indulgence, and those responsible for it must think that the typical anthropologist suffers from some sort of collecting mania, rather like an ageing Tommy whose sole remaining purpose in life is to get hold of every last record Vera Lynn ever made. Well, there are no new tunes here.

But perhaps if this sampler makes the publishers some money they might care to start employing a proof-reader: not for the first time in reading one of their books, counting the misprints proved to be quite a distraction.

ROBERT PARKIN

GARRY MARVIN, *Bullfight*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell 1988. xi, 191pp., Figures, Plates, Notes, Appendix, Bibliography, Index. £17.50.

Five years ago, at the beginning of a big bullfight during the annual Pamplonan fiesta, an American dramatically stood up, pulled off his clothes, and revealed the Superman costume he was wearing underneath. With his arms stuck straight out in front of him, he was picked up by his neighbours and passed horizontally around the bullring. The band played. Thousands cheered. Wine was thrown. Champagne spurted in all directions (mainly upwards). Even the president of the day's event clapped. As the flying visitor was manoeuvred back to his seat, the audience let out a final great cry. Excited spectators laughed, smiled, and drank some more. Now they were ready for a good afternoon's entertainment.

Marvin argues that this love of spectacle in an ambience of fiesta is only half (if even that) of the pleasure to be had at a bullfight. *Aficionados* want to see a good *torero* in action. They haven't come to see melodramatic showmanship nor death-defying stunts by foolhardy matadors. No, they have come to see highly skilled practitioners risk their lives in a emotionally compelling performance of agility, grace and much style. If the matador's passes with his cape move the audience, then their forceful *Olés!* of appreciation stimulate him to further memorable exhibition. Rare, inspired performers can get the people on their feet crying with tears of joy. It may be bloody stuff, but you don't sit unmoved.

To Marvin, the bullfight is a sentimental education, a collective text of significant cultural themes presented to the audience in a complex, stylized and emotionally charged form and setting. The main theme is masculinity. So if the bullfight can be viewed as an interpretative event, it becomes an Andalusian male reading of Andalusian male experience, a story they tell themselves. The matador is not a god, but one of them, made large.

Marvin uses little jargon. His accessible, sober account starts by describing the form and stages of a bullfight. He then provides a historical outline and briefly lists related bull events before discussing in detail important characteristics of the fighting bull, the matador, and the values he incarnates. His main omission is not analyzing the different symbolic roles a bullfighter sequentially plays in the course of a corrida. For that, we must wait for Pitt-Rivers' long-promised book on bullfighting. This is not to damn Marvin's account, which is a clear, readable introduction to the topic, plainly intended for a wide audience. All the more pity, then, that the text is littered with so many misprints, and that the bibliography is unordered. Whatever happened to editors?

JEREMY MacCLANCY

HELEN CALLAWAY, *Gender, Culture and Empire: European Women in Colonial Nigeria*, Basingstoke and London: Macmillan/St Antony's 1987. xiv, 244pp., Maps, Tables, Illustrations, Bibliography, Index. No price given.

Gender, Culture and Empire turns the 'anthropological lens' on to a piece of recent history, in this case women in the colonial service in Nigeria, and produces, as a result, a fascinating and carefully documented analysis of women's roles in a semantic space reserved for men. Making extensive use of the resources of the Oxford Development Records Project, published and unpublished letters, memoirs, novels, interviews, and her own experience of many years' residence in Nigeria, Helen Callaway draws together evidence of a largely ignored and undervalued aspect of colonial history.

The book is divided into four sections: the first examines the notion of imperial culture and the place of women within its system of values. The second and third sections present a picture of the roles played by women as professional workers and as wives of colonial servants, and the fourth, of particular interest to anthropologists, evaluates popular representations of colonial women, suggesting alternative readings of accepted stereotypes.

The basic premise of the book is simple, that women's history has been systematically ignored and misrepresented. The important question to address, having amply demonstrated the complexity of

women's lives and the enormous value and variety of their contribution to the colonial enterprise, is, 'why should these European women in the colonies remain all but invisible or else be represented in pejorative stereotypes?' (p. 227). Women, it seems, pose a contradiction in a colonial setting. The frontier of empire encapsulates notions of a mythical realm of male action, an area in which women, by their very existence, present a threat to masculine sensibilities: 'This symbolic struggle for the salvation of the soul was a male exercise of power and self-discipline; indeed, women were perceived, mainly at the unconscious level, as a threat to men's redemptive enterprise' (p. 231). The entry of women into the colonial scene coincided with and facilitated a shift from the ideal of paternalistic rule, the production of order out of cultural chaos, to the values of service, cooperation and domestication.

