

BOOK REVIEWS

DEBORAH B. GEWERTZ and FREDERICK K. ERRINGTON, *Twisted Histories, Altered Contexts: Representing the Chambri in a World System*, Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press 1991. xiv, 246 pp., References, Index, Maps, Photographs. £30.00/£9.95//\$44.50/\$14.95.

This is one of a number of important books, just appearing, that focus broadly upon the complexities of the ultimately unequal encounter between the West and various societies in the Pacific. Other examples include Nick Thomas's similarly titled *Entangled Objects* (Harvard, 1991) and Schieffelin and Crittenden's multi-perspectival account of the Hides patrol through Papua (*Like People You See in a Dream* (Stanford, 1991)).

The Chambri inhabit an island mountain in Papua New Guinea's Middle Sepik region. Culturally, they were dominated by their powerful Iatmul neighbours. Economically, they are members of a regional trading system (analysed by Gewertz in an earlier book) whose members were mutually dependent on each other's specialist products. The introduction of manufactured goods has both impoverished the trading system and created a need for cash. This the Chambri have few means of earning, apart from out-migration or selling artefacts (and Chambri culture more generally) to groups of tourists who travel up the Sepik River on luxury cruisers.

Chambri culture was documented earlier by Mead and Fortune ('the Tchambuli'), and Gewertz and Errington subsequently worked with the grandchildren of some of Mead's informants. This link is one minor skein of the title's 'Twisted Histories', which—through imagery, power, literacy, advertising and migration—tie the Chambri in complex ways to their anthropologists, to their neighbours, to tourists and to the Papua New Guinea state and world system more generally. 'Altered Contexts', the title's other half, alludes to the consequences for the Chambri of pursuing their cultural goals under these changing circumstances. At the most encompassing level, the authors suggest, these altered contexts can be grasped in terms of a distinction between 'commensurate' and 'incommensurate' differences. The mutual regional dependency of the trading system was one of commensurate difference; inequalities existed but were not structurally entrenched. The same is true of traditional Chambri social life more generally: differences in power and authority are quantitative and transient, so bigmen have potent rivals and humiliated initiates in turn become initiators. However, this system of commensurate differences has been contextualized by national and world systems, in which differences in development are hierarchical and incommensurate, and the parties involved are not mutually entailed as formerly.

The choices the Chambri make as they manoeuvre in these altered contexts, and the structural consequences, are documented and analysed through a number of sustained examples. The first two chapters focus upon the initiation ceremony organized by the powerful bigman Maliwan. Capitalizing on his links to the owner

of a cruise company, he invites tourists, and to their chagrin the authors, as paying guests. The revenue will allow Maliwan to fulfil traditional obligations; it will also bolster his claim to possess the power to attract resources (today, tourists), and to represent the Chambri to the outside world. The authors pause here to offer a succinct analysis of initiation as a process in which differences between the various Chambri social categories are first heightened and then resolved, the power of freshly unified adult society then being brought to bear upon the initiates. The Chambri at first attempt to incorporate the tourists as one further social category in this system of commensurate differences, but the tourists reject this classification in a variety of ways, maintaining themselves as separate, untailed and ultimately superior. Moreover, Maliwan's tapping of tourist wealth for Chambri ends has unintended consequences. Control of the initiation is taken partly from Chambri hands. As they schedule the initiation for the tourists' arrival and modify and re-run bits of it for their benefit, the Chambri begin to find themselves defined in ways they do not like and cannot control.

Chapters 3 and 4 focus respectively upon migration and the conflict between senior men and 'youth': linked topics because a major goal of leaving Chambri Island is to evade the power of senior men who control the marriage system. Western images of freedom, mediated through advertising, literature and music, are important stimulants to escape, yet few young Chambri who espouse 'freedom' consider themselves any the less Chambri for doing so. Much of chapter 4 concerns Nick Ambri, leader of the Yerameri Drifters Band, a Chambri James Dean. Nick chose to stay in Chambri and confront the power of the bigmen by marrying the girl of his choice; inevitably, in the Chambri view, he died, a victim of his father's sorcery. However, Nick Ambri's life becomes something of a youth manifesto. During his final funeral rites, which first evoke and then deconstitute Nick as a person, Chambri youth dress in sun-glasses and their most stylish clothes and stage an all-night performance of his music, thus claiming these to have been essential parts of his being. But though the objects that are invested in advertisements with ideas of freedom are commodities, the authors conclude that so long as the Chambri subsistence base remains intact, people can 'flirt with Western representations, using them for their own purposes, within a system in which their fundamental identity was not, as yet, class based' (p. 146).

The last two chapters examine 'The Written Word' and 'Negotiating with the State'. Like commodities, literacy belongs to a world whose incommensurate differences may be imported along with the practice of writing. The authors describe how their own field assistant, Godfried Kolly, is stimulated to embark upon an indigenous ethnography, recording ancestral deeds and attempting to resolve discrepancies between the different accounts he is given and the events recorded in the Bible; for he comes to see the two as identical, with initiation, for example, as baptism. In principle, this process of inscription meets with the approval of senior Chambri men, who are concerned about the decay of knowledge of ancestral precedent, and who also wish to confirm Chambri's position as the Rome of the Sepik (Chambri provided catechists for other Sepik areas). However,

knowledge of ancestral precedent is both secret and constitutes important political capital; consequently, Godfried's systematization may, potentially, make him the most powerful Chambri who ever lived. In practice, therefore, senior men decline to provide details of their secret knowledge, and literacy's latent capacity to induce incommensurate differences remains to date unrealized. 'Negotiating with the State' similarly documents Chambri rejection of the incommensurate differences entailed in modern statehood. The Chambri do not see themselves as ceding power to a superordinate body that will act in the equal interests of all citizens; for the Chambri, rights are produced by social relationships, not prior to them. The ramifications of this are examined through cases in which Chambri attempt to negotiate with the state as though it is another kin group and decide whether or not law-breakers should be handed over to the police.

Twisted Histories, Altered Contexts is compulsively readable, in part because the material is presented through specific cases and individuals—including the authors themselves, whose long-term links with the Chambri, and the writings that have resulted from it, become elements in Chambri history. In these respects, and in the concern with individuals' subjectivities that periodically surfaces, the book is reminiscent of Read's New Guinea Highlands monographs. But the book's readability also contributes to the authors' clearly stated political wish, not simply to document the Chambri experience of change, but also to 'provide the basis for a politically compelling acknowledgement of common humanity' (p. 21). To the extent that so well-written a book will be widely used in teaching (not least within Papua New Guinea), this is a goal that is likely to be achieved. There are, however, some costs to the book's accessibility. The key concept of 'development' and the distinction between commensurate and incommensurate differences are insufficiently worked through. There is a tendency to define differences in power and authority as fundamentally 'commensurate' so long as they are temporary, which in the long run all hierarchies are. Application of the commensurate/incommensurate distinction is also particularly intriguing given Simon Harrison's recent account, in *Stealing People's Names* (Cambridge, 1990) of another Iatmul-dominated Middle Sepik people, the Avatip. Harrison discerns as a major theme of Avatip history the long-standing endeavour by the largest subclan to appropriate the totality of ritual powers and thus to construct incommensurate differences.

