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THE PERSONHOOD OF WOMEN AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN A BURKINABÉ VILLAGE[1]

Marta Rohatynskyj

Abstract: A community actualized development program aiming to assure women equal access to the benefits of development is examined in terms of impact on women's status. The interaction of the forms of organization envisaged in the village as leading to development and the indigenous structures often lead to conflict. This conflict can be seen as due to the lack of fit between extant forms of organization and those introduced by the development agency. However, it is shown that decisions in contradiction of the desired forms of social action are due to pragmatic choices on the part of the community in relation to realistic goals. It is concluded that such a form of development intervention does not assure equal access of women to the benefits of development.

Résumé: Dans cet article, on examine l'impact sur le statut des femmes d'un programme de développement réalisé par la communauté dans le but d'assurer aux femmes le même accès aux bénéfices du développement que les hommes. L'interaction entre les formes d'organisation, telles qu'envisagées pour conduire au développement, et les structures indigènes a souvent été conflicutelle. Ce conflit peut être perçu comme étant le résultat d'un manque de corrélation entre les formes d'organisation existantes et celles introduites par l'agence de développement. Cependant, il est mis en évidence que les décisions en contradiction avec les formes désirables de l'action sociale sont en fait dues aux décisions pragmatiques de la communauté par rapport à des buts réalistes. On en déduit qu'une telle forme d'intervention au niveau du développement n'assure pas aux femmes le même accès aux bénéfices du développement.

Introduction

It has often been documented, in a wide range of ethnographic areas and from a variety of analytic perspectives, that efforts at development have had a negative impact on women in Africa. Bay (1982:10) talks about "the delicate

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power balance'' between men and women which was upset by the colonial system and points out that this system promoted the interests of men over women in line with ''Western and Christian patriarchal conceptions of women's place.'' Frequently, the erosion of women's control over a product is pinpointed as the locus of the imposed disadvantage. Etienne (1980) studied Baule women displaced in the production of cotton thread by capitalist forms of production and introduced technology. Conti (1979) writes of the disadvantage suffered by women in the AVV resettlement scheme in the former Upper Volta, as development planners failed to provide for their particular economic contribution to a viable community. At issue in both these cases is the disruption of extant relations of production. It has frequently been suggested that these forms of intervention, for example, the development of the textile industry in Côte d'Ivoire or the institution of an ambitious, relatively large-scale agricultural development scheme (Reyna 1983:86) in present-day Burkina Faso, would have a profound impact on the economic positions of the sexes in relation to each other.

What is to be examined here is a different type of situation: an integrated community development program aimed at women as well as at men in a village in Burkina Faso. The goal of this program is not only to improve various aspects of village life, but also to assure to women equal access to the benefits of development. Like other programs in the area the project is carried out by local agents, male and female village animators, and a ''grass-roots'' approach is used. Unlike large-scale schemes, involving major displacement of people or disruption of extant social relations, such small-scale programs, ideally carried out with the full co-operation and agreement of all strata of the population, are seen as the desired method in some development thinking. It is argued by development planners that the scale and the responsiveness of the program design to the wishes of the targeted population ensures that neither the interests of women nor of specific groups of men will be disregarded.

It must, however, be recognized that any development initiative, no matter how responsive to the will of the community, institutes novel social relations clustering around the program intervention. Intervening agencies assume that certain forms of social action follow within the context of these instituted relations. Action, on the part of the villagers, in conformity with the underlying assumptions held by the development agency, is seen to constitute, at least in part, the desired goal—development. The failure of villagers to act in accordance with sometimes unstated premises of the introduced forms is often seen by project evaluators as a failure of the development program itself to promote change from traditionally defined relations to those more ''modern'' forms promoted by the development project. There is no question that the types of relations instituted by the program intervention may differ from extant relations of the subsistence community. However, it is not clear in the

case to be examined that villagers reject certain accommodation of introduced relations on the grounds of an immovable commitment to tradition. By examining the points of conflict between exogenous formulations underlying the execution of the development project and endogenous village structures, I will attempt to throw into relief a range of social interests, strategies and perceptions motivating both individual and village participation. In respect of women's interests, I hope to determine the degree to which such programs serve to improve women's economic position and to assess the impact of the development intervention on women as a socially constituted class of persons.

The concept of "person" has a long history in the discipline but has recently been used by feminist-inspired writers to more clearly formulate issues of gender and inequality (Atkinson 1982). If it is accepted that social persons can be defined as the locus of the intersection of a complex of social relations (Strathern 1988), it is possible to pinpoint social change in the constitution of the social relations which comprise a given class of persons. What is assumed in this line of analysis is that women in a given ethnographic setting may be distinguished as a class of person different from that of men in that specific constitutive social relations appear consistently associated with gender. In speaking of gender differences as located in specified constitutive social relations, the imprecision of often overstated, contrasting characterizations is avoided. Further, using this approach the question of gender inequality may be effectively explored, without undue ethnocentric or ideological distortion, in a situation resulting from conscious effort on the part of the development agency to overcome the so-called "traditional secondary status" of women.

The task is twofold. The analytic tool of the social person as a nexus of social relations will be applied to an understanding of the disparity between men and women within the largely traditional complex of subsistence relations. Then the impact of the development intervention upon these loci of relations will be assessed in light of the development organization's goal of ameliorating the status of women.

The discussion will begin with a general description of the village community itself and a detailed discussion of the personhood of women as opposed to that of men in this setting. An outline of the forms of organization introduced by the development intervention and its interaction with extant village structures will be presented. Points of conflict between endogenous and exogenous assumptions and strategies culminating, at times, in dramatic confrontations will be discussed with an eye to identifying the factors contributing to the conflict. Conclusions will be drawn as to whether this particular strategy for development intervention indeed safeguards women's interests better than the large-scale types of intervention conventionally found wanting.

Economic Conditions and Political Structures in the Village

The village in question is located in the Province of Bam, on the northern edge of the sudanic climatic zone, on the fringe of what is sometimes called the Great Mossi Plateau. The cultivation of millet and sorghum is the major subsistence activity. Fulbe, who make up slightly less than half of the village population, are also pastoralists who keep some cattle in the area year round. In recent years, most Fulbe village cattle have been sent to other regions of the country because of the local shortages of both water and pasture. The Mossi, the other major ethnic group of the village, tend to keep smaller ruminants, sheep and goats, in the village, but the ownership of cattle is seen as both prestigious and profitable. Mossi cattle are often entrusted to Fulbe herders. There frequently exists between men of the two populations an institutionalized form of friendship which centres on Fulbe tending Mossi cattle.

The agricultural and pastoral enterprise in the village is a difficult one. For example, the rainy season of 1984 yielded only 400 mm of rain as recorded in the administrative centre of the province, Kongoussi. This led to large-scale depletion of herds, both through sale for purchase of grain and through disease. The following season recorded over 700 mm of rain. Rainfall is both variable from year to year and highly localized. Cereal fields as little as a kilometre apart receive significantly different amounts of rain in the course of a season, which can determine the success or failure of the harvest. Broekhuyse (1980; Allen and Broekhuyse 1988) and others have documented the destructive practices inherent in Mossi farming systems. Along with unfavourable climatic conditions, such practices lead to soil degradation and erosion.

Not surprisingly about 30 percent, mostly male, of each of the ethnic groups is absent from the village at any one time. The majority of the Mossi are away at wage labour in Côte d'Ivoire, while the majority of the Fulbe are absent within the country, usually working in some capacity in animal husbandry. The earlier pattern of labour absenteeism among the Mossi involved mostly unmarried men who, after a few years spent abroad, returned to the village, married and took up agricultural pursuits. This seems to have changed in the last 10 years or so. A higher incidence of whole families residing away from the village is noted.

There are few opportunities to get money available in the area. Most village men practise some form of petty commodity production, but the income generated by the sale of mats, baskets, leather work or the weaving of cloth and the practice of butchery is minimal. Some men in the village work sporadically in the town as masons or other labourers. Women also participate in the local trade. The Mossi women prepare various foodstuffs to be sold in the village or at local markets, such as fried cakes, cooked rice or *ram*, beer made of sorghum. At various seasons of the year gathered fruits or vegetables grown in women's own plots of land are sold. Fulbe women sell milk

surplus to household requirements throughout most of the year. This practice is more profitable than the efforts of the Mossi women and also requires less input of labour.

The economic enterprise which seems to the villagers, both women and men, the most promising in ameliorating money and food shortages is irrigated dry-season market gardening on the shores of Lake Bam. This lake is the only year-round source of water, as water holes, traditional wells and even some bore holes dry up toward the end of the dry season. Irrigated gardening around the lake dates from the late 1920s. Under the sponsorship of the Catholic Mission, not far from Kongoussi, a few hectares were then irrigated, using hand pumps, to meet the needs of Mission personnel. In the intervening years, the land under irrigation has been considerably extended with the use of motor pumps. The majority of the population of all the villages around the lake, including a large segment of the town of Kongoussi, work under the auspices of two major co-operatives selling green beans to a national marketing board for export to Europe. However, villages such as the one under study, which is located eight kilometres from the lake, have no traditional rights to the land bordering the lake. Although these villagers can work plots under sharecropper or other disadvantageous conditions, they cannot become full members of a co-operative without placing new land under irrigation and contending with subsequent financial underwriting. Dry-season rights to an area of land could easily be negotiated, but it is impossible to enter extant co-operatives as a full member to the exclusion of the co-operants who have traditional claim to the land under irrigation.

Having outlined the general economic conditions of the area, it is now possible to focus on the village community itself. The village, historically part of the former kingdom of Tatenga, was founded about 400 years ago at the time of the Mossi conquest of the autochthonous Kibsi population. Informants claimed that the Kibsi were the ancestors of the Dogon of the Bandiagara Cliffs in Mali, a part of the population having fled in the face of the Mossi onslaught. The conqueror/autochthon division is central to village life. The conquerors, known as the Nakombse, form two quarters of the village, that of the chief of the village, the Naaba, as well as that of the former captives of the chief, the *rapuremba*. The autochthons, known as the Nyonyonsi, comprise two further quarters of the village. The quarter of the Tengsoba, Master of the Earth, is the most populous and is considered the founding or first quarter of the village. The last quarter, made up of the late-coming migrants, is spoken of as "little brother" to the Tengsoba's clan segment. Both Nyonyonsi and Nakombse are considered Mossi in opposition to the Fulbe population.

Mossi and Fulbe share a myth of the founding of the village which makes mention of the founder of the Kingdom of Tatenga, Chief Tansogo, and the

initial reluctance of the Mossi to accept the Fulbe on their land. The antagonism of 400 years ago was overcome through ritual sacrifice at the earth shrine of the village Tengsoba and this mechanism is still said to be resorted to when present-day conflicts seriously threaten peaceful co-existence. It is said that the Fulbe were allowed to settle only on the agreement that they remain outside of the Mossi village. Their impermanent looking huts are scattered in a semicircle on the sandy lowlands that surround the laterite outcrop on which the Mossi village is built. Mossi denigrate the Fulbe and marriage is not practised between them. In spite of this, administratively the two populations are considered one village, both by present-day and former governments and by development agencies. Further mention of the Fulbe will be made only in relation to political strategies on the part of both populations arising from the view of them as a unity. Otherwise the Mossi will be the focus of discussion.

In spite of the fact of the historic Mossi state there is no evidence in the present of traditional economic advantage accruing to the Naaba. After the French conquest of 1897, the power of the Naaba at the village and canton level was effectively subverted and undermined by the exigencies of the colonial government. Each subsequent independent government has campaigned to a lesser or greater degree against the "feudalism" of former times. The modern state has taken over most of what once was the basis of the Naaba's power. However, the village Naaba was observed to still hold authority, an authority shared with the Tengsoba. The Naaba is seen as the holder of *naam*, the mythical power which allows the successors to the office to rule over men. The Tengsoba is seen as the holder of *saad naam*, the power over fertility of both people and the earth enacted at the earth shrines. Perhaps due to the uses made of the village Naaba by the colonial regime as well as to Mossi hegemony in modern administrations, the Naaba does represent the village to the outside authorities and is capable of organizing village labour, as will be shown.

Several anthropologists working on the Mossi Plateau have documented what can be called the nucleation of the minimal lineage grouping in the face of severe ecological degradation of the region and high rates of labour absenteeism. Izard (1985) speaks of the shift of economic corporateness from the *yiri*, the lineage segment, to the *zaka*, the minimal lineage grouping in villages of the neighbouring historic Kingdom of Yatenga. Broekhuyse (1980; Allen and Broekhuyse 1988) suggest for the Mossi of the Kaya area, to the south and east of the Province of Bam, that the trend will result in individual household nucleation. The Mossi of Bam see the limits of the *buuduu*, the clan or clan segment, as defining the largest unit within which claims can be made to things or labour. Also, they tend to define the *buuduu* as the limits within which wives may be inherited. Ideally, one *buuduu* resides in one

quarter of the village. However, the most pervasive claims over labour and the product of that labour are contained within the *zaka* which can be defined as a grouping of male agnates and their wives and children resident within a single walled compound sharing one doorway to the outside world (*zaknore yembre*).

The *zaka* is not, however, co-terminous with the household, which can be defined as constituted by an alignment of males representing three successive generations or three stages of the life-cycle, pre-productive, productive and post-productive, and women of these three generations or stages (Rohatynskyj 1988). It is within the household that people work common ground and store the harvest in a common granary. A great variation was found in the composition of the *zakse* (pl.) in the village: in some cases the *zaka* contained only one household and in others several more. The occurrence of single-household *zakse* was most frequent in the least prestigious quarter of the village, that of the late-coming Nyonyonsi "little brothers." This quarter had a rate of labour absenteeism markedly higher than the village norm. It would appear that *zakse* in the quarter of the Naaba and especially in the quarter of the Tengsoba tend to more successfully resist factors working toward lower-order group nucleation.

In turning to the consideration of women in these groupings, saying that the Mossi are patrilineal and patrilocal only begins to address the question. Terms for a more detailed discussion may now be presented.

The Mossi Woman as Person

M. Strathern (1985), discussing in what sense kinship and economy can be said to constitute each other, traces the development within the anthropological literature of an approach aimed at investigating "the political economy of women." The development of such an approach was heralded by Gayle Rubin (1975). Rubin's paper addressed the question of the subordination of women partly in response to the controversy then surrounding women as objects of exchange in marriage systems, especially as discussed in Lévi-Strauss's *Elementary Structures of Kinship*. Her initial formulation pointed out that a distinction should be made between systems where women are only exchangeable for one another and where "commodities" can be exchanged for women. Strathern (ibid.) discusses a body of recent writing that delineate bride-service systems where in marriage the exchange is that of labour as an attribute of the person, not of the person herself, drawing on the work of Collier and Rosaldo (1981) and others. In these systems things are never exchanged for persons, in opposition to bridewealth societies where they appear to be.

However, following Gregory's (1982) distinction between gift-based societies and commodity-based societies, it is doubtful if these things ex-

changed against bridewealth can be termed "commodities." For the logic of exchange of bridewealth renders them gifts even if in other settings these same things are exchanged as commodities. If the exchange of women against bridewealth may be seen as a gift exchange then it is impossible to view women as objects within the transactions of others. For as Gregory (ibid.:41) points out, "things and people assume the form of objects in a commodity economy while they assume the form of persons in a gift economy." Gift transactions produce social relations which allow for the reproduction of the community.

In the Mossi village, the rule of marriage is a negative one. One cannot marry someone of either the mother's or the father's *buuduu*. The vast majority, over 90 percent, of extant marriages, even in the present, are arranged by the parents. The father and lineage elders use affinal ties to reinforce ties of friendship. As in many bridewealth societies, the ideal marriage, and the one considered the most binding, is that of an exchange of women between two clans. Failing this, bridewealth is paid in the form of a set of ritual gifts, including salt, some millet, a small animal for sacrifice and so on. What is exchanged against bridewealth are rights to a woman's sexuality and the rituals surrounding the transfer are aimed at securing the approval of the ancestors. The sense then is not of persons being exchanged for things or "commodities," as Rubin would have it, but rather a transfer of an attribute of the person, her fertility, to the husband's kin group, with a countervailing prestation. In this sense, then, as noted by Strathern, the transfer of things as standing for attributes of persons are used to signal the formation of a new relationship between the bride and groom and their kin groups.

Women's disadvantage in this case cannot be seen as stemming from their status as "objects" of men's transactions. However, Strathern, following Goody's (1962) analysis, makes an interesting observation of the West African setting. It is Goody's statement that in particular West African societies certain kin roles may be thought of as miniature offices that is of key interest here. For in Strathern's terms this indicates a detachability of kin role from office and an adherence of things, as inheritance, not to the person, but to the office. And it is in such systems, Strathern notes, that "perhaps . . . we can speak of the 'second class citizen' syndrome for women—a political idiom that marks exclusion from office holding" (1985:200). This suggestion provides an important distinction between men and women in the village setting as well as an aid in understanding problems arising from the introduction of new offices by the development agency in the village. To appreciate the significance of this distinction fully, the question of disposability of labour must be considered for both men and women.

Both as daughters within the natal *zaka* and as wives in the *zaka* of the husband, women are evaluated as virtuous on the basis of their capacity to work

hard and in terms of their obedience to their seniors (Rohatynskyj 1988). This valuation of the woman as person emphasizes two attributes which are detachable from the person and whose disposability at the hands of others determine the relations within which women pursue their interests. Rights to a woman's reproductive capacity are handed over by the natal *zaka* to the *zaka* of the husband. However, rights to the disposal of a woman's labour on the part of others are a multiplex life-long matter. This situation may be seen to arise in the very structure of the household, as I have argued elsewhere.

For most of the early part of a man's life his labour must be made available to his male seniors, whether household head, minimal lineage elder or other. Although the claim on the male's labour may run a different course in the individual life-cycle, it is nonetheless a major component in defining the social context of a man's life up until the point of taking on the position of the lineage elder. All senior men have control of the labour of junior men as well as that of women. However, even though both men and women owe labour to others differentially throughout the life-cycle, the claim to their labour is not exclusive. Inasmuch as an adult man works to maintain the kinship grouping, he has the right to dispose of a certain proportion of the product of his labour according to his own desires. Similarly women cultivate their own plots of ground and have the right to dispose of the produce as they see fit. The millet, sorghum, various vegetables and condiments are used primarily for the sustenance of close kin, but they may also be sold or otherwise utilized. It must be emphasized that the proceeds of such sales are strictly under the control of the woman. Although it is possible to speak of men and women in the village as dissimilar and unequal on the basis of woman's exclusion from certain kin roles constituted as miniature offices, it is possible to speak of similarity in terms of which each owes labour to some other or others differentially in the course of the life-cycle, but reserves certain areas of production to personal ends.

The Village Development Program

The relationship between the development agency and the village will now be examined. It is important to note that the development organization is represented in the village by village-level agents, the *animateur* and the *animatrice*. These individuals work in a set number of villages and act as intermediaries between the larger bureaucratic structures of their own organization and the village population. It is their responsibility to assure that the organizational structures at the village level are in place and capable of carrying out determined projects. To the villagers these individuals appear to have great power. It is on their approval and, in a sense, through their good will, that material support necessary for project actualization is allocated to the village. They are the conduit into the village of scarce and often very valuable goods:

building material, water pumps, grain donations to the cereal bank and so on. The conditions that must be fulfilled for the continued entry into the village of these valued things are compliance with the organizational prerequisites for project implementation as laid down by the development agents and, most importantly, the availability of labour. The development agency then provides things, and the village provides labour, in the realization of projects for the benefit of the village as a whole.

The relationship between the village and the development agency is a novel one in the context of local economic life. The process of project implementation is indeed a co-operative one and there is not the sense that labour is being exchanged for things even though villagers are cognizant that continued labour availability is necessary for the further flow of things into the village. The end product of this process is ideologically for the benefit of everyone, and as a result a great deal of anxiety surrounds the possibility that any one person should be seen to benefit directly from this process to the exclusion of others. This is not saying that individuals do not gain material benefit in the course of this process or that goods are not subverted to personal use. The issue seems to be that such gain cannot be publicly recognized or approved without arousing deep resentments. For example, it was impossible for the village committee to agree on the form of remuneration appropriate to the village aid post orderly in recognition of the fact that he was kept from work in his fields as a result of his duties. Most members agreed that he should receive some remuneration for productive time lost while tending the ill, but refused to allocate money from the village fund for such a purpose. A further illustration of this attitude is that women who represented the various quarters of the village on the village health committee kept secret the little money they received *in honorarium* for attending training sessions at a village five kilometres away. The public acknowledgment of such remuneration as just due in the context of co-operative activities associated with development was prevented by the sense that one should not be seen to benefit from the labour of the many. It may be argued that for the same reason money in the village fund was allowed to build up, no person willing to risk responsibility for its investment or other use. There is a sense then that wealth created for the benefit of all, for the development of the village, is placed outside the normal flow of daily transactions as a result of its ambivalent status.

The main administrative structure set up in the village on the initiative of the development agency is the village committee. Comprised of a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, assistant treasurer and representatives of each of the quarters, the committee oversees all project actualization centred on the development of the cereal bank. Members of the committee are, not surprisingly, drawn from the immediate kin of the Naaba and the Tengsoba. Some of these men aged in their late thirties and early forties are functionally

literate in French and are considered worldly as a result of their experiences as wage labourers in Côte d'Ivoire. Their ability to mobilize labour from all the quarters of the village rests on the Naaba's authority as the only mechanism in place capable of providing a more inclusive focus for kin group interests.

The major interests excluded from this representative committee are those of the Fulbe. The Fulbe, eager to share in whatever benefits the development program brings, are systematically denied full access on a co-operative basis. The situation is that of two ethnic groups competing for access to scarce goods within the context of Mossi state hegemony, both traditional and modern. In response to pressure from the development agency, the son of the Fulbe village leader was formally named as the vice-president of the village committee. The insistence on this on the part of the development workers was based on the belief that if the Fulbe had representation on the committee then they would be assured of some share in the benefits accruing. Mossi compliance with this requirement stemmed from their recognition that accommodation was necessary on this point in order to avoid disruption of the program in general. However, the Fulbe holds office in name only. He is not advised of committee meetings, nor is he consulted on important decisions to be made in project implementation. Further, Mossi, in line with their evaluation of Fulbe as lazy and untrustworthy, deny Fulbe labour contributions in order to exclude Fulbe from project benefits. For example, the village committee attempted to deny Fulbe rights to the grain distribution from the cereal bank on the basis of allegations that the Fulbe had made their contributions after the deadline set at the previous year's harvest. They denigrate Fulbe contributions to other projects and attempt to limit the flow of services into the Fulbe community by, for example, designating the Fulbe population as one quarter in the face of the four Mossi quarters even though the two populations are roughly equivalent in number. In contrast to this, and in attempting to sidestep the context of this historical antagonism, the Fulbe make recourse to the democratic ideology of the development agency in an attempt to have their interests served. The conflict is a bitter one and cannot be fully documented here.

