up'' of life in a Muslim society. Chapter Two covers a wide range of topics, but centres on interpretations of the Qur'an from literary (postmodern) perspectives as well as from within the Islamic tradition discussing, for example, fundamentalist vs. liberal interpretations in a changing Iran. Fischer supplements and juxtaposes these interpretations with graphic media such as posters, postage stamps and film adding a new and fascinating dimension to religio-political discourse in the modern world.

A similar theme is presented in Chapter Three, although here the focus is a ''primal scene'' in Islam, the Hajj. Again, however, it is not the usual, rather ''pedestrian'' description of the pilgrimage, but one that utilizes captivating gender metaphors to structure the argument, focussing on the symbolism of Hagar. The chapter progresses through a further exploration of interpretations of the Hajj which have been infused with political meaning in order to give Shi'a Islam even more of a modern revolutionary ideology.

Chapter Four concludes Part Two of the book with a discussion of the city of Yazd (where Fischer did much of his earlier work) and the Baha'i community of that city. It is a heart-rending account of the sufferings and persecution of that oppressed minority within a theoretical context of a rhetoric of victimage.

Chapter Five, which comprises the whole of Part Three, focusses on the Iranian community in diaspora, in Houston, Texas. Fischer and Abedi use the facts of exile and immigration resulting from the Iranian Revolution of 1979 to discuss the cultural crisis faced by Iranians in the diaspora. While the context is that studied by the authors, generalizations can be derived from their discussion to apply to Iranians in other areas of the diaspora such as Europe and Turkey where many Iranians reside waiting for their return. The structure of this chapter parallels that of the first, that is, recounting life-histories as ''storytelling,'' invoking and involving the reader in the oral life world of the Iranian community in the U.S. Their style is especially appropriate for immersing the reader in the ''reality'' of the emigrants' situation.

The remaining two chapters of the book (Six and Seven) are encapsulated under the title ''Visual Projections.'' Chapter Six deals with a further, more detailed discussion of the political use of posters, stamps, cartoons and other graphic media in the furtherance of Khomeini's revolution; while Chapter Seven is an attempt to provide a postmodern interpretation of Salman Rushdie's controversial novel, *Satanic Verses*. As I mentioned earlier, this is reprinted from the journal *Cultural Anthropology*, but its effectiveness would have been even greater, had Fischer and Abedi reprinted, as well, Talal Asad's criticism of their interpretation. Talal Asad was writing from a Muslim viewpoint and by reprinting his rejoinder it would have only added further strength to Fischer and Abedi's stated goal of Debating Muslims.

State and Society in Bali: Historical, Textual and Anthropological Approaches
Hildred Geertz, ed.
Leiden, The Netherlands: KITLV Press, 1991. 293 pp., plates, figures, index. $26.00 (paper)

Reviewer: Shuichi Nagata
University of Toronto

Hildred Geertz's introduction opens with a question: ''How local communities have been linked to various claimants to state sovereignty at different epochs in Bali's his-

tory.'' To tackle this ''overall subject,'' a meeting of Bali specialists was held in Leiden in 1986. The present volume collects seven of the papers presented at the meeting. A majority of these essays deal with the relationship between state and religion in Bali—e.g., the status of the Besaki temple complex (Stuart-Fox); the ambiguously diarchic nature of the state (Rubinstein); the meaning of chaos and confusion in Balinese ritual (Vickers); temple as an assertion of political authority (Nordhold); and the ritual drama (*topéng*) enacted as cosmic punishment of the youths in *Pemuda Penjuang* (Geertz). Two last contributions are concerned less with religion and more with politics, both at the level of Bali as a whole (I Gusti Ngurah) and at the level of villages (Warren).