But though some of the local-global interactions treated here—tourism, migration, literacy—could have been examined individually in greater detail, for me the originality of the book lies in its taking the whole *set* of interactions as the focus. In doing so, the authors also transmute into data much material that tends to get pushed to the periphery of specialist monographs, yet is nevertheless a substantial part of fieldwork experience in Papua New Guinea: assisting informants in their applications for provincial and national government funds; uneasily mediating between tourists and community; listening to senior men complain of 'bighead' youths and youths complaining of conservative and repressive seniors; being pressurized to write to the Queen in support of bigmen's campaigns to be

awarded the MBE; and observing the local political uses made of earlier anthropological publications. It is partly because the book accurately reflects these aspects of contemporary fieldwork that it is also so vivid an account of the complexities of the Chambri's present situation.

MICHAEL O'HANLON

ROBERT W. HEFNER, *The Political Economy of Mountain Java: An Interpretive History*, Berkeley etc.: University of California Press 1990. xxii, 251 pp., Bibliography, Index, Tables, Plates, Maps. \$34.95.

Hefner starts his study with the premise that 'recent attempts by interpretive scholars to represent social action as a "text", the significance of which lies in what the action "says" rather than what it "does"... are ill-conceived' (p. xii). His 'interpretive history' is avowedly Weberian and ultimately causal, and he writes with a sense that the formerly dominant modernization model for explaining change in the non-Western world by Western precedents has collapsed.

The mountain Java he writes about is actually the villages of the Tengger Highlands of East Java, more specifically those of the regency of Pasuruan and one in the regency of Malang. These people are sometimes depicted as remnants of the Hindu kingdom of Majapahit, persisting in a surrounding sea of Islamic culture, an issue that was the subject of Hefner's earlier book, *Hindu Javanese: Tengger Tradition and Islam* (Princeton, NJ, 1985).

Hefner notes that our understanding of Java tends to be based on a narrow, essentially lowland, conception of its regional variation and argues that greater attention needs to be paid to highland communities. Geertz has written about the religion and economy of Java based on research in a Brantas River valley community (Pare) as though it were representative for all of Java, and Hefner seems to do the same on a smaller scale, for, although he draws extensive contrasts between Tengger and lowland economy, he says little about other highland regions.

Hefner writes that though highland history is distinctive, it throws light on forces that have shaped Southeast Asia as a whole. He begins his account of this history with Singosari, the early thirteenth-century precursor to Majapahit, and continues on via the period of expanding Islam, the era of Dutch colonial rule, the Japanese invasion, the first decades of the Republic, the aftermath of the 1965 coup, through the 'New Order' government and the Green Revolution to the present. Necessarily, much of the information about this history does not derive directly from the Tengger Highlands. Nevertheless, Hefner effectively conveys the impression of a shifting pattern of circumstances and realities. Circumstances in Java have changed in significant ways, in large part because of overt government policies, since the early 1950s when Geertz and his colleagues were carrying out

the research of the so-called 'Modjokuto Project'. Consequently, recent studies, such as this one, have evaluated Javanese possibilities rather differently.

Hefner reaches a number of conclusions. Commercialization under Dutch influence did not revolutionize production, but led to changes in the relative ratio of staples to commercial crops. Capitalized production methods did not replace older forms, and the modest market-led expansion could not be sustained in the face of the depression and subsequent crises. The Green Revolution followed four decades of economic instability. Improved transportation, the use of fertilizers and new strains and crops, brought increased, if unevenly distributed, wealth, but the technology that has brought economic benefit has also brought ecological problems that threaten these gains. Agricultural changes have not produced proletarianization or the expansion of impersonal wage labour, and the emergence of more class-stratified villages has been muted by cultural norms of social autonomy: 'thrust into a national arena, these mountain Javanese sought not simply to maximize income or expand production, but to redefine community' (p. 29). Nevertheless, Tengger history shows that commercial change need not undermine traditional arrangements and that extended contact with capitalist economy need not lead to adopting all its features. The Tengger have managed to maintain a distinctive ritual and status scheme. In a pattern familiar throughout rural Indonesia, 'where wealth came into the village, it was carefully channelled into projects consonant with local forms of distinction' (p. 238).

Hefner appears never to refer to works in German. At any event, he does not discuss the German-language publications of Barbara Lüem, who has also recently studied the Tengger. Thomas Schweizer's recent *Reisanbau in Einem Javanischen Dorf* (Cologne/Vienna, 1989) discusses some of the issues taken up by Hefner and sometimes reaches similar conclusions.

Hefner has looked closely at an idiosyncratic Javanese region and used it as the basis for an ambitious review of the literature on Javanese economic development and a critique of social theory. His arguments are generally congenial and plausible. Java is, of course, one of the more important of the world's arenas for matching economic development to social need, and it is an overt testing-ground for development policy. As is to be expected, many of the factors affecting Tengger life are also important in Indonesian communities beyond Java.

R. H. BARNES

RONALD INDEN, *Imagining India*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell 1990. viii, 270 pp., Bibliography, Index. £39.50.

This is an important book, one that every anthropologist and historian of India should read. Some may come away irritated and carping at Inden's arrogance, but

they will not be able to deny the wit and agility with which he tackles no less a subject than the entire Orientalist edifice of knowledge of India. Moreover, while the anthropologist at least may feel that the alleged errors and distortions to which Inden draws attention are those to which he or she is now sensitized, by tracing the intellectual history of such errors and distortions Inden provides us with a valuable history lesson.

In brief, the book consists of a long, five-chapter introduction, which outlines and deconstructs that which has gone before, and a brief, one-chapter 'reconstruction' of one period of Indian history. In this sense the book reads like an inverted version of Dumont's *Homo Hierarchicus* (where two chapters of deconstructive introduction are followed by seven chapters of reconstruction, plus some additional matter). Indeed, for the anthropological reader it is intriguing to glimpse the obviously very difficult relationship that Inden has with Dumont: approved of wholeheartedly for dismissing Eliade's Jungian mumbo-jumbo (pp. 124-5), yet criticized indirectly (through a criticism of Madelaine Biardeau) for throwing out the baby of human agency in history with the bathwater of specious evolutionist speculation (p. 126).