Inasmuch as the bestowal of office on the village comittee upon a Fulbe is seen by the development workers as an assurance of access to project benefits, a similar mechanism is seen as guaranteeing women equal access to development benefits. A women's committee exists parallel to that of the men, consisting of a president, vice-president, representatives responsible for various specific projects and representatives of each of the quarters. The president, vice-president and two other representatives sit on the village committee, theoretically taking decisions along with the men on important issues. The village committee structure, as constituted, is thus designed to assure that

autonomous representatives of both sexes have the right to pursue respective interests.

The reality of women's decision-making power is of course much different. The difference is due not just to the traditional deference of women to men growing out of the structure of the subsistence household, but may be found in the very organization of the projects the various offices are meant to administer. The division of project responsibility between the sexes makes assumptions about the spheres of activity proper to men and women. The cereal bank, building construction and production of cereal crops are the domain of men. General health, production of secondary crops and the water supply are the domain of women. One can fault this division as overlooking the fact that women contribute at least 50 percent of the labour in the production of millet and sorghum, as is typical of hoe agricultural systems. Conversely, the division belies the fact that it is the men, in the form of the *timsoba*, healing specialist, who have the greater knowledge of the traditional pharmacopoeia which is taught in the health education program for women. However, there is a deeper contradiction that may be identified here and it has to do with the assumptions inherent in the development program about social action as carried out by individuals. The organization of projects and their implementation into two separate spheres, one governed by men and the other by women, makes the statement that these spheres are to some extent autonomous. The insistence that both male and female persons form the general village committee, moreover, suggests that these officials are equal in light of intra-village and extra-village matters. These assumptions come into conflict, as will be shown, with both the logic of social relations of the subsistence sphere and with the economic reality of the region in general.

Finally, even though the spheres of action of the genders are assumed to be of equal importance, it is instructive to examine the content of the projects relegated to each. The men's project of the cereal bank, central to the program of integrated community development, is indeed the project in the village requiring the most extensive capital input. The construction of the bank building and the operation of the cereal bank over a four-year period required an outlay of about four million F CFA on the part of the development agency and the labour of all available men, women and children. It is also the project that could eventually yield the greatest amount of money, as stocks can be sold at favourable times and then purchased when the price of grain is low. In contrast, the capital input into women's projects was minimal and they had a less material focus. The program of health education, for example, involved the teaching of techniques of rendering water potable, treatment of various illnesses, maintenance of a balanced diet and so on. Generally all that was required for the realization of this project was the cost of instructional material. Clearly, the things that were placed in the hands of the men's committee had

the greater material value. In parallel fashion, the income generated by the repayment of credit for cattle distributed by the development agency to some nine men in the village in previous years entered the village fund under the control of the men's committee. Credit repayment on sheep distributed to a number of women belonged to the women's fund, along with proceeds of the sale of vegetables grown in the dry-season garden and income generated by other minor projects. This disparity in capital input into the projects designated for each sex belies equality in the distribution of benefits and undermines the purported equal importance of each sex's sphere of activity. This is especially so in the face of the larger commodity economy. Simply, such an agenda speaks to a complementarity of the sexes with a token recognition of the importance of women's concerns in the form of the representation by women office holders on the village committee.

Some Points of Conflict

In the course of the fieldwork period a number of conflicts arose centring on the realization of various projects within the framework imposed by the development agency. Two of them bore directly upon the constitution of the personhood of women, in that issues of the disposability of the products of women's labour and the question of the viability of offices bestowed upon women came into play.

Toward the end of the dry season a revolt took place against the president of the women's committee by the majority of the women involved in the dry-season vegetable garden project. The project itself consisted of growing a variety of European vegetables near the bore-hole. Training had been provided, as well as seed and fertilizer. For the bulk of the dry season labour necessary to realize this project involved daily watering and the control of bird pests. The village *animatrice* monitored the work on a weekly basis. These vegetables were meant to be sold at a minimal price to village women in order to improve the content of the dry-season diet. As the last plantings were being harvested an angry rumour erupted alleging that the president of the women's committee had sent two women to the market at Kongoussi with vegetables for sale. This was apparently done secretly, and the cash proceeds were said to have been retained by the president and not entered into the women's fund.

Meetings were held between groups of women and the president in the presence of the *animatrice*. None of the allegations could be substantiated. However, many women called for the removal of the president from office and her replacement by a more popular candidate. It was said by these women that the president had not participated in any of the work for the project and yet insisted on keeping control of the proceeds. The woman touted as her replacement had, on the contrary, been quite diligent in the care of the garden and was generally esteemed as a woman of great virtue, known for

her domestic skills. The problem here was more than a simple misappropriation of funds. The larger issue was about the nature of the office of president of the women's committee and the nature of the Mossi woman as person. The women could not tolerate the fact that the president, a kinswoman of the Naaba and appointed to the post by him, should define her contribution to the project in terms other than disposable labour. She saw herself as an administrator organizing the labour and keeping charge of the accounts and this comprehension of the role came into conflict with women's conception of themselves as proper persons. But it would be mistaken to reduce the conflict to a lack of fit between the model women held of themselves as providers of labour and the requirements of the new form of organization which envisaged some women office holders acting as overseers and organizers of other women's labour. Even though the president had been appointed by the Naaba, the method of her selection was not resented by the majority of women. It must be noted that in selecting a woman of his own quarter, the princely Ouedraogo lineage, the Naaba was acting upon the traditional right of his kin group to take positions of leadership in village affairs. Also in realizing her role as leader in these activities, the president herself was upholding the tradition of Nakombse women as non-workers. That is, Nakombse women traditionally did not work, depending on the people of the *rapuremba* quarter to look after the complement of what for commoner women was defined as women's work.

The understanding of the conflict in terms of the perceptions of women themselves as workers against the prerogatives of a traditionally defined class of non-working women, or against the introduced notion that some women must act as administrators, has some value, but assumes that the context of the conflict does not encompass other concerns. This larger context has to do with the commitment of people's labour to a co-operative undertaking that is designed to yield benefits for all, in the form of the development of the village. An appreciation of the concerns involved will become more clear in the consideration of the following sets of events.

In spite of the built-in disparity between the men's and the women's fund, the men's committee insisted on keeping control of the women's fund. This contravened the imposed structure of development activities in two ways. One, it denied the autonomy of the spheres with regard to gender projects and, two, it denied the equality of the women officials as capable of administering their own fund. Over a period of about two years, the *animatrice* working in the village approached the men's committee asking them to release the fund into the hands of the women. Her last appeal resulted in a fairly dramatic denunciation of her personally and the development organization in particular as trying to split the men and the women of the village apart. The question for the men was not that women were incapable of administering

their fund, as it was recognized that they along with the men received training in basic bookkeeping. The question was rather about the autonomous nature of the gender's activities. The problem could be phrased in terms of whether in the context of "development" the product generated by women's labour should fall beyond the control of men.

Again, it would be appealing to explain this occurrence by the lack of fit between the indigenous formulation of the personhood of women and the assumptions inherent in the structures imposed by the development agency. Further, one could question to what degree women holding offices introduced by the development agency are taken seriously by both men and women, given that they are excluded from holding offices within indigenous village structures. Both points are well taken, but are based on the assumption that relations that obtain in development activities undertaken by the entire village are in a sense relations of the subsistence household writ large. If this is accepted then the men's committee insistence on controlling the women's fund is problematic. For within the household women do enjoy a limited economic autonomy, trading with goods they have grown, gathered or manufactured and disposing of the income as they see fit. It is necessary to return to what has been described as the ambiguous status of the wealth generated in the process of development activities.

The anxiety generated by the idea that any one individual should benefit from the whole complex of activities, defined as having to do with development and involving the labour of the whole village, is due to a lack of an adequate mechanism for defining rights to that wealth. At the heart of the problem lie questions about the nature of these new offices, specifically in relation to indigenous village offices. Inasmuch as rights in terms of ancestral sacrae and patrimony are clearly seen as adhering to the role of, for example, the elder, and subject to clearly formulated terms of inheritance and rules of succession, conflicts exist in the minds of the villagers with regard to the new offices. As a result, the very simple question posed for the villagers is that, if these offices are constituted to represent village interests, to what extent is the relationship between persons and things rather than roles and things? That is, to what extent does the wealth adhere to the persons who are administering it rather than to their roles as duly defined?

This confusion does not arise out of backward looking traditionalist mentality. On the contrary, it arises from what villagers perceive as the goal of the process they have undertaken under the auspices of the development agency. However, the suspicion lurks that the promotion of cattle husbandry stands little chance of success in enhancing the organic content of the soil due to the critical shortage of forage and the long standing necessity of pasturing large herds away from the region. Pragmatic Mossi farmers have largely abandoned attempts at plow agriculture, having observed how the opening of

straight furrows increased erosion and acted to retard water penetration. The villagers are justifiably sceptical of Western-introduced schemes to re-establish the viability of the subsistence enterprise. Under conditions of extreme ecological degradation and chronic staple crop production shortfalls, villagers perceive both the short-term and the long-term solution to the poverty they experience as in the commodity sphere. For this reason it is the dry-season irrigated market gardening around Lake Bam which appears the most desired project and whose realization is within the power of the development agency.

The focus of the villagers, both women and men, is on those scarce things that the development process introduces into the village: things which may be converted into money and then again into things. Villagers, especially the men, have had extensive experience both in commoditizing their labour and in dealing with commodities. The wealth generated through communal labour for the benefit of all belies what they know of the relationship between people and things in the developed world. The development process for them is a potential move away from the subsistence enterprise to one where commodity relations prevail. By taking into account this understanding the anxiety that any one person should act with impunity in the appropriation of any part of this wealth may be seen as based on the fear that labour of the one is lost to the enrichment of the other.

The structure of relations posited by the development agency speaks neither to the set of relations inherent in the subsistence village setting nor to what is known of the relations of the commoditized sphere. The enactment of the required forms of social action and the participation in the full range of projects, in a sense, marks time until more clear-cut benefits can be gained. Here again the realization of the market gardening project must be underlined as the ultimate goal of such participation.

Perhaps more significantly, the enactment of the form of organization of gender relations entailed by the development program, which is seen by the villagers as leading to personal enrichment in the commodity sphere, forced the community to make a statement about gender relations outside the subsistence household. The refusal of the men's committee to allow the women's committee to control their own fund is a considered statement in the larger public arena where gender relations in future forms of production become a point of contention. Compliance with the requirements of the development agency would have indicated the acceptance of men and women as autonomous in the anticipated form of production. The villagers refused such compliance on the understanding that such a rupture of complementarity would work against the formation of the desired production units in the commodity sphere. The male-headed, commodity-producing household is, after all, the model of productive relations expected both by the co-operatives of Lake Bam and those farther afield (Conti 1979).

Finally, villagers see themselves as in an interstitial state between the failing subsistence enterprise and the promise of the commodity sphere. It is the activities structured by the development agency that will in their minds realize this promise. Although in the village committees they have been able to subvert a democratic form of decision making in line with what can be called political advantage, especially in respect of the exclusion of the Fulbe, the question of the fate of women finds its resolution in the requirements of the anticipated form of commodity production. The anxiety generated by the thought of individual advantage in terms of communally accumulated funds rests on the simple premise that one person's gain must be the other's loss. The rather token autonomy of women insisted upon by the division of projects into those to be administered by men and those to be administered by women contravenes the viability of the success of individual households in the form of commodity production accessible to the villagers in question. Efforts to promote or safeguard the interests of women as autonomous, equal actors cannot find success simply through the legal rational mechanism of the bestowal upon women of parallel offices. Such mechanisms become irrelevant in the context of the larger economic reality.

Some mention may be made here of a notion of "limited good." Foster's "Image of Limited Good" (1965) has been the subject of extensive discussion involving notions as diverse as a fundamental cultural premise of "closed" peasant societies to processes of transition from pre-capitalist to capitalist forms of production. In the present context, the belief that one person's gain necessitates loss for the other may be seen as a result of the incompatibility of strategies of perceived economic gain between a number of spheres specifically defined. On the one hand, a subsistence domain has been identified, governed by the organization of labour and persons within the confines of the household, the *zaka* and other kinship-based structures. On the other hand, villagers are seen to be striving to enter the commodity sphere in the form of the commodity-producing household. Each of these domains manifests, in the eyes of the villagers, a distinct configuration of relations between persons, labour and things. Intervening is the democratically organized unity of economic interests entailed by the development organization's imposed structures of co-operative labour for communal benefit. It may be said that the inability of villagers to take initiative in respect of the disposal of the wealth generated by this tentative form of organization lies not so much in the perception of this wealth as finite, but rather in the contradictions of right of disposal in relation to this wealth and the economic strategies of villagers in the pursuit of economic gain. In a very real sense, if communal labour is to result in communal benefit, individual advantage must diminish the gain of the whole.

It may also be argued that given these conditions the very plan of the development intervention is mistaken. Several alternate strategies come to mind. For example, given the lack of unity between the ethnic groups of the village, a village-based plan of action is probably not indicated. For that matter, perhaps a lower level of organization would be more suitable as the unit for the promotion of development efforts. Or, given women's equal participation in the raising of staple crops, their responsibility in the control of the cereal bank could be recognized. However, such issues deserve a separate treatment.

Conclusion

Given the case in question, it would appear that this small-scale development intervention designed to assure the equal access of women to the benefits of development meets with little success. As has been underlined, this failure is not due to a traditional patriarchy that insists on subjugating women to men, but rather is due to the requirements of those forms of production perceived by the community as promising ameliorization of economic life. If the personhood of women can be taken as circumscribed by the disposability of their labour and fertility by men organized into the subsistence household, it still allows, in this context, for limited economic autonomy similar to that of men. The transition of the constitutive relations of woman as person into the commodity sphere necessitates the loss of this autonomy as she enters that sphere in the commodity-producing household as unfree labour. If it is the exclusion of women from office holding that marks their inequality with men in the subsistence sphere, then it is clear that the bestowal of office upon her cannot guarantee equality in the commodity sphere.

At issue in this discussion has been the interplay between assumptions of autonomy and complementarity of individuals. The agenda of the development agency promotes both but leads to the questioning of whether in the context of the complementarity of male and female in production autonomy can be realized. The complementarity of the subsistence enterprise still dominated largely by the logic of the gift economy in relation to the status of women becomes transformed into inequality and diminution of the autonomy of women in the commodity sphere. If the promotion of women in development aims at the safeguarding of individual interests, under the specific conditions described, the compatibility of complementarity and the autonomous individual must be questioned. For what has been described can only be seen, unlike the more dramatic examples of major displacement of people and productive relations through large-scale development intervention, as a process which more subtly repositions the constitutive relations of persons, their labour and things and leads to a differing constitution of woman as person. The resulting person, in our eyes, must be seen as even less an individual in her

own right. It is this logical incompatibility between autonomy and complementarity which nags at the successful promotion of women in development under the type of conditions described. And it is perhaps for this reason, as a very general observation, that the more successful attempts in making the benefits of development directly available to African women take place under conditions where women have been freed from the social burden of husbands, in-laws and larger traditional structures, that is, the female-headed household. This is not to imply that such a configuration places women in a more favourable position in terms of realizing economic goals. Indeed, there is much evidence to the contrary (Staudt 1988). Rather, the application of the model of personal action, as propounded by the development program described, to the female-headed household, precludes the necessary acting out of "our" ideological contradictions against the backdrop of any given African setting.

Note

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LEGACIES FROM THE PAST AND TRANSITIONS TO A "HEALED" FUTURE IN BRAZILIAN SPIRITIST THERAPY[1]

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Abstract: This paper describes a ritual healing session at a Spiritist centre in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, where patients are treated for physical and emotional symptoms brought on by events in their previous lives. Mediums re-enact the incidents that are believed to be the cause of the present-day symptoms. Religious leaders then indoctrinate, during a ritual debate, the spirit or spirits (of parties offended or injured by the patient in the previous lifetime) responsible for causing the symptoms. When these spirits are induced to repent, the patient emerges from the session cured.

Following the lead of Csordas (1983), the ritual, and the healing it provides, is analyzed in terms of the patient being moved, first rhetorically and then socially to a new state. The healing is seen as part of a process of religious conversion. The van Gennep (1960 [1908]) and Turner (1967, 1969) transition model is introduced to show the patient being separated during the healing ritual from his/her previous secular (non-Spiritist state) and then moved, first into a liminal state, and then into the new state as a believer and participant in the Spiritist religious community.

Résumé: Cet article décrit une session de guérison rituelle dans un centre spirite de Rio de Janeiro, Brésil. Les patients sont traités pour des symptômes physiques et émotionnels causés par des evénements qui ont eu lieu dans leurs vies antérieures. Des médiums font un récit mimé des incidents qui seraient à l'origine des symptômes qui affectent présentement les patients. Des chefs spirituels endoctrinent (au sein d'un débat rituel) l'esprit ou les esprits (de ceux que le patient a offensés ou blessés dans une vie antérieure) et qui sont responsables des symptômes qui l'affectent. Une fois que les esprits ont été convaincus de se repentir, le patient sort guéri de la session.

En suivant les recherches de Csordas (1988), on a analysé le rituel et la guérison qu'il procure, en fonction du patient à qui l'on fait subir une

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sorte de changement d'état d'abord rhétoriquement et ensuite socialement. La guérison est perçue comme faisant partie d'un processus de conversion religieuse. Van Gennep (1960) et Turner (1967, 1969) ont proposé un modèle de cette transition qui explique comment (lors du rituel de guérison) le patient est d'abord séparé de son état séculier (c'est à dire non spirite) et ensuite comment il est conduit à un état liminal et enfin comment il émerge dans son nouvel état, comme croyant et membre de la communauté spirite.

Introduction

Almost a decade ago, on the basis of fieldwork with Catholic Pentecostals in the United States, Thomas Csordas hypothesized that patients treated ritually and symbolically were healed in the sense that they were moved into a new reality or phenomenological world. They were healed, he wrote, "not in the sense of being restored to the state in which [they] existed prior to the onset of illness, but in the sense of being rhetorically 'moved' into a state dissimilar from both pre-illness and illness reality . . ." (Csordas 1983:346). What Csordas developed was a model of a transition in which, by means of the rhetoric of the ritual, patients were moved from one social world to another. This paper applies Csordas' hypothesis to a group of Spiritist healers in the Brazilian city of Rio de Janeiro. Part I provides a description of the therapeutic practices of a group of healer-mediums at the House of St. Francis, a religious centre located in an elite neighborhood a few blocks from what had been the presidential palace before the national capital was moved to Brasília. The healing practices employed by these self-styled "Esoteric" Umbandistas[2] are, with minor exceptions, those of Brazilian Spiritism, a religious and philosophical tradition that follows the teachings of Allan Kardec (n.d., 1975), the 19th-century French codifier of the movement.

Kardecists, as Brazilian Spiritists are often referred to in honour of the codifier, believe in a dual universe composed of the material, or visible world and a spirit, or invisible world, with communication and interaction assumed possible between the two. They believe that spirits, who reincarnate periodically in material bodies in their quest for transcendental development, bring along with them their individual karma. They are the driving force in the dual universe. They further believe that incarnate mediums are able to receive, and incorporate for short periods of time, spirits from the other world in a form of spirit possession (see Cavalcanti 1983; Greenfield 1987a, 1987b, 1992; Renshaw 1969; Hess 1987, 1989).

One category of mediums, referred to as healer-mediums, receive the spirits of former doctors and surgeons who, through them, treat patients, prescribing medicines and performing therapeutic interventions such as surgeries without the use of anesthesia and antisepsis (see Greenfield 1987a,

1991; Greenfield and Gray 1988). Other mediums, in a form of therapy known as "disobsession" (Milner 1980; Pererira Franco 1979), receive spirits who are believed to be causing the symptoms of individuals seeking help. In a previous lifetime, when the patient and the offending spirit were incarnate together, the former is believed to have committed an offence against the latter. Now, from the spirit world, the offended party is seeking revenge. In the course of the disobsession ritual, healer-mediums receive the revenge-seeking spirit. A Spiritist leader, who is not necessarily a medium, then instructs the spirit in Spiritist standards of morality and proper behaviour, inducing it, by means of dialogue, to leave the patient alone—i.e., stop causing the symptoms, and get on with its spiritual development.

After describing a healing session, cases of two patients diagnosed and treated in July of 1991 are presented. In Part II, the treatment given them—the disobsession—is described. In Part III, Csordas' hypothesis about the rhetoric of ritual healing not restoring a patient to the state in which s/he existed prior to treatment, but being moved into a new state dissimilar to what s/he knew and experienced before is summarized and placed, as Csordas did not, in the framework of social transitions (van Gennep 1960 [1908]; Turner 1967, 1969). The paper concludes by showing this Spiritist therapy to be part of a religious conversion experience in which the healing ritual: (1) separates the patient from his previous secular (or non-Spiritist) state; and (2) moves her/him into a liminal stage during which s/he experiences the ambiguity of being betwixt and between, of *communitas* and anti-structure as identified by Turner. Once participating in the life of the primary religious community of the centre the patient is reintegrated into a new state, with a new reality—that of a believer in Spiritism—completing the transition and the transformation.

Part I: A Session at the House of St. Francis

It was precisely 2:30 p.m. on a hot Wednesday afternoon. The heavy iron gate on the level of the city street in the *Larangeiras* neighborhood of Rio de Janeiro had just been locked and several hundred people inside were making their way up to a large building at the top of a hill. Within a few minutes they were seated on benches in a room that resembled a lecture hall. At the front there was a table around which eight white-clad individuals were seated. A man was offering a prayer into a microphone located next to the table.

Off to the right at the front of the large room was an entrance to a small one where some 18 to 20 individuals also dressed in white stood, each facing an empty chair. Outside this room, to the right, was another large room with still other individuals standing behind a curtain. In contrast with the stark whiteness of the other rooms, this one had an altar at the side on which there were many brightly coloured statues and other items.

The more than 300 people seated in the lecture hall were multiracial. There was a mixture of adults and children, males and females. The majority, however, were adult white females. Less than one-third of the group was male, a still smaller percentage black. I was surprised at how the approximately 75 children sat so quietly without fussing through the entire session.

For almost half an hour the man at the microphone continued to pray as the audience listened attentively. He started by invoking God, Christ and the saints and then requesting their help. He asked for the co-operation of the spirits of the dead. After reading a number of prayers, taken mostly from the Christian Gospels, he invited Ogun and then other African deities to assist in the work being undertaken. He then led the audience in songs invoking the African deities. Meanwhile the people seated around the table appeared to be paying no attention to the efforts of the man at the microphone. Most of them were looking elsewhere and were busily writing on piles of paper in front of them.

At precisely 3:00 p.m. those seated in the lecture hall were led in groups of 20 or so—the children included—into the small room where they were seated in the waiting chairs. The individuals in white proceeded to run their hands up and down and around them, although never touching them, as soft music played in the background. By exactly 3:30 p.m. everyone had received cleansing passes and was seated again in the lecture hall. I was mildly surprised when I realized that the women had left their pocketbooks and other belongings on the benches in the lecture hall as they went in to receive their passes.