A key to the negative stereotyping of women is the power of dominant groups to control cognitive, semantic aspects of discourse. Symbolic appropriation, to use Malcolm Chapman's term, provides a mean of repressing the colonial contradiction. There was prolonged opposition to the presence of women in the colonial service, as wives or as independent professional workers. When they did arrive, increasingly during and after the Second World War, they found expectations of their appearance and behaviour constricting and inappropriate: 'The dominant culture thus defined women in logical opposition to men's self-definitions: the "ultra-masculine" required the "ultra-feminine"' (p. 232).

A re-examination of negative female stereotypes in the light of the semantic structures operating in the colonies enables us to interpret the ethnography of colonial society. Women, for example, were accused of excessive interest in entertaining and in a petty social one-upmanship. To blame women, in a situation in which their status is entirely dependent upon that of their husbands, and in which, once married, they were usually required to give up professional work, is to ignore the structural situation in which they found themselves: 'The game of "entertaining" was set in motion according to rules already becoming outmoded in the homeland; any individual wife joining for the first time would find the board already in a state of play' (p. 235).

The chief focus of the book is not, however, women as seen through male eyes but a presentation of women's experience as they saw and recounted it. The positive contributions made by many individuals are celebrated and evidence the courage, dedication, vision and sacrifice of colonial women which shines through their memoirs and interviews. As Helen Callaway concludes: 'The well-known saying, that "the women lost us the Empire" might then be seen in a more positive way than its conventional use: that the women contributed to the loss of the Empire by helping to gain the Commonwealth. The "masculine" ethos of the imperial era - characterized by hierarchy, authority, control and paternalism - had to be replaced by what might be seen as more sympathetic understanding, egalitarian rather than authoritarian relations, diplomacy and flexibility. In relation to the European women who took part, the study of colonial Nigeria thus reveals "another meaning", a meaning and a history that have been hidden' (p. 244).

Gender, Culture and Empire, winner of the 1987 Amaury Talbot Prize for African Anthropology, will be of value to all those interested in the ways in which ideology affects popular representations, as well as those with an interest in questions of gender, in Africa and in colonial relations.

FIONA BOWIE

MELFORD E. SPIRO, *Culture and Human Nature: Theoretical Papers of Melford E. Spiro* (eds. Benjamin Kilbourne and L.L. Langness), Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press 1987. xv, 309pp., Index. £31.95 / \$11.95.

In the USA, far more than in Britain, there is a professional interest in fundamental questions about the connection between culture and human nature. Psychological anthropology is a recognized branch of the subject. Melford Spiro is one of the most distinguished of those writing in this area. A collection of his theoretical papers is therefore something of an event.

The essays range from 1961 to 1984. They include his well-known paper 'Religion: Problems of Definition and Explanation' (1964) and his contribution on the so-called 'Virgin Birth' debate, 'Virgin Birth, Parthogenesis, and Physiological Paternity' (1968). There are also two extracts 'Preculture and Gender', taken from his book *Gender and Culture* (1979), and 'Is the Oedipus Complex Universal?', from *Oedipus in the Trobriands* (1982). The first essay, 'Culture and Human Nature' (1978), is something of an intellectual autobiography. Several of the essays are overtly polemical, particularly his attacks on relativism, 'Some Reflections on Cultural Determinism and Relativism' (1984), and on Lévi-Strauss's intellectualist interpretations of myth, 'Whatever Happened to the Id?' (1979).

Spiro always writes in a clear and decisive way, laying out the steps of his argument as precisely as possible. The polemical pieces - whatever one may conclude on the point in question - are very readable. Since he usually attempts to go back to first principles and define his terms, the other essays can be heavy going in places, but it always pays to persevere. Furthermore, Spiro's thought is all of a piece and does not disappear into clouds of vagueness when examined closely. Even though one may find the initial steps in a given argument hard to accept, it is worth doing so provisionally simply in order to get the view from the summit.

It is impossible to discuss everything Spiro advances, so I select two points: his views on gender, and those on the genesis and perpetuation of religious symbols. Spiro began his anthropological career as a cultural determinist, believing that all

behaviour is determined wholly by culture. One of the several experiences which induced him to move away from this extreme assumption was his research on an Israeli kibbutz. There he discovered that even though the founders of the kibbutz movement did everything they could to de-emphasize sex differences and even though children were brought up in mixed dormitories with shared toilet facilities, in all kibbutzim there was, over the years, a move away from mixed dormitories and facilities to single-sex ones. In every case this occurred because of pressure over many years from pubertal girls who wanted privacy. Spiro concludes that girls have a 'precultural need', greater though not qualitatively different from that of boys, to 'parent'.