Throughout the book, Inden's aim is to deny power to a series of 'essences' that have been held up as determinative of Indian social formations and, instead, to locate agency in the will and action of the Indians themselves. These 'essences', detailed and meticulously picked apart in the four central chapters of the book, are 'caste', 'Hinduism', 'village India' and 'divine' kingship. All of these, at various times and in various combinations, have been held up by Anglo-American scholars as what Inden terms 'substantialized agents' or 'essences', static forces that lie behind and guide the actions of the men (and, presumably, women, though Inden has little to say about this), rendering everyone from the rulers of Indian kingdoms to the members of the village council powerless tools, capable only of expressing these deep and largely irrational forces.

Relying on backing from such intellectual heavyweights as Collingwood and, to a lesser extent, Foucault and Gramsci, Inden's main targets of attack are the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century historians of, and other writers on, India (particularly James Mill and Hegel). These are identified in the first chapter as being the source of hegemonic knowledge of India in Europe (and later, in America), a knowledge that forms the ground-plan of all later investigations of Indian history and society. It was such writers as these who paved the way for seeing a 'dreamy imagination' (p. 3) as the condition of the Indian mind, the antithesis of the rapier-like sharpness of European rationality. This was particularly so when Hinduism was considered, that vast sponge that absorbed all that came in contact with it, which was taken to be essentially feminine in character, and which thus enervated and feminized all who were involved with it. Caste too, the 'body' that carries the Hindu 'mind' of India, was thus an irrational social formation. Of course, for some (utilitarian rationalists such as Mill, for example), this irrationality was to be despised and replaced as soon as possible, while for others (the 'Romantics' as Inden dubs them, such as Sir William Jones,

and later idealists such as Eliade) the 'irrationality' of caste and Hinduism were to be admired for expressing a deep well-spring of ancient human feeling and knowledge, however hopeless this might be for maintaining a viable polity.

Inden's main concern, however, is less with the imperialist and often laughable accounts of 'the Indian mind', than with accounts of the pre-British state(s). To this end, chapters 4 and 5 (on village India and 'divine' kingship), form a necessary prelude to chapter 6, the 'reconstruction' of the history of the Rashtrakutas—an 'imperial formation' as Inden calls it, which laid political claim to much of India between AD 753 and 975. Inden's rereading of inscriptions and grants made by the Rashtrakuta kings suggests that they continually and actively reconstituted their kingdom in both time and space through elaborate rituals of bathing, processions and installation ceremonies. The Rashtrakuta kings were neither oriental despots (one view of divine kings) nor effete pleasure-seekers who deceived themselves into believing that they ruled over vast tracts of land, whereas in fact all Indian villages were self-governing autonomous entities. The polity of the Rashtrakuta empire is best seen, according to Inden, borrowing from Collingwood, as a 'scale of forms', an overlapping of complex agents (persons and aspects of persons that, however temporarily, may act upon the world with some common purpose) ranging from village councils and their headmen up to the Rashtrakuta Chakravartin, the universal ruler. The Chakravartin was not the agent responsible for the conquest and maintenance of his empire, nor were he and all his subjects the instruments of the agency of caste or Hinduism. Rather, he was the apex or centre of a series of concentric rings of complex agents, each dependent upon the other for the exercise of their agency and all dependent upon the Chakravartin and the rituals (actions) of the royal court to sustain and continually refashion the polity.

In a brief summary such as this I have had to leave unrecorded the many subtleties of Inden's book, in particular the painstaking way in which he teases out a variety of Orientalist discourses and illuminates the sometimes fundamental disagreements between earlier scholars as to the nature of India. Quite apart from the main thrust of his argument, Inden also offers many comments and asides of direct interest to anthropologists. His discussion of the bathing rituals of the Rashtrakutas (pp. 233-9) is one such. He criticizes anthropologists who have discussed the 'power' that is supposed to be gained through initiation rituals (here *tejas*, with which the Rashtrakuta king becomes infused through the rites of bathing) as being conceived of as an objective force, akin to electricity. This power can then be used to control the universe, a typical irrationality of the constructed Hindu Indian 'as a person trying to do something he obviously cannot do' (p. 236). Nor, says Inden, does it help much to say that the ritual baths 'purify' as 'almost every rite in Hinduism can be said to purify somebody or something' (ibid.). Rather, Inden would prefer to see the king infused with divine will, a combination of desire and intellect, in short, a 'world-ordering rationality' (p. 237).

There are certainly problems with the book, the most serious of which is that by returning agency to the Indian other, a similar analysis must be pursued for the Orientalists themselves: who or what were the agents in the Anglo-French and US-USSR 'imperial formations' (as Inden dubs them, the latter succeeding the former as formulators of hegemonic knowledge about the Orient), and why did they produce the texts they did with the arguments they did? Certainly, having argued persuasively for the subtle complexity of the Rashtrakutas' actions (who, through their rituals and claims to territory were not, according to Inden, seeking simply to demonstrate 'control' over time and space but were, rather, 'striving, with every political act, to give a better account of the world than had their predecessors' (p. 247)), Inden is careful not to make such reductionist assumptions about the agents of these formations. A second problem for the anthropologist lies in the treatment of anthropology itself. Although the discipline is mentioned along with such others as sociology and art history (e.g., pp. 66, 70) as one of the bearers of the hegemonic discourse about India, there is very little sustained discussion of the discipline, apart from reference to some rather elderly works on village India (Adrian Mayer, Srinivas) and the very circumscribed discussions of Dumont. One suspects that Inden found it in his best interests not to mention more modern works of anthropology (relating both to India and elsewhere, especially New Guinea) precisely because the idea of attributing rational purpose and self-willed agency to the subjects of anthropological investigation—in short, of seeing things in their terms—is now nearly commonplace. If, as he claims, Inden is seeking to displace the mistaken emulation of the natural sciences and is 'committed to building on and extending the aspects of the social sciences and history that have been liberating for people and helping them to act as fuller, more knowledgeable agents' (p. 22) it is sad that he did not investigate further into post-structuralist anthropology. Recent work in African history, which similarly attempts to accord agency to the subjects, is not mentioned at all.

None the less, this is a powerful and important book. It is packed with ideas and information, as well as wit (his comments on the Jungian and 'New Age' appropriation of Hindu mysticism (pp. 123-4) are especially acerbic). Even the potentially dullest and most specialist section, the reconstruction of the Rashtrakuta polity, brings vividly to life the endless and apparently vacuous eulogies of royal inscriptions and grants.