From 3:30 to 4:00 p.m. the cleansing continued as the hall and its inhabitants were first bathed in smoke from a censor and then covered with rose petals. At precisely 4:00 p.m. the major activity of the day began. One at a time selected individuals were led by an usher from their seat on a bench in the lecture hall into the second large room behind the curtain. Each was brought to one of the five groups of five to six white-clad individuals who stood waiting for them. The people being escorted were patients who had registered for treatment when they first arrived at the centre earlier in the day. They had come accompanied by parents, children, other relatives or friends who now waited for them in the lecture hall.

Each patient tried to verbalize the symptoms from which s/he sought relief to the members of the group that received them. Seemingly oblivious to the professions of pain and suffering by the patients, one or more members of each of the receiving groups quietly entered into trance, incorporating spirits who then acted out a scene the patient later was told highlighted the cause of his or her affliction. In one case, for example, a medium began to scream in pain while rolling on the floor. A second medium bent over the first as if it were performing surgery in the region of its pelvis. As the exaggerated panto-

mime continued, it appeared to all present—when I asked later on—that the second medium was performing an abortion on the first. The patient, however, was a male.

An orienter, who was not a medium, but rather a teacher and leader who circulated from group to group, stopped to explain to the somewhat bewildered patient that in a previous lifetime he had been a female who had sought the help of the second party to abort a life she had conceived illicitly. The cause of the symptoms he now was experiencing—excruciating abdominal pains for which the doctors could find neither cause nor cure—he was told, was the spirit who as the result of the abortion had been denied an opportunity to reincarnate. That spirit, it appeared, instead of trying again to incarnate, as most spirits would do, had chosen to devote itself to gaining revenge on the party that had denied it that opportunity to be reborn. Although the spirit that had prevented the incarnation by arranging for the abortion was now in a male body, it was being made to suffer for its behaviour in a previous life by the continuous infliction by the aggrieved spirit of the pains of the abortion.

Once this biographical incident from a relevant past life was understood by the patient, the orienter explained, he could be treated by the healer-mediums.

Before the orienter finished his comments to the patient, however, I found myself running across the room, drawn by a medium from another group who had entered into trance and was shouting, as if in an argument, at a second medium also in trance. The second medium then appeared to strike the first. A third medium also went into trance, but instead of interacting with the other two, fell to the ground on his stomach while grunting and screeching.

A second orienter joined the group exclaiming: *magia negra*, black magic. He then explained to the patient that her case was complicated by the fact that black magic was being waged against her indirectly by a spirit on which she had inflicted grievous injuries in a past life. The migraine headaches from which she was now suffering and the debilitating pains in her back and legs—for which the doctors to whom she had turned could give neither diagnosis nor relief—were being caused by an *exu*, which he said was a low-level spirit of African derivation[3] in the employ of the spirit she had disfigured in a violent outburst in a previous lifetime. She too could be treated now that the specific cause of her problem had been diagnosed.

Part II: Ritual Disobsession Therapy

I returned to Antonio, the young man with the abdominal pains. The pains were caused by the spirit he had aborted in a previous life as a woman, according to the mediums who had acted out a scene from that life. I heard Fernando, the orienter, greet the spirit of the aborted fetus who had incorporated in another medium. "Hello," said Fernando, in a warm and friendly tone.

"Where am I?" exclaimed an unfamiliar voice coming from still another medium who had distanced himself slightly form the rest of the group. "Why am I here? I don't like it here. It is much too bright. What do you want with me?"

"Relax, take it easy" responded Fernando calmly. "I only wish to talk with you."

"I don't want to talk with you," responded the voice angrily. "I don't like it here. Let me leave."

The orienter, however, persisted, reassuring the spirit while asking it a series of questions. Although the former remained reluctant, repeating that it wished to leave, it answered most of the questions; and when it did not, Fernando provided answers that enabled him to ask yet other questions.

The voice of the spirit soon was caught up in conversation. The questions, however, or better yet, the answers, expressed in summary form the basic assumptions and beliefs of Brazilian Spiritism. The spirit had been drawn into a conversation in which it was being positioned to affirm Spiritism's basic moral beliefs.

First it was reminded of the two orders of reality in the Spiritist cosmos, the material, or visible, and the spiritual, or invisible. It then was reminded that it was presently disincarnate—which was to say that it was not material, but rather in the invisible or spirit world—and as such should not be interacting with the living, especially inflicting pain on them. Instead of taking vengeance on someone in the material world, it was reminded, it should be thinking of its own spiritual development by preparing to reincarnate.

Spiritists believe that at the time of creation all spirits set out on a transcendental quest that will lead eventually to their spiritual perfection. Advancement along this inevitable developmental line is attained by learning lessons from experiences in the material world. Spirits, who live in the invisible world, therefore, are believed to return periodically to the material world to learn the lessons they need for their spiritual advancement.

According to Spiritist doctrine, however, spirits are assumed: (1) to not necessarily remember the lesson or lessons they have set out to learn each time they incarnate; and (2) to be possessed of free will. Therefore, they often may not take advantage of an opportunity, either because they are not aware that they need to, or because they choose not to.

It should be noted that spirits are not punished for not learning the lessons they need to progress. They do not move backwards, for example, on their developmental path. The worst that is believed to happen is that they remain where they are. The task of Spiritist leaders on earth is to explain to those spirits who are missing opportunities how they should behave in order to advance.

This is what Fernando was doing in the treatment of the spirit that was causing Antonio's suffering. Once the troubled and troublesome spirit was

taken through by the questions and answers that led to the affirmation of Spiritist belief and morality, it was reminded that it was presently disincarnate. As such it should not be interacting with the living, especially in causing them pain. Vengeance, the spirit was reminded in a quotation from Kardec (1987) paraphrasing Jesus, is wrong. For its own benefit it should leave the patient alone, return to the spirit world and prepare to incarnate so that it could move forward along its developmental path.

The exchange between the orienter and the spirit was at times quite heated. The latter occasionally tried to challenge and refute the assertions of faith made by the other who would counter with a combination of eloquence and logic. At times the protagonists' voices were raised as if in anger, while at other times one or the other responded in a whisper. In the end, however, the reluctant wrong-doing spirit was won over by the logic and truth of the orienter's argument. The treatment for the patient's physical symptoms—pains in the abdomen—then was the rehabilitation of a spirit from the other world—for its misconduct of crossing into the material world to seek revenge. When convinced of the impropriety of what it was doing and the consequent harm both to the patient and to itself, it agreed to leave Antonio alone and to return to the spirit world and prepare to reincarnate. This, of course, cured Antonio.

The therapy, which entailed a verbal struggle between right and wrong, was between Fernando, the orienter, and the spirit who had been mistreated by the patient in a previous lifetime. The patient, however, took no part in the ritual drama. He simply stood by listening, engrossed in what was being done on his behalf. Only after the spirit causing his symptoms left and the mediums came out of trance did the orienter tell him that he now would be all right. He could go home. He should, however: (1) read the writings of Allan Kardec and other Spiritist authors; (2) attend sessions at a Spiritist or Umbanda centre; and (3) receive passes regularly.

As Antonio thanked Fernando and the mediums and was being escorted back to the lecture hall, I was drawn back to the other side of the room where the ritual healing drama already had begun for the patient who was said to be the victim of black magic.

As in Antonio's case, the other orienter had engaged a reluctant spirit in conversation. The engaged spirit was the one who had incorporated in a medium when the scene from the patient's past life that explained the reasons for her present symptoms was acted out. The medium from whom the spirit's voice came, however, was on its stomach on the floor, apart from the rest of the group.

"Where am I?" it growled. "I don't like it here. It is too bright. My eyes hurt."

The orienter responded pleasantly asking the spirit to relax. "I only want to talk with you," he said.

"But I don't want to talk with you," replied the spirit. "I want to leave."

The orienter then asked: "Wouldn't you prefer to come out of the dark? To leave the dirt and filth?"

The spirit growled that it did not want to be there. The orienter, however, continued to ask questions and soon engaged the spirit on the floor in conversation. But instead of developing the framework of Spiritist morality as Fernando had in the previous case, once the spirit's attention was gained, the second orienter ordered it to name its boss. "Who do you work for?" he demanded. "On whose orders are you tormenting this woman?"

The spirit replied in anger that it worked for no one. It was its own person. It did whatever it did on its own account.

Firmly and authoritatively, however, the Spiritist leader repeated the question: "Who is your boss? For whom are you working?

As the spirit continued to groan and protest, the orienter turned to those—including the patient—who had now gathered around him, repeating what he had said before about this being a case of black magic. He explained that the spirit before them was an *exu*, an African spirit that was part of a gang that had been engaged by the spirit who had been deformed by the patient in the lifetime just reconstructed. The leader of the gang had studied black magic and was directly responsible for the pain and suffering of the patient. Low-level spirits, like *exus*, the orienter explained, often form gangs who work for leaders who are familiar with the black arts. The bosses at one time or another had been incarnate in Egypt, considered by some to be the home of black magic, where they learned the malevolent practices. Many, he added, have not reincarnated since. Instead they, like the spirits who work for them, hide in the lowest, darkest, most obscure parts of the spirit world and sell their services to unenlightened spirits, as in this case, who seek revenge.

The orienter then indicated that several sessions would be needed to cure the patient. But first he needed to know the name of the boss spirit; so he turned back to the *exu*.

"Don't lie to me," demanded the orienter. "I know you are working for someone. Who is it? Tell me his name."

Before the accused could answer, another voice could be heard coming from yet another medium in the group who as yet had not participated.

"Who wishes to speak with me?" demanded the new voice. "Who are you?" it asked the orienter. "What do you want with me. I am busy. Why is it so bright here? I don't like it. I think that I am going to leave."

The orienter proceeded to engage "the boss." His objective was not to perform the ritual treatment at this time, but rather to find out who all of the parties were who contributed—directly or indirectly—to the patient's suffer-

ing. Once this was done the patient would be escorted back to the lecture hall and sent home at the end of the session. She would be told to read Kardec and other Spiritist writers, to attend sessions at a Spiritist or Umbanda centre and to receive passes. Treatment would take place at a number of other sessions in the weeks to follow. Then each of the several contributors to her suffering would be disobsessed and rehabilitated individually. In this way each would be reoriented and set back on its individual developmental path.

The following Wednesday the second phase of the patient's treatment was begun, even though she was told that there was no need for her to be present. The mediums seated around the table in the front of the lecture hall were the primary players. A third orienter started the treatment session by inducing the *exu* who had manifested the week before to return through one of the mediums. After complaining and saying that it did not want to be there, Luis engaged the spirit in conversation. A dialogue rapidly ensued in which the Spiritist world view was made explicit and acknowledged as true. The low-level spirit was forced by the power of the orienter's logic and rhetoric, after initial resistance and counterargument, to admit that it was wrong for it to torment the patient. The *exu* admitted that what it had done was wrong. It should not have used the electronic device that had been implanted in the patient by its boss.[4] It should not have accepted payment to inflict pain on the patient. Instead it should have devoted itself to its own development and reincarnated.

The orienter then offered to help the spirit prepare itself for reincarnation. Before departing the *exu* apologized to the absent patient, to the orienter, to the mediums and to the enlightened spirits whose direction it would henceforth follow.

When the *exu* left, its boss appeared through the voice of yet another medium at the table. Another verbal encounter followed. The orienter, as a spokesperson for good, took on the gang boss, a representative of evil. Didactically he convinced the other of the errors of its ways. The truth of Spiritist morality once again defeated and reformed a representative of evil. The black magician apologized. He agreed to remove the electronic apparatus from the back of the absent patient. He promised not to sell his harmful services any more to others seeking revenge. He would accept the guidance of the orienter and prepare to reincarnate.

Two weeks later the treatment was completed. Maria Helena had returned for a Wednesday session. About halfway through, as she sat on a bench in the lecture hall, one of the mediums at the table in front incorporated the spirit that claimed to have been injured by her in the scene from a past life which had been dramatized in the first session. Yet another orienter responded when the spirit protested its apparent involuntary presence. Once again the reluctant spirit was drawn into a conversation in response to questions whose answers gradually made explicit Spiritist beliefs and morality. In response to the ori-

enter's eloquent and logical presentation, the spirit was forced to admit that its seeking revenge was wrong. It should not have engaged the black magician. It was sorry that Maria Helena had suffered. It no longer would bother her. It would accept the help of the orienter and would prepare to reincarnate so that it could get on with its own development.

As Maria Helena sat listening, the full impact of her own involvement in the affair in a previous lifetime, that had led to her suffering, became clear to her. When she heard the spirit apologize for causing her pain she burst into tears. She came forward apologizing to the other—through the medium—for having lost her temper when she inflicted the blows that resulted in the other's disfigurement in that past life. "It was my fault," she sobbed. "I was wrong. I am sorry. Please forgive me."

Still in trance the medium incorporating the spirit stood up and walked towards Maria Helena who was approaching him. Sobbing and pleading to be forgiven, each embraced the other. Everything at the centre had stopped. There was an eerie silence, except for the tear-filled embraces and apologies of the patient and the spirit/medium.

The treatment was now completed. The cause had been found and successfully removed. The revenge-seeking spirit had withdrawn. The black magician had removed the apparatus it had implanted to cause the patient's pain and the *exu* no longer would work the disconnected controls. The patient would recover and no longer suffer.

Just before leaving Maria Helena was told by another spirit, appearing through yet another medium, that she herself had the potential to serve as a spirit medium. This was a gift, she was told, that it was her responsibility to develop. She could do this by taking training classes at a Spiritist or Umbanda centre. If not, she was warned, she would face the possibility of experiencing other symptoms in the future caused by spirits trying to use her to communicate with others.

Part III: Healing by Symbolic Transformation

In a perceptive hermeneutic analysis of the rhetoric of transformation in ritual healing, Thomas Csordas wrote that

> healing is contingent upon a meaningful and convincing discourse that brings about a transformation of the phenomenological conditions under which the patient exists and experiences suffering or distress. It can be shown that this rhetoric redirects the supplicant's attention to new aspects of actions and experiences, or persuades him to attend to accustomed features of action and experience from new perspectives. . . . To the extent that this new meaning encompasses the person's life experience, healing thus creates for him a new reality or phenomenological world. As he comes to inhabit this new, sacred world, the supplicant is healed not in the sense of being restored to the state in which he

> existed prior to the onset of illness, but in the sense of being rhetorically "moved" into a state dissimilar from both pre-illness and illness reality. . . .
>
> In linking the rhetorical aspect of discourse with the endogenous healing process, this approach suggests that the transformation brought about by healing operates on multiple levels. Insofar as endogenous processes take place on physiological and intrapsychic levels, and rhetoric acts on both the social level of persuasion and interpersonal influence, and the cultural level of meanings, symbols, and styles of argument, the experience of healing is an experience of totality. (Csordas 1982:346)

The imagery Csordas uses is one of a transition, of the patient moving from an earlier sociocultural state—marked by illness—to a new one that is different from both the pre-illness and illness reality.

Csordas reached these conclusions after studying the healing activities of Catholic Pentecostals in the United States. He worked with a number of relatively small, self-contained groups of believers who constituted primary communities. This enabled him to analyze the rhetoric of transformation of a symbolic meaning system they shared. The "Esoteric" Umbanda healers at the House of St. Francis in Rio de Janiero and their patients are not part of a community as were the North American Catholic Pentecostal healers and their patients. Although the healers, and others at the centre who also practise the teachings of Kardec—modified by elements brought in from Umbanda and elsewhere—qualify, the patients, for the most part, were neither practising Spiritists nor, for that matter, active members of other religious groups. Most came to the "public" session at the centre on Wednesday afternoon not out of religious, or other, conviction, but because they had heard from friends, relatives or acquaintances that the symptoms from which they suffered might be cured there.

Brazilian society has undergone a number of major changes during the past half century. It has urbanized and industrialized. Its population has grown from 41 million in 1941 to almost 150 million in 1990. And most of that increase of more than 100 million has been in the urban centres. In 1941 only one-third of the population was urban while by 1990 some 75 to 80 percent of the population were found in the fast-growing urban centres. The cities, however, have not been able to accommodate them. There are not enough jobs, houses, electricity, sewage, sanitation and other facilities. Unemployment rates are high, poverty abounds and malnutrition is common. Inflation, which is rampant, further complicates the situation and the roller-coaster-like spurts and stops of the economy have made matters worse.

Of specific relevance for this paper, the white, urban middle-classes, who historically were the primary supporters of the Brazilian Spiritist movement, have had their traditional position of privilege threatened by racially mixed migrants from the interior and their urban-born children.

In the turmoil of urban growth large numbers of all racial groups and social positions have turned away from the Roman Catholic Church, which at one time saw itself as and, to a degree, was the national religion. In addition to Spiritism, syncretic Afro-Brazilian religious cults have made massive inroads attracting large numbers of new members. Umbanda alone, for example, which combines Spiritism with the earlier Afro-Catholic synthesis (see Bastide 1978; Herskovits 1939), has an estimated 30 to 40 million followers. Candomblé, Xangô, Batuque and the other "more traditionally African" denominations also have grown rapidly as have Fundamentalist Protestant groups.

Urban Brazil today is characterized by an open competition for converts between the several religious groups. Each is trying to attract members from the Catholic Church and from each other.

Illness and its treatment is a primary means used by each to attract new members. Each of the several religions, as in the case of "Esoteric" Umbanda/Spiritism described above, offers healing to those in need as charity. As Krippner (1989) has observed, most of the active Spiritists, Umbandistas, etc. he encountered became so only after being treated successfully.

Healing rituals, such as that presented above, are a part of a process of proselytization. Patients are potential converts whose treatment may be seen as the beginning of their conversion. Antonio, Maria Helena and the others treated at the House of St. Frances, who had come in their minds as secular patients to be healed, were, in the eyes of the members of the House of St. Frances, in the early stages of becoming members of their, or some other Spiritist or Esoteric Umbanda religious community.

Religious conversion may be thought of as a ritual transition.[5] Anthropology has a long tradition of studying such transitions. In reviewing some of this literature I should like to relate it to Csordas' model of the patient being transformed rhetorically into a new reality.

The major studies of ritual transitions have been those of Arnold van Gennep (1960 [1908]) and Victor Turner (1967, 1969). Building in van Gennep's (1960 [1908]) three-phase model of separation (*separation*), transition (*marge*) and incorporation (*aggregation*), Turner (1969:94) elaborated on the second, or what he referred to as the "liminal" phase where the ritual subject (the "passenger"), as he said it jointly with Edith Turner, ". . . passes through a realm or dimension that has few or none of the attributes of the past or coming state, he is betwixt and between all the familiar lines of classification" (Turner and Turner 1978:2).

Turner's point is that when individuals go through a ritual transition they leave what for them is ordinary society with its normative rules and behaviours and enter what he refers to as liminality, a state that is betwixt and between, full of ambiguity and characterized by *communitas*—and anti-struc-

ture—before returning eventually to what is a new state with new rules, behaviours and expectations (Turner 1969:96).

If we return to the patients treated at the House of St. Frances, the ritual treatment received at the Wednesday afternoon session provided the rhetoric that, in Csordas' (1983:346) words, "... redirects the supplicant's attention to new aspects of actions and experiences. . . ." Antonio, Maria Helena and the other patients were exposed, often for the first time in a way that was meaningful for them, not only to the dual universe of Spiritism with its second, spirit world, but to reincarnation, karma and other cosmological concepts. Furthermore, the new world view was brought home to them and related directly to the pain and suffering they were experiencing. Through the mediums who reconstructed a scene from a past life, they were introduced to a part of their own selves that they never knew, but which, they were told and shown, had direct bearing on their pain and discomfort. Their thinking, in Csordas' sense, was redirected away from their former understanding to something new.

Maria Helena, however, like so may others treated at Spiritist centres throughout Brazil, was told that she had the gift of mediumship, a gift that she was obligated to develop. To do this she was told she should take training at a Spiritist or Umbanda centre. Antonio and the other patients also were told to visit centres, take passes there, listen to lectures and to read Kardec and other Spiritist authors.

This sudden immersion into the world of Spiritism (or Umbanda) by a patient hoping (and believing) it will contribute to ending his or her suffering is very much of a liminal experience. S/he is confused, unsure and humbled in the face of the new symbolic world with its spirits and their power.

At first contact the centre with its many activities appears to them to be a community characterized, in contrast with their ordinary world of hierarchy, power and authority, by egalitarianism. In contrast with the growing impersonalism of urban Brazil, the newcomer experiences much of what Turner meant by *communitas*.

In the limen of the transition the patient is distracted. His/her symptoms may not feel the same as they did. If so, the belief that the treatment received is working is reinforced; and if it worked, it had to be because the beliefs and the world view on which treatment was based were true. Perhaps past lives really do have an effect on us in the present. Perhaps spirits are "real" and there really are two interrelated worlds. If so, perhaps spiritual development is important and should be made a priority in their lives.

The transformation is soon completed. The patient not only will attend the centre regularly, s/he will participate in its programs. S/he will do charity, volunteering to work at a day care centre, helping to feed the poor, serving as a medium—if s/he has the gift—etc. Little by little, more and more of her/his

time and resources will be devoted to activities at the centre. Gradually the now recovering patient will become a member of the primary community of the House of St. Frances or some other Kardecist or Umbanda centre. S/he is in the process of being reintegrated into a new social world and being redefined in terms of its beliefs and world view. S/he leaves the ambiguity of the liminal stage to re-emerge not as s/he was prior to the onset of the illness, but in a totally new state. Both s/he and her/his illness have been redefined.

Not all patients treated at the House of St. Frances, or other religious centres in Brazil, are cured. Many do not go through what amounts to the religious conversion described above. Those not cured then seek out other healers from other religions at other centres. They continue the search until, if they are fortunate, they eventually find help. Sooner or later they will go through the transition process and be transformed, with their symptoms redefined.

In the world of change and insecurity that is urban Brazil they will become part of one or another of the competing religious groups that will redefine them, their experiences and their cosmos. In the process of becoming a member of a new religious community and accepting its world view, the patient-convert undergoes the transition of conversion and is transformed by the power of the symbols and the rhetoric of the group.

Notes

1. This is a revision of a paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association, Chicago, IL, November 20-24, 1991.
2. Umbanda is a syncretic religion that combines aspects of Roman Catholicism, the practices brought by the slaves from Africa, Amerindian traditions and European Spiritism as codified by Allan Kardec.
3. According to Kardec (n.d.) all spirits can be ranked hierarchically according to their level of spiritual advancement or development. To Brazilian Kardecists, spirits that have incarnated in Africa are assumed to be less advanced or lower than spirits that incarnated in Europe, North America, Asia, etc.
4. Attribution of electronic devices that are said to be the immediate cause of a patient's suffering is fairly common in the cases I have seen said to involve black magic.
5. I wish to thank Mr. Joseph Ellman who, in a seminar on Religion and Healing in Cross-Cultural Perspective at the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee in the Spring of 1992, reminded me of the relationship between Csordas' transformation model and the transition model of van Gennep and Turner.