Spiro is no sociobiologist. The universal 'precultural' needs he is interested in are often not biological or genetic but what he calls *familial*. All humans experience a long period of dependency on their caretakers, the parents, who both gratify and, necessarily on occasion, frustrate their offspring. These universal facts about human family systems, based on 'certain irreducible biological characteristics of human existence', account for the universality of the Oedipus complex. *Differences* in child-rearing practices account for the variation in conceptions of the divine: 'Thus, if the child's dependency needs, for example, are gratified by a nurturant mother, it is not unlikely that as an adult he will worship a mother-like superhuman being(s) from whom he anticipates the gratifications of his wish for continuing childlike dependency' (p. 267).

In explaining religion too, Spiro is explicitly a follower of Freud (while recognizing as ethnocentric the way Freud stated his theory), and not of Durkheim. However, it is hard to accept Spiro's habit of explaining a feature of a religious system in terms of the child-rearing practices prevalent in the society in question, but never considering evidence from other societies with the same religious system. If the Burmese are not disposed to believe in a saviour God because of the way they are treated as children, does this mean other Theravada Buddhist societies must treat their children in the same manner? Did Burmese child-rearing practices change in the eleventh century when Theravada Buddhism replaced Mahayana Buddhism and its saviour figures? One cannot help feeling that, with his self-confessed lack of interest in institutional analysis or history for their own sakes, Spiro simply does not ask himself these questions.

In the final essay of the collection Spiro makes a very interesting and suggestive comparison between Judaism and Theravada Buddhism. He points out how, for all their differences, the two religions both share a very masculine emphasis and conspicuously lack female divine symbols. Comparing Israel and Burma with India and Italy, he comes to the conclusion that female divine symbols are present where mothers are highly 'nurturant' and where wives have low status, and are absent where these two conditions do not hold. What then would he make of Tibet, where wives certainly have a higher status than in India, but where the religion most emphatically possesses powerful female symbols (Tara in her various forms)? Spiro plausibly accuses some anthropologists of attempting to

'gratify' their 'anthropological egos' by exaggerating the role of culture, in which they are the experts (p. 40). One gets the feeling that he himself ignores the role of history and politics in the formation of religious symbols, thereby leaving the field freer for the kind of Freudian explanations at which he undoubtedly excels.

In spite of these methodological doubts, Spiro's forceful vision and his commitment to advancing clear and comprehensible theories, unfashionable though that may be in some quarters, make the book both readable and rewarding. It deserves a prominent place on the reading lists of all Human Sciences degrees.

DAVID N. GELLNER

LIONEL CAPLAN (ed.), *Studies in Religious Fundamentalism*, Basingstoke and London: Macmillan 1987. x, 210pp., Notes, References, Indexes. £29.50.

In the light of the so-called 'Rushdie Affair' the term 'fundamentalism' has acquired a disturbing new set of associations. Of course, even prior to the publication of *The Satanic Verses* the popular press and its sympathizers had been happy to link the term with those 'mad mullahs' in Iran and in the Islamic world generally. The only other major connotation of the word drew one to the 'Bible Belt' of the southern United States. In either case, fundamentalism was something that other people had, something that was far away geographically, culturally and temporally (even now, much of the popular discourse on Islamic fundamentalism includes reference to the 'mediaeval' attitudes revealed).

Since the book burning and death threats, fundamentalism has been revealed to be something that can manifest itself in what is probably the most secular state environment in the world. It is also something that can effect us all personally as anthropologists, as presumably many of us have written something that is offensive to the beliefs of those we have worked with. It is obviously time to start rethinking 'fundamentalism'.

Although published well before the Rushdie Affair, Lionel Caplan's edited volume, *Studies in Religious Fundamentalism*, contains signposts to guide us through a field that has been shamefully ignored by anthropologists (few of the contributors, with the exception of those writing on Christian fundamentalism, are able to cite work by other anthropologists on the particular fundamentalism they are dealing with; almost all acknowledge a debt to James Barr's comprehensive monograph *Fundamentalism*). The value of the book lies in bringing together discussions on all the major world religions - Islam (Zubaida, Tapper and Tapper, Amselle), Judaism (Webber), Sikhism (Dietrich), Hinduism (Taylor) and Christianity (Caplan, Bruce, Walker). The apparent weakness is that the term

'fundamentalism' is used so widely that it becomes a chimera, the monster of the popular press which evades capture.

