et de faire pour être un Amérindien» (p. 208). À travers une analyse des fêtes de la Nouvelle-France et de la Saint-Jean-Baptiste, de même que de la crise d'Oka, l'auteur examine l'ambiguïté de la place et de la représentation des Amérindiens au sein du Québec ainsi que la confrontation des nationalismes. La persistance, l'adaptation, la transmission, la performance et la revalorisation des cultures amérindiennes, de même que le développement des communautés et les réactions face à l'indianophilie, sont également abordés à l'aide de différents témoignages.

Le dernier chapitre met en perspective l'indianophilie «comme laboratoire de la construction culturelle» (p. 241). Tout en rappelant l'actualisation du mythe, de ses «valeurs» et des régimes de l'indianité, Maligne démontre l'articulation complexe, à la fois floue et structurée, de l'univers indianophile et sa réalité sociale au sein des mondes qui l'entourent. S'appuyant sur les travaux d'Ernest Gellner et de Jean Bazin, cette section offre une réflexion sur la notion de culture, celle des États, des militants nationalistes, des gens, celle qui est le produit de la «haute culture universelle», des instances de définition, celle qui est transmise sur «le tas» ou par endoformation et exoformation, celle qui est «consciemment construite et activement promue» (p. 265) et celle qui, pour certains, est un emblème. L'auteur démontre l'application des régimes de l'indianité à des champs plus larges de recherche, à savoir au sein des discours constitutifs de la culture nationale et de la culture *autre*. Enfin, Maligne critique certaines pratiques ethnographiques et préconise le recours à la fois à la culture instituée et à la culture vécue dans l'étude anthropologique car c'est ce qui lui a permis d'expliciter le monde indianophile.

Le style «journal de terrain», plus ou moins réussi, occupe la majeure partie de l'ouvrage. Olivier Maligne s'y attaque non seulement à un sujet peu connu, mais aussi à un nouvel objet anthropologique qu'il a passablement su cerner et théoriser.

Ce livre, qui répond en partie aux attentes du lecteur, comporte plusieurs erreurs. La cinéaste, réalisatrice, chanteuse et conteuse autochtone, Alanis Obomsawin, n'est pas d'origine mohawk mais bien abénaquise (p. 49). Les pourvoiries au Québec ne sont pas l'apanage du Nord québécois; elles sont réparties sur l'ensemble du territoire de la «belle province» (p. 227). Dans son explication sur les sections 6.1 et 6.2 de l'amendement C-31 à la *Loi sur les Indiens* (p. 205), l'auteur indique incorrectement que la catégorie d'individus auxquelles s'appliquent ces sections sont considérés comme «métis». Ceux qu'on appelle des «six un» et des «six deux» sont bel et bien Indiens aux yeux de la loi car le gouvernement canadien n'a jamais défini qui est «métis». D'ailleurs, il existe toute une polémique tant sur les plans social, culturel, académique et légal entourant le terme «métis». C'est pourquoi il faut prendre des précautions lorsqu'on parle de l'identité «métis». Ainsi, il nous apparaît problématique de définir un métis comme étant indianophile (p. 113) même en contexte français.

On déplore la perception, par moment, du monde autochtone comme étant sur le point de disparaître (pp. 238-239), les nombreuses répétitions au cours du texte, la non-uniformité du format des extraits d'entrevue, le manque d'informations sur l'ensemble des informateurs (âge, état civil, profession), l'utilisation de plusieurs néologismes ainsi que l'emploi d'anglicismes tout au long de l'ouvrage, malgré le fait que l'auteur justifie cette dernière pratique en notant qu'il utilise le vocabulaire de ses informateurs. On est surpris de voir surgir des phrases comme «dans le cadre d'une modeste thèse de doctorat» (p. 236) à propos de ce livre. Si «le monde de l'indianophilie vécue est un monde d'objets» (p. 61), comme le note Maligne, il est aussi regrettable que celui-ci n'illustre pas ce monde d'objets, ni l'univers indien des indianophiles.

