overarching concern of the authors is summed up in the claim that "the failure to report indigenous practices that foment environmental degradation and native warfare is patently unethical. As scholars, we advocate a renewed commitment to strive for accuracy and transparency in our writings" (486). Without such, the editors fear our knowledge of the world will be seriously distorted. Ecologists and land-use planners ought to take into consideration pre-contact impact of native people on natural resources to design realistic conservation strategies, including the setting aside of wilderness preserves and park lands. Similarly, incomplete data about pre-contact violence and warfare hamper the reconstruction of aboriginal demography and social structure. It also—and this is a point raised repeatedly—diminishes Amerindian "agency" in defending territories against encroachment, including European colonization. Thus, the editors fear, the suppression of unpalatable data will be detrimental to "the cultivation of authentic forms of native self-identity and esteem" (483).

This is an important book that raises profound questions about the future of anthropology. Clearly, the authors have a view of scholarship as a quest for truth without quotation marks and they have little use for relativism, aboriginalism and other forms of pragmatism that have sought to "problematize" that quest. That perhaps explains the curious omission of Canadian material from the scope of this otherwise very comprehensive work. The editors quote Bruce Trigger and Robert McGhee to express openness to indigenous perspectives as a complement to, but not substitute for, the scientific method; yet, the only explicit reference to the state of Canadian anthropology is made in connection with the diminished credibility of the discipline before courts of law. Moving from Adam Kuper's warning about the danger of anthropology becoming "the academic wing of the indigenous rights movement" and "our ethnographies ... worthless except as propaganda" (489) to the *Delgamuukw v. British Columbia* case, the editors see in it a "dramatic illustration" of the loss of credibility of anthropological witnesses (490). Whatever conclusions one may draw from the concerns expressed in this book, it is a valuable testament to the continued vibrancy of American anthropology and the willingness of its practitioners to discuss openly matters of great importance and urgency.

References

Bartov, Omer
2011 Wartime Lies and Other Testimonies: Jewish-Christian Relations in Buczacz, 1939–1944. Eastern European Politics and Societies 25(3):486–511. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0888325411398918

Elias, Norbert
2000[1939] The Civilizing Process. Oxford: Blackwell.

Lanzmann, Claude
1985 Shoah: An Oral History of the Holocaust. New York: Pantheon Books.

Parkin, David, ed.
1985 The Anthropology of Evil. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Scott, James
1998 Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Graeber, David, *Debt: The First 5,000 Years*, New York: Melville House, 2011, 534 pages.

Reviewer: Karl Schmid
York University

David Graeber's *Debt: The First 5,000 Years* is an unusual book, emerging in 2011 in the midst of the Great Recession and European debt crisis and going on to become an international best seller. It may be the most read public anthropology book of the 21st century, written by a self-proclaimed anarchist and possible "house theorist" of the Occupy Movement (Meaney 2011). Capitalists apparently cannot get enough of it. When has the *Globe and Mail's Report on Business Magazine* (Morris 2011) ever placed an anthropology book on its "best business reads" of the year? Gillian Tett, an anthropology Ph.D. turned assistant editor of the *Financial Times*, told me that central bankers were perusing it. It will be difficult for Graeber or anyone else to top this book for the attention it received due to excellent timing. From informal polling, it might also top the chart of books that are begun but never finished and for good reason. One review was sardonically titled "Debt: The First 500 pages" and even Graeber's extensive notes ring in at 60 pages (Beggs 2012).

As a difficult book to categorize, it is perhaps reminiscent of Jared Diamond's *Guns, Germs, and Steel* (1999) or James C. Scott's *The Art of Not Being Governed* (2009), in that it is a work of vast scope and implication. While Diamond replaced one form of determinism about European ascendency for another in a very inviting and accessible way, Scott provided a richly contextualized "anarchist history" of state-making that is not intended to generate public interest. Graeber's probe into one of humankind's most insidious and treacherous economic inventions is somewhat less accessible than Diamond's book, but Graeber comprehensively exposes the cultural logics of debt, which may prove more influential in the end. Scholars may eventually provide innumerable micro-critiques for his interpretations of sub-specialty arguments ranging from the intricacies of monetary theory to medieval history. In the interest of doing some justice to the broad implications of the book, I identify five significant contributions and, in doing so, traverse most of his 12 chapters, five of which cover Graeber's vast historical periods.