Taken by themselves, some of the contributions stimulate one to rethink 'fundamentalism' constructively. Exemplary in this respect is Richard and Nancy Tapper's article on modern Turkey, in which a form of discourse analysis shows the ideological structures of Turkish Islam and Turkish nationalism to be closely parallel. Some of the other contributions, however, revealed the possible weakness that the term might have in certain contexts. In particular I was disappointed with Angela Dietrich's contribution on the Sikhs, which seems to tell of a cycle of reform movements and to have little to do with fundamentalism as discussed by the other authors.

Caplan's introduction goes a long way towards trying to draw the disparate threads of the contributions together, although statements such as 'what emerges clearly from the narratives in this volume is that fundamentalists interact dynamically with their contemporary social and cultural surroundings' (p. 7) is ultimately not very revealing. Nevertheless, the book contains valuable insights: Caplan denying the (arrogant) premise that somehow Islamic fundamentalist expression is a response to Western imperialism (p. 5); Taylor making a crucial distinction between fundamentalism and 'tradition', pointing out that there may be a relationship of hierarchy between a charismatic leader, who draws on tradition, and his fundamentalist followers; Amselle warning against seeing fundamentalism as a modern phenomenon (and anti-modernist reaction - another point stressed often in the Rushdie Affair) (p. 79), although this is rejected by Zubaida, who would see all fundamentalism as 'modern' (p. 25).

Valuable though I found the individual contributions, I found the volume's overall achievements unsatisfactory. Anyone conducting a field study of a self-consciously religious group (which is what most of these contributions represent) is bound to find a greater or lesser degree of piety, for want of a better term, among the adherents. Moreover, it is in the very nature of organized religion that believers have the opportunity to be discontented with the way things are. Similarly, the world is always changing (and most soteriological traditions would have it that it is changing for the worse), so that there will always be political malcontents. Thus finding the conjunction of such trends ('fundamentalism') hardly seems remarkable. What needs explanation is why some of these conjunctions should be deemed fundamentalist and therefore 'new', while others are merely reform movements. A greater historical perspective, either within the papers or as a set of parallel papers, would have helped contextualize the synchronic and event-bound slices these contributions represent.

MARCUS BANKS

JUDITH THOMPSON and PAUL HEELAS, *The Way of the Heart: The Rajneesh Movement* [New Religious Movements Series; ser. ed. Peter B. Clarke], Wellingborough: The Aquarian Press 1986. 131pp., Notes, Index. £5.99.

One cannot but have sympathy for anyone attempting to document a 'new religious movement'. Either the movement peaks and no one wants to know, at least until a decent historical depth has been established (who remembers the Children of God, for example?), or else it will still be in the process of establishing and transforming itself, in which case any account will be inherently provisional. A further layer of difficulty is added when one realizes that, by and large, such movements attract the hostility of sections of the non-academic public. Reasoned debate becomes lost in a welter of accusations and counter-accusations. Unfortunately, however, Thompson and Heelas, in their book on the Rajneesh movement, *The Way of the Heart*, are so determined to avoid accusing Rajneesh of anything (including his possible involvement in an attempt to poison the population of a small Oregon township) that the reader is left feeling that this is a book without focus. Essentially, the teachings/doctrines/beliefs of Rajneesh and his followers are so contradictory and so reminiscent of the worst kind of Californian psycho-babble that they cannot sustain a volume in a series on new religious movements.

Although the authors fly their anthropological colours on the first page of their introduction (p. 9), they are constrained by the series format and present a bland 'multi-cultural' view of the movement. They are also unable to distance themselves fully enough from it, though to be fair their investigations were conducted, and the book published, at a crossroads for the movement; the Oregon commune had collapsed with the defection of Ma Anand Sheela, and the future seemed unknown. Heelas and Thompson put a brave face on this, deciding with the sannyasins that it was probably all for the best (a Panglossian philosophy, mirrored by the authors, runs through all Rajneesh's *ex post facto* explanations for his behaviour) and assuring us that 'The faith of most appears intact. Bhagwan emerged unscathed. Growth still appears to be the order of the day' (pp. 129-30). Now, two to three years after publication, these assurances seem unfounded, for the movement is dodo-dead. Doubtless there are still unquenchably optimistic sannyasins in Britain and abroad, but a phoenix-like rebirth of the movement seems deeply unlikely. (This prediction is based not on the strength or otherwise of the teachings of Rajneesh, the perspective adopted almost exclusively by Thompson and Heelas, but on a consideration of the 'way of the heart' as a social movement.)