Il aurait été plus approprié que Maligne s'intéresse davantage aux événements publics autochtones plutôt qu'à ceux des Québécois, car il existe une présence indianophile au Québec. Celle-ci est visible dans les pow-wows, dans les rassemblements spirituels autochtones et dans les festivals autochtones. Il semble donc exister une distorsion entre la connaissance que l'auteur a de la France et celle qu'il a du Québec, et qu'il ne révèle pas pour cette dernière la même profondeur.

Il faut espérer que l'auteur poursuive l'enquête dans ce champ d'étude qui peut ouvrir sur des pistes de recherche tant sur le plan théorique (l'instrumentalisation d'une culture *autre*) qu'ethnographique. Ceux qui gravitent autour de l'univers amérindien au Québec sont encore méconnus et affublés de noms péjoratifs tels que les «new ageux» et les «wanabis»? Peut-on les qualifier d'indianophiles?

Note

1 Maligne entend par régime de la Tradition «la conformité aux cultures amérindiennes instituées en référent des pratiques» (p. 103). Le régime de l'Esprit consiste à «l'adhésion personnelle à des valeurs et à des modes de pensées "indiens"» (p. 108). Le régime du Sang, d'après l'auteur, fait référence au fait d'avoir une ascendance amérindienne. Finalement, entreprendre une «démarche personnelle de recherche de contacts directs avec les Amérindiens» de même qu'adhérer «à une organisation se donnant pour but de participer activement à l'histoire contemporaine des Amérindiens» (p. 119) constitue le régime de la Destinée partagée.

Afsaneh Najmabadi, *Women with Mustaches and Men without Beards: Gender and Sexual Anxieties of Iranian Modernity*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005, 363 pages.

Reviewer: *Parastou Saberi*
Independent Scholar, Toronto

Afsaneh Najmabadi's book is a historiography of the work of gender in the making of Iranian modernist and nationalist discourses. Employing a Foucauldian approach to the sexualities of "other places and other times," along with a rich array of visual and textual material from 19th-century Iran, the book challenges Iranian modernity's heteronormalization of all gen-

der and sexual categories to the male-female binary. It examines the consequences of these re-articulations on notions of beauty, love, sexuality, marriage, the veil, education, national emblem, nation, homeland and citizenship. The volume ends with a critique of Iranian feminism for its screening away the sexuality of modernity.

Najmabadi's main argument is that Iranian modernity's gender and sexual anxieties were expressions of male anxiety. They were concerned much more with masculinity than femininity. The initiation of modern thought in Iran had been interrelated with the displacement of the "sex troubles" of premodern homosocial–homoerotic Iranian-Islamic cultures. In premodern Iran, gender differences were not read through a template of sexuality, evident in the presence of the *amrad* (a beautiful, adolescent, beardless, male beloved) and the *amradnuma* (an adult man who made himself look like an amrad, displaying a wish to remain the object of desire of adult men), besides the feminine woman and the masculine man (with a full beard as his iconic feature). The visibility of male-male homosocial–homosexual practices in the heterosocial–heterosexual eye of European modernity resulted in perceiving premodern Iranian culture as abnormal and backward. Since the mid–19th century, Iranian modernity embraced this normative assumption, closeted the amrad into the premodern and blamed homosexual desire on the social practice of women's seclusion and gender segregation. Accordingly, heteronormalization of eros and sex became a condition of "achieving modernity." A project, thus, that called for the heterosocialization of Iranian society aimed for the denial, abjection and feminization of the amrad(numa). For Najmabadi, this historical screening of the male beloved from modern Iranian memory, not only became one of Iranian feminism's burdens of birth, it also crafted modern manhood in part by reconfiguring the amrad(numa)'s sexual difference as cultural difference.

The book's provocative title, *Women with Mustaches and Men without Beards*, along with its cover illustration targets these sexual and cultural reconfigurations. While they hint at a gender-undifferentiated notion of beauty and aesthetic sensibilities of premodern and early modern Iranian culture, they recall the erasure of other gender positionalities of "men-without-beards," namely, the amrads and the amradnumas.