MARCUS BANKS

JULIA LESLIE (ed.), *Roles and Rituals for Hindu Women*, London: Pinter 1991. xviii, 267 pp., References, Index. £27.50.

The essays in this volume examine the historical and contemporary role of women in Hindu rituals, as well as Hindu women's perceptions of religious life and experience. The notion that women are merely passive victims of an oppressive ideology, dominated by men, is strenuously contested. Each of the contributors to the collection demonstrates that women do not simply conform to the model imposed upon them by Hindu men. Far from being quiescent and largely inactive, as women are typically portrayed in Brahmanical literature and often viewed by non-Hindu writers (including non-Hindu feminists), the picture that emerges reveals that women are, and apparently always have been, involved in the creation of their own identity, which they, themselves, positively construct. Yet it may not be assumed that women are opposed to men, or that women have a world-view that is radically different from men's. As Leslie writes, 'it is the small deviations from the norm which may be crucial, perhaps the way the apparently negative is transformed into something positive and powerful' (p. 3).

In order to delineate these so-called 'deviations', as well as to facilitate understanding of them, the volume is divided into four principal parts. The first of these is concerned with 'The Ritual Wife', the second, third and fourth with 'Power in the Home', 'The Ritual of Dance' and 'The Pursuit of Salvation' respectively. These four sections separate, in turn, into two distinct contexts: (1) interpretation of religious rituals encapsulated in texts written and compiled by men, and (2) women's perspectives on religious and ritual behaviour. However, while each of the contributors provides insights into these distinct areas of investigation, Mary McGee's essay is, perhaps, singularly noteworthy, and a useful place to start.

McGee analyses textual descriptions of votive rites (*vratas*) compiled by a male literate élite and compares them with contemporary statements by women. According to the male compilers, these rites enable women to achieve spiritual liberation (*moksa*), as well as promising more immediate, though lesser, worldly rewards. Since these secondary benefits are additional, votive rites are considered to be 'optional' (*kamya*) rather than 'obligatory' (*nitya*). But when McGee explores alternative evaluations, provided by her female Maharashtrian informants, there is a significant shift in emphasis. Of central importance is the belief that votive rites enable women to maintain marital felicity (*saubhagya*), a term which denotes 'good fortune' or 'auspiciousness'. This manifests itself in a woman by virtue of her wifehood. Now, since the term (*saubhagya*) is added to the list of rewards—and because the duties of the devoted wife (her *stridharma*) are directed solely towards the well-being of her husband and household—McGee contends that votive rites are never merely optional for women. Thus it appears that the label (*kamya*) is inadequate, since, for women, performance is invariably synonymous with obligation. Moreover, the quest for spiritual liberation, although an intended object of votive rites, does not seem to be the reason why women observe them.

Because *moksa* is held to be concomitant with marital felicity, it is not the first, but the second of these concerns that brings women within the orbit of the ceremonial framework. This also contrasts with the traditional male view. By placing stress upon 'acquisition' of the supreme goal (together with other inferior rewards), McGee shows that the entire orientation of women's lives towards 'maintenance' of the family is completely ignored. In this respect, the textual compilers fall short of recognizing the motives and intentions of women votaries.

These subtle differences that McGee identifies illustrate clearly that Hindu women may not be viewed in terms of passivity or indolence. And the manner in which women are actively, exegetically and purposefully involved in this complex process of construction is not limited simply to votive rites. As the other contributors forcefully argue, this also applies to sectarian movements, marriage ceremonies, classical and modern dance rituals as well as to female asceticism.

By way of conclusion, it must be pointed out, however, that the volume has one notable weakness: in more than 200 pages the 'nature-culture' controversy is not once addressed. Yet the book's challenge is directly related to important issues raised by this debate. The contention that women are closer to 'nature', while men may, contrastingly, be more easily equated with 'culture', assumes that women are more or less passive and unassertive. In the context of Hindu rituals and religious behaviour, this would be an essentially androcentric view, serving to reinforce the inherently biased model of women that Hindu men and male-authored texts allocate to them. It is unfortunate that the types of problem confronted by proponents of this thesis are never tackled explicitly in *Roles and Rituals for Hindu Women*. Despite this criticism, however, the book deserves a prominent place on the reading lists of anthropologists and Orientalists.

GRAHAM DWYER

JUNE MCDANIEL, *The Madness of the Saints: Ecstatic Religion in Bengal*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press 1989. xi, 286 pp., Appendixes, References, Index, Tables. £45.00/£13.50.

The typical Indian holy man—in the Indian estimation as in the Western stereotype—is calm, ascetic, and in control, capable of feats of endurance or suppleness that ordinary mortals can only wonder at. June McDaniel's book describes a very different type of holy man and woman, important in Bengal, the mad saint. The mad saint may behave like a baby, weep uncontrollably, imagine him or herself to be Krishna's wife Radha, have luxuriant visions, beat and insult would-be devotees, and ignore or invert the etiquette and purity rules of polite society.

One theme of *The Madness of the Saints* deals with the ways in which Bengalis attempt to distinguish between divine madness and ordinary insanity. In fact, in nearly all the case-studies she describes and the biographies she translates the holy person was initially thought to be mad and taken by concerned relatives to doctors, exorcists, and Ayurvedic doctors for treatment. Only when these pronounced it not to be insanity, and when the 'patients' began to acquire disciples, did they begin to be taken as saints. Even then, some families could not accept the apparent madness as *bhāva*, a state of extreme emotion caused by god-intoxication. This concept seems to be shared equally by all Bengalis, and divine madness equally revered, whether they are Vaishnavas (followers of Vishnu, in this case in his form as Krishna), Shaktas (followers of Shakti, Shiva's consort), Muslims, or members of other, syncretic sects.

There is, furthermore, a crucial distinction in Bengal between *bhāva*, a state of intoxication caused by closeness to god, and *bhor*, which is possession by god. McDaniel writes: 'one woman, called a "bhor lady" by others, was scandalized when asked about her experiences. "I do not have *bhor*, I have *bhāva*!" she replied proudly. Possession trance (*bhor*) is associated with the poor and low caste, while *bhāva* belongs to several venerable religious traditions. *Bhāva* is more justifiable, a state of divine love or awareness, while possession trance often has practical ends (diagnosing and healing disease, asking the deities for favors) and demonstrates neither love nor awareness' (pp. 229-30).