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OEUVRE DE CHAIR : LA PETITE HISTOIRE DU PIC MANGEUR D'HOMMES

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Abstract: The full richness of Iroquois myths is rarely appreciated. Straddling many of the boundaries of the social imagination, they explore the most secret byways of Iroquois thought and tradition. In pursuit of this end, they utilize the most repressed and misunderstood of the languages expressed by and inscribed upon the body: cannibalism, which is the most brutal and raw expression of orality. At the margins of this cannibal discourse there is a place for a rhetoric of society. At the very core of the myth which is discussed in this paper, cannibalism becomes a social language, describing scenes which belong to day-to-day life. For instance, such is the case with hunting. The expression of these quotidian concerns in mythic form is a strategy for the denunciation of Iroquois social reality, or its acceptance only in the most distorted guise.

The myth discussed here commences with the entrapment of two brothers, when their prey, a woodpecker, metamorphoses into an alluring female. The skeletons of the two brothers are added to a pile of bones. Eventually, eight more brothers are lured to their deaths, leaving only two out of a dozen siblings alive. The youngest of the brothers enlists the reluctant aid of a cannibal, rolling head who is his maternal uncle. The rolling head turns into a whirlwind, and attacks the two sirens, turning them first into bones, and then back into birds. All but one of the ten dead brothers is revived. The myth depends on the confusion between women and birds. The hunters become the object of the hunt. The prey become hunters. Fundamentally, there is a confusion between hunting and war, on the one hand, and alliance and marriage, on the other hand. The myth expresses some of the structural contradictions which matriliny and matrilocality occasion, when men seek their spouses. It is the men who must change location, and women also have a role in arranging alliances. The Lévi-Straussian formula describes wife-takers in exogamous marriages as cannibals, and wife-givers as enemies and strangers in the eyes of the wife-takers. In the Iroquois case there is neither a

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wife-taker nor a wife-giver, but rather female lenders who can become thieves.

Résumé: Méconnus dans tout ce qui constitue leur richesse, les mythes iroquois constituent un corpus des plus riches. Situés aux multiples frontières de l'imaginaire social, ils explorent les avenues les plus anodines et les plus secrètes de la pensée et des traditions iroquoises. Pour cela, ils utilisent le plus refoulé et le plus méconnu des langages exprimés par le corps et sur le corps, le cannibalisme, comme l'expression la plus brute et crue de l'oralité. Aux côtés de ce langage cannibal, il y a place pour une rhétorique sociale. Au sein du mythe que nous présentons ici, le cannibalisme devient un langage social décrivant des scènes qui appartiennent à la vie quotidienne. Tel est le cas, par exemple, pour la chasse. Ce regard sur le quotidien exprimé par le mythe vise, comme nous tenterons de le démontrer par l'analyse, à dénoncer, voire approuver – mais toujours en la déformant – la réalité sociale iroquoise.

Méconnus dans tout ce qui constitue leur richesse, les mythes iroquois constituent un corpus des plus riches. Situés aux multiples frontières de l'imaginaire social, ils explorent les avenues les plus anodines et les plus secrètes de la pensée et des traditions iroquoises. Pour cela, ils utilisent le plus refoulé et le plus méconnu des langages exprimés par le corps et sur le corps, le cannibalisme, comme l'expression la plus brute et crue de l'oralité. Aux côtés de ce langage cannibal, il y a place pour une rhétorique sociale. Au sein du mythe que nous présentons ici, le cannibalisme devient un langage social décrivant des scènes qui appartiennent à la vie quotidienne. Tel est le cas, par exemple, pour la chasse. Ce regard sur le quotidien exprimé par le mythe vise, comme nous tenterons de le démontrer par l'analyse, à dénoncer, voire approuver – mais toujours en la déformant – la réalité sociale iroquoise.

Les mythes sont l'incitation vers un ailleurs, fût-ce sous l'apparence de l'absurde. On est toujours invité au voyage et à ce pèlerinage dans l'imaginaire, pourvu que l'on se laisse prendre aux nombreux bricolages. Ainsi, le mythe ne saurait être une «source documentaire» (Lévi-Strauss 1973:208-209), car on ne veut pas y présenter un cliché instantané et fidèle de la réalité sociale dont on aurait juste un peu trafiqué les couleurs au cours du développement; on veut aller au-delà de cette réalité. Mais au-delà ne signifie pas non plus la folie ou le délire : le mythe n'est pas fou car il n'est pas une dénégation de la réalité, mais sa transformation. Dans sa transformation, il lui suffit d'être précis pour être opératoire.

Toutes les transformations opérées se font dans un cadre sémantique organisé. Ce cadre se situe sur deux niveaux : celui du cadre sémantique lui-même où évolue le mythe et celui des découpages de la réalité sociale effectués par les auteurs de ces mythes, c'est-à-dire les Iroquois eux-mêmes. Face à la réalité sociale concrète des Iroquois, et en particulier des Sénécas auprès des-

quels fut recueilli le mythe que nous analysons, s'ouvre un autre espace, une «autre scène», celle du mythe, qui s'aventure bien plus loin que la réalité sociale. Sur cette «scène», les rôles, les personnages et les fonctions sont en mouvance continuelle, une mouvance qui évolue au gré des manières de chasser, de s'accoupler et de manger. Les manières de manger sont particulièrement pertinentes en ce qui concerne le type de nourriture, la façon de se la procurer, de la préparer, de la servir, de la conserver ou de la partager.

Nous posons comme hypothèse de départ de cette analyse que tout ce qui entoure la nourriture et sa préparation est porteur de sens et se présente comme un modèle de relations sociales. Les mythes cannibales sénécas mettent en scène des modèles de relations sociales, avec les proches ou les étrangers, chaque fois que ces derniers chassent (procuration de la nourriture) et se mettent à table pour manger (assimilation de la nourriture). La métaphore cannibale offre, en tant que métaphore opératoire de base, ce langage du corporel avec le social comme si le corps (mangé et mangeant) était la seule manière de penser une certaine façon de vivre ensemble en famille et en société. L'univers mythique sénéca se présente comme un univers d'absorbtion orale : partout on digère, vomit, déguste, dévore, ce qui nous offre l'opportunité rêvée pour l'examen des métaphores dont usait, et use encore, la pensée traditionnelle iroquoise pour produire un discours sur le social.

Cette tradition orale iroquoise a fait l'objet de plusieurs études déjà, citons les travaux ethnographiques de W.N. Fenton (1962), F. Speck (1950), C.M. Barbeau (1914), W.M. Beauchamp (1889, 1893, 1922), H.M. Converse (1908), J.J. Cornplanter (1938), H. Hale (1883, 1888) et les études aux préoccupations plus analytiques de Y. Simonis (1973, 1977), D. Dassonleville (1973), U. Chodowiec (1972) et même Lévi-Strauss (1984). Pour la plupart recueillis à la fin du XIX^{e} et au début du XX^{e} siècle, ces mythes iroquois sont nombreux et offrent un corpus exceptionnellement riche et élaboré où cohabitent des héros cannibales les plus asociaux qui soient.

Tout élément intérieur ou extérieur au groupe est absorbé afin de le neutraliser ou de le mettre à profit. Pour illustrer cela, nous avons choisi de présenter un mythe cannibale recueilli dans la réserve de Cattaraugus à la fin du siècle dernier par J. Curtin et J.N.B. Hewitt.

Un système d'organisation sociale basé sur la famille utérine

Avant toute analyse, arrêtons-nous quelques temps sur le rôle de la femme dans la société iroquoise traditionnelle. Ceci pour deux raisons : d'une part, parce que c'est une femme qui est cannibale dans le mythe que nous présentons et que ce dernier s'inscrit dans une tradition mythique iroquoise où l'ensemble des mythes cannibales mettent en scène des femmes gloutonnes qui ont «vis-à-vis du cannibalisme une position qui est rarement neutre [. . .]. On dirait qu'elle (la société) attend des femmes qu'elles en rajoutent» (Lévi-

Strauss 1984:145). Sur un total de 54 mythes étudiés en profondeur, ce sont les femmes qui font l'objet du plus grand nombre d'occurrences de cannibalisme (Pilette 1991:49-56). Cela est de toute évidence lié à leur rôle de pivot au sein de l'organisation sociale iroquoise traditionnelle.

Les Iroquois ont d'abord été connus comme horticulteurs pratiquant le brûlis près de leurs villages. Traditionnellement, l'ensemble de l'organisation sociale reposait sur un strict partage des activités entre les deux sexes au sein d'un système de parenté matrilinéaire. Les familles se regroupent dans des maisons-longues. La maison-longue est symbole d'unité et de matrilinéarité. Structure rectangulaire de poteaux et de plaques d'écorce, elle peut mesurer de 15 à 50 mètres de long et de 6 à 8 mètres de large. À chaque extrémité se trouve le blason d'un des huit clans au sein desquels se distribuent les familles. Le clan est un groupe strictement exogame et l'appartenance à un clan ne donne aucun droit territorial. À la tête de chaque maison-longue se trouve la «mère» ou «matrone» qui possède la maison et est doyenne de la famille. C'est en général la femme la plus âgée. Au moment de leur mariage, les femmes amènent les hommes dans leur propre famille. Les hommes, au contraire, quittent leur maison-longue pour aller vivre dans celle de la famille de leur nouvelle épouse. Cela dit, il ne semble pas que ces lois de la matrilocalité aient été strictement appliquées si l'on en croit certains ethnohistoriens. Le manque de données claires sur le lieu de résidence après le mariage a permis plusieurs interprétations. Fenton (1951:41 [en note], 43) pense qu'il n'y a jamais eu de modèle de résidence défini. Notamment entre 1798 et 1800 lorsque l'agriculture ne fut plus le monopole des femmes avec l'arrivée des Quakers qui forcèrent les hommes à pratiquer l'agriculture et l'élevage et les réformes du prophète sénéca Handsome Lake au XIX^{e} siècle. Aujourd'hui encore, le système matrilinéaire est respecté mais le lieu de résidence du couple est plus ambilocal. Egalement, la Fédération iroquoise des Six Nations est construite sur le modèle de la maison longue[1].

Au sein de la famille maternelle ou lignage, tous les enfants de la même génération se nomment frères et soeurs. Pour un homme, les femmes de la génération de sa mère sont toutes ses mères, tous les hommes de la même génération que sa mère sont ses oncles, les mères de ses mères sont ses grands-mères alors que les pères de ses oncles sont ses grands-pères. Tous les hommes de la génération de son père sont ses pères, les soeurs des pères sont les tantes et les membres de la génération qui précède sont les grands-mères et grands-pères. Les enfants de la soeur de son frère sont ses nièces et neveux alors que ceux de son frère sont ses filles et fils. Pour une femme, c'est exactement l'inverse.

Les individus ayant des parents consanguins de même sexe sont cousins parallèles et le mariage est strictement interdit entre eux puisqu'ils sont de même clan. Mais les alliances sont souvent encouragées entre membres de

parents consanguins de sexe opposé (cousins croisés). Les données sur les tabous liés à l'inceste sont très peu nombreuses. Morgan (1954:79) rapporte que la mariages est interdit entre les membres d'un même clan matrilinéaire et que cette règle ne s'applique pas aux relations du côté paternel (1954:79). Mais les travaux de Métais (1956:297, 385, 393, 400) suggèrent que les Iroquois possèderaient une double descendance : matrilinéaire et patrilinéaire. Richards (1957:40) explique qu'un informateur iroquois lui aurait dit que les Mohawks par exemple, reconnaissent une descendance par le père. Hewitt (1907:450) affirme qu'à la naissance, un enfant a certaines obligations envers le clan de son père et confirme que «strictly speaking, both clans form incest groups in relation to him (the child)». Goldenweiser (1914a) souligne que ce tabou lié à l'inceste ne comporte aucune implication totémique[2]. Il semble bien que le tabou de l'inceste soit bilatéral et qu'il en a toujours été ainsi selon Charlton (1968:39). Il existe cependant un autre type de tabou (Goldenweiser 1914b:139-140); il s'agit du tabou lié à la belle-mère (the Mother-in-law Taboo).

D'autre part, le rôle des femmes est également important sur le plan politique. Lorsqu'un chef meurt, la plus vieille femme de son clan auprès d'elle d'autres femmes de même clan (les mères de clan) et elles décident ensemble du choix de l'homme qui remplacera le défunt. Le résultat des délibérations est ensuite apporté au conseil du village puis au conseil de la nation (Fenton 1951:51). Les femmes sont également responsables de la Fête des morts et des cérémonies entourant les funérailles. Etant donné la continuelle absence des hommes dans la société traditionnelle iroquoise des XVI^{e} et XVII^{e} siècles en raison des nombreuses guerres et de la chasse, les femmes contrôlent à la fois biens et politique. Hormis le cas des armes de guerre, elles possèdent tout, de la maison-longue aux outils servant à l'agriculture en passant par les enfants et les prisonniers de guerre. C'est dans ce sens que vont les remarques de Diane Rothenberg au sujet des Sénéca :

> The absence of male dominance in the family is contrastive with other societies in which unigeniture is favored. The manipulation of the lives of the children through promises of inheritance controlled by the father [...] seems inconceivable among the Senecas for reasons which include not only the lack of the importance of inheritance of land, but also for the lack of control parents, and particularly fathers, expect to exert on their children's life choice. (1986:31)

Aujourd'hui, les traditionnalistes cèdent encore aux femmes la maison longue, les biens domestiques et les enfants. Dispensatrices de sagesse, de bien-être et d'affection, les femmes iroquoises sont omniprésentes dans la vie de la communauté (Tooker 1984:109-123; Clermont 1983:286-290; Jensen 1977:423-441; Brown 1970:154-167) et se présentent de ce fait comme un des pivots de l'organisation sociale iroquoise[3].

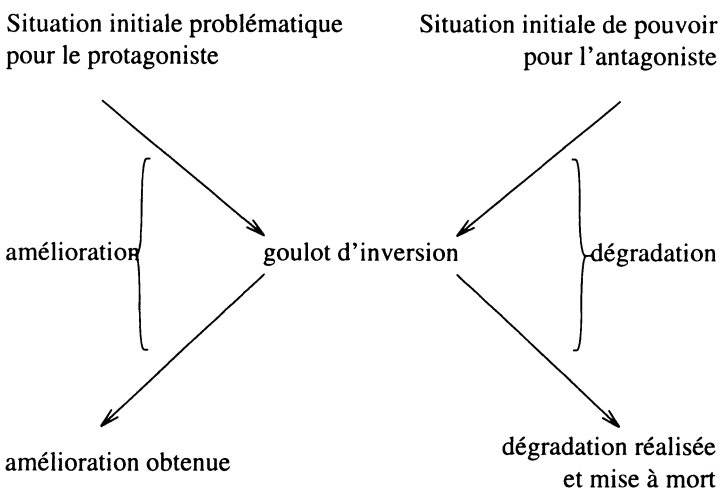
Le mythe que nous présentons comporte deux versions assez semblables : le mythe n° 105 dans la collection Curtin et Hewitt (1918:485-488) et le mythe n° 82 dans la collection Curtin (1923:482-486). L'histoire nous propose le scénario suivant : douze frères vivent ensemble et semblent mener une vie paisible de chasseurs jusqu'au jour où l'ainé, habile à la chasse comme avec les femmes, se voit pris au piège par la réversibilité entre un pic et une femme. Ce qui a pour effet d'anéantir non seulement ses talents de chasseur mais aussi de séducteur. Pourquoi cette femme est-elle à la fois femme (femme pouvant être séduite et épouse potentielle) et pic (gibier pouvant être chassé et nourriture potentielle)? Pourquoi n'est-elle pas femme ou pic au lieu de femme et pic? Autrement dit, sachant ce que nous savons sur le rôle des femmes dans la société iroquoise traditionnelle et sachant qu'accéder à un régime matrimonial organisé est également accéder à un régime alimentaire élaboré selon l'équation mythique iroquoise, quel type de décalage par rapport à la réalité ce mythe nous offre-t-il et d'autre part, comment s'y prend-il pour dire ce qu'il a à dire? Comment cette hypothèse s'articule-t-elle à l'intérieur du discours mythique iroquois? Quelles catégories essentielles de la pensée iroquoise nous fournit-il? À quel modèle de relation sociale interne à la communauté le mythe que nous proposons se réfère-t-il? À quelle expression de l'imaginaire des Iroquois des XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ siècles avons-nous affaire? C'est à ces questions que nous allons tenter de répondre à travers ce pèlerinage dans l'imaginaire.

Le cadre sémantique : le sablier iroquois

On ne peut pas pénétrer l'univers mythique et l'imaginaire iroquois sans tenir compte de la morphologie des mythes eux-mêmes. Aussi, nous proposons ces quelques éclaircissements. Cette morphologie s'inscrit également dans la logique même de l'imaginaire qui obéit à des lois précises sur le plan sémantique comme nous l'avons mentionné plus tôt. L'ordre suivi par le discours mythique touche donc en premier lieu le cadre sémantique lui-même. Même très court, un récit comporte plusieurs séquences disposées d'une manière particulière. Ainsi, en fonction des juxtapositions des fonctions remplies ou à remplir par les acteurs, on y décèle peu à peu une structure sous-jacente donnant au récit son sens spécifique. De plus, il s'est avéré que chaque type de récit correspond à une juxtaposition particulière de ses séquences. Ces arrangements des séquences dans le récit ne sont pas en nombre illimité. Des analyses ultérieures nous ont permis de mettre à jour le fait que l'ensemble du corpus mythique iroquois possède une structure dont l'armature est celle du sablier. Cette notion de sablier n'est pas vraiment nouvelle, d'autres auteurs ont élaboré des formules qui nous semblent plus ou moins analogues : Lévi-Strauss en parlant de «symétrie inversée» (1974:248) et Bremond en parlant de «combination par accolement» (1966:64; 1973:132). Le terme même de

sablier a été porté à notre attention pour la première fois par D. Paulme (1976:41-43) alors qu'elle définissait les différents types de structures et d'arrangement des séquences narratives dans les contes africains.

La forme du sablier, telle qu'utilisée par les Iroquois, comporte cependant quelque chose de plus; elle nous indique que la partie se joue au goulot d'étranglement où se produisent les inversions dans le récit mythique. Nous parlons alors de «goulot d'inversion». Essentiellement, dans la première partie du sablier, deux acteurs s'affrontent et s'opposent. Nous les nommerons le protagoniste et l'antagoniste ou encore héros et anti-héros. Alors que dans la seconde partie, les situations, les fonctions et les rôles où se trouvaient les acteurs s'inversent. Le point d'inversion s'est fait au niveau du goulot d'étranglement du sablier. Définissons donc les propriétés des événements qui font que protagonistes et antagonistes ont des intérêts opposés au départ puis les propriétés des événements responsables de l'inversion. Ce passage d'une situation à une autre est rendu possible par une série de transformations qui se présentent sous la forme de séquences et qui constituent les modèles fondamentaux sur lesquels portera la progression de l'analyse. Nous utiliserons ici les deux types de séquences utilisés par C. Bremond[4] car elles s'adaptent bien à la métaphore du sablier et à la structure de pensée iroquoise : il s'agit de l'amélioration à obtenir et de la dégradation à venir. Le protagoniste, toujours démuni au départ, ne peut que voir une amélioration de sa situation alors que l'antagoniste, qui est l'être cannibale par excellence et dont la voracité insatiable inspire toutes les actions, ne peut que périr et son sort s'aggraver. Mais il ne périra pas avant d'avoir échangé sa situation avec le protagoniste. Dès la situation initiale, le protagoniste est en position critique et peut donc espérer une amélioration ou au pire, le statu quo. Par opposition, l'antagoniste qui se trouve dans une situation de pouvoir peut craindre, avec raison, une dégradation possible. À ce niveau, les mythes cannibales iroquois ne nous réservent aucune surprise. Ce sont les choix que font les acteurs qui enclenchent la situation en sablier et comme ils ne peuvent se trouver en même temps en situation d'amélioration ou de dégradation, la chute et les échecs de l'un alimentent l'ascension et les victoires de l'autre et vice-versa. L'antagoniste étant toujours foncièrement cannibale, il traque le protagoniste comme on traque un gibier. L'ingéniosité du protagoniste consiste alors à opérer des échanges et des transformations successives en bénéficiant de l'aide d'un certain nombre d'alliés (une tante, un vieux crâne moisi, un oncle cannibal repenti, une soeur, un animal protecteur, l'orenda).



Outre sa morphologie particulière, le mythe cannibale iroquois s'appuie sur des principes fondamentaux riches d'enseignements sur la société iroquoise traditionnelle. Ces principes sont constants puisque nous les avons trouvés vérifiés dans l'ensemble du corpus mythique cannibale iroquois que nous avons pu regrouper, soit 299 mythes dans les collections Curtin et Hewitt, Curtin et Parker. Aucun mythe ne présente la totalité de ces principes mais aucun n'est exempté de tous. Ces principes de base ont servi de support à nos hypothèses permettant d'entrevoir les rapports idéologiques dominants dans la société iroquoise et au sein de son système de parenté. Le mythe que nous présentons ici mène à l'identification de trois de ces principes de base essentiels à la compréhension du système de pensée iroquois :

- Trois acteurs sont les pivots des scénarios mythiques iroquois (les femmes, les oncles maternels et les étrangers) et sur eux reposent deux importantes institutions iroquoises : la guerre et l'alliance à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur, auxquels s'ajoute la chasse, quoique cette dernière soit souvent confondue avec les deux précédentes. Dans le mythe présenté, il s'agit de l'alliance et de la chasse.
- Ces deux institutions sont intimement liées dans les mythes tout en étant en antagonisme. Cet antagonisme s'exprime par des situations de tension de deux types : les tensions internes (alliances internes, c'est-à-dire rapports liés au lignage, à la relation homme / femme) et les tensions externes (la guerre et toute relation avec un étranger à la communauté). Dans le cas présent, il s'agit de tensions liées à la relation homme / femme, où la femme est traitée en véritable ennemie étrangère.
- Les mythes mentionnent avec plus d'insistance les tensions internes liées aux rapports homme / femme et au lignage que les tensions externes liées aux étrangers et traitent les premières sur le mode des secondes, c'est-à-

dire que les rapports d'alliance sont exprimés en termes de guerre ou de chasse.

Abordons maintenant l'étude proprement dite du mythe présenté.

Une partie de chasse transformée en drame familial

Douze frères très bons chasseurs vivent ensemble. L'aîné, excellent chasseur et très habile avec les femmes, suit un jour un pic et s'apprête à lui tirer une flèche lorsque ce dernier se transforme en femme qui le séduit et l'attire vers elle. Elle l'amène à un rocher où une autre femme le transforme en os. À cet endroit gisent déjà des tas d'autres os. Les onze frères, inquiets, se mettent alors en deuil. Le 2ème frère disparaît de la même manière et des rumeurs courent disant qu'il aurait rencontré dans les bois deux femmes qui l'auraient endormi. Les deux femmes décident alors de mettre leurs victimes dans la terre jusqu'à ce que leurs frères les trouvent et les secourent.

