with Maroons in Accompong, on the leeward side of the island, and Barrett's (1979) work with the Windward Maroons, he describes how links to ancestors are maintained through spiritual practices in which mediums become possessed by original Maroons. The ancestors are a vital part of today's Maroon society, and are consulted before any decision is made or knowledge transmitted. Zips, following Barrett, links these politico-religious practices of the Maroons to their African heritage, possibly Akan-speaking peoples such as the Ashanti, and shows similarities between the two groups of Maroons. For the Accompong Maroons, the original Maroon ancestors were a brother and sister who split up and founded different settlements. Kojo is the founding ancestor of Accompong, and his sister, Nanny, of the Windward Maroons. Both, Zips points out, while once considered the worst rebels of colonial Jamaica, are now revered as national heroes and symbols of freedom.

Despite the autonomy conferred upon them, Zips acknowledges that the Maroons' economic situation has always been highly dependent on the changing political climate in Jamaica. Prior to the ratification of the treaties, Maroons supplemented their subsistence economy with the spoils of raids on plantations; afterwards, with compensation from the British for military service and the sale of produce. With the abolition of slavery, these two sources of income dwindled, and freed slaves successfully competed with them in a free market. Today's Maroons are marginalized, and find themselves in a difficult economic position, notwithstanding their symbolic importance to Jamaican national identity. While they are able to exercise a form of self-government and hold their land communally since the ratification of the treaties, conversely, their access to government funds and representation in government is difficult. This, combined with their remote location, has resulted in lagging development of infrastructure and subsequently difficult and costly access to markets to sell their produce. The cultivation of marijuana, Zips maintains, has been a lucrative alternative for some Maroons, but this only reinforces their opposition to the state as they resist attempts by police to enter their territory.

In his final chapter, Zips shifts his discussion to that of Black resistance in the 20th century, tying it to the colonial era and the Maroons, beginning with Marcus Garvey. He situates Garvey as the link between colonial history, the Maroons and the struggle of Blacks all over the world. Garvey, of Maroon descent, is presented as a pioneer of the Black Power movement and Rastafari philosophy. Garvey founded the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in 1914 in Kingston, and in New York in 1917, with the mandate of creating worldwide black unity. While the UNIA eventually died out, Zips argues that the roots of resistance movements such as Black Power in the United States headed by Malcolm X are to be found in the UNIA, Garvey, and his Maroon background.

Zips' openly partisan approach in *Black Rebels* depicts the Maroons of Jamaica as the emblem par excellence of Black resistance because their very existence as a society, now as in the past, rests upon their continuing drive to maintain their autonomy against all odds. Even though much of the book is devoted to revisiting existing historical works, either to present the colonial background or to discuss resistance, Zips succeeds in crafting a multifaceted and well-contextualized rendition of Maroon struggles and the development and maintenance of their political and cultural identity. This book certainly engages the reader with its descriptive and interpretive rather than theoretical approach, and will interest both the informed and the novice reader in the field of Caribbean studies. Just the same, I would have enjoyed reading more original case-specific historical and ethnographic material woven into the comparative framework of the book.

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Reviewer: *Andrew P. Lyons*
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Twenty years have now passed since the publication of *Guardians of the Flutes* which was arguably the best ethnographic examination of sexuality since Malinowski's *Sexual Life of Savages*. Gilbert Herdt returned to New Guinea several times until 1993 when a nearly fatal bout of malaria led him to curtail his visits. This volume draws on those later field trips. Herdt re-examines and develops themes which he first discussed in *Guardians*. He also discusses the significance of his work not only for social anthropology but also for the Gay Liberation Movement. All of the nine essays in the volume originally appeared elsewhere and most readers will have read a few of them already. However, they fit very well together, and the author has contributed an excellent theoretical introduction. Readers unacquainted with Herdt's ethnography should note that it describes a population which prescribed homoerotic fellatio as a necessary part of male social development. There was no sexual play in the period prior to initiation. Prepubertal youths in the first stages of initiation were fellators; adolescents in the third stage of initiation were fellated by the younger boys. Marriage to females occurred at the end of the initiation cycle. These customs reflected a system of thought in which mature male sexuality was tenuously achieved and always threatened by feminine, specifically menstrual pollution. An adequate supply of sperm was stored in the growing boy as a result of fellation. The receipt of sperm in heterosexual intercourse enabled women to produce breast milk.