The Madness of the Saints is, then, full of material that is grist to the anthropological mill, but the anthropological reader has to work hard to extract such culturally and sociologically significant points from the text. The book plunges straight into the subject with no preliminary setting of the scene. No anthropological accounts of Bengal or India are mentioned, not even those produced in Chicago. I. M. Lewis's *Ecstatic Religion* is listed in the references but is not discussed; we have to wait instead, until more than half way through the book, for a quotation from a novel by Anita Desai, to make the point, as McDaniel puts it, that 'religion has been both the way in and the way out for Bengali women' (p. 191).

McDaniel's technique is to translate extensive chunks of Bengali biographies of mad saints, and to summarize the rest, and then to comment briefly on the content. She supplements these written sources with interviews with living mad saints she met in Bengal. It is only in the conclusion that the context really emerges. Such mad saints invert the dominant, scripturally approved version of divine awareness. In the latter, one is supposed to first receive initiation from a guru, then practise ritual and yoga long and hard, gradually attaining glimpses of one's chosen god; glimpses that are to be made more vivid through discipline and control. Mad saints, by contrast, *begin* with dramatic, upsetting, and even bizarre visions of god. Ritual and initiations, if undertaken at all, are done only as a secondary legitimation; direct visions and experience of god are what it is all about. Since such saints are admired, however, and their own scriptural traditions are well established, there arises the secondary problem of how to distinguish

someone who is really a mad saint from someone who is merely imitating how a mad saint is supposed to behave.

In short, *The Madness of the Saints* makes available a mass of fascinating Bengali material. It is particularly good that McDaniel sets side by side all the different competing traditions of Bengali religion and shows what they share and how they differ. But her phenomenological, religious-studies perspective means that comparisons are made with Christianity, with European folk-tales, and with Freudianism, but only in passing and not very satisfyingly with other Indian regional traditions. There is no discussion of how these mad saints appear to laity who are not devotees, and even the devotees themselves are fairly shadowy. There is no attempt to relate the material to anthropological discussions of spirit-possession and renunciation in Hinduism.

DAVID N. GELLNER

JOHN EADE and MICHAEL J. SALLNOW (eds.), *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage*, London and New York: Routledge 1991. xii, 153 pp., Index, Figures. £10.99.

It was Victor Turner who put the topic of pilgrimage on anthropologists' list of contents. Although he got it so wrong, he published so much that others felt obliged to point out his errors. These revisionists have done their job so well that, these days, dumping on Turner has become *passé*. Of course, if Turner and his critics had bothered to read Robert Hertz's long paper of 1914 on pilgrimage in southeast France, they would have found most of their points and counterpoints already well set out in his admirably clear ethnographic essay. It is, therefore, deeply disappointing that none of the contributors to this collection cites this apparently forgotten paper.

Instead of crabbing *communitas*, today's anthropologists of pilgrimage see the phenomenon as a varied, contested domain that—like any other comparative concept—eludes easy definition. In so far as they can contain the topic, they view pilgrimage both as a field of social relations and as a realm of competing discourses. Thus a place does not become a shrine because of some intrinsic religious character it supposedly manifests, but because it can accommodate a diversity of meanings and practices. And a place becomes a major shrine, one of universalistic import, if it can bear the weight of interpretation applied by a multiplicity of religious discourses. A site like Lourdes, for instance, becomes famous and much visited because so many different types of clients can there find (or at least seek) what they desire. In other words, shrines are *inscribed* upon the landscape, and they are never definitively inscribed.

The contributors bring out the plurality of pilgrimage in a sophisticated, post-Turnerian manner. Bowman, focusing on Jerusalem, contrasts the discourses of Orthodox, Catholic, and Protestant pilgrimage to this sacred site. McKeivitt looks at the way the villagers at one pilgrimage site feel its control has been wrested from them, and how its controllers now view them as almost diabolic characters who fail to live up to the Christian ideals that the site is meant to embody. Instead of contrasting the particular approaches of three different churches, Dahlberg compares the religious style of three different Catholic pilgrimages to Lourdes: one organized by an archdiocese, one for handicapped children, and one commercial venture. Eade, also at Lourdes, describes the tensions between collective discipline and freedom of expression, between lay helpers and pilgrims who wish to make the most of their visit. Stirrat shows how the new shrines that have been created in Sri Lanka in recent decades are defined less by place than by person, i.e. 'holy men' imbued with the power of the divine. Sallnow demonstrates the internally contradictory nature of Andean Christianity and the way locals use pilgrimage to try to reclaim, in a neo-colonial manner, their compromised cultural identity.

In sum, these carefully analysed papers give an accurate idea of the present state and theoretical richness of contemporary pilgrimage studies. No one writing on the anthropology of Christian pilgrimage can afford to ignore it.

JEREMY MACCLANCY

MALCOLM BULL and KEITH LOCKHART, *Seeking a Sanctuary: Seventh-day Adventism and the American Dream*, New York etc.: Harper & Row 1989. xi, 311 pp., Index, Tables, Figures. No price given.

The Seventh-day Adventist (SDAs) emerged from the 'Great Disappointment' of 22 October 1884: the day that the followers of William Miller, a preacher from upstate New York, expected to see the Second Coming. A small band of the disappointed found a way of coming to terms with their mistaken prediction by believing that on that day God had begun the process of separating the salvational sheep from the goats, which would be completed at some unspecified time in the future. To that belief they added the requirement to keep Saturday rather than Sunday as the sabbath. Inspired by the writings of Ellen White—interesting that American fringe Protestantism should have produced so many women leaders; Mary Baker Eddy of Christian Science and Aimee Semple McPherson of the Four Square Gospel are further examples—the group grew to gradually become not only a denomination but an enclosed world. Ellen White's vision of the rightness of the health reform movement combined with the energy of John Harvey Kellogg (yes, that Kellogg!) to make the SDAs pioneers of nursing training, dietary improvement and medical missionary work.

From the first, the SDAs were distanced from the mainstream of American culture by their rejection of the American Dream of material fulfilment in this life in favour of the millennium. They were further made strangers in their own land by their Saturday sabbath, which prevented them from becoming involved in the evangelical and fundamentalist crusades of the late nineteenth century. The consequence of this double isolation was a turning inward and the creation of a variety of social institutions to complement their specifically religious institutions.