The competence in Bali studies, demonstrated in this volume, is impressive and includes detailed philological studies of *lontar* texts and inscriptions dealing with Bali's recent past. To the specialists of Bali, it must be a precious addition to a growing body of literature on Bali. The relevance of the volume goes beyond the limited field of Bali studies, however, and to anthropologists, interested in religion and politics, it will become an important reference, if one wishes to understand further the power of religion and to provide some correctives to the received theories. The first three articles, for instance, make it clear that the caste system as practised in traditional Bali is by no means a simple transplant from its home, India, and the Brahmana priests (*pedanda*) were active in politics, sometimes competing for power against their kings. The devaluation of power that Dumont said was typical of the Hindu caste system remained incomplete in Bali and, reminiscent of medieval Hindu-Buddhistic kings of Southeast Asia, some Balinese rajas aspired for the divine status to outrank Brahmana priests. There was a diarchy but an unstable one, though, once again in contrast to India, there appears to be no state founded by Brahmana priests, possibly reflecting the exogenous origin of *pedanda* families.

Geertz's article, an analysis of a bizarre incident in which political dissenters were flogged and literally lacerated by plant poisons as part of the ritual performance, is a Pirandello appropriated by the audience. Implications of a ritual, ''in which 'instrumental' and 'expressive' aspects are indistinguishable'' (p. 190), lead her to observe that the idea of ''theatre state'' may have to be reformulated in a way to transcend ''the separation of audience from players'' (p. 182).

Both Clifford Geertz's (1959) critique of the Redfieldian notion of community and Wolf's (1957) interpretation of the ''closed corporate community'' as a type of peasant coalition against the external pressures can be read as a corrective to the image of Asian villages depicted in the Asiatic Mode of Production by Marx and promoted to a certain extent by Dutch scholars of the 19th century in the idea of village republic (*dorpsrepubliek*). Since then, however, the literature on Asian village communities has been ambiguous indeed. A general trend in recent years has been to attribute whatever corporate features villages possess to state creation, hence Jeremy Kemp's phrase, the ''mirage'' of the Thai village. The last article in the volume, by Warren, swings the pendulum to the other direction by arguing the reality of autonomy and corporateness of Balinese *banjar* (territorial community) as an indigenous institution, warning against an exaggerated emphasis upon vertical, patron-client ties that bind a village to the state. Warren discusses how *banjar* encouraged popular participation in development projects (e.g., family planning) and how the bureaucratization of *banjar* government can be inimical to the national objective of rural reconstruction. At the same time, Warren is aware that *banjar*, in its desire to maintain consensus, may turn out to be intolerant of dissent (p. 225), a phenomenon observed in Japanese *buraku* ostracism in post-war years (Smith 1961). Warren warns ''exaggerated 'deconstruction' could easily be used

to rationalize policies which would destroy the positive social and economic importance of these (*banjar*) institutions'' (p. 231).

In terms of scope and issues covered, the book is an important addition to the discussion of contemporary problems in anthropology and those endeavouring to understand the cultural dynamics of Southeast Asia will greatly profit from reading this slim volume.

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Twisted Histories, Altered Contexts: Representing the Chambri in a World System
Deborah Gewertz and Frederick Errington
New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991. xiv + 264 pp. $44.50 (cloth), $14.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Margaret C. Rodman
York University

The Chambri were the female-dominated Tchambuli in Margaret Mead's 1935 study, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*. The seeming isolation of this Sepik River society in New Guinea provided Mead with a ''natural laboratory'' in which she could demonstrate that gender roles were culturally shaped, not biologically given. Gewertz and Errington, recognizing the illusion of the Chambri's isolation and disillusioned with positivist epistemologies, write the Chambri differently.

They focus on ''twisted histories,'' relations of entailment that recursively entwine individuals and events, past and present, the Chambri and the West. Their particular interest is in the ''altered contexts'' that the process of development, especially tourism, has created.

The book draws on Gewertz's fieldwork in the Chambri Lake region beginning in 1974 but relies most heavily on research she and Errington conducted there in 1987. The authors' lives are spun into the thread of the histories they describe. They became resource people for both Westerners and Chambri. They served as anthropological guides on the ''Melanesian Explorer,'' a luxury tourist ship that cruised the Sepik River and offered side trips by speedboat to Chambri Lake. They and the local man they trained as an ethnographer became resources for the Chambri as inscribers of ''tradition'' in a world in which literacy has powerful implications.

Although Gewertz and Errington are part of the story, their main interest is in writing what they call a ''collective biography'' composed of the interlocking narratives of Chambri lives. They write about newly initiated Chambri boys who exposed their bloody backs to the tourist gaze; they contemplate freedom and youth in the context