The notes on the book cover describe Herdt as a "renowned" anthropologist, a description which may provoke some jealousy but which does attest to his achievement. Until 1980 the anthropology of sexuality occupied a marginal place in our discipline. This was partly because sexuality was excluded by existing paradigms such as structural-functionalism and cultural ecology, and, more surprisingly, by later developments in psychological anthropology. In large measure this was because there was little middle ground between sociological approaches which regarded sexuality as too "natural," too universal (see p. 4) and too threatening to sociological method to be worthy of consideration, and behaviouristic or ethological approaches which are neglectful of social meanings Within anthropology the study of sexuality could only be subsumed under such headings as "kinship" and "gender."

Another cause of neglect was the degree of professional, political and humanitarian risk involved in such investigations. Esther Newton has complained that her work on drag-queens was not regarded as legitimate research (Newton, 2000: 223). Of course the homosexual student of sexuality faces additional barriers. Sometimes they reflect pure prejudice; on other occasions biases may be more subtle. Kath Weston (1998: 189-211) has complained that her own work on lesbian sexuality within the USA has led to a degree of professional marginalization (such research, argue critics is not "real" fieldwork).

Very often, the disclosure of information may be perceived as harmful to populations and individuals who are subject to the surveillance of outsiders as well as exploitation by sexual tourists. Such reports may also embarrass cultural insiders who wish to distance themselves from tribal traditions. It is for this reason that Herdt disguised the identity of the "Sambia" of the Eastern Highlands of Papua New Guinea. Last but not least the obtaining of information on matters sexual involves the establishing and affirming of a degree of trust which is most difficult to create as well as linguistic skills of a high order. There is no society without sexual taboos; there are few without rules of privacy or secrecy with respect to some matters. Herdt's understandable unwillingness to disclose the name of his informants and of the Sambia themselves has led to a confrontation with a group of modern Sambia "Clan Representatives" who claim that Herdt used pseudonyms because he had no real informants and the rituals he describes never existed (Dariawo et al., 1999).

The application of the comparative method to the study of "homosexuality" is conducive to the conclusion that the range of "natural" sexual behaviours is somewhat broader than that endorsed by Judaeo-Christian precepts. Westermarck reached that conclusion over 80 years ago, and a number of other scholars have done the same over the intervening years. In the first half of the century, ritual homoeroticism in Melanesia was discussed by Landtman, Williams and Layard. What distinguishes Herdt's work from that of most of his predecessors is his attention to cosmology, to shared sexual meanings and to narratives of individual experience. As Herdt also notes, sexology in the Kinsey tradition has paid little attention to cultural meaning.

In an important essay, (chap. 7), Herdt observes that the male life cycle among the Sambia is marked by radical discontinuities, e.g., from mother-presence to mother-absence, from asexuality to homoerotic fellatio to heterosexual marriage. He notes an observation by Ruth Benedict (1938) to the effect that cultures differed in degrees of continuity and discontinuity in the life cycle. It is the task of ritual to transcend such radical breaks, and this may be in all ways a painful process. Elsewhere the author (chap. 2) deals with the importance of flutes as ideal symbols of transition. In Sambia ritual, flutes may be symbolically male or female. They represent a female spirit and signify both the breast and the penis.

In a recent book Herdt has noted that his own identity as a homosexual perplexed some of his Sambia informants (Herdt, 1997: xiv). One or two individuals meet the description of homosexuals in our own culture inasmuch as they retain a same-sex orientation throughout adult life (chap. 5), but most do not. There is no such thing as homosexual identity among Sambia (p. 278). Most Sambia cease homoerotic contact after marriage. However, fellatio is more than impersonal friction. Herdt emphatically stresses that bonds which may be more than merely transient are created as a result of prescribed relationships between fellator and fellated. For all these reasons he prefers to use the adjective *homoerotic* rather than *homosexual* in the description of Sambia ritual relationships. Elsewhere (chap. 6) Herdt considers a Freudian canard which has perpetuated the pathologizing of homoerotic behaviour, to whit the claim that homosexuality is a result of the absence of the father at a critical stage in the boy's development. While he does observe that the father is "ambiguously present" in the early stages of the Sambia boy's life, he demonstrates that prescribed homoerotic behaviour is absent in New Guinea societies which are marked by more pronounced father-absence.

In a particularly fine essay (chap. 4) Herdt discusses ritual nose-bleeding, which is forcibly performed on early-stage initiates in public but voluntarily performed in private at later stages of the life cycle. The explanation he adduces has many facets, including the removal of female menstrual pollution, sexual separation and masculine growth. Sambia accounts do not seem to support Bettelheim's assertion that the ritual bleeding of males mimics menstruation and reflects universal sentiments of "womb-envy." One should note that indigenous explanations of ritual bleeding among some other Highlands and some insular groups do support Bettelheim's somewhat ambitious hypothesis.