Chapter 1 revisits gender-undifferentiated notions of beauty and desire, as well as modes of maleness (amrad, amradnuma) in early Qajar Iran (1785-1925). Qajar Iran began with a concept of love embedded in Sufi allegorical associations. Love and desire in Sufi discourses were embodied in a gender-ambivalent semiotic between the transcendental and the material. The grammatical gender neutrality of the Persian language added to this ambiguity. They were intimately linked with beauty (as the "testimony" of God's beauty) and the practice of gazing at the beloved, who could be either a beautiful young male or female. By the end of the 19th century, a highly gender-differentiated portrayal of beauty emerged, along with a normative concept of heterosexual love, turning the "beloved" into an exclusively female beloved. Chapter 2 explores this cultural displacement by studying iconic changes in Qajar paintings. It analyzes how in early Qajar the outward gaze of the painted female-male "amorous couple," with identical facial features, stimulated a triangle of desire between the figures, the viewers and the (male) painters. It traces the feminization of beauty through the later appearance of exclusively female figures in painting, and, the emergence of bare breasts in female representations, emphasizing the sexuality of the figures. The chapter continues with the transformation of a particularly popular Sufi love narrative in the midst of these cultural displacements.

The second part of the book examines the cultural labour of sexuality and gender in building modern Iran. Chapter 3 discusses the Iranian national emblem (first adopted in 1836), arguing how the heterosexualization of gender resulted in the unpresentability of what once had been presentable. The national emblem was a male lion holding a sword, with a human-faced sun rising from behind his torso. Initially, it signified the double meanings of shah—king and holy man—through the most auspicious sign of the sun in its preferred home of Leo. During the 19th century, the sun burst into an artistic beautiful Qajar (fe)male face, signifying the king, while the lion became more masculinized, symbolizing the state. Once beauty became feminized, the tolerance of gender ambiguities of a beautiful sun-king disappeared. The sun, an icon of kingship, could no longer stand its representation as the by-now called lady-sun. In the early 20th century, the conceptualization of the nation as a brotherhood demanded the erasure of the sun's most feminine markings. By the mid-1930s, all such features were erased and the emblem became totally masculinized. Later in the 1970s, it was fully geometrized, and finally it was discarded by the Islamic Republic of Iran in 1979.

Chapter 4 explores the patriotic labour of heteronormalized love. It examines how the feminization of the "beloved" made the figure of Iran as a female beloved available to the male national brotherhood, making the entire discourse about the protection of women and the defense of honour available to nationalism. Iran as a female beloved, in turn, consolidated love as heteroeros, further contributing to the erasure of the amrad. While Iran's ethnic diversity made the discourse of "Iran-a-female-beloved" problematic, nationalists' reconfiguration of Sufis' allegorical associating homeland with womb transformed the former discourse into that of "Iran-the-motherland." A process that facilitated women's entrance into the patriotic family romance, claiming their citizenship and expressing their expectations in terms of maternal rights, daughters of the motherland and companionate wives.

In chapter 5, Najmabadi challenges the politics of public visibility by examining modern urban figures. The desire to be modern entailed anxiety about mimicry and authenticity in the modern Iranian "look." Women's veils (and later their mustaches), along with men's beards, hair, and clothes, as the most visual markers of difference between Europe and Iran, began to acquire significance. The first figure of mimicry was not the unveiled Iranian woman (she came into the picture as

the "Westoxicated" woman in the 1960s), but the Europeanized dandy, called the *fukuli* (bow-tied) man. Male nationalists projected him as an unauthentic, superficial, empty character. Nonetheless, with his shaved beard and grown hair, the fukuli, indeed, was a reminder of the by-now disavowed amrad and feminized amradnuma; a threat to the honorable masculinity associated with the urban brotherhood. Later the question of the women's veil pushed aside the anxiety over the fukuli man. But the veil was also a marker of the homosocial–homoerotic affectionate world of men and women. Within this perspective, the project of unveiling women became pivotal, not simply in the modernists' sense, that is, as necessary for women's emancipation, but for the modernists' heterosocialization of culture and heteronormalization of eros and sex.