The foundational theory of the book is located in Chapters 3 and 5. Graeber writes that "almost everyone continues to assume that in its fundamental nature, social life is based on that principle of reciprocity, and therefore that all human interaction can best be understood as a kind of exchange" (91). Anthropologists have long been teaching Marshall Sahlin's typology of balanced, generalized and negative reciprocity but, for those who have found these to be awkward or contradictory (negative reciprocity in particular), Graeber offers an alternative: humans operate morally through three different forms of economic relations, which he categorizes as baseline communism, exchange and hierarchy. Only exchange has as its basis the idea of reciprocity. Baseline communism involves economic relations with others based on needs and abilities and is not founded on nor requires reciprocity. In the category of hierarchy, Graeber places oppressive relations of dominance and anonymous, formalized charity. Although there may be things exchanged between parties in hierarchical relationships, what is transacted symbolizes the inequality itself. The place

of debt in all of this is in the fluidity and movement between categories. Debt is entered into as a reciprocal agreement of exchange between relative equals but the relationship easily slips into a hierarchical relationship until that debt (including any interest) is repaid. As countless debtors have discovered, one's presumed equality can be vanquished through debt; just ask the citizens of Eurozone Greece today.

As he proposes in several chapters, cultural practices and belief systems have been influenced by the elevation of the importance of exchange and the rise of calculable debts over more intangible obligations. Chapter 3, "Primordial Debts," argues that primordial debt theorists are not identifying but instead creating a myth of reciprocity in which humans universally conceive of being indebted to the universe (God or gods), then to divine kings and, eventually, to states. Rather, each instance of this belief should be seen as a cultural construction, just as the widely known notion of karma in Buddhism should be properly understood as an obscure aspect of the religion until it was elevated by the Chinese School of the Three Stages, itself a reflection of the strong relationship between sixth-century Chinese Buddhism and merchant-traders. Karma was consistent with the belief that "we are all insolvent debtors" (262) in the context of monasteries that acted like financial corporations with enormous concentrations of capital. This is one example among many Graeber parachutes into the text to render visible the naturalization of economic practices through myths of reciprocity.

A second significant contribution is to piece together a larger narrative of the fall of credit- and obligation-based economies and relates this to the origins of barter and coin money. Graeber first challenges the normative notion of the origin of money derived from Adam Smith's myth that money evolved out of barter situations as a convenience of exchange. Rather, this is a myth of convenience for neoclassical economics' present-day conceptualization of humans as rational economic actors, as is the associated tenet that the "economic" is a sphere of activity best left to its own devices. The inconvenient truth, long known but most clearly enunciated by Mitchell-Innes, is that there never were barter societies, but that the theory was "precisely backwards," with credit economies (virtual money) coming first and barter usually "what people who are used to cash transactions do when for one reason or another they have no access to currency" (40). Moreover, the evidence points to the co-development of coinage and markets through direct government intervention to provision armies, rather than as some natural outcome of the individual human propensity to truck and barter. A related attribute of hard money is that it can be disassociated from social relations by a state, by criminals or by conquest. Your purse of gold coins can be stolen but not your obligations to your neighbours. Money, once introduced, turns the obligations of credit economies into calculations precisely quantified, a tool often intentionally and maliciously used by states, shopkeepers and even neighbours. As Graeber points out, the word "rationality" is derived from the mathematical term "ratio," and, with the spread of money and debt calculation skills, came the increasing, everyday governance of moral economic relations.