As a result of their brief to outline a 'new religion', Thompson and Heelas are unable to devote sufficient attention to the historical and sociological aspects of the movement; for example, from this and other accounts it would seem that the movement 'outgrew' the man Rajneesh very early on, probably in Pune when the arriviste Bombay businessmen (of the type that support 'god men' all over India, an element ignored by the authors) who formed his

earliest devotees were ousted by the Human Potential Movement therapists from the West, who simply pasted the Rajneesh label on to a barely changed Californian outlook. By transforming itself into the 'New Age' movement, the Human Potential Movement has attained (a degree of) respectability: even Nancy Reagan consulted astrologers. In the hard-nosed world of the 'eighties Rajneesh was an anachronism, and although the Oregon commune in its final phases was offering courses in 'Buddhafiield business', it could hardly compete with the Harvard Business School.

Thompson and Heelas are willing to countenance criticism of the Rajneesh movement (Chapter 7, 'The Case of Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh' is almost entirely devoted to 'the case for the prosecution' [p. 119]), but they address themselves only to journalistic criticism, a simple black-and-white issue of was he, or was he not, a fraud? Cultural criticism is largely absent from their account; it is not the job of anthropologists to advance conspiracy theories (for example, Rajneesh was kept drugged and isolated by the 'fascist' Ma Anand Sheela, who then ran the movement with her henchmen) and then counter them, but to examine the cultural logic that underlies such theories. Similarly, the long and interesting passages of sannyasins' testimony that pepper the book are allowed to stand for themselves in all their vapid, Rajneesh-speak obscurity. But these are not the testimonies of uneducated Indian peasants, but of almost entirely white middle-class baby-boomers, over a quarter of whom at the Oregon commune had a background in psychology (p. 73, n. 5).

There is no doubt that the Rajneesh movement was a social movement of unusual (but not unique) vigour and complexity and that it provides rich data for anthropologists and sociologists of religion. While the present book has its virtues (for example, exploring the idea that Rajneesh's frequent about-turns were all part of his attempt to liberate his followers), it is clear that there is ample opportunity for further research.

MARCUS BANKS

JOHN DAVIS, *Libyan Politics: Tribe and Revolution, An Account of the Zuwaya and their Government*, London: I.B. Tauris 1987. xii, 260pp., Appendixes, Bibliography, Index, Figures, Tables, Maps. £29.50 / £9.50.

The title of this book touches on a subject which has long needed further anthropological and sociological elaboration: the relation between state and society. Essential to such scrutiny is an extended and complex concept of the state which requires the examination of spheres of social life far beyond the institutions of government. It therefore needs to take into account the numerous ways by which a central power, in strengthening its position, draws on the moral

values, historical traditions and public moods of a certain people. It is this accommodation that renders the use of long-held oppositions such as sovereignty/subversion and state/tribe less analytical than rhetorical. They can indeed be seen less as opposites than as contradictory aspects of the uneven development of the modern state.

John Davis's book, however, is less about the inner connection between the conflicting social forces than the incompatibility of opposite categories. Since the latter are described as the separate attributes of different social institutions, they are related to each other only because they happen to act together in a 'society'.

The book starts positively by attempting to read considerable significance for the relationship between the ruler and the ruled into the impressive figures in terms of which the oil industry is often defined. Extensive access to the goods provided by the sale of oil not only rapidly redefines needs and capitalizes the relation of production, it also mediates effectively in a fundamental aspect of the relationship between the ruler and the ruled: taxation. It is this relationship which constitutes, in this book, the basis for defining Libya as a 'hydrocarbon society', which the author defines as one in which government earns more than ninety per cent of its revenues from petroleum and natural gas. The idea of a 'hydrocarbon society' is explicitly inspired by Wittfogel's notion of the 'hydraulic society' (pp. 261-3). The main difference may be that the latter's tyrannical need for irrigation gives way to the former's irresponsibility to its subjects.

The 'hydrocarbon rulers' earn their revenue mainly by selling petroleum produced by foreign labour and technology and derived from foreigners' consumption of energy. Thus by living off foreigners these rulers are portrayed as being capable of doing away with accountability to their subjects which, the author contends, is held so dearly by European or American rulers. Substantially relieved from the formidable task of tax collection, Libya's rulers then indulge in a radical campaign to abolish the very state that secures their privileged position. They officially propagate 'the independence of local communities' and 'the abolition of central government'.

However, such indulgence lacks revolutionary credentials. Qaddafi and his colleagues have not sufficiently suffered from privation, in jail or under torture and hardship, to become dedicated revolutionaries. Instead they are led to draw on indigenous Libyan ideological resources. Unlike other revolutions which are diffused from a common source, the Libyan one has remained characteristically 'esoteric'. Its pose owes a great deal to a chronic 'statelessness' or, amounting to the same thing, 'tribalism' in Libyan history. For a long time the loyalty of Libyans has been defined in terms of cousinage, leaving little room for a central authority which could have an effective existence. The desert provided a shelter for those who wanted to escape government persecution. It was the lineage rather than the state which mattered most to these groups. Even the elections which constitute a major part of the events described in the book are portrayed as fought between the

patrilineally segmented groups who opposed each other in anticipation of an imminent offence.