Chapter 6 reviews some Iranian classical literature and modern novellas, showing how the heterosexualization of love provided the opportunity for re-imagining marriage as a romantic rather than a procreative contract. Romantic, heteroeroctic love entered into the scene of Iranian modernity as a tragedy in which its ideal happy ending (marriage) was blocked by political and cultural forces: the despotic government, ignorant people, men of religion, and lawlessness of the country. Despite the fact that men advocated romantic marriage, polygamy and divorce at their will remained unproblematic to them. This was contrary to women's critique of both in their early writings, combined with demands on men to disavow male homosexual practices.

Chapter 7 examines modern educational regimes and their regulatory and emancipatory impulses, while the later effects of these tensions on women's national claims are the subject of the last chapter. The re-imagination of women as companionate wives reconfigured their procreativity into a new notion of motherhood, fueled by the modernist drive for progress and science, yet trapped in a discourse of scientific domesticity. It enabled women's quest for education and schools provided a space in which women could claim citizenship. Nonetheless, women's assertion that they were (and are) compatriots of men were contained by the protectionist prerogative of the masculine over the feminine, real and allegorical. This conceptualization of women constructed a language of parity—in which "woman" was juxtaposed to "man." Gradually, besides schools, the press and the new judicial courts became new national channels for women's grievances, a movement that eventually moved the language of parity toward that of much more equality.

Najmabadi's endeavour to integrate the study of genders and sexualities is a landmark in Iranian (and Muslim) feminist studies. Even though all of her illustrations are printed in black and white, she also deserves praise for offering one of the few efforts to use visual text as primary material for Iranian feminist historiography. The book is useful reading for students and scholars of cultural, Middle Eastern and women's studies, as well as art history and history. She, perhaps, assumes too much knowledge of Iranian history; certainly, non-specialist readers may have trouble knitting the arguments together. There are also some theoretical weaknesses. Despite her attempt to look with an "Iranian eye," Najmabadi's still relies too much at times on a European way of seeing. Her de-closeting of the amrad(numa) and challenging the modernists' (and Islamists') transcendentalization of Sufi love are courageous, accurate and appreciable. But her materialization of Sufi love—explicitly in the domains of sex and desire—overlooks Sufi political history and de-contextualizes Sufi love from its proper politics of visibility.

Susan McKinnon and Sydel Silverman, eds., *Complexities: Beyond Nature and Nurture*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005, 330 pages.

Reviewer: *Matthew Wolf-Meyer*
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Complexities is the fruit of an attempt to bring together anthropologists from across the discipline's subfields to consider anthropology's fraught relationship with models of human determinism and the public debates (as the title implies) regarding "nature" and "nurture" in human cultures, development and their futures. As the editors make clear in their introduction, the contributors to the volume include the organizers of the Wenner-Gren funded workshops from the mid-1980s to the late 1990s. This set of largely senior researchers is supplemented with material solicited from junior faculty and subdisciplines otherwise under-represented in the collection. All told, there is an impressive array of scholarship included in *Complexities*, which represents watershed essays from some of the contributors, as well as state-of-the-science summaries from others.

I imagine that most readers of *Complexities* will approach the book much as I did, from the unenviable position of only being formally trained in one of anthropology's subdisciplines, but having interest in how the subdisciplines might articulate. Because of this, some essays fail to properly orient the reader to debates within the respective subdiscipline, with some chapters unnecessarily arcane in their interests, and in a couple cases, arguing against concepts which seem to no longer hold such great sway in the minds of the public or within the academy. It should be noted, however, that there is no attempt to appeal to cultural anthropologists in particular (as might be expected since both editors are cultural anthropologists); rather, each author frames the debates they engage in as they see fit, which, in at least a couple of cases makes the debate seem quite distant from the anthropological mainstream. The more successful essays in the collection are the ones that borrow from a number of the subdisciplines, or which deploy subdisciplinary methodologies on issues germane to more than one of the anthropological subdisciplines. Rather than stress the inadequate contributions (which might be more appealing to adherents to the subdiscipline of the author), I prefer to