The periodization of five millennia of Eurasian history is another significant feature of the book and a somewhat problematic third contribution. This aspect of the book may end up ignored rather than challenged by specialists, who presumably would find exceptions to each period's characteristics or perhaps rightly take issue with the omission of most of the history of the New World and Africa. Nevertheless, the boldness of the claims and the richness of the source materials are unique and extraordinary. The periods are based on Graeber's assertion that most parts of the Eurasian continent (Europe, India and China) followed roughly similar trajectories of socio-economic change due to the proliferation of coinage, extreme violence and mass slavery, alternated with periods in which these were in decline. The "Axial Age (800 BC–600 AD)" and the "Age of Great Capitalist Empires (1450–1971)," are periods when bullion was widely available and slavery and debt crises were more prevalent, punitive and repressive. Credit relations, meanwhile, prevailed in the "Middle Ages (600 AD–1450 AD)" and the present period from 1971 onward. A secondary narrative is found in how these ages related to developments in religion and philosophy. Graeber believes that it is no coincidence that all the world's major religions originated in the Axial Age (using Karl Jaspers' periodization), as they often explicitly arose as protest movements in response to that age's materialism, profit seeking, doctrines of self-interest and brutal practices of warfare and violence. Graeber redeems the Middle Ages as a less violent time, when the impact of religious belief and general decentralization allowed for a period of accommodation or dialectic interaction between economic and religious motivations and practices. Not only did religion and philosophy tame the extremes of human violence and avarice, symbolized by the conversion to Buddhism by the Indian Emperor Ashoka, but also economic and religious life increasingly intersected; some relevant examples are the Chinese School of the Three Stages, the monastic corporations of Europe and even the economic structures of the traditional Hindu village in India. Finally, in the Age of the Great Capitalist Empires, or the age of colonialism, coinage again proliferates, along with many of the destructive practices of old.

A fourth significant contribution of the book is to provocatively extend these arguments to understanding debt and money as factors in the development of a broad range of cultural practices of inequality. These fascinating claims, often frustratingly undeveloped, are examined in both the historical and thematic chapters. The most relevant to the historical periods is Graeber's elaboration of Geoffrey Ingham's military-coinage complex into a military-coinage-slavery complex. The basic idea is that permanent and non-aristocratically organized militaries are usually dependent on coinage to supply them and this hastens the military conquest of other areas for precious metals and slaves to work the mines. Alexander the Great exemplified this process. He not only enslaved entire populations but also confiscated so much gold and silver in the Persian and Babylonian conquest that it was the equivalent, today, of flooding markets with US$285 billion in a period of months. The deluge of coins he unleashed as his armies moved toward India all but destroyed the economies of credit and trust they encountered. A parallel can be found in the conquests and enslavement of the New World, when millions of indigenous peoples and African slaves died in horrific conditions in the mines of South America under similar military-coinage-slavery complexes. Nor was this only the practice of dictators and emperors, as Graeber details how the complex co-emerged with early democracy and debt crises in Greek city-states. An inflow of coins from this process of conquest

and its redistribution allowed for debt relief to most farming families and the incorporation of sons from families into free armies or their employment as mercenaries. Therefore, a form of active civic democracy, while leading to debt relief at home through various means of redistribution, also involved ever-greater conquest, enslavement and subjugation of foreign populations.

Among the most intriguing practices Graeber examines is the origins of honour and patriarchy in Chapter 7. Graeber refreshes and rethinks patriarchy's origins alongside factors like pastoralism and violence against women. Patriarchy's relationship with pastoralism might be more fully understood as a reaction to increasing debt crises happening in the cities of Mesopotamia. There, the archaeological record reveals the gradual transformation of women, formerly engaged in many public and political roles, into credit, property or collateral. Debt, or the fear of debt, is a central factor. Graeber suggests that the Old Testament commandment "thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife" actually reveals not an injunction against sexual conquest (which is covered in the commandment about adultery anyway), but against the practice of indebting poor neighbours so they will be forced to hand over wives or children in debt bondage. Family was frequently the collateral of the poor, which means that patriarchy can also be understood as the "angry millennial voices of the fathers of the ancient poor" (183) responding to the transformation of their societies through debt, by making it symbolically clear that they and their family were creditworthy and honourable, even if that resulted in the degradation of women's opportunities for public agency. Mesopotamian women who were veiled in public were the ones who were respectable because they originated from households not compromised by debt crises. Women from debt-dishonoured and dis-credited families were prohibited from wearing a veil to signal that they were now part of the commercial realm as prostitutes, slaves or domestic help, making them subject to the violence of subservience and servitude.