An interesting theme of Bull and Lockhart's book is the way in which SDA fund-raising (members typically give far more than a tenth of their income) and spending bind members into their alternative world. The vast bulk of SDA money is spend on SDA institutions (and even some of their best hospitals are run at a loss) that employ largely SDA members. Although the authors do not put it so crudely, there is a strong incentive for SDA members to stay in the Church to get back what they have put in. However, many do not stay. In an ironic process well documented by Bryan R. Wilson, the Church, for all its unhappiness with the American Dream, has been all too successful in helping its members attain worldly success. Upward social mobility was provided, not only by inculcating such appropriate values as asceticism and self-discipline (as did other US conservative Protestant denominations) but also by creating a 'fast track' for accelerated mobility. By creating its own institutions, it provided a protected demand for professionals and thus created an unusually large number of training and career opportunities for Adventists.

Although now very large (with about five million members) and successful in recruiting in many parts of the Third World, the SDAs remain something of a mystery, provoking very different but often strong reactions. For those who are interested in learning about SDA history, theology, ecclesiology and mores, this book will be an excellent source. The exposition is clear and well illustrated from the movement's publications; the commentary is sensible and occasionally witty. If there is one weakness in this authoritative account, it is its dependence on official published sources. We are told a great deal about what Ellen White thought about fiction, dancing and the opera (she was 'agin 'em'), but the sociologist and the anthropologist will want to know the extent to which such teachings informed the lives of early Adventists. There is also a lack of contemporary ethnographic material. Despite its length, the book gives little insight into the 'everyday life world' of an Adventist. Do they still avoid the cultural products of the secular mass media? Do they still not read novels? How do they decorate their houses? How do they vote? Where did they stand on the Moral Majority? We are left to guess, but Bull and Lockhart seem to be guiding us firmly to the conclusion that, for all the rhetoric, Adventists are no longer very distinctive.

STEVE BRUCE

PETER G. FORSTER, *T. Cullen Young: Missionary and Anthropologist*, Hull: Hull University Press 1989. xv, 251 pp., Index. £7.95.

Much interest is now being shown by anthropologists in the relations between anthropology and the work of missionaries. In this many-sided affair, books and articles are emerging that show the help given to anthropology by missionaries, especially up until the Second World War. Attention is often focused on Roman Catholic contributions (Pater Schmidt and his school), on those of Anglicans (Denys Shropshire) and of continental Protestants (Leenhardt). The work of Scottish Protestants is rarely represented. For this reason, Peter Forster's study of T. Cullen Young (1880–1955) is to be welcomed.

Influenced by the life and work of David Livingstone (1813–73), himself a Scot and virtually self-taught, Cullen Young went to northern Nyasaland (now Malawi) in 1904 as one of twelve missionaries sent out by the United Free Church Assembly. He was an accountant by training and also received a limited theological education. Not surprisingly, his duties in and around Livingstonia comprised supervising the accounts and teaching in and inspecting schools. He was ordained in 1914 whilst on leave in Scotland. During the military push into Tanganyika he organized interpreters. When the war was over he began to write primarily in the areas of language and history, and, later, anthropology. Like so many missionaries, he felt forced to leave his work for personal reasons. For him these were the education of his children and his wife's mental illness. The Youngs left Africa in 1931, never to return. He then worked in London and became the General Secretary of what was to become the United Society for Christian Literature. He eventually died of cancer in Scotland in 1955. He remained to the end a minister in the church but his views became less evangelical. Although he held that there existed mysterious forces beyond scientific explanation, he recognized the challenge of secular humanism and was eventually attracted to Quakerism. He believed that the justification for mission work was functional: that Christianity rather than paganism was better suited to modern Africa.

Cullen Young became interested in anthropology because he saw that whereas India had a literate civilization, in Africa only 'human documents' were available; therefore one had to learn from the people as they were. He saw the necessity of anthropological studies for understanding the 'cruel' elements of the social life of the local people, such as the killing of children without a mother and the treatment of twins. He was totally opposed to such 'barbaric' acts, but he also saw that anthropology could show the missionary which components of culture could be utilized for his own purposes. He was, of course, a self-taught anthropologist, but when he started work in Africa professional anthropology with fieldwork experience was unknown.

As he was without a great interest in theory it might be more accurate to call him an ethnographer. He concerned himself with two adjacent areas that are occupied today by the patrilineal Ngoni/Tumbuka people in the north of Malawi and the matrilineal Chewa in the central region. He was not the first missionary

to make ethnographic studies, but he went further than others and concentrated particularly on the Tumbuka. He wrote about their religious beliefs, taboos (a taboo, for him, was a combination of common sense and sympathetic magic), the *ng'anga* (traditional doctor), proverbs, folk-tales, and so forth. He contributed reviews and articles to *Africa, Man* and the *JRAI*, but perhaps his most useful contribution was *Notes of the Customs and Folklore of the Tumbuka-Kamanga Peoples*, which appeared in 1931. He attempted, perhaps not very successfully, to develop the notion of a 'good village'. As a sensitive observer, he was opposed to stereotyping Africans. His work was academically acknowledged in 1950 when Ralph Piddington of Edinburgh University was instrumental in having him awarded an honorary M.A.

Forster devotes a long chapter to Cullen Young's achievements as a historian of the region. His concern was with the changes of fortune of the peoples of northern Malawi since the arrival of Europeans. He corrected previous attempts at history, not without criticism, and utilized verbal accounts from the students he taught of what had happened in the past. He was especially concerned with the Ngoni conquest of Tumbuka. Forster holds that Cullen Young's most influential contribution to scholarship was in the realm of history.

There are other chapters on education and literary matters, and finally one on political issues. Here should be noted Cullen Young's relation to, and influence on, Hastings Banda when he was resident in England. Banda's initial experience of mission education was in Livingstonia where Cullen Young was based.

Peter Forster, trained by Max Gluckman, has visited Malawi several times and presents a clearly written, sympathetic and comprehensive intellectual biography of a little-known figure: a Protestant missionary who produced valuable ethnographic and historical material for scholars interested in Africans living on the west side of Lake Malawi. The extensive bibliographies are also useful. And the book is remarkably cheap.

W. S. F. PICKERING

MARGARET JOLLY and MARTHA MACINTYRE (eds.), *Family and Gender in the Pacific: Domestic Contradictions and the Colonial Impact*, Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press 1989. xiii, 258 pp., Bibliography, Index. £27.50.

This volume is composed mostly of papers originally presented at a conference held in Canberra in December 1983, as part of the workshop on gender relations in the south-west Pacific. The title of the conference was 'Christianity, Colonialism and the Family in the Pacific', and although it is true that many of the papers go beyond the brief immediately suggested by the conference title, it seems rather

puzzling that neither 'Christian' nor 'Missionaries' appears in the title of the volume, as this would, I suggest, give a better indication of the material on offer.