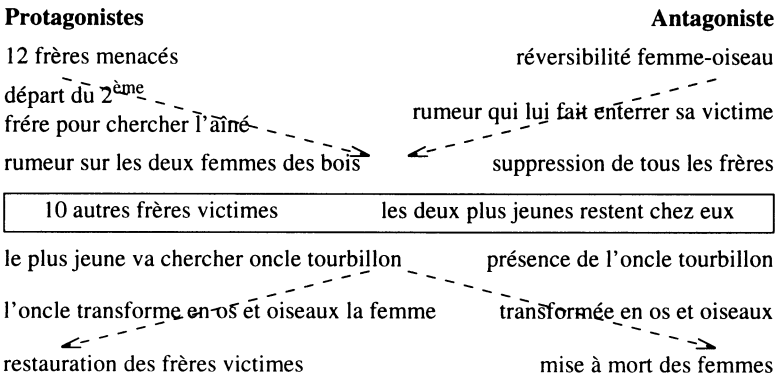
Les dix frères restant sont de plus en plus inquiets. Huit autres disparaissent. Le 11ème veut alors garder le plus jeune à la maison car il l'aime et il veut quelqu'un pour prendre soin de lui lorsqu'il sera plus vieux. Mais le plus jeune veut partir lui aussi. Les préparatifs pour son départ vont bon train. Il emporte des écorces de hickory et des flèches magiques qui se transforment en arbres. Le 11ème frère est très inquiet car c'est le plus jeune de la famille qui est en train de braver le danger pour retrouver les frères disparus. Sur sa route, il entend un grognement sous la terre et découvre un homme au visage moisi qu'il ramène à la loge et soigne avec de la graisse d'ours. Poursuivant son chemin, il rencontre une taupe dont il emprunte les services pour aller sous la terre jusqu'à la tête d'un oncle cannibale. L'ayant rejoint, il lui parle le 1er et lui lance une flèche qui se transforme aussitôt en arbre. L'oncle qui n'est qu'une tête s'affole et se met à poursuivre le garçon en écrasant tout sur son passage. Il est devenu comme un véritable tourbillon. Le garçon continue d'envoyer les flèches qui balisent le parcours de la tête. Ce n'est que la dernière flèche qui parvient à l'amener jusqu'à la loge. Le 11ème frère qui attend près de la loge entend un grand vent s'approcher, ce qui lui indique l'arrivée de l'oncle. Il répand alors de la poudre de pierre partout autour de la loge et fait un grand feu. La tête s'y roule et promet ensuite aux deux frères de les aider. La tête restaure l'homme au visage moisi qui est un des dix frères disparus en lui soufflant sur le visage. La tête amène le plus jeune frère avec elle pour tuer les deux femmes qui se tiennent sur le rocher. Ces dernières tentent de faire rire la tête pour la maîtriser et de lui cracher dessus. En vain. Le pouvoir magique de l'oncle transforme les femmes en os. Sur l'ordre de l'oncle, le garçon lance les os en l'air. Ceux-ci deviennent des oiseaux (chouettes, faucons, corbeaux puis pics) et disparaissent. La tête ordonne alors de regrouper les squelettes et leur fait peur en leur disant qu'un grand vent va leur tomber dessus s'ils ne se relèvent pas. Un des squelettes est tué car il semblait trop pressé de manger. Les neuf frères sont retrouvés parmi eux et les douze frères sont enfin réunis[5].

Le mythe oppose un jeune héros prodige et deux femmes destructrices. Le point de jonction entre les deux acteurs (goulot d'inversion) voit une inversion de leur situation réciproque dans le sens d'une dégradation pour les deux

femmes et une amélioration pour le jeune homme. L'ensemble évolue bien sûr selon la forme du sablier.

Tableau récapitulatif des séquences événementielles du mythe 105HC-82C

Protagonistes	Antagoniste
Situation initiale : 12 frères menacés par une femme-oiseau	*Situation initiale* : femme-oiseau qui utilise sa réversibilité pour piéger les hommes
Amélioration à obtenir : départ du 2ème frère en quête du frére aîné disparu	*Amélioration à obtenir* : suppression de tous les frères
Dégradation possible : rumeur disant que les deux frères auraient été victimes de deux femmes dans les bois qui les auraient endormis	*Dégradation possible* : la rumeur qui court à leur sujet les fait mettre leur 1ère victime en terre pour que les autres frères viennent le chercher
Dégradation réalisée : 10 autres frères disparaissent en raison de la réversibilité femme-oiseau	*Amélioration temporaire* : les deux plus jeunes frères restent chez eux
Processus d'amélioration : le plus jeune va chercher l'oncle tourbillon	*Processus de dégradation* : venue de l'oncle tourbillon
Amélioration obtenue : l'oncle transforme les femmes en os et les os en oiseaux	*Dégradation réalisée* : transformée en os puis en oiseaux par l'oncle tourbillon
Situation finale : tous les frères sont restaurés	*Situation finale* : mise à mort des femmes



Parcourons en détail les différentes étapes du sablier. La situation initiale des 12 frères vivant ensemble est plutôt propice à la confusion du point de vue sémantique. Le frère aîné, habile à la chasse comme avec les femmes, se voit pris au piège par la simple réversibilité d'un pic[6], qu'il s'apprêtait à tuer, en femme qui le séduit et l'attire à elle. Du coup, ses talents de chasseur et de séducteur se voient anéantis. En fait, il ne sait plus s'il doit être le chasseur guettant sa proie ou le séducteur cherchant une femme. La réversibilité femme/pic a bien vite fait de mettre à jour, de façon assez inattendue et habile, l'espace sémantique dans lequel se trouvait le héros. Cette réversibilité lui fait confondre à son insu, deux types de relations, soit la chasse et l'alliance. De plus, de chasseur chassant, il devient chasseur chassé et de séducteur séduisant, il n'est plus que séducteur séduit pour ne pas dire chasseur séduit et séducteur chassé. Ce que nous pouvons résumer dans la formule suivante : *habileté de chasseur avec le gibier et de séducteur avec les femmes + réversibilité gibier/femme = chasseur chassé/séducteur séduit + chasseur séduit/séducteur chassé, c'est-à-dire confusion chasse/alliance.*

On se trouve ici, une fois de plus, cette confusion entre chasse (ou guerre) et alliance chère aux Iroquois[7]. Le chasseur séducteur, tout comme le feront ses huit autres frères, se laisse séduire par la femme. Or cette dernière n'avait pas en tête une relation d'alliance, contrairement à ce qu'elle laisse croire, mais une relation de chasse où ce n'est pas elle qui serait le gibier mais bien le chasseur. On se trouve dans une double méprise. Croyant aller à la chasse, les chasseurs tombent dans une relation de séduction préliminaire à une alliance potentielle qui n'est en fait qu'une relation de chasse déguisée et la femme-pic ne sert en fait que de rabatteuse pour une autre femme qui transforme en os les hommes capturés. Cette autre femme est une alliée et son aide est proposée à la femme-oiseau en contrepartie d'un autre service qui est de recevoir de la chair humaine. Dix frères tomberont dans ce piège. Leur persévérance dans l'erreur (confusion femme-oiseau et confusion alliance-chasse) leur portera préjudice (dégradation réalisée pour les frères et amélioration temporaire pour la femme-oiseau qui se voit régulièrement approvisionnée en gibier humain). Tout vise à nous faire croire que la mise à mort du chef de la horde (le frère aîné) serait révélatrice d'une anomalie sociale au sein du groupe des douze frères. Pourquoi n'y avait-il pas de femme parmi eux et pourquoi confondent-ils tous chasse et alliance? L'issue de secours est trouvée par le plus jeune des frères qui reste à la maison, donc qui ne chasse, ni ne séduit. Il est ainsi à l'abri de la confusion et de la méprise – entre chasse et alliance et pic et femme – qui ont perdu ses frères. L'avant-dernier frère est aussi resté à la maison, mais son rôle est de second plan puisque ce n'est pas lui qui affrontera la femme-pic. Il fallait bien qu'il reste des vivants pour que la situation se débloque. Il faut également des intervenants pour que l'intrigue se dénoue. Cela est chose faite avec l'interven-

tion d'un oncle aux pulsions dévastatrices que le jeune homme parviendra à «domestiquer». Cet oncle n'est qu'une horrible tête sans corps où semblent coincider l'homme et la bête. Cette «domestication» de l'oncle s'effectue en plusieurs étapes : le jeune héros construit des flèches magiques qui serviront à la capture de l'oncle-tête. Ses flèches se transforment en arbres et balisent ainsi le parcours de l'oncle-tête, affolé par les projets du jeune neveu et qui se déplace comme un véritable tourbillon. Bien que le mythe ne le mentionne aucunement, cette tête est sans doute cannibale comme toutes les têtes qui roulent parmi les mythes iroquois. Un indice cependant peut le laisser supposer. Lorsque l'autre frère, resté à la loge, aperçoit l'approche d'un tourbillon, il sait que cela annonce la venue de l'oncle. Il répand alors de la poudre de pierre autour de la loge et fait un grand feu. Une fois roulée dans la poudre, la tête leur annonce qu'elle va les aider à retrouver leurs frères et elle restaure, en soufflant dessus, le visage moisi d'un des frères ramenés à la maison. Cela n'est pas sans rappeler l'oncle cannibale d'un autre mythe auquel on donne des pierres à manger au lieu de chair humaine pour le guérir du cannibalisme (mythe n° 20 dans Curtin 1923:124-127 et n° 106 dans Curtin et Hewitt 1918:488-490).

La poudre de pierre et le feu ont un effet «adoucissant» et «domesticateur» sur la tête. La poudre annule son effet dévastateur en diminuant la force de son souffle. Ce qui nous donne la transformation suivante : *vent destructeur (tourbillon) + poudre = souffle salvateur. Puis tête dévastatrice + feu = oncle collaborateur.* Nous avons ici deux idées essentielles en jeu : d'une part, la proximité du feu domestique a donc un effet sur la tête en rappelant que les aliments cuisinés ont bien meilleur goût et que les aliments crus ne sont pas comestibles, et d'autre part, la crudité de l'oncle le rendait inconsommable (infréquentable) pour les neveux, car les germes de sa chair crue risquaient bien de contaminer les deux jeunes garçons. Roulé dans la poudre de pierre, sa voracité et son ardeur s'en trouvent délayées et dissoutes. L'effet est immédiat : au lieu de se montrer hostile aux deux jeunes frères, il propose son aide et affirme qu'il faut supprimer les deux femmes coupables. C'est à partir de ce moment que la situation des différents acteurs change et que le processus de dégradation connu jusque là par les jeunes chasseurs cesse pour faire place à une amélioration. La capitulation de l'oncle-tête marque le passage par le goulot d'inversion du sablier. L'oncle n'est pas le seul intervenant à subir une transformation afin d'être utilisable. Bien avant de transformer l'oncle, il fallait l'approcher. Ce que fait le jeune homme sous le déguisement d'une taupe dont il a emprunté le corps. Le plus jeune neveu et l'oncle-tête partent à la «chasse» aux femmes. Les deux femmes devenues à leur tour vraiment gibier, tentent de sauver la situation en faisant rire la tête et en lui crachant dessus pour l'affaiblir[8], le crachat étant doté de pouvoir magique chez les Iroquois. Mais en vain. Elles sont aussitôt transformées en os par

l'oncle-tête; ceux-ci deviennent ensuite des oiseaux. Cette fois, l'interchangeabilité entre femme et oiseau n'est plus possible et devient une transformation irréversible. En fait, le pouvoir de réversibilité femme-oiseau est volé aux femmes et récupéré par le jeune homme. Autrefois instrument d'avilissement et de victimisation des chasseurs-séducteurs aux mains des femmes, cette réversibilité devient aux mains du frère des victimes, un instrument de châtiment. La transformation méfait/châtiment tient dans la différence de celui ou de celle qui peut s'en faire le maître en s'en emparant. Les femmes sont vraiment devenues des oiseaux que les chasseur pourront vraiment chasser. Selon l'évolution du récit en sablier, l'oncle a ici le rôle du rétributeur-punissant qui inflige à l'agresseur que sont les femmes l'équivalent du préjudice qu'elles ont causé. Ce qui nous donne les transformations suivantes: un faux pic qui est une vraie femme qui séduit les séducteurs et chasse les chasseurs perd son pouvoir de réversibilité pour ne devenir qu'un véritable oiseau que le chasseur peut vraiment chasser.

D'autre part, tout vise à nous faire croire que seul un non-chasseur et un non-séducteur (le plus jeune frère qui reste habituellement à la maison) peut être le sauveur de ses frères chasseurs-séducteurs. Sur lui seul en effet, la réversibilité de la femme-oiseau n'a pas de prise ni d'objet. Après la mort des femmes et leur transformation en oiseaux, les squelettes des frères sont ressuscités. Un d'entre eux est mis à mort car il était trop pressé de manger affirme le mythe. Détour iroquois, non dénué d'humour, pour expliquer qu'il était devenu cannibale. Ce détail sert à confirmer que les femmes étaient bien cannibales et que le squelette du jeune homme aurait été «contaminé» par elles. Ce détail est moins innocent qu'il ne le paraît: la contagion-contamination cannibale entre victime et prédateur est un thème qui connaît un grand nombre d'occurrences dans les récits cannibales iroquois[9].

Comme nous l'avons souligné plusieurs fois, les relations d'alliance sont une fois de plus exprimées sur le modèle des relations de chasse et de guerre. Ce mythe comporte toutefois quelque chose de plus: la confusion relation d'alliance/relation de chasse et de guerre y est explicitement développée par la métaphore de la femme-oiseau. Toute alliance court toujours le risque de son contraire (la chasse et la guerre) et tout régime matrimonial non organisé (présidé par les femmes?) entraînerait un régime alimentaire non équilibré (cannibalisme) selon le mythe. Cela, nous le savions. Mais pourquoi cette réversibilité est-elle si fragile? Il est difficile de proposer des conclusions maintenant mais comme cela sera prouvé par ailleurs, les mythes iroquois sont continuellement aux prises avec l'antagonisme entre chasse et alliance. Les maux inhérents aux alliances sont-ils causés par le fait qu'elles sont présidées par les femmes? Comment cela est-il possible?

Souvent femme varie

La réversibilité femme / oiseau dans ce mythe démontre particulièrement bien l'existence d'un antagonisme alliance / chasse chez les indiens Sénécas, et la façon dont il est résolu au niveau mythique. Dans une société patrilinéaire, les hommes sont fixes alors que ce sont les femmes qui sont mobiles et font l'objet de transaction entre donneurs (pères, frères) et preneurs de femmes (époux). Traditionnellement, chez les Iroquois, la matrilinéarité et la matrilocalité produisent l'inverse. Les hommes y sont mobiles et les femmes fixes[10]. En fait, il ne s'agit pas vraiment de l'inverse car les femmes ne sont que «prêteuses» et non donneuses. Elles prêtent leurs filles et leurs fils qui continuent d'appartenir au clan de leur mère. Toute mère iroquoise sait que ses enfants n'appartiendront jamais complètement à la famille de leur père ni à leur père. Du fait de cette appartenance au lignage et de l'existence de matrilocalité, les femmes ne sont pas seulement prêteuses d'enfants, elles sont aussi preneuses d'hommes. Lorsqu'elles ne sont pas prêteuses, elles sont voleuses dit le mythe avec le rapt des chasseurs dans les bois. En d'autres termes, l'asymétrie entre les sexes du fait de la matrilocalité et de la matrilinéarité fait souvent passer les femmes pour ennemies chez lesquelles les hommes vont s'aventurer comme à la chasse. C'est ce que tente de montrer ici le mythe. Chercher une épouse, c'est comme chercher un gibier qui peut être bien plus dangereux qu'un chasseur armé : c'est vivre l'aventure d'un univers étranger, c'est la nature dans tout ce qu'elle comporte de bon et de nocif, de nourrissant et de destructeur, de dangereux et de rassurant (les bois, la forêt).

On sort donc de la formule lévistraussienne décrivant le preneur de femme dans le mariage exogame comme cannibale et le donneur de femme comme ennemi et étranger aux yeux du preneur (1984:146). Dans le cas iroquois, il n'y a ni preneur, ni donneur, mais des prêteuses qui peuvent être voleuses. La récupération constante par les femmes leur donne cet aspect cannibale que les mythes soulignent sans cesse par les métaphores de chasse et de guerre. Coupables d'avoir traîté des hommes en gibier, les femmes y sont traîtées en ennemies et châtiées. C'est pourquoi la métaphore femme / oiseau est fragile et réversible et que toute relation d'alliance court toujours le risque de son contraire. La femme du mythe présenté ici se transforme constamment par ses formes et ses symboles : tantôt chair épousable parce que femme, tantôt chair chassable (et mangeable) parce qu'oiseau, elle devient finalement chair chassée pour ne pas avoir été chair vraiment épousable. La réversibilité de cette chair en épousable / non épousable et chassable / non chassable est maîtrisée par le passage par l'état d'os. Ainsi, faut-il faire comprendre aux jeunes garçons (chasseurs et séducteurs) que souvent femme varie et que si l'on veut rendre inopérante cette capacité à la réversibilité, l'on ne doit pas badiner avec le gibier ni avec les femmes.

Conclusion

On pourrait presque voir dans ce récit mythique une piéce en trois actes ou plutôt en trois plans. Acte I : Comment le séducteur fut séduit; Acte II : Comment le chasseur fut chassé; Acte III : Comment la chasseuse-séductrice fut chassée à défaut de ne pouvoir être séduite. L'ensemble est bâti du début à la fin sur une réversibilité entre la chasse et l'alliance et sur les dangers présentés par la confusion suscitée par cette réversibilité. Cette confusion introduite par une femme dans l'esprit du chasseur-séducteur est celle-ci : il ne faut pas chasser en croyant séduire, ni séduire en croyant chasser. De plus, toute séduction peut mener à la chasse et vice-versa. Si le véritable instigateur de cette confusion est la femme par sa capacité de se changer en oiseau, la vraie victoire, au niveau du mythe, revient finalement à l'homme iroquois qui prend en main son destin quant à son rôle à la chasse et dans l'alliance. À la femme lui soufflant : «je suis femme et tu me crois oiseau», il répond : «tu es femme mais je te transforme en oiseau», et il met fin de cette manière à toute confusion possible. Ne pouvant s'allier, il chasse, ou plutôt, il déclare la guerre.

Une femme peut donc prendre l'apparence d'un gibier (une proie) au sein de l'imaginaire iroquois mais n'être en fait qu'une chasseuse (prédatrice). Il faudrait donc ne rien comprendre à l'humour et à l'ironie iroquoise pour ne pas voir que l'imaginaire est à ce niveau en train de scruter une certaine réalité sociale dans ce qu'elle comporte de douloureux et de problématique pour l'homme sénéca en raison du système de parenté matrilinéaire. Autrement dit, la grande interrogation serait celle-ci : comment faire pour ne pas se sentir chasseur chassé lorsqu'on se prépare pour l'alliance dans une société matrilinéaire et matrilocale?

L'aspect prédateur des femmes dans ce mythe révèle assez distinctement l'impression d'impuissance des hommes au sein d'un système matrilinéaire où les femmes président aux alliances et détiennent le pouvoir de permettre, interdire, recommander ou décommander en matière d'alliance. Entre chair à épouser et chair à chasser, il est toujours question d'oeuvre de chair, et la limite est parfois mince, chaque alliance risquant toujours de basculer dans son inverse, la chasse.

Notes

1. Lors des réunions, le feu est placé au centre et représente le contrôle administratif. Mohawks, Onondagas et Sénécas sont appelés les grands frères ou agadoni ou encore le principe paternel alors que les Oneidas, Cayugas et Tuscaroras sont les frères cadets et représentent le principe maternel.
2. C'est à Shimony (1961:30-31) que nous devons la meilleure définition du tabou de l'inceste chez les Iroquois : «In general marriage and incest rules are at present diverse. [...] The common opinion is that marriage is prohibited with any known relative [...]. In the definition of incest tabu the relevant connections are not limited to the more common iroquoian uterine, or matrilineal relation, but also include agnatic links. Therefore, an Iroquois is for-

bidden to marry into his own ohwachira (his matrilineage) and into his father's kindred (agadônihô'no).»

3. Les réformes de Handsome Lake à la fin du XVIII[e] et au début du XIX[e] siècle n'ont pas manqué de modifier quelque peu les structures traditionnelles de la société iroquoise. Les femmes plus âgées, les mères de clan, ne tardèrent pas à voir dans ces changements une menace certaine à leur position et à leur autorité. Les enseignements du prophète visaient à diminuer le pouvoir de la matrilinéarité et l'exclusivité de la relation mère-fille au profit de la relation époux-épouse. En guise de représailles, certaines mères de clan n'hésitèrent pas à encourager leurs filles à la contraception, l'avortement et l'abandon de leur époux (voir Wallace 1972). Tooker (1984:109-110) montre que l'on a souvent surévalué et mal interprété le statut des femmes dans la société iroquoise. En effet, elle mentionne que la société iroquoise traditionnelle ne fut pas la seule société amérindienne d'Amérique du Nord à pratiquer un système fondé sur la matrilinéarité et sur l'importance du rôle des femmes au sein de l'organisation socio-politique. Elle rattache cette surévaluation à ce qu'elle nomme «deux accidents de l'histoire» : d'une part, la très grande insistance de L. H. Morgan dans Ancient Society (1877), sur la matrilinéarité iroquoise. Ce qui ne passa pas inaperçu, à l'époque, en raison des théories évolutionnistes sur l'humanité qui suggéraient que le matriarcat ait précédé le patriarcat et, en raison, de la diffusion de cet ouvrage parmi les sociétés européennes accoutumées au patriarcat. D'autre part, le grand nombre de documents sur les matrones iroquoises et le modèle de société sur lequel leur statut s'appuyait, inspira vivement F. Engels dans *L'origine de la famille, de la propriété privée et de l'État* (1895).
4. Bremond soutient le fait que tout récit suit trois phases obligatoires : la possibilité d'arriver d'un événement ou anticipation, la réalisation de cette possibilité et la complétion du processus par les résultats appropriés. L'ensemble étant toujours soumis à la double dimension de l'amélioration et de la dégradation.
5. Ce mythe a été traduit en français par nos propres soins. Le titre est également de nous. Le titre original pour les deux collections était : «The Twelve Brothers and Their Uncle, Dagwanoe^{n}yent» (Curtin 1923:482-486; Curtin et Hewitt 1918:485-488).
6. Le pic ne comporte pas de rôle totémique particulier chez les Iroquois. Il est précisé dans ce récit qu'il s'agit d'un pic à tête rouge («red-headed woodpecker») (Curtin 1923:482; Curtin et Hewitt 1918:485). Nous savons d'autre part que, contrairement au huard considéré comme une sorcière et sur lequel pèse un interdit alimentaire, le pic est un gibier souvent chassé et constitue un mets très apprécié (Waugh 1991:135).
7. Cette confusion a déjà fait l'objet de plusieurs remarques à l'occasion de la présentation de deux mythes sénéca : Des cannibales accoucheurs à l'oncle qui voulait manger en copulant : Petite histoire de famille sénéca (Pilette 1990:25-37). De plus, pris avec des difficultés d'alliance tant à l'intérieur (avec les femmes) qu'à l'extérieur (avec les étrangers) – qui sont, dans les deux cas, des chercheurs de gibiers dans les mythes – les Iroquois ont été confrontés à de nombreux antagonismes. Ces points sont amplement développés dans Pilette (1991:164-196). L'étude de plusieurs mythes nous a permis de mettre à jour le fait que les mythes exacerbaient des tensions internes (alliances avec les femmes) et faisaient passer en second plan les tensions externes (guerres avec les étrangers), alors que c'était exactement le contraire au niveau de la pratique sociale historique. Les mythes révélaient également que les alliances avec les femmes étaient souvent traitées sur le mode de la guerre (chasser ou faire la guerre aux femmes), alors que la guerre et la chasse aux étrangers, à l'extérieur de la communauté, étaient traitées sur le mode de l'alliance (alliance expansionniste avec les autres nations et adoption des étrangers).
8. Les vertus du rire dans la pensée mythique iroquoise seraient intéressantes à approfondir puisque nous avons rencontré au sein de l'énorme corpus iroquois plusieurs occurrences où le rire a effectivement la faculté de faire perdre la mémoire et constitue de ce fait une arme redoutable.