The characteristically Islamic beliefs of these tribesmen enabled the Libyan hydrocarbon ruler to consolidate his revolutionary pose. The author maintains that sources of interpretation in Islamic faith are numerous and diverse enough to allow Qaddafi's innovating reading of Islam to be heard without facing a serious challenge.

Added to this was the colonial history of Libya which resulted in a failure to train and educate a sizeable personnel for any apparatus of government in the future. These were the factors which contributed to a peculiar combination of the State and revolution in Libya.

The book reflects the fact that apriorism is a major source of misunderstanding in Middle Eastern studies. For instance, the author's definition of 'hydrocarbon society' rightly stresses that the freedom of the ruler results from the absence of any necessity to collect taxes. But his model ends in failure when he equates subjects with taxpayers, popular though this assumption may be in the Western democracies. Oil revenue may relieve a ruler's subjects from the tax burden, but it certainly does not relieve him of their demands. The inadequacy of such reductionist assumptions is shown by the fact that different political objectives are pursued by different 'hydrocarbon rulers'. After all, if oil revenue provided by Qaddafi with the degree of freedom the author believes he enjoyed, why should he have taken the trouble to pretend to be his people's champion by promoting their cause of statelessness? 'Tribalism', a decentralized Islam, and a poorly developed administrative apparatus have not been any less available to other 'hydrocarbon rulers', some of whom have presided long over conservative regimes.

Such incompatibility between generalization and observation can also be detected in other parts of the author's arguments. He appears to have taken the allegedly segmentary lineage feature of Libyan society too much for granted to question it. The historical situations he cites do not seem to support this claim, as the author himself concedes (p. 193). As far as contemporary Libyans are concerned, the author describes them not only as 'being realist and pragmatic' in resolving their 'practical problems' without referring to their sense of independence as it was incorporated into Qaddafi's rhetoric (p. 137), but as people who actually used state apparatuses such as courts and police to settle their disputes with their kinfolk (p. 223).

The author is quite right, in my view, in regarding the diversity of Islamic faith as too large to warrant coining the term 'Islamic fundamentalism'. However, he does not seem to be ready to accept that such diversity itself makes the use of the very term 'Islam', which he uses so lavishly, particularly in the complex and changing circumstances the author examines, very limited indeed. This diversity of Islam, which the author admits, does not affect the abstract nature of the religion as it is conceived here. Indeed the high level of abstraction which characterizes the use of such notions as state, tribe, Islam and revolution in this book,

which can neither reflect a concrete situation nor constitute a basis for comparative analysis, makes it disappointing.

MANUCHEHR SANADJIAN

CAROLYN FLUEHR-LOBBAN, *Islamic Law and Society in the Sudan*, London: Frank Cass 1987. xvi, 282pp., Appendixes, Bibliography, Index, Plates, Tables, Figures. £27.50.

This book is a valuable document for its collection of facts on Islamic law in the Sudan, although its anthropological analysis is unsatisfactory, not to say non-existent. It provides an account of the provisions of Islamic law as they appear from the Judicial Circulars of the Grand Qadi of the Sudan, issued between 1905 and 1979, concerning family law (marriage, divorce, maintenance, child custody) and property law (inheritance and *waqf*). From these, one realizes that there has been an evolution in the official Islamic law of the Sudan; the changes in the rules during the twentieth century have certainly been numerous and significant.

The author lists the rules, but also seeks to justify them. For instance, she tells us that the provision that men are legally bound to give women economic support justifies the latter's half-portion inheritance, and that since marriage occurs at an early age, protection of minors necessitates that adults arrange the marriage of their female charges. Indeed, the whole book is written in a markedly defensive tone, and rather unconvincingly. This nevertheless points to an interest of the book, stemming ironically from one of its deficiencies. By accepting uncritically the data she gathers, the author presents the view of Islamic law as held by the Islamic establishment.