The contributors make an effort to locate missionary activity within the wider colonial context, and missionaries are given an especial prominence throughout many of the book's twelve essays. The volume represents an exemplary collaboration between historians and anthropologists casting their nets over a wide area from Hawaii to Australia. The breadth and scope of the material are impressive, and the manner of presentation is often entertaining and ironic. This is evident, for example, in Michael Young's evenhanded assessment, in 'Suffer the Children', of Wesleyan efforts to 'rescue' D'Entrecasteaux children from the influence of home and family, and in Roger Keesing's 'Sins of a Mission', which attempts to assess the impact of Christianity in Melanesia in an approach that he argues is both synchronic and direct as well as diachronic and indirect, employing as sources both oral traditions and documentary evidence.

In true postmodernist style the contributors perceive their task as one of deconstructing the colonial discourse, as well as other discourses that have been profoundly colonial in style. The reader is led to examine the power relations between colonialists, missionaries and indigenous people, and between the sexes, as the authors explore Christianity along dimensions that are at once 'religious', 'political' and 'economic'. When missionaries arrived in the region they brought with them their own models of domesticity and the family as well as assumptions about the place of women within the total scheme of things. Comparisons with events in Africa and elsewhere leap continually to mind.

Patricia Grimshaw details the attempts of New England missionary wives to transform the lives of Hawaiian women, ironically undermining some of those very aspects of Hawaiian culture on which Hawaiian women could build some measure of autonomy. Caroline Ralston outlines changes in the lives of 'ordinary women' in early post-contact Hawaii, while Nicholas Thomas explores domestic structures and polyandry in the Marquesas Islands. The reader is brought repeatedly to a greater appreciation of the intimacies of domestic life and of relations between men and women, major aspects of the total picture that were written out of former analyses and found no place in colonial records. The now familiar theme of invisible women runs through many of the papers, strikingly so in Donald Denoon's discussion of medical care and gender in Papua New Guinea and in Annette Hamilton's description of relations between Australian male settlers and their Aboriginal female companions. Mervyn Meggitt offers a rather depressing analysis of the position of women in contemporary Central Enga society as he outlines the complex ways in which, as far as men's power to coerce women and define their restricted role is concerned, *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*.

Questions concerning the organization of space in the domestic and ritual spheres are explored by Martha MacIntyre, who details and discusses the reasons for the demise of Tubetube architecture, and by Margaret Jolly, who demonstrates how Christian sacred spaces in South Pentecost, Vanuatu, remain as segregated and as under male control as the older pre-Christian spaces were. Jeffrey Clark's

discussion of Christianity and social organization among Takuru Wiru sensitively portrays the dialectic that is set up within the encounter between different cosmologies, demonstrating that no simple notions of 'impact' or 'change' can adequately reflect the way in which Christianity has become integrated, for the time being at least, into a cosmology that reinforces male dominance and devalues women.

As can be seen, the range of these contributions is enormous, though, perhaps inevitably at times, depth of discussion is sacrificed. For example, there is no sustained exploration of the concept of 'conversion' and few attempts to pin down what actually goes on when an individual converts. Nor are there explorations of such matters as the notion of personhood, practices surrounding the body and issues of language, all of which, one suspects, are also germane. But this is probably to demand too much.

In their introduction, Jolly and MacIntyre state their major aim as one in which 'grand epistemological questions', such as the production and continuance of such notions as nature and culture and domestic and public, are set within 'the more precise confines of historical and cultural particulars'(p. 15). In this, they have certainly succeeded.

ANTHONY SIMPSON

JAMES L. WATSON and EVELYN S. RAWSKI (eds.), *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China* [Studies on China 8], Berkeley etc.: University of California Press 1988. xv, 316 pp., Glossary-Index, Plates. \$40.00.

This book represents the proceedings of a conference on 'Ritual and the Social Significance of Death in Chinese Society' held in Oracle, Arizona, in January 1985. It has been prepared as carefully as were the seven previous volumes in the series 'Studies on China' that have appeared since 1982 under the sponsorship of the Joint Committee on Chinese Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council. The twelve articles are clearly structured, correlated with one another, and accompanied by detailed references and a Glossary-Index of Chinese characters to facilitate the search for particular subjects. The emphasis is on China since the fifteenth century, with a clear bias towards modern China. The Preface calls this the 'stragem of "beginning at the end"', which reflects the fact that anthropological research on the country has so far concentrated mostly on modern China. None the less, the theme of death ritual in early Chinese history appears frequently in the book.

Three of the original conference contributions, which were to be published elsewhere, are omitted. Two of these ('O Soul, Come Back! The Ritual of *fu* ("Recall") and Conceptions of the Afterlife in Pre-Buddhist China' by Yü Ying-

shih and 'Dead but Not Gone: Cultural Implications of Mortuary Practices in Neolithic and Early Bronze Age China' by David Keightley) would have provided a link with earlier periods of Chinese death ritual, with definite benefit for the understanding of modern Chinese death ritual, but none the less the book offers much valuable material on Chinese mortuary practices in general.

The authors actually represented consist of six anthropologists, three historians and one sociologist. The two introductory articles, 'The Structure of Performance' by James Watson and 'A Historian's Approach to Chinese Death Ritual' by Evelyn Rawski, show the varying approaches of different scientific disciplines to the treatment of Chinese death ritual. The anthropologist Watson starts from the principle that despite local and social variation, Chinese funerary ritual has a common basic structure. In late imperial times death ritual was more or less uniform in Chinese society. Watson writes, 'preoccupation with performance—rather than belief—made it possible for imperial authorities, local elites, and ordinary peasants to agree on the proper form for the conduct of funerals' (p. 18). 'By enforcing orthopraxy (correct practice) rather than orthodoxy (correct belief) state officials made it possible to incorporate people from many different ethnic and regional backgrounds, with varying beliefs and attitudes, into an overarching social system we now call China' (p. 104). With the eyes of a historian, Rawski discusses in detail Watson's theme of the primacy of performance over belief and concludes: 'Historians would thus argue that the primary agents of cultural integration cited by Watson—the state, officials, and local elites—did intend to promote orthodoxy through orthopraxy' (p. 28). Such differences in approach are discussed by the other authors in the book.