9. Une étude approfondie des récurrences de cannibalisme par contagion-contamination entre victime et prédateur a mis à jour un certain nombre de comportements spécifiques à cette situation. Citons, entre autres, le refus de la chasse, la nourriture obtenue sans effort, le mariage intergroupe et intragroupe, le refus de nourrir sa famille et, pour les femmes, de nourrir sa progéniture, le rapt, l'isolement social, l'inceste... (Pilette 1991:49-52).
10. Voir «L'épouse trop mobile et la soeur trop fixe ou de la bonne distance à observer avec les femmes» (Pilette 1993, à paraître).

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THE SHAMAN'S SHARE, OR INUIT SEXUAL COMMUNISM IN THE CANADIAN CENTRAL ARCTIC

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Abstract: Contemporary anthropology has had difficulties in classifying or interpreting Mauss and Beuchat's *Essay on Seasonal Variations in Eskimo Societies*, and has mostly remembered the seasonal dualism of the social morphology. It is tempting to discover in this *Essay* the underlying influence of Mauss's own political commitment and his leanings toward a humanistic socialism. Fascinated as he was by the intensity of the winter social life of the Inuit, in all economic, jural, religious and sexual domains, Mauss does not hesitate to call it sexual and economic communism, as opposed to the summer individualism of conjugal families. In the light of recent ethnographic data, concerning the central Arctic Inuit exchange of spouses, in both the restricted form between couples and the generalized one during the winter solstice festival (which Mauss viewed as the crux of social communion), the author proposes to transcend the somewhat reductionist dualism of the *Essay*, employing a ternary and hierarchical approach, inspired in part by Louis Dumont. The figure of the shaman, a "third gender" and mediator, then appears as the main operator of spouse-exchanges, in a context of sexual markings imposed upon women and communal violence inflicted on young people, particularly young couples. These have to undergo the sharing of their production, of their offspring and of their sexuality, for the benefit of older people, mature men and especially shamans. Individualism and communism are then in a conjunctive relationship not only in the dualistic play of seasons, but mostly in an unequal dynamic of sexes and generations, through the mediation and power of male shamans.

Résumé: En arrière-plan de l'Essai de Mauss et Beuchat sur les variations saisonnières des sociétés eskimos (inuit) que l'anthropologie contemporaine ne sait pas très bien comment classer ou interpréter, et dont le dualisme saisonnier de la morphologie a surtout retenu, ne pourrait-on déceler l'influence de l'engagement politique de Mauss et sa prédilection pour un socialisme à visage humain? Fasciné par l'intensité de la vie sociale des Inuit, que ce soit dans les domaines économique, juridique, re-

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Fig. 1(a). Drawing of Aatuat's tattooed face made from a photograph taken in 1974 when she made a brief visit to Igloolik. The drawing accentuates the facial tattoos, which were sometimes hard to distinguish on her worn and wrinkled skin (she was born about 1894). Radiating from the nose and mouth, the tattoos on the forehead (*Qaujjaq*), on the cheeks (*Uluagutiik*), the chin (*Tadlurutiit*), and at the corners of the mouth (*Iqiruti*), are considered by some to be a homage to the sun (*Siqiniq*). As well as on her face, Aatuat had tattoos on her shoulders (*Tuirutiit*), arms (*Aksaqqurutiit*), hands (*Aggautirutiit*) and thighs (*Qukturarutiit*) down to the knees.

Fig. 1(b). The twisted face, half laughing, half serious, is made while looking towards the sun when it hides behind the clouds, in order to vex it, make it emerge from its retreat, make it angry so that it will cast its rays on humans. Photograph of Iqallijuq taken at Igloolik (1983).

ligieux ou sexuel, Mauss n'hésite pas à parler à leur sujet de communisme économique et sexuel qu'il oppose à l'individualisme estival des familles conjugales. À la lumière de données ethnographiques récentes provenant de l'arctique canadien et concernant notamment l'échange inuit des conjoints, qu'il s'agisse d'échange restreint entre couples ou d'échange généralisé lors des fêtes du solstice d'hiver, que Mauss considérait comme le summum de la communion sociale, on propose de dépasser le dualisme un peu réducteur de l'*Essai*, à l'aide d'une approche ternaire et hiérarchique inspirée en partie de L. Dumont. La figure du chamane «troisième sexe» et médiateur apparait alors comme l'opérateur principal des échanges de conjoints, sur un fond de marquage sexuel imposé aux femmes, et de violence communiste faite aux jeunes, aux jeunes couples en particulier, qui se voient imposer le partage de leur production, de leur progéniture et de leur sexualité, au profit des gens plus âges, des hommes mûrs et surtout des chamanes. Individualisme et communisme se conjuguent alors, non seulement dans le jeu dualiste des saisons mais surtout dans une dynamique inégale des sexes et des générations, à travers la médiation et le pouvoir des hommes chamanes.

I shall take the concept of "communism"[1] as applied to the Inuit from Marcel Mauss and Henri Beuchat's *Essai sur les variations saisonnières des sociétés eskimos* of 1906.[2] Strangely, this most daring and brilliant theoretical interpretation ever attempted on the subject of the Inuit[3] is not mentioned in the recent volume of the *Handbook of North American Indians* which is devoted to the Inuit,[4] even in the bibliography. Mauss and Beuchat see in this "communism" the main distinguishing mark of the Inuit's winter social life, and they place it in opposition to summer's "individualism" in their presentation of Inuit social dualism, which has, since the publication of the *Essai*, become a classic example in anthropology. Where summer's prevailing individualism is concerned, our two authors note, among various customs, the generalized practice of adoption:

> The Eskimos are one of the peoples among whom the practice of adoption is taken the furthest; yet it would be neither possible nor useful if winter's close community persisted all year. . . . If the nuclear family did not periodically take the place of the wider family, there would be no reason for married people without children to bother themselves about their future fate. . . . They would therefore feel no need to adopt either a young relative, or an outsider, in order to ensure they will be taken care of in their old age. (Mauss and Beuchat 1973:468-469)*

According to them, the logic of adoption stems from summer's social organization, which takes the form of small social units consisting of the nuclear family; however, it is not bounded by the summer season, but extends into

winter's social organization, which is expressed in the large units making up the communal houses and extended families.

In a previous publication (Saladin d'Anglure 1988b) I have made a detailed analysis of the structure and functions of Inuit adoption practices, based on the Iglulik example.[5] This analysis enabled me to show that, from the point of view of the donors, usually young couples at the beginning of their reproductive life, adoption should be considered not as a mark of individualism but as a social tribute exacted by the group from fertile young couples for the benefit of the infertile (for reasons of sterility or age) or the bereaved. I shall return to this divergence of interpretation.

The authors of the *Essai* also note the "sexual communism" implicit in "spouse exchange"[6] as one of the characteristic elements of Inuit winter communism. The concept of sexual communism must be seen in the context in which the *Essai* was written, and interpreted not only in relation to the anthropological ideas of the turn of the century, but also in relation to Mauss's political and intellectual commitment to a kind of socialism which was closer to that of Jaurès than to that of Marx (cf. Karady 1968 and Birnbaum 1972). The evolutionist theories of Morgan (1877), which, as we know, inspired Engels and Marx, postulated an original state of "sexual promiscuity," followed by the development of the "conjugal family" and then by a state in which what he calls "group marriage," combining polygyny and polyandry, prevailed. Those social practices which Rivers believed he recognized among the Todas (1906, 1914) led him to put forward the term "sexual communism" as a way to describe them. Mauss seems to have adopted the usage, as, later, did Lowie, who devoted 12 pages of his *Primitive Society* to sexual communism. Spouse exchange occurred among the Inuit in a private, domestic form, and in a public, collective form, particularly on the occasion of the winter solstice festivals held in the big ceremonial igloo called the *Kashim* or *Qaggiq*:[7]

> The *Kashim* [Qaggiq] is exclusively a winter structure. This perfectly demonstrates the distinctive nature of winter life [Mauss and Beuchat 1973:429]. . . . [It] is always and essentially a public place which expresses the unity of the group. This unity is so strong, in fact, that inside the *Kashim* [Qaggiq] the individuality of families and private households disappears; they lose themselves by blending indistinguishably into one another, into the mass of society [ibid.:446]. . . . The winter establishment lives, so to speak, in a state of continual religious exaltation. . . . The least little event requires the more or less solemn intervention of magicians, *angekoks* [angakkuq] [ibid.:444]. The winter solstice festivals [celebrated in the *qaggiq*] are always and everywhere accompanied by very important phenomena of sexual licence. . . . Now sexual communism is a form of communion, and perhaps the most intimate possible form [ibid.:447]. . . . What best establishes . . . that true kinship exists between the members of the same station is the practice of wife exchange. We hear of it in almost every Eskimo society. These exchanges take place in winter between all

> the men and all the women of the station [ibid.:459]. . . . Outside these general exchanges between all the members of a group, which are more properly sexual rites, there are other more or less permanent ones between private individuals for private reasons. Some take place in the winter house, others are contracted before people break up in June with a view to the summer season. . . . Men who have entered into such exchanges become adoptive brothers, the exchanged women are considered to be each other's sisters; and the same applies to any offspring of such unions [ibid.:461].**

Sexual communism, which corresponds so remarkably with the economic communism also practised in winter, is seen by Mauss and Beuchat as the high point of Inuit social life, whether as collective rite or as private exchange between couples. Where, then, does this interpretation stand now, eighty years after it was formulated? Has it been confirmed or refuted by the considerable ethnographic research carried out since then? When we look at the results of such research, we have to admit that in spite of an abundant literature on Inuit social organization, and particularly on kinship, no author has truly succeeded in reviving the debate on the basis of new ethnographic data.[8]

In an attempt to reopen this important question and explore new interpretive paths, I shall draw on some of the classic authors. Lévi-Strauss (1958, 1962) has dealt with the formal question of dualism and its limits, Dumont (1983) with dualism in relation to the opposition of individualism and communalism and Bastide (1973) with dualism in the context of the relationship between sexuality and religion. Hutchinson (1977) and Balandier (1988) have discussed the way it is expressed in the logic of inversion apparent in the rituals dealing with order and disorder in traditional societies. I shall also turn to the work of younger researchers such as Tcherkézoff (1983). The latter attempts to go beyond the logic of binary distinctions leading to the concept of inversion, by substituting for it a logic of hierarchical distinctions, borrowed from Dumont; this enables him to make use of totalizing third terms as part of the system. My earlier work on the three-part system of social genders, of shamanism and Inuit adoption (Saladin d'Anglure 1985, 1986, 1988a, 1988b) arises from similar preoccupations.

In order to enter into the subject of Inuit sexual communism, which is all the more difficult to tackle in that it is marked, in the West, not only by a long tradition of abusive colonial practice but also by sexual repression induced by Victorian Judeo-Christian morality (as Guemple [1986] so aptly points out), I shall give some recent ethnographic data on a type of collective festival, known to the Iglulik Inuit by the name of *Tivajuut*, involving grotesque masquerades, transvestism and ritual spouse exchange. I shall point out the predominant role played by the shamans (clearly perceived by Boas 1888, 1901 and 1907, Kleivan 1960 and Kjellstrom 1973). I shall compare that role with the shamanic cure for infertility in couples and shamanic prerogatives in matters of sexual services or collective spouse exchanges when serious disorder

threatens the group's survival. Finally, I shall bring out the considerable part played by the shaman in private spouse exchanges. I have gathered accounts of all these aspects of traditional social and religious life from former shamans or direct descendants of shamans in the Iglulik area, descendants, in fact, of the very ones who, at the start of the century, supplied Captain Comer with data for Boas—thus the data used by Mauss and Beuchat—or, in the 1920s, Rasmussen and his team.

The Shaman and Ritual Spouse Exchange[9]

I shall attempt to throw light on the shaman's part in ritual spouse exchange, one of the elements of the *Tivajuut* festival, by situating this festival in its ideological, social and economic context; in order to do this, I shall begin by discussing the sexual marking which forms the background to, and one of the premises of the exchange.

Sexual Marking as a Premise of the Exchange

In 1971, when carrying out research at Iglulik, I collected my first data on the *Tivajuut* festival (involving spouse exchange) from the lips of an old informant, Ujaraq, son of the shamans Aava and Urulu. In 1922-23 he had known Rasmussen well, and Rasmussen had, in his list of names, given his age at that time as about 16. Although for this old *inuk* the Tivajuut festivals were no more than childhood memories, and he had never taken part in ritual exchanges as such, he clearly remembered accompanying his mother to a *Qaggiq* at Pingiqqalik (in the Iglulik region) (cf. map, Fig. 2), to attend a festival with masked and disguised dancers (Tivajuut). Ujaraq himself had been disguised, dressed and coiffed like a girl, when he was young, but this was because of his "anthroponymic" identity, in other words, because of the names of female ancestors he had received at birth. As he belonged to a great shaman family (both his parents, two of his uncles and two of his sisters were shamans), he would no doubt have become one himself had his parents not become Christian converts in the same year as Rasmussen's visit. When closely questioned by me, he advised me to talk to his older sister Aatuat, who lived in a neighbouring village in northern Baffin Island. I therefore invited her, in 1974, to come to Igloolik, her birthplace, which she very much wanted to see again.

The Inscription of Ritual Exchange in Myth and Territorial Landmarks

Aatuat was a former shaman, and also one of the last women in the area with tattoos in the old style over her whole body. When I questioned her, she gave me an account of a Tivajuut festival on the island of Igloolik in which, as an adolescent, she had taken part.[10] Her account begins as follows:

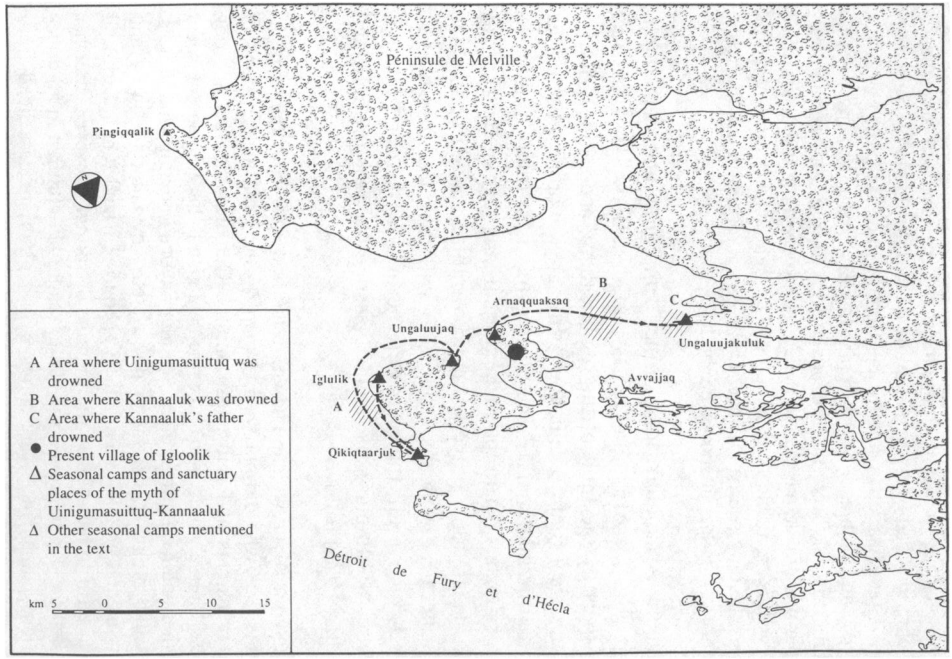


Fig. 2. The island of Igloolik with the Melville Peninsula opposite. It shows the sanctuary places mentioned in the myth of origin of the human races and the marine mammals, including Arnaqquaksaq, site of the *Tivajuut* festival. Another site, Avvajjaq, is the winter camp abandoned after the death of the great Iktuksarjuat.

takanani Arnaqquaksaani qaggijualuuvalaurmata; qaggilijuraaluu&utik tavvani taakua angutiik marruuk akirariik idluriik kunikpa&&utik angallu Ivalu Qaumaullu angutiqativinikuluga taakkuangu&utik sivulliqpaangulaurmatik . . . tavvali taikkungaqtualuugatta qaggialummut ungir&araalummik nivingajuqaq&uni. Tavva ikumaaluk qudliq qudlikuluk ikummaksaulluni ikumadluanga tavva imanna angijualummik kataqaq&uni . . . tavalli aputiruluit sanajau&utik tavvauna kataup qanigijagut. . . .

There, at Arnaqquaksaq, it was our custom to hold celebrations in a *qaggiq*. When the celebrations had really begun in the *qaggiq*, two men, two adversaries, two *idlurriik* [adversaries in singing and fighting duels, or cross cousins of the same sex] would embrace. My maternal uncle,[11] Ivalu, and my paternal parallel cousin Qaumauk, were the first adversaries to confront one another.[12] A large number of us made our way to the *qaggiq* where a big laced skin filled with "high" walrus meat had been hung up. The light came from a small oil lamp—this was the only source of light. There was a very large entrance, and near the entrance two pillars of snow were built.

This took place at Arnaqquaksaq, a former camp, now unoccupied, on the island (see map, Fig. 2). Arnaqquaksaq is part of a network of sanctuaries held in great respect by the Inuit of the region; there, according to tradition, lived the great mythical figure Kannaaluk ("the great woman from below"), the mistress of marine mammals.[13] The place name itself refers to this mythical being, as it designates her in the metaphorical language of the shaman, in rituals, charms, incantations, prayers, magic formulae, sacred chants and in certain myths. Literally, it means "she who will play the role of an old woman."[14] She is, above all, the main heroine of a myth found throughout the central Arctic, a summary of which, based on a version collected at Igloolik (cf. Kupaq 1973) follows:

The story is about a young woman known, in the first episode of the myth, as Uinigumasuittuq (she who did not wish to marry). She lived on the island of Iglulik with her parents and refused all suitors. One day the family's dog transformed itself into a young man and came on a visit to her home; they spent the night together and he returned often, without anyone knowing who he was. When she became pregnant, her father discovered the visitor's identity and banished the unnatural couple to a small neighbouring island [Qikiqtaarjuk[15]] where she gave birth to half-human, half-canine offspring. However, after her father had caused the dog to drown, she had to scatter her children in all directions. The various human races and some of the spirits are descended from them. . . . In a second episode [which took place in the summer camp of Ungaluujaq[16]], at her mother's instigation she married a petrel in human form who took her to another part of the island of Iglulik [to Arnaqquaksaq]. Unhappy with the bird-man, she ran away with the help of her father. The petrel, in a rage, caused a great storm to blow up, and the father, to escape it, threw his daughter into the sea, put out one of her eyes, and cut through the joints of her fingers when she tried to grasp the side of the skin boat. She sank to the bottom of the sea and her finger joints became the sea mammals. In de-

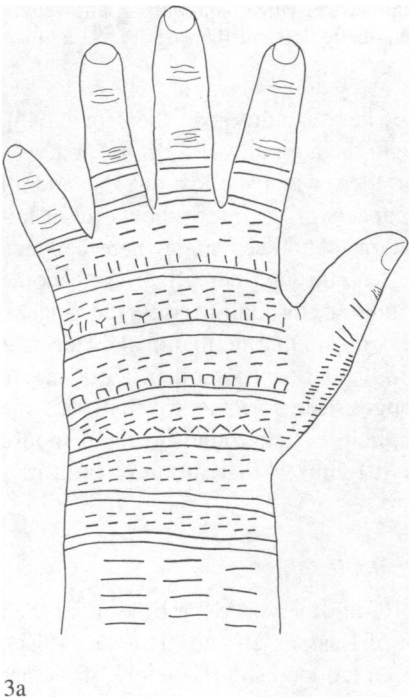
> spair, her father [who had reached the mainland at Ungaluujakuluk[17]] allowed the tide to cover him and went to join his daughter and the dog [cf. Saladin d'Anglure 1988a:31-32].

For having wanted to retain control of her sexuality, and then for having given herself up to unnatural alliances with the animal world, Kannaaluk was deprived of her monstrous offspring, and then, when she lost one eye and all her fingers, of her woman's productive capacity. Cast out of the world of humans, living as she now does at the bottom of the sea somewhere between Arnaqquaksaq and Ungaluujakuluk, she has, through her offspring, become the ancestor of all the races of humankind and, through her severed fingers, transformed into sea animals, the mistress of the marine mammals. Her near presence and her power, only operative in the darkness, in other words in late fall and early winter, when the sun no longer rises, form, as we shall see, one of the most significant, though partly implicit,[18] backgrounds to ritual spouse exchange and to the *Tivajuut* festivities at Iglulik,[19] that shrine of Inuit mythology.

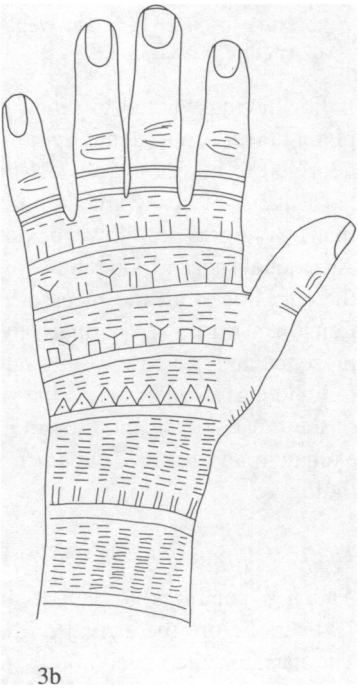
The Inscription of Exchange on Women's Bodies

Aatuat's memories go back to about 1910, in other words, a little more than 10 years before the arrival in the region of Rasmussen and his team (1921). The narrator, then aged about 16, had been tattooed shortly before, if we are to go by the account she gave me of this important female rite of passage, which she was obliged to undergo at puberty, when she had had her first menses. She had been told that one had to submit to it if one wanted to become a "beautiful woman."[20] According to other informants, one had to be tattooed so that after menopause it would still be possible to tell the women from the men. One had to have fine facial tattoos (cf. Fig. 1a) in order to please Siqiniq ("sister sun"), who, in the next world, punished those without them by blackening their faces by burning or with tar.[21] One had to have beautiful tattooed hands (cf. Figs. 3a and 3b) to please Kannaaluk[22] when, after death, one passed through her dwelling place on the way to *Qimiujaq*, the underworld of the dead.