The fifth and final significant contribution of the book is found in a last, short period chapter, "1971–The Beginning of Something Yet to Be Determined." While it is disappointing that the book contains so little on the debt crises of the Global South or the contemporary European debt crisis, Graeber does ultimately return to and underscores a relevant argument for today. This is that sacred and secular beliefs in the sanctity of debt are almost completely naturalized in the domains of philosophy, religion and economics. Even more than capitalist relations, for example, debt relations have millennia of impact on our consciousness so that in religious belief and in philosophical and economic argument, it is axiomatic that debts must be repaid. Graeber argues that debt is a socially constructed practice that, at best, is an outgrowth of earlier relations based on mutual obligation and responsibility and, much more frequently, an extremely socially damaging tool of manipulation that turns relative equality into hierarchy. Societies that have recognized this (often through the vehicle of protest) have taken measures for debt relief and forgiveness. Societies that have not, because elites have crafted debt into tools of exploitation, including colonial western Europe and Upper Canada (Schrauwers 2009), have often witnessed the internal repression of ordinary classes through economies of debt and other forms of rationality. In the present, however, we are told that it is rational and in the interest of economic growth that there be debt forgiveness for some and austerity for others. The lesson of the past 5,000 years that Graeber is sharing with the public is that debt oppression resisted vigorously enough can bring reforms.

References

Beggs, Mike
2012 Debt: The First 500 Pages. Jacobin, August. https://www.jacobinmag.com/2012/08/debt-the-first-500-pages/, accessed August 8, 2013.

Diamond, Jared
1999 Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Meaney, Thomas
2011 Anarchist Anthropology. The New York Times, December 8. http://www.nytimes.com/2011/12/11/books/review/anarchist-anthropology.html, accessed December 20, 2013.

Morris, Dave
2011 The Best Business Reads of 2011. Report on Business Magazine. December: 11.

Schrauwers, Albert
2009 Union is Strength: W.L. Mackenzie, the Children of Peace and the Emergence of Joint Stock Democracy in Upper Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Scott, James C.
2009 The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Sophie Houdart, *L'universel à vue d'œil*, Paris : Éditions PETRA, « Collection Anthropologiques », 2013, 284 pages.

Recenseure : Sylvie Brosseau
Waseda University

Le livre de Sophie Houdart nous propose une étude anthropologique de l'Exposition internationale qui eut lieu en 2005 au Japon, à Nagoya. L'auteure est anthropologue, chercheuse au CNRS et spécialiste du Japon. Elle enquête sur les modes de construction de la modernité dans leurs variantes locales, à travers tout particulièrement l'observation et l'analyse des pratiques scientifiques. Elle s'est aussi intéressée au travail de l'architecte et au processus d'élaboration du projet architectural au sein d'une agence japonaise.

Ce texte décrit, analyse et commente les différentes mobilisations, à long terme et de grande envergure, qui ont contribué à la mise en œuvre de l'Exposition internationale de Nagoya en 2005. Le travail d'enquête suit les processus d'élaboration, observe les rôles des multiples acteurs, les évolutions des questionnements pris en compte, depuis la phase de démarrage une dizaine d'années en amont jusqu'à l'ouverture de l'Exposition. Cependant, l'auteure ne se limite pas à simplement décrire et narrer le montage d'une mégafoire internationale en suivant ses différents objectifs de communication, d'images et en décryptant ses diverses visées nationalistes. Elle s'est