Fluehr-Lobban conducted fieldwork in Khartoum in 1979-80 (but was already acquainted with the Sudan), and her informants were mainly the last Grand Qadi of the Sudan and one of the four female judges who were part of the *sharia* court system in 1979. Her principal contentions were probably borrowed from her informants. On the one hand, Fluehr-Lobban wants to show that the stereotypes of rigidity and harshness held in the West about Islamic law are false, and that the Sudan has been a champion of progressive reforms, especially towards women. On the other hand, she argues that Islamic law has evolved 'internally' to Islam, rather than as a result of Western influence. These would be reasonable propositions if she did not take them too far, as her own material demonstrates. No Western woman would envy the position of her Sudanese counterpart. For instance, we are told that it is shameful for a virgin to oppose, but also to consent verbally to, marriage (one thus wonders when a woman can take advantage of the 'right' to annul marriage if she did not consent, a right that Fluehr-Lobban sees as contributing

to the growing independence of women), and that women judges in the *sharia* courts do not sit in public, for it would be a violation of their modesty and dignity. Such examples of apparently shame-filled attitudes of women are scattered throughout the book. Unfortunately, Fluehr-Lobban only mentions them without further analysis. Moreover, the book contains no evidence of the practices and beliefs of women. It does not enable us to understand their position in society or to know what they themselves think of it.

Regarding her contention that Islamic law has evolved independently, the author herself supplies information contradicting this. Pressures from British officials appear very clearly when the author touches upon the origin of a 1935 circular of the Grand Qadi concerning the extension of the period of child custody of the mother. Pressures external to Islam can also be seen behind reforms of the early 1970s which extended the grounds on which women could seek divorce and suppressed the possibility that the police could enforce the order for a 'disobedient' wife to return to her husband. These reforms were made during the left-wing first phase of President Numeiry's regime, and upset the Islamic establishment very much. It would have been more useful for the author to recognize clearly that non-Islamic factors have influenced the development of Islamic law, even if it can be seen as an adaptation in accordance with Islamic principles. That the author insists on the specifically Islamic character of the development of the law, and feels the need to explain the reforms as moulded by 'pure' Islamic sources, is nonetheless interesting and provides fertile material for analysis of Islamic discourse.

The author seems to believe that all developments in Islamic law follow from one another, as exemplified in the way she presents the 1983 introduction of the *hadd* punishments in the last section of the book (having earlier stated that discussions never moved beyond the stage of initial proposal). She entitles it 'Recent Developments', which implies a continuity with the reforms contained in the circulars of 1905 to 1979 concerning personal status. This continuity, however, is doubtful. By her own account, Islam does not seem to have been predominant in the legal life of the country prior to the 1983 reforms: judges in the *sharia* courts had lower status and were paid less than their civil counterparts, and except for the Koran upon which the oath is taken, nothing in the court made it appear as a sacred or religious place. Also, the office of the Grand Qadi disappeared in 1979 following the amalgamation of the *sharia* and civil courts. These elements are hardly precursors of the 'recent developments' of 1983.

Her presentation of the developments themselves is unacceptable: nothing is said about the actual implementation of the 1983 laws (over a hundred amputations and thousands of floggings, plus diverse harassments); the circumstances of their introduction (related to the attempt of President Numeiry to stay in power), or their disputable Islamic character. Fluehr-Lobban does not even mention the fact that their implementation ceased and became, well before the publication of the book, the subject of much debate. It would probably have been preferable not to allude to the 1983 laws at all, rather than deal with them in an unsatisfactory way. The

problem is that Fluehr-Lobban seems to have attempted to touch upon everything that could be said about Islamic law in the Sudan (including its history and comparison with the law of other Muslim states). This leads her to gross simplifications (referring, for instance, to 'Sudanese society' and 'Islam' as if these terms covered only one reality - even the Southern Sudan and the Sufi orders are hardly mentioned).

This is all the more unfortunate as it is clear from the material that she presents that there are more specific issues worth investigation, such as the position of women, the concept of shame in legal practices, or the place of *sharia* courts in society. The shortcomings of the book are certainly numerous (it is uncritical, repetitive, sometimes contradictory and at times incorrect). Nevertheless, it will be evident that the data gathered may well stimulate anthropological interest in fascinating issues to be discovered through a study of law.

BÉNÉDICTE DEMBOUR

L. BENSON and INGVAR SVANBERG (eds.), *The Kazaks of China: Essays on an Ethnic Minority* [Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Multiethnica Upsaliensis 5; ser. ed. Harald Runblom], Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell International 1988. xii, 239pp., Tables, Figures, Maps, Glossary, Selected Bibliography. SEK147.

This collection of essays by an international group of scholars concerns the relationship of the Kazaks, a Muslim and Turkic people predominantly inhabiting what is now the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region in the west of China, to the central Han Chinese government. In the period under discussion, broadly from 1900 to the present day, this relationship has ranged from civil war and the sporadic secession of the western provinces through an uneasy truce between Soviet-sponsored warlords and the Imperial governments to the more peaceful policy of cooperation and non-assimilation eventually favoured by the Chinese Communist Party. Between 1957 and the Cultural Revolution (during which Benson and Svanberg remind us that life for the national minorities was 'extremely difficult' [p. 183]) attempts were made to counter the threat of local nationalisms, but from 1966 onwards a more *laissez-faire* policy has prevailed. The nomadic way of life of the Kazaks and the provincial economy of Xinjiang - both now largely transformed by a century of colonial occupation by the Han Chinese and latterly by the tourist industry - have been granted a degree of autonomy both in policy and practice.