The painful tattooing operation (Kakiniq), performed by inserting needles and introducing a mixture of oil and soot under the skin, took two years to complete. Under the supervision of her paternal grandmother (Atajuarjugusiq), six kinswomen, namely, her mother Urulu, Angugaattiaq, Ujaattaq, Kadluk and Aligiuq, had carried out the operation on the less accessible parts of her body and produced the first motifs on the sides of her limbs. She herself then produced the mirror image of these motifs (after Autut had traced the outline on her skin for her), thus completing the inscription on her own body of the indelible mark of femininity, the sexual marking of women. While for women tattooing was a generic marking which established them as



3a



3b

Fig. 3(a). Representation of Aatuat's left hand drawn by the author.

Fig. 3(b). Pakaq's left hand after K. Rasmussen (1929). Whereas in the 1940s there were still about 40 heavily tattooed women in the area close to Igloolik, I met only 2 in the 1970s.

women, as wives and potential procreators, for men it represented an exceptional marking, the marking of an exploit such as killing an enemy or a large whale; in the former case the tattoo was a transverse line at the base of the nose, or a tiny human figure on the hand or shoulder; in the second case, a mark on the shoulder has been mentioned.[23]

The Inscription of Exchange in Aatuat's Drawing

Realizing the interest of these data, the author filed them with other documents from this exceptional informant—exceptional by reason of her status, her memory and her life-history—and waited for an opportunity to analyze them (Aatuat died in 1976, two years after the data were recorded). Then in 1986 there appeared the catalogue of an exhibition of Inuit drawings collected in 1964 from a number of villages in north Baffin Land.[24] To my great surprise I found in it a drawing made by Aatuat (in 1964 she was living in Arctic

Bay, Tununirusiq, more than a 100 kilometres from her place of birth in Iglulik) with the following title: "gathering in the igloo" (cf. Figs. 4 and 5). The editor, J. Blodgett, noted that the original had been lost and a photograph had been used to reproduce it. In the introduction to the book she made the following remarks (p. 23):

> Atoat [Aatuat] of Arctic Bay, one of the oldest artists represented in the collection, was herself tattooed, and she shows a tattooed figure in one of her drawings that was illustrated in Ryan's *Canadian Art* article. . . . In the drawing, the figure, the only one with tattoos [*sic*],[25] stands facing us near the entrance of the crowded igloo. The dress of this figure is not entirely consistent with that of the other women and the tattooed face seems almost masklike. Could this possibly be a representation of *Qailertetang*—a masked figure that traditionally appeared during the Baffin Island Sedna Festival?[26] As described by Franz Boas in *The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay*, *Qailertetang* is "represented by a man dressed in woman's costume and wearing a mask made of sealskin" (p. 140). In *The Central Eskimo* (fig. 146) Boas's illustration of the *Qailertetang* figure, made from his own sketch, clearly shows the tattoo marks on the sealskin mask which match those on the face of the figure in the Atoat [Aatuat] drawing. (Blodgett 1986:23)

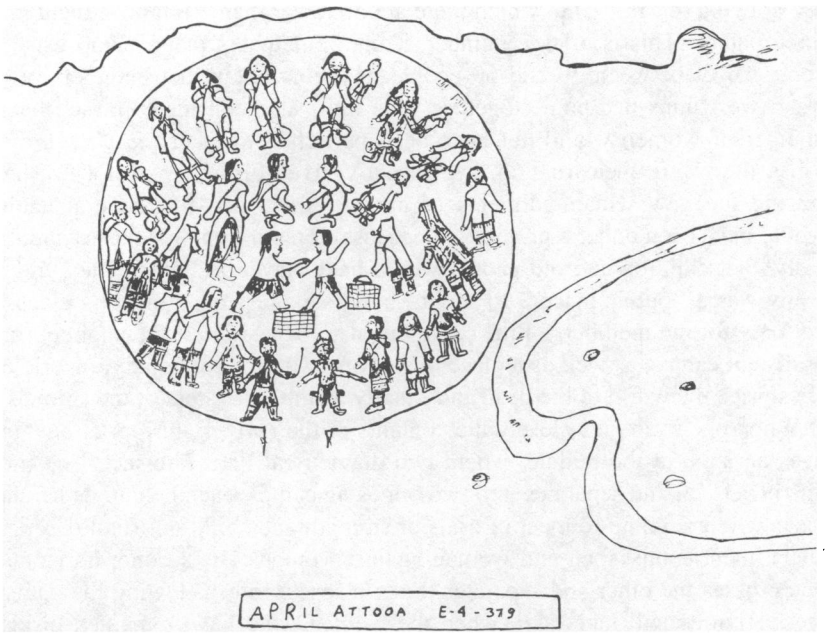


Fig. 4. Reproduction of Aatuat's drawing: *Gathering in the Igloo*. (Original: graphite, 50.6 x 65.5 cm). (Cf. Blodgett 1986:fig. 5). At bottom is shown the month the drawing was made, April (1964), the name of the artist, Attooa (Aatuat), and her identification number E-4-379.

The more I looked at this drawing, the more details I recognized from the account Aatuat gave me in 1974 of the *Tivajuut* festival at Arnaqquaksaq (10 years after making the drawing). What is more, beside the ceremonial igloo, one can easily make out in the drawing the contours of a map which anyone familiar with the Igloolik area will recognize as part of the island of Igloolik, showing the Arnaqquaksaq camp and the mainland coastline opposite (the Melville peninsula) (cf. Fig. 2). There could no longer be any shadow of doubt; the account she had given me was a faithful description of the content of the drawing, and the drawing was a graphic representation of her adolescent memories. This spurred me strongly to go back to the account and compare its elements not only with the drawing, but with all the other available data including the description of the *Tivajuut* festival at Pingiqqalik given by her younger brother, Ujaraq; another, published by Rasmussen in his monograph on the *Iglulik* (1929), given by the shaman Aava, father of Aatuat and Ujaraq; a short account by their shaman uncle Ivaluarjuk (cf. Mathiassen 1928:227-228); and finally the descriptions edited by Boas—and used by Mauss and Beuchat—quoted above by Blodgett.

At the very start of her narrative, Aatuat recalls a great gathering in the *Qaggiq* or ceremonial igloo for festivals and games, and this is confirmed by her drawing (cf. Fig. 5) in which there are no fewer than 20 figures, including three babies. This is a large number, if one remembers that a camp usually consisted of between 30 and 60 people. It seems likely that members of at least two camps had come together. One must also consider the fact that a number of women would not have been permitted to enter the *Qaggiq* because they were menstruating, had recently given birth or had not finished sewing the new winter garments of caribou skin; also that several adults would have been under a prohibition because of mourning or sickness and, finally, that children and old people would have stayed at home. The *Qaggiq* really was a "public place," to adopt Mauss's expression, a meeting place,[27] not only for the members of the camp but also for visitors from neighbouring or distant camps, as well as a place of meeting with the supernatural world of the spirits, the world of the dead and, finally, with the masters of the animals.

When one examines closely the contents of the *Qaggiq*, in Fig. 5, one notices an axis, in the middle, where two diametrical lines intersect. The first line is vertical and separates into two opposing camps, each behind its herald, those who are going to meet in trials of strength and skill (as I shall describe later), men against men and women against women. The second, horizontal line crosses the other and separates the two sexes, foreshadowing the course the festivities will take later, when the women, who have remained inside, will be paired off with the men, who will have gone outside. The pairing-off will, however, be according to the men's wishes—truly a redistribution of the women by the men. At the entrance, the masked dancers remain outside these

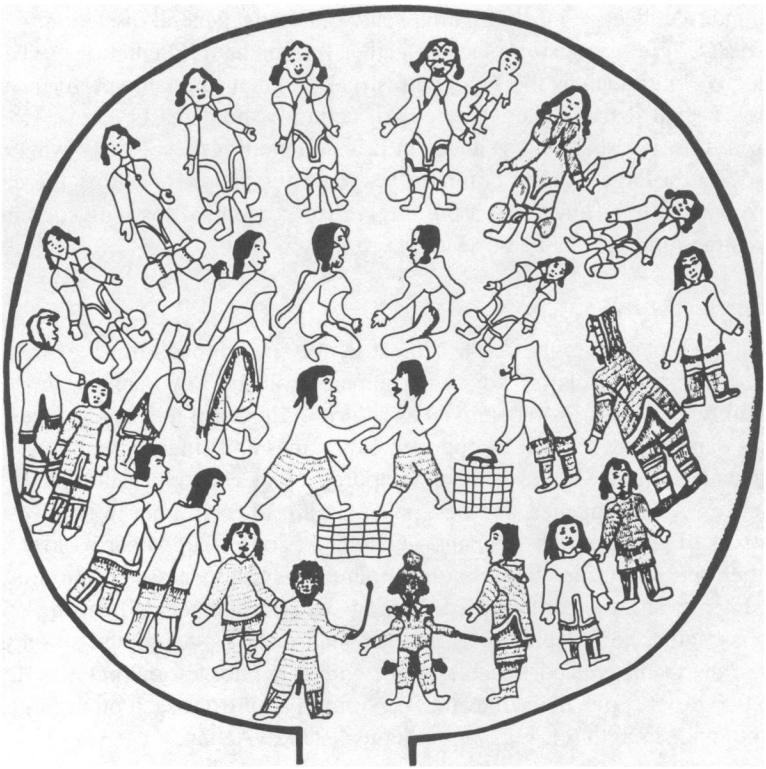


Fig. 5. Games and trials of strength at the *Tivajuut* festival. In the middle of the *Qaggiq* two men are boxing. Behind, two women face each other in games of skill and endurance. In the foreground two male shamans, in masks. These are the *Tivajuut* who will pair off the couples. These festivals were organized in late fall, usually at the winter solstice. After Aatuat's drawing.

divisions, and stand to announce the matches they have made in a characteristically ambiguous middle position. The fact of their being men, shamans and controllers of the festival places this position at the top of the hierarchy.[28]

Another kind of sharing, of raw frozen meat (in this case high walrus meat) was obligatory on these occasions,[29] and took the form of a feast. People therefore waited until a particularly successful walrus or caribou hunt enabled them to dip unstintingly into their food stores before they organized such feasts. The laced skin (*ungirlaaq*) in fact comes from a cache built of stones where walrus meat wrapped and laced up in its own skin has been kept for several months waiting for some occasion, a festival, or necessity, to provide a reason for its

long-delayed consumption. This gamy meat was delicious to the Inuit, who often made a collective meal of it after sending round a general invitation.[30]

The *Qaggiq* was also a place to gather for shamanic mediations, whether collective rites such as the *Tivajuut* festival, or great shamanic performances, which I shall discuss later. One could, certainly, hold feasts, duels, singing with drums and shaman's séances in private dwellings, especially when two igloos had a large enough common vestibule for people to gather there, but there was nothing quite like a big *qaggiq* for communal festivities, community games and big shamanic séances.

Exchanging Adversaries

In Aatuat's narrative, the feast of meat is only mentioned after the strength- and skill-testing duels for which participants split into two camps, lining up behind two adversaries recognized as *Idluriik*. This term means cross-cousins of the same sex,[31] as well as opponents in games and singing, who also have a special relation with each other for purposes of economic and spouse exchange.[32] As it happened, the first pair to confront each other in this way are relatives of Aatuat, both shamans—Qaumauk, son of her father's older half-brother, and Ivalu, her father's cousin, and it is they we see in the drawing (cf. Figs. 5 and 6), bare-chested, boxing with each other. When one of the pair is beaten, he is replaced by another man from his team, and so on until one of the teams concedes victory. The women are not left out but also divide into two groups, one in each team, and similarly confront each other in games of skill and strength (cf. Fig. 7); but let us listen to Aatuat:

> Qaumaup tapinivaangi&&utik Ivaluup nasapingit avanii&&utik imanna iglugiiliq&utik angutillu arnallu . . . nipama&&utik tivajuuraalunnik . . . . taakkua angutiit tigluutilaukata&&utik . . . tavva piqata saalaummat taitsumatauq saalagijaujut tapingilli tapili tavva . . . nungummata tiglulauq&utik amma taakkua arnat taakkua nuliangit amma tavva tavvuunatuit taliqpit nuitijjunillutik. . . .
>
> Qaumauk's friends were lined up on one side and Ivalu's on the other, forming two opposing teams, each including men and women. . . . The two *tivajuut* had not yet arrived. . . . The men now had to box, hitting each other on the temples. . . . When one of them lost, another man from his team took his place and the fight began again . . . until one of them was left with no one to fight him, and then the women, their wives, followed on and fought by hitting one another on the shoulder.

Aatuat remembered that she and her older sister Nujaqtut (also a shaman) were on the same team as their father Aava; the latter having beaten all his opponents, and the women of the opposing team having all been beaten in their turn, she changed sides and fought against her sister, their father's favourite. Aatuat did not like her father very much because she had been given for adoption (*sic*). And now, against all expectations, she not only beat

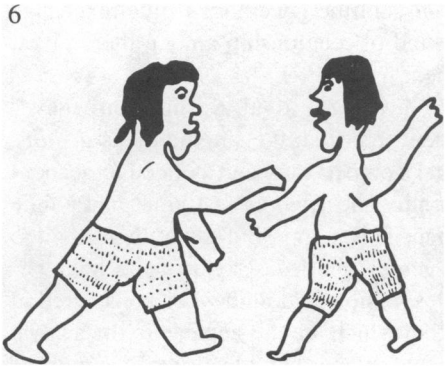


Fig. 6. Two men adversaries meet in an Inuit boxing match (*tigluutijut*); one gives the other a blow on the temple with the palm of his hand; the other must receive it without flinching and return a similar blow. They thus continue hitting each other in turn until one of them gives up or falls down (detail of Aatuat's drawing).

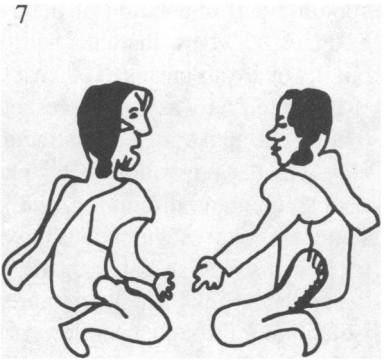


Fig. 7. Two women adversaries face each other in an Inuit game of endurance (*pilliqtaqtut*). They must raise and lower their bodies by alternately bending and straightening their legs, while singing, for as long as possible. Women could also box like the men, except that they hit each other on the shoulder (detail from Aatuat's drawing).

her sister but also the other women, her former team-mates. She was the namesake of her mother's brother, killed long ago by a rifle shot; he had at that time just entered into an *Idluriik* relationship with the shaman Ivaluarjuk, the narrator's paternal uncle. At this point in her story, she made the following remark: "The function of the confrontations was to purify the camps of sickness and strengthen people's health and energy!" Knud Rasmussen (1929:231-232) writes on the subject of the *Idluriik* (whom he calls "singing cousins"):

> When they meet, they must exchange costly gifts, here also endeavouring each to surpass the other in extravagant generosity. Song cousins regard themselves as so intimately associated that whenever they meet, they change wives for the duration of their stay. On first meeting after a prolonged absence, they must embrace and kiss each other by rubbing noses.[33] . . . [They criticize each other in their songs] but behind all such castigation there must be a touch of humour, for mere abuse in itself is barren. . . . Sometimes the songs are accompanied by a kind of boxing, the parties striking each other with their fists, first on the shoulders, then in the face.

Are we not, with the *Idluriik*, these exchanging adversaries who regularly exchange not only their spouses but also "words" (their derisive songs) and goods, at the point where limited (common or private) exchange and ritual exchange intersect, since here they are opening a collective séance which will

continue with the action of the *Tivajuut* and the generalized ritual exchange of spouses? Many shamans had this kind of relationship among themselves, but it was by no means exclusive to them.

Although he was never present at a *Tivajuut* festival, Rasmussen believes that he can make a clear distinction between, first, the singing duels of *Idluriik*, which were followed by physical competitions and collective séances with singing and drumming, and, secondly, the *Tivajuut* festivities and public shamanic séances with spouse exchange. This author thinks that by trying too hard to distinguish between the two genres one loses sight of the links between them, links which are more or less visible and fluid when considered in isolation, or through a single version, but which are inescapable to the analyst as soon as several versions are compared, when they blend into one another in most cases. If we take all the accounts of the *Tivajuut*s and spouse exchanges as a whole, we see that according to the place, the period and the circumstances various combinations come into play which nevertheless form a system. It is in fact after a boxing tournament, a contest of skills and a feast that Aatuat situates the arrival of the *Tivajuut* at Arnaqquaksaq. Her younger brother Ujaraq, in his account of the collective festival at Pingiqqalik (a large camp 30 kilometres south of Iglulik, on the mainland) situates the time of their arrival after a session of singing and drumming. Their father Aava and their paternal uncle Ivaluarjuk, when questioned by Rasmussen and Mathiassen, gave only a general description situated neither in time nor in space,[34] although they did say it applied to the Iglulik region. Boas (1888), on the other hand, describes a sequence of rituals and festivities (intended to secure the favour of Sedna) lasting no less than three days; now, we find at Iglulik most of the same rituals and feasts but with different functions, which could certainly be combined, but which are autonomous in time and space.

The Operators of the Ritual Exchange

One of the main characteristics of the *Tivajuut* festivals is sexual grotesquerie;[35] it appears in all the descriptions I have studied from the Iglulik territory and the rest of the Canadian Central Arctic. It took the form of a masquerade with at least two male shamans in masks. One of them, disguised as a woman, took the woman's part, and the other, rigged out with enormous sexual attributes, that of the man. Both tried to make the audience laugh by acting out a grotesque sexual encounter. This is how Aatuat described the *Tivajuut*:

> tavva tivajuup angutauniqsaq aqpakaq&uni tanna qiggilauk&uniuk amma taanna arnannguaruluk tunninnguaqaq&uni qirniqtaaluulluni taanna qualluqtarulunnik marruinnaalunnik tunninnguaqaq&uni matumingungaaq nagjumik anautaqaq&uni [paniqtumik] tavva kagatsaqsuarami taanna piksigarjunikut taqanna mumiq&utik ningiuqtaalutik taimanna uqajjaq: "Tivaju katuma, tivaju

katuma, kunigii-aa-lugit, kunigiittia-ttumarikkaa alugii-ttia-ttumarikkaa kisumittu-kanna aittuqtaulil mamirmiittu-kanna aittuqtaulil.''

Then the masked *Tivajuut* who is dressed up as a man runs in after jumping [over the little snow pillar], followed by the other, the one disguised as a woman, with tattoos on his cheeks [*tunnit*[36]] he has a black [mask] with two very white imitation facial tattoos [see Fig. 8], she holds in her hand a snow stick in caribou antler, while the man holds a short whip in his hand made of dried walrus skin [see Figs. 9 and 10]. The man jumps over the pillar, making threatening gestures, and they dance. Then everyone starts to sing: ''Let this *Tivajuut* embrace them, let him embrace them well, lick them well, let us give him something, give him some wicks [for oil lamps].''

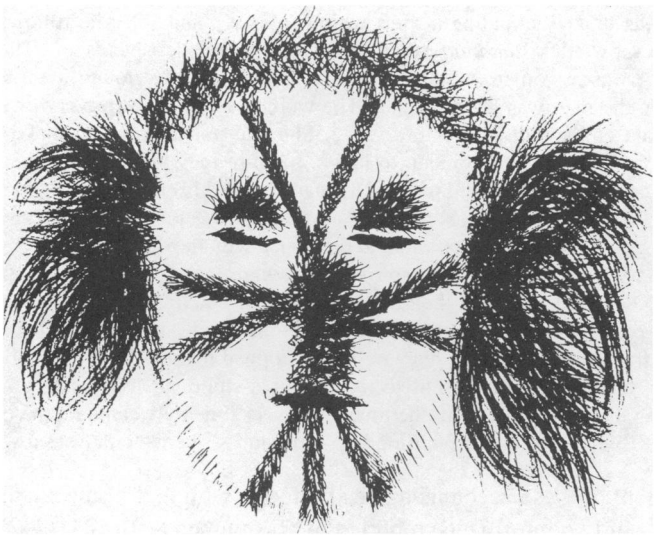


Fig. 8. *Tivajuut* mask (*kiinappaq*) representing a woman's face, usually worn by a shaman in female disguise. The background is white hair, taken from the belly of a female caribou killed in summer, and the contrasting dark parts (taken from the back of the same skin) represent the hair, eyebrows, nose and tattoos. There is an opening for the mouth, nose and eyes. Drawing after a replica made at Igloolik in 1971 of the masks used at the beginning of the century. Height 27 cm.

Ujaraq (1971), her younger brother, adds the following details about the *tivajuut*'s outfits:

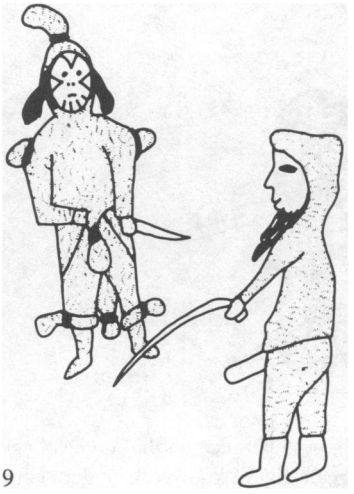
annuraaqtiaqsimanngialu&uni angutiruluugaluaq arnaruluugaluarlu taanna annuraaqtiaqsimanngialu&uni . . . taanna sivulliuniqsaq tiigarutiqaq&uni taanna kingulliuniqsaq anautaqaq&uni saumingaarminullu tigumiaq&unikku . . . arnaunasugilauqtaraliuna Qumangat sunauvva angutikuluk tainna angutiujaqtuq

> Kasarnaq . . . arnaullu annuraarulugaluangit ippalualirmata aturunnainikutuinnavinirnik . . . illaqtittinarasu&utik makuninga illaqtailimanasukkaluarlutilli . . . illaqqujimut qungaqujimuttauq . . . angiliaqtuvinaaluummataukua qilaksimallugit . . . taanna akunnguaqaq&unilu kininnguaqaq&unilu taimanna qilaksimallutik imanna kinaummangaatik ilisarnatailimallutik tuurngaujaanguarasu&utik kiinappasimaalu&utik . . . nasarsimattiasutillu . . . usunngualiqsimalluniluuna suuqaima qungannarasuktualuugamik . . . taanalu qilaksimajumik pikuuna annuraangata ilanganik . . . taannali nuliannguanga arnganguarasutuinnaq&unili . . . mumiruluujaliq&utillu qungatitsinasumut . . . mumikata&uni una usua aulatuinnaq&unili . . . ikkuaguuq aninialiraangamik nuliannguangataguuq anautalijarami uimiguuq tavva usunnguangagut.
>
> He really looked like a nasty man with clothes in very poor condition. . . . The other really looked like a horrible woman with very nasty clothes. . . . The one who was first was holding a short whip [*tiigaruti*], and she who followed him held a snow stick [*anautaq*], they held them in their left hands. . . . The one I thought was a woman was Qumangat, although it was a young man; the one playing the man was Kasarnaq. . . . The woman's clothes were very dirty, they were old clothes, no longer in use. . . . She had put them on to make people laugh, even if it was forbidden to laugh, because they wanted to make people laugh or smile. . . . The full parts of the garment had been tied and tightened . . . so the front and back flaps had been all tied up [see Figs. 9 and 10] in such a way that it was no longer possible to recognize who they were; they were trying to pass themselves off as "spirits" [*tuurngaq*] with their masks [*kiinappaq*]. . . . They had put on their hoods. . . . The one acting the man had an enormous penis which really made you want to laugh, it was attached to his clothes . . . the one playing his wife never stopped making little panting sounds as she danced with him, so as to make people smile. . . . While the other was dancing, his penis moved all the time. . . . Every time they came in, the one acting the "wife" would keep hitting her "husband's" penis with her snow stick.