The second part of the volume is also valuable for its comprehensive treatment of the many aspects of Chinese death ritual. The basic research material varies, according to author, from local histories to academic literature and from information from newspapers and travel reports to fieldwork data, the latter having a particularly important part to play. Susan Naquin describes and analyses information on funerary practices from northern Chinese local histories published between 1870 and 1940. Stuart E. Thompson explores the symbolism of food, especially of rice and pork, in Chinese death ritual. James Watson deals with the social background and ritual roles of priests, musicians, corpse-handlers and the like in Chinese mortuary practices. Elizabeth L. Johnson describes and interprets the content, ritual and social significance of lamenting with regard to Hakka women's roles in death ritual and in Chinese society. Emily Martin is concerned specifically with the views of Chinese women on marriage, which involves their final separation from their natal home and represents for them a sort of death as well as the continuation of life. Myron L. Cohen discusses the 'social interpretation of death with particular reference to the emphasis or de-emphasis of salvation in different popular religious contexts'. Rubie Watson deals with the possible political implications of ancestral grave worship in south-eastern China. Evelyn Rawski shows how, in the Ming and Qing periods, imperial death ritual practice structurally resembled commoners' practice, though it also had a special

significance through its embeddedness in state religion. In 'Mao's Remains', Frederic Wakeman compares mortuary observances at Mao Tse-tung's and Chiang Kai-shek's funerals. Finally, Martin K. Whyte discusses the problem of continuity and discontinuity between traditional Chinese death rites and ideological and practical attitudes towards mortuary rites in the People's Republic.

The volume is heavily biased towards southern China, Hong Kong and Taiwan, north China only being dealt with, and then only historically, by Naquin and Rawski. It is to be hoped that future research on death ritual in China may be extended into this area too. It would also be desirable to take account of other kinds of material, especially literature (see the third omitted contribution, by Anthony Yu, 'Rest, Rest, Perturbed Spirit! Ghosts in Traditional Chinese Prose Fiction', which has, however, appeared in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (1987)), but also oral literature, which until now has not been explored sufficiently in connection with death.

MAREILE FLITSCH

JONATHAN HAAS (ed), *The Anthropology of War*, Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press 1990. xiv, 211 pp., References, Index, Figures. £30.00/\$49.50.

This volume comprises, in edited form, papers presented at an advanced seminar held at the School of American Research. Broadly, the purpose of the seminar was to relate recent research about warfare in pre-state societies to a general anthropology of war, the latter being interpreted by the conference chairman to include warfare among nation states. Specifically, the contributors sought to understand the causation of war and peace in pre-state societies as well as the effects of war on their evolution. The result is a collection of informative essays that are at once diverse in geography and history and uniform in interest and scholarship.

The authors' theoretical positions and perspectives are diverse also. Some of the perspectives concern different but complementary approaches to the study of war, whereas others relate to competing theoretical stances. About the former, basic distinctions are drawn between the origins of war, its maintenance as a going concern once begun, and the effects of war upon the societies involved. Since some tribal societies are peaceful, a further problem concerning the maintenance of war is defined. Some papers address the problem of how war is maintained in some societies while peace is maintained in others. Thomas Gibson compares war and violence in three groups of cultivators in a regional economy in Southeast Asia. One group, the Buid, were peaceful whereas the others were not. The physical and social ecology was similar for all groups and could not, therefore, explain the difference between them. Gibson argues that Buid peace persists through a value consensus where violence, aggression and competition are

negatively defined and sanctioned. When raided by others, the Buid did not counter raid, for neither bravery nor courage was esteemed by them; instead, flight was the customary and proper mode of response. Young Buid males, it seems, established their masculinity by making love not war. Other papers describe the peaceful Semai of Malaysia and Xinguano of Brazil, and it seems that the absence of war in all the above cultures relates to anti-violent value systems and low levels of stratification.

Three general factors tending to maintain war are distinguished: the loss of ingroup members, especially kin, creates irrational revenge needs, which once assuaged produce further like needs in the foe; secondly, where one group is attacked by another, it has a rational need to counter-attack, otherwise it might be eliminated—thus, once started, war tends inherently to persist; finally, the existence of a group with material and ideal interests in war, such as a warrior class. Robert Carneiro examines chieftain-level warfare in Fiji and Colombia, and shows the initial causes of war, the further causes produced by war that then sustain it, and the effects of war upon culture. The origin of war was chieftain rivalry, but its ensuing slaughter generated revenge needs among antagonists. These motives then acted independently to maintain wars of escalating hatred and ferocity, which occasioned each side to eat its prisoners, to inflict upon them the ultimate outrage. Although vengeance was its origin, cannibalism in time became gastronomic, as people grew fond of cooked human flesh. Concerning the effects of cannibalism, it produced not only new culinary customs, but also additional motives for war, since persons now needed prisoners of war in order to eat them.

The various authors favour different models of causation including the materialist/ecological, the biocultural and the historical. The materialist model relates war to competition for such resources as land and trade goods. According to this model, warriors may or may not be motivated by conscious desires for resources, but where not, as in honorific war, their victories might still improve the terms of trade. In such a case, warfare would relate, in an unintended but important way, to the material basis of culture. In a fascinating paper, Jonathan Haas argues that land and water scarcity led Indian bands in Arizona to concentrate on increasing food yields, and this cooperation produced tribalization at the local level. In contrast, scarcity created war among the newly formed tribes at the wider regional level. In a persuasive essay, Clayton Robarchek argues that material and biocultural models explain war as occurring deterministically in response to objective material and biological conditions. He describes a conflict over scarce resources among the Semai of Malaya that did not lead to war, but produced instead a compromise in shared values and institutions.

It seems to me that while a general anthropology of war must address all three problems identified above, both behavioural science and history incline to focus upon the causes and effects of war and neglect the problems of its maintenance. Research into modern war has revealed that the persistence of violent exchanges among armed adversaries is problematical. Wars can fall apart, and sometimes they do. Some of this research is cited by Clark McCauley, but other studies, such

as Roger Little's classic ethnography of defensive values in a platoon of the US Army in the Korean war, relevant to the issue of maintenance are not. The US platoon's response to battle was a spontaneously evolved consensus to avoid attacking the enemy, a consensus sustained by sanctions. Subsequent research suggests that defensive values are endemic in modern warfare and, further, that small fighting groups vary greatly in their disposition to attack. Battle confrontations differ, therefore, according to the antagonists' attitudes towards violence: first, where both are inclined to attack; secondly, where one is, but the other is not; and finally, where both are not. For instance, in World War I, defensively minded soldiers commonly negotiated tacit and informal truces in the trenches, and these persisted from the beginning to the end of the war, on both Western and Eastern fronts, and upon all others save Gallipoli. A *de jure* state of war existed, yet a *de facto* peace prevailed. As in tribal war, however, revenge tended to maintain war, for the ties of kin and comrades-in-arms are intense and, as killing occurs, produce revenge needs.

It would have been interesting and possibly useful if the seminar and this book had compared material from the study of modern warfare with that from tribal societies in the discussion of maintenance of both war and peace.

TONY ASHWORTH