Hermaphrodites born with 5-alpha-reductase deficiency are discussed in Chapter 8. Such hermaphrodites become somewhat more masculine in appearance when they reach puberty. Among the Sambia as well as in the Dominican Republic special terms are used. to indicate their anomalous status. The Sambia, for instance, employ a neo-Melanesian term, *turnim-man* and also an expression in Sambia with similar meaning. I am a little unsure of the cogency of Herdt's claim that such terms reflect the recognition of a "third sex"; they could be equally be said to describe a perceived anomaly

in the Douglasian sense. Herdt examines incidents where such hermaphrodites, initially raised as females, choose male gender roles after puberty. He questions the statistical analysis conducted by researchers such as Imperato-McGinley on cases in the Dominican Republic, and, to my mind, convincingly demonstrates that the final choice of gender role may be the product of gender inequality and machismo rather than unaided biology (a brain that is "male" before birth).

Last but not least, there is an excellent description of Sambia song-ropes (*SSC*, chap. 1) which identify individuals at different stages in their lives and place them spatiotemporally in terms both of genealogy and of details of geographical locale.

This remarkable book is accessible to good students as well as to professional anthropologists. It is a noteworthy fact that there is as yet no comparable, "thick" analysis of heterosexual sexual meanings or lesbian experience in a non-Western culture.

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Reviewer: *Regna Darnell*
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Koriak reindeer herders of the Kamchatka peninsula's northeastern shore have remained frozen in the anthropological canon since the early twentieth-century ethnography of Waldemar Jochelson for Boas's Jesup North Pacific Expedition. Petra Rethmann's portrait of contemporary Koriak in the aftermath of the disintegration of the Soviet state tacks elegantly between the often harsh realities of individual lives and the political economy which contextualizes their efforts at agency. For Canadian readers, the Koriak experience will evoke an all-too-familiar history of racism, discrimination, forced relocation, residential schools and dogged resistance to imposed assimilation alongside inevitable encroachment and loss of autonomy. The Koriak have been subjected to "the unmaking of their world" (p. 38). Despite their suffering, they have survived and seek a future under their own control. The Koriak are constructing "a historical self-critical consciousness ... about the purpose, function, and creation of tradition" (p. 157). Colonization has not precluded continuity; rather, the Koriak travel toward their future, drawing on traditions of the past.

Rethmann challenges the Soviet narrative of progress which systematically marginalized the Koriak, presenting their regional history in terms of diverse and contentious local standpoints. The meaning of this history is quite different for the state and for the people of the tundra, for women and for men, for elders and for the young. History is envisioned "as an exchange of alternating points of view, jostling with one another, answering back and forth" so that "for all players matters of history are matters of perspective" (p. 31). Such a history is necessarily storied and fragmented, depending on the positioning of the teller. Moveover, the stories themselves emerged in fragments, although assembled and edited by Rethmann with a view to their original flavour.

Although there is no single narrative of contemporary Koriak experience, the individuals who shared their stories with Rethmann were rarely at a loss for words: their "strategy ... involves transforming the rhetoric of primitiveness into the rhetoric of knowledge" (p. 112). That is, the capacity of the Koriak for articulate political debate itself belies their simplistic categorization as nomadic, wild, and primitive. Long-established devaluation of women intensifies these stereotypes, making their stories even more difficult to bring into the public domain. In fact, Rethmann retreats to the "writing" of women's culture (p. 140) through "skins of desire," using the tanning and sewing of furs "to perform and express poetic and alluring aspects of themselves on the surfaces of animal skin" (p. 133).

The metaphors of Koriak experience draw on their traditional culture: travel for a people very recently nomadic and relationship to animals. Travel is not just from known place to known place but also the travel of the shaman, which Rethmann oddly characterizes as "metaphorical" (p. 64). Distant places provide interpretive perspective for the auguries of experience. Rethmann interprets her offer of a gendered spirit guardian to the departing anthropologist's penchant for crossing boundaries and building larger communities: "The choice of Koriak friends to entrust a spirit to my care, and, in turn, me to her care, directed attention to the emergence and building of new forms of sociality" which are not locally bounded (p. 173). Rethmann focuses on the secular adaptation of the shamanistic idiom to contemporary circumstances rather than on the spiritual dimensions of continuing shamanistic practice.

In addition to the reindeer on which their subsistence has primarily depended, contemporary Koriak continue to perform remembered rites of circumpolar bear ceremonialism. Out-