In the first essay, Benson and Svanberg provide a useful political and historical overview, making extensive use of Soviet and Chinese sources which detail Chinese national minority policy (in

which Chinese anthropology has played a significant role) and its application in Xinjiang. Svanberg homes in on the Kazaks of Xinjiang in the next essay, which gives, in 33 pages, a sketchy account of the social organization and economic aspects of Kazak nomadism. Perhaps most interesting is Benson's essay on 'Osman Batur: The Kazaks' Golden Legend'. Often seen as a champion of Islam and an implacable opponent of communism, Osman Batur defied Soviets, Chinese and the warlords of Xinjiang, but was eventually killed as a bandit by the Chinese communists in 1951. Benson attempts to separate the man from the myth. Even though Osman's motivations are clearly going to remain a mystery, Benson's essay includes a useful discussion of the *batur*, political leadership and brigandage in Kazak society, relating the former to the concept of the *hai'duk* in Hobsbawm's comparative analysis of the 'social bandit'. Kirchner includes a transcription and translation of a text in which a Kazak refugee living in Istanbul relates his flight from Xinjiang to Turkey. Of undoubted documentary value, it is also the only point in the volume in which the Kazaks say anything for or about themselves. Given that the speaker has spent thirty years in Istanbul, one wonders, however, about the linguistic status of the commentary as a 'freely spoken text [which] can be regarded as typical of the Kazak language spoken in China' (p. 189). Thomas Hoppe concludes the volume with an account of Kazak pastoralism in the Bogda range.

This volume will be of interest to Turkologists, Sinologists and those interested in the relation of state to ethnic minority, but it leaves the anthropologist with little to chew upon. The two stated aims of the essays are to provide 'an overview of the past and present situation of the Kazaks in China' and to present 'more specialized, in-depth material illuminating various aspects of Kazak society' (p. x), and as a result they oscillate uneasily between a historical, documentary approach and that of a traditional anthropological monograph. The difficulties of carrying out extended research in the field means that the authors rely heavily on statistical data culled from a bewildering variety of sources. The circumstances under which any data could be collected in Xinjiang in the 1930s, for example, leave their reliability open to question. Not being overtly related to the wealth of anthropological discussion on the subject of nomadism in Asia, the essays lack a clearly stated theoretical target. The ethnographic focus is itself slightly blurred as a result of the necessity of discussing the Kazaks of the Soviet Union and Mongolia (effectively separated since the mid-nineteenth century) and *émigré* groups in Turkey and Taiwan. In relation to this a discussion of 'Turki' ethnicity and Muslim identity, thrown into sharp relief by the establishment of the East Turkestan Republic in 1933 and 1944, is touched upon (p. 173) but not elaborated.

Transliteration poses a huge problem when Kazak itself is represented in Arabic, Cyrillic and Latin scripts. Use of the Pinyin system for Chinese and the Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta system for Kazak assures consistency but at the necessary cost of rendering comparison of ethnographic material on Soviet Kazakhstan, transliterated from the Cyrillic script in an entirely different way,

somewhat confusing. The volume would benefit from an index and a list of abbreviations, but the bibliography will be of use to anybody contemplating research in the area.

Beyond the Himalayas, 'High Tartary' has exercised a formidable attraction upon the imagination of travellers and writers from the earliest days of British colonial expansion. For Western anthropologists, however, serious ethnographic work has been effectively impossible in Central Asia throughout this century. It can only be hoped that the combined effect of glasnost and the Chinese 'Open Door' policy, together with the growing body of translation and discussion of Chinese and Soviet ethnography in British anthropological circles, will before long bear fruit.

MARTIN STOKES

JESSICA KUPER (ed.), *Methods, Ethics and Models* [Social Science Lexicons], London and New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1987. xxiv, 136pp. £5.50.

This selection from the *Social Science Encyclopedia* covers research methods, analytical procedures and philosophical issues. Jarvie's dense and idiosyncratic introductory essay on 'Philosophy of the Social Sciences' will not encourage the new student. Many of the entries are concerned with - to this reviewer - complex, statistical analyses: they are probably accurate and useful. The entries of most interest to anthropologists - 'ethnographic fieldwork' and 'functional analysis' - are fair, interesting, and well-written. The former may encourage the new student towards anthropology.

JEREMY COOTE

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