The content of these accounts agrees perfectly with that of the shaman Aava, father of our two informants, reported by Rasmussen (1929:241-242):

> The woman's dress would be drawn in tight wherever it should ordinarily be loose and full, as for instance the large baggy kamiks, the big hood and the broad shoulder pieces; the dress in itself should also be too small. The same principle was observed in the case of the man's costume which was barely large enough for him to get it on at all. . . . The "man" should have fastened in the crotch a huge penis, grotesque in its effect, fashioned either of wood or of stuffed intestines. . . . The two maskers stand . . . making all manner of lascivious and grotesque gestures; now and again the man strikes his great penis with his te'garut [whip], and the woman strikes it with her anautaq [snow stick], and they pretend to effect a coition standing up.

Unlike the spectators who were wearing new clothes sewn in the course of the fall, that is to say, ample well-cut coats for the men, and for the women coats with big hoods and big pockets in the shoulders as well as halfway down their leggings, the masked shaman dancers were wearing old worn clothes of



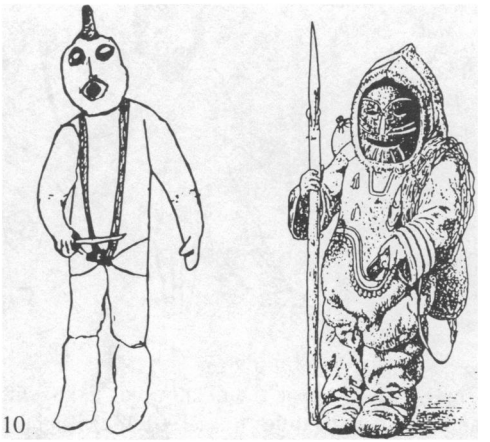


Fig. 9. Masked figure, *Tivajuut*, after a drawing by Pakaq (Rasmussen 1929:113). At left, the man dressed as a woman holds a snow stick in his left hand; at right, the male figure with beard and artificial penis holds a short dog whip in his left hand.

Fig. 10. Left, a male figure with artificial penis and short dog whip in his left hand; right, a female figure with a snow stick in the left hand. Notice the knotting of the hood, the shoulder pockets, the boots and the coat flaps, bulges which characterize the clothing of pubescent women. Detail from Aatuat's drawing (cf. Fig. 5).

which we are told, in the man's case, that they were skimpy and too small, and in the case of the woman, that they were too old to be used anymore and very dirty; the pockets, hoods and flaps of the woman's coat were, in addition, tied with string and thus could no longer be used, although they were the distinctive features of these garments (see drawings in Figs. 9 and 10).

On the Inuit of Southwest Baffin Island, F. Boas (1907:490-492) gives data comparable to those from Iglulik:

> *Fall Festival*: In the winter ceremonial at Akuliaq, on the North Shore of the Hudson Strait, the Ekko appears. He is a spirit made by *angakok* [*angakkuq*: shaman]. He foretells success in hunting, and good luck. . . . The Ekkos are one male and one female. The man has his clothing turned inside out. He wears his hood over his head. It is tied up by thongs wrapped around it to form a horn. . . . Straps pass from the shoulders down his sides and between his legs, and his long penis is tied up.[37] The female Ekko also has her clothing turned inside out. . . . It is supposed that the performers, while in this dress, are possessed by the spirit of the Ekko.

The representation of a male Ekko can be seen in Fig. 11 (from a drawing by F. Boas). The same author, who in an earlier work (1888:604-606) described

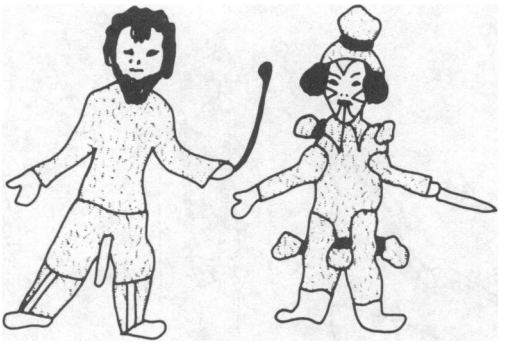


Fig. 11. Left, a male figure known as Ekko, with a protuberance on the forehead and an artifical penis (after Boas 1901:142). Right, female figure known as Qailertetang, holding a harpoon in the right hand, and a scraper in the left (after Boas 1888:606).

how the Inuit of Cumberland Sound (southeast Baffin) held a series of rituals lasting three days, specifies that on the second day, the men of the camp had to walk around the dwellings, in the direction of the sun (clockwise); some of them, those who had presented abnormally at birth, had to wear women's clothes. Then a little later there appeared two enormous characters (Qailertetang), sent by Sedna (Kannaaluk), with heavy boots on their feet; their legs were disproportionately enlarged by several pairs of trousers put on one over the other;[38] they wore a woman's coat and their faces were covered with a sealskin mask representing a tattooed woman's face. In their right hands they each held a seal harpoon and on their backs they carried a sealskin float filled with air. In their left hands, they had a scraper for skins; see the reproduction of one of these characters, from a drawing by Boas, in Fig. 11. They represented a huntress who combined masculine and feminine attributes. Elsewhere in Boas (1901:140) we find further details about her:

> *Qailertetang* . . . is represented by a man dressed in a woman's costume. . . . She is believed to be a large woman of very heavy limbs, who comes to make good weather and "to make the soul of men calm like the sea. . . ." She is a seal-hunter.

Thus the theme of inversion seems present in all these accounts of winter masquerades, but to understand the significance of this we must consider the figures expressing it as belonging to another hierarchical level from the men and women taking part in the festival: a higher level, that of the supernatural world and of spirits, which the masked dancers are supposed to represent. This would accord with the suggestions of Dumont (1983) and Tcherkézoff

(1983) concerning other cultures and other rituals. It is then that the oppositions skimpy/ample, dirty/clean, knotted/unknotted, right side/wrong side, heavy/light, left/right, etc. take on meaning. We know, too, that in the world of the dead and of the spirits the seasons are reversed. Heavy limbs (as opposed to lightness, greatly prized in this hunting society) are a characteristic of some great spirits, such as the Ijiqqat, the children of Uinigumasuittuq and her dog, whose steps cause the earth to shake. It will also be noted that at Iglulik the male *Tivajuut* holds a whip in his left hand, while the female holds a snow stick. This use of the left hand is also a privilege of shamans when officiating, or of those carrying out important private rituals, or, again, of the spirits. In shamanic practice the left predominates,[39] while in ordinary symbolism the right is masculine and the left feminine.

Another theme which emerges from the various data is that male shamans (who are the masked dancers) bestride the frontier between the sexes, whether we are dealing with a male-female couple in which the female role is played by a man in female dress, or with a couple of disguised men each dressed as a man/woman (combining masculine and feminine attributes). This is a theme I have come across in previous work and which I have studied under the title of the "third gender," attributing to them a mediating function related to shamanism and the great spirits (cf. Saladin d'Anglure 1985, 1986, 1988a).[40]

Might we not, with these two *Tivajuut* figures, be dealing with a synthesis of the two great mythical couples who preside over Inuit sexuality and marriage alliances? The story of the celestial incestuous couple consisting of the sister Siqiniq (Sun) and the brother Taqqiq (Moon) who has sexually abused her, reminds the Inuit of the limits on matrimonial choice, the prohibition of incest or too close a choice, the violation of which is the origin, in the celestial world, of the phases of the moon and the alternation of the seasons. The story of the other unnatural, underwater pair consisting of the mutilated daughter Kannaaluk, "the great one from below," and her father, guilty of violence against her, recalls the other limits set on matrimonial alliance (prohibition of unions with animals or a too distant choice) and the necessary subordination of daughters to their parents. This second couple has since watched over the application of the social rules separating the masculine from the feminine world, the produce of the sea from the produce of the land, the winter from the summer.

Two dominant figures, the masculine one of Taqqiq (Moon) and the feminine one of Kannaaluk, emerge out of these two couples. The first, as a "man woman" has become a symbol both of procreation and fertility, and of the protection and training of young boys, orphans and the oppressed, whom he hardens by whipping them; the second, a "woman man,"[41] dirty and dishevelled, refusing to release the marine mammals when humans fail to respect the social rules. In her underwater dwelling she lies in wait for men who have

committed unnatural sexual abuses and punishes them after death by beating them on the penis with a snow knife (while her father scratches the vulvas of guilty women with his nails). It is very likely that the masked *Tivajuut* figures are an evocation of these two great beings[42] and their respective worlds.

The Modalities of Ritual Exchange

The *Tivajuut* ritual festival, and comparable festivities involving masquerades known by other names in neighbouring areas, all included at some point a trial by choice (of partner), a trial by laughter and a trial by fire. As we have seen, the male *Tivajuut* shamans played the part of operators, mediators between men and women, but also between humans and the great mythical spirits. I shall first turn to the account by the shaman Aava, published by Rasmussen and illustrated by Pakaq, because it is he who supplies the most detail; I shall then complete his account with those of Aatuat, Ujaraq, Ivaluarjuk and by Boas's writings:

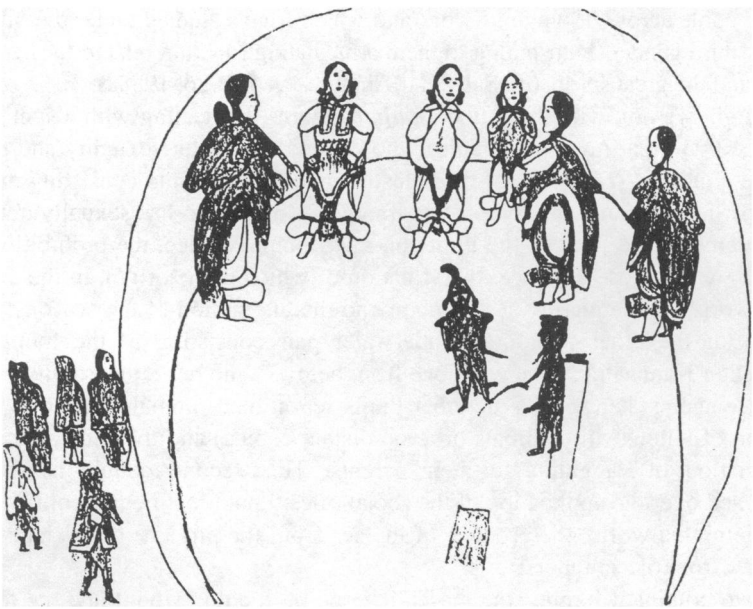


Fig. 12. The game of the exchange of women, *tivajuut*, at Iglulik. The women wait in the snow house, the men stand outside, ready to make their choice, while the masked dancers stand near the pillar bearing the oil lamp and sing. The shorter snow pillar opposite the entrance is the one over which the *tivajuut* (see Fig. 9) must jump.

> As soon as the necessary preparations have been made, all the men and women assemble in the *qag'e* [*qaggiq*], and now the two masked dancers . . . come bounding in. They are dumb performers, and may only endeavour to make themselves understood by signs, and only puff out breath between the lips and ejaculate "pust, pust" exactly as if they were trying to blow something out. . . . The first thing the *tivaju't* [*tivajuut*] now do is to chase out all the men with blows . . . the women of the audience being suffered to remain behind. . . . As soon as the *tivaju't* are sure all the men have gone, they themselves must dash out of the *qag'e*, to where the men are assembled in a group outside. One of these men then steps up to the *tivaju't*, and with his face close to the mask, whispers with a smile the name of the woman inside the *qag'e*, with whom he wishes to lie the coming night. The two *tivaju't* then at once rush back, gaily into the *qag'e*, go up to the woman whose name has been whispered to them outside, and touch the soles of her feet with *anautaq* and *te'garut* respectively. This is called *Ikujijut*[43] ("the ones who hack out something for themselves with an axe or a big, sharp knife"). Great rejoicing is now apparent among all the women, and the one woman chosen, *ikut'aujok* [*ikuktaujuk*], goes out and comes in again with the man who has asked for her. Both are expected to look very serious: all the women in the *qag'e*, however, must be quite the reverse, laughing and joking and making fun, and trying all they can to make the couple laugh; should they succeed, however, it means a short life for the pair. The women in the *qag'e* make faces, and murmur, in all kinds of surprising tones *unununununun*. . . . The two who are to lie together must then solemnly and slowly and without moving a muscle of their faces, walk round the lamp block twice, while the following song is sung: "Masquerader, teasing, capering Dancer-in-a-mask. Twist yourself round and kiss yourself behind, you will find it very sweet, Give him gifts, dried moss for lamp wicks. . . ." The game is carried on throughout the evening, until all the men and women have been paired off, the party then dispersing, each man leading home to his own house the woman he has chosen. (Rasmussen 1929:241-243)

The Trial by Choice

In Aava's account, the choice of a partner is made through the *Tivajuut* who listen to the preferences expressed by the men gathered outside the ceremonial igloo. The widest choice obviously went to those who presented themselves first. We may assume that relative strength had something to do with the order in which requests were made. It would have been a matter of physical strength or skill, when the ritual spouse exchange was preceded by trials of strength and skill, or of shamanic powers, which always inspired great respect when they were acknowledged, or of moral authority based on hunting prowess or genealogical status. The choice was therefore a trial, first for the women who had little to say in the matter, except to acquiesce, and also for the men who were the last to make their choice. It is very probable that the better placed, mature men chose the most sexually desirable women, and that the other women were left for the young men. But the game had its rules and, in the long run, perhaps everybody got something out of it. In any case we

have no precise data about these practices. We do know, however, that everybody's sexual "qualities" were known to all and sundry, and that some women were more prized than others. We know of cases of "femmes fatales" who indirectly left a trail of kidnapping, intimidation and murder in their wake.

Aatuat's account on the whole corroborates Aava's. We shall see later that Ujaraq and Ivaluarjuk differ on the modes of choice; I shall deal with these later when I discuss the "trial by laughter."

Other ways of choosing are evoked by the myths, as in the game of putting out the lamps which is the origin of the sun and moon: a game during which the lamps were put out so that each man could choose himself a partner in the darkness. Such a ritual used to take place after a shamanic séance among certain Greenland Inuit groups in the historic period.[44] In Boas's writings we find ritual spouse exchanges at what he calls "autumn festivals" mentioned a number of times. During the first stage, three shamans would invite Sedna (Kannaaluk) to come and visit human beings. Then, when she drew near, one of the shamans harpooned her, which caused her to dive down to her dwelling where, they thought, she would set free the many marine mammals she was holding there. To speed her descent, Boas tells us (1901:139), participants had to exchange wives.

During the second stage, Qailertetang (played by a masked man disguised as a woman; see Fig. 11), the messenger or servant of Sedna, appeared and separated the men from the women, then paired them off by joining their hands; each new couple would then go to the man's house. Thus in every case the shamans played a major part as decision-makers or intermediaries in the choice of temporary partners. Boas quotes the testimony of Kumlien (1879:43) according to whom the shaman kept one of the women for himself, and that of Bilby (1923:210) who says that the shamans chose first, and then complied with the requests of those men who had been best able to persuade them with words and gifts before the ceremony.

The Trial by Laughter

This trial, which occurs in all ritual spouse exchanges reported in the literature on the Central Arctic, took a variety of forms. It usually included one or several grotesque masked actors who tried every means possible to make the spectators, or individuals chosen from among the spectators, laugh. To succeed in remaining serious was the sign of a long life, while failure to do so indicated an early death. A moon myth which is very well known to the Central and Eastern Inuit mentions this kind of trial: when a human (often a shaman) is visiting "brother moon," a grotesque female figure, called *Ululijarnaat* at Iglulik, enters the latter's dwelling and tries by means of all sorts of pranks to make the visitor laugh. If she succeeds she guts him and turns him into a dead

soul. Her skimpy female garb, with its flaps and pockets knotted, her laughable tattoos and lascivious dancing are not unlike those of the *tivajuut* who take the female role. In the East Greenland tradition, this personage is called Nalikateq and is of an obviously androgynous character, with a man's knife and a drum in his hands, and with a G-string ending in a live dog's head yapping between his legs.[45]

According to Boas (1907:490), on the north shore of Hudson Strait, at Akuliaq, when the masked dancers, there called Ekko, appear "the people are not allowed to laugh . . . if someone laughs, he will soon die." In Ujaraq's account of a *Tivajuut* festival at Pingiqqalik, near Iglulik, the masked dancers first chased people who laughed and hit them with the whip and the snow knife. Then if they caught two men laughing side by side, they obliged them to exchange wives for the night. According to Aava and Aatuat, the newly formed couples, in other words a man and the partner he had chosen, had to enter the ceremonial igloo, as we have already seen, without faltering or giving even the slightest smile, and then go twice very slowly round the pillar holding up the lamp, keeping their eyes fixed on the lamp. They had to remain as straightfaced as possible, in spite of the most lascivious and grotesque demonstrations of the masked dancers, and the most hilarious tricks on the part of the whole gathering, from whom the cry of "Ununununununun . . ." went up in unison.[46]

Although the link between laughter and death, seriousness and life are clearly expressed in the accounts and comments presented, I should also emphasize the connection between laughter and sexuality, that is to say, between the oppositions of laughter/seriousness, open/closed, erection/flaccidity. In fact, Ivaluarjuk specifies in his account that the onlookers were supposed to laugh when the male masked dancer held up his penis and to relapse into seriousness when he made it hang down (cf. Mathiassen 1928:228). Might it not be appropriate to compare this fact with the Alaskan motifs noted by Nelson (1899) in which a sad face is a female symbol and a laughing face a male symbol (cf. Figs. 13a and 13b)?

Trial by Fire

This last trial, which is less clearly demarcated, is closely linked to the other two, and again it refers to the two great myths of origin being constantly referred to from the start of the *Tivajuut* feast. Putting out the lamps, in the origin myth of the incest of sun and moon, was one expression of it; we find it again at Iglulik in the form of a little ritual used at the time of the sun's return after the long winter darkness. Children would then go the rounds of the igloos blowing out the lamps, which were then relit to celebrate the new, reborn sun. One also had to put out the oil lamps for shamanic séances, particularly those in which the shaman was going to visit Kannaaluk who, after she be-

a b c

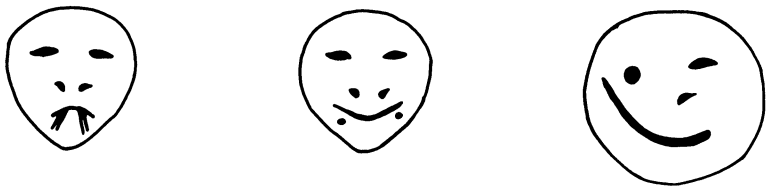


Fig. 13(a). Woman's face characterized by the tattoos on the chin and the sad expression;

Fig. 13(b). Man's face characterized by labrets and a happy expression. Motifs engraved on an ivory handle, Yuit Eskimos of the Bering Strait. This symbolism is omnipresent in the decorative art of the region;

Fig. 13(c). "Twisted face" representing a spirit, engraved on the wood of a finger mask from the Yuit of the Lower Kuskokwim. (After Fitzhugh and Kaplan 1982).

came one-eyed, detested the light. It was said that with the light she lost her power. Taqqiq (brother moon), for his part, was formerly blind and then endowed with supernaturally powerful vision, then blackened with soot by his sister, and has now become the dispenser of shamanic "light" (vision).

During the sun's absence, it is the oil lamp inside the igloo which evokes the light-giving star. Now, it was oil lamp wicks which participants in the *Tivajuut* festival had to offer as gifts to the masked dancers, although no one had the right to use such wicks in the camp for as long as the sun remained hidden below the horizon. In the meantime people had to use powdered ivory. Is not the oil lamp on its pillar one of the central places of the ceremonial igloo, the place where the dancers continually return, where the new couple has to go in order to circle the lamp while gazing fixedly at the flame? To illustrate the connection between laughter and flame or sun I shall quote the example of the twisted grimace people would make at *Siqiniq* (sister sun) when, after her return, she hid behind the clouds. This grimace would provoke her anger at the impertinence of these creatures, on whom she would then fire down her rays as a punishment, to the great joy of the human beings longing for her warmth (see Fig. 1b for *Iqallijuq* making a twisted face at the sun). Seriousness, on the other hand, was proper when the sun had disappeared and only the flame of the oil lamp evoked its light and warmth.

All these symbols form a system and we are still waiting for thorough research into their lexicon, grammar and sociology. The *Tivajuut* ritual will certainly occupy a privileged position in the system because it is a point at which essential social and religious threads intersect in the Inuit social fabric, since it concerns its reproduction. This may mean the material conditions of life with the seasonal cycle animated by sun and moon, or procreation, always

uncertain in a society whose demographic balance is fragile, or survival in the next world, in other words, continuity of the group beyond the frontiers of space (the celestial and the earthly spheres) and time (relations with the ancestors and with descendants).

Inuit Sexual Communism and Shamanism

After this review of the *Tivajuut* spouse exchange ritual, the full importance of which was understood by Mauss and Beuchat, and in spite of the many gaps in the ethnography, and the astonishing present disaffection for the subject—particularly where the Central Arctic is concerned [47]—we can now see the central and omnipresent figure of the shaman emerging in very clear relief, first through the Inuit accounts, as the best descriptions we have come from shamans (Aava, Ivaluarjuk, Aatuat) or witnesses brought up in (or for) shamanism (Ujaraq, Iqallijuq). Through the principal actors, next, for the *Tivajuut* or masked dancers seem always to have been shamans, and all the descriptions agree on this point. Finally, through the organization of the exchange, as appears clearly from the facts reported by Aava and Aatuat for Iglulik, or from the accounts from other parts of the Inuit region: those of Boas (1888, 1901, 1907), compiling the data of his predecessors and his collaborators, those of Kleivan (1960) and Kjellstrom (1973) which are, finally, the most recent update on the subject. Some authors (Kumlien 1879: 43; Nelson 1899:360; Bilby 1923:210), as we have already seen, let it be understood that the shamans organizing the distribution of women either came to an understanding beforehand with the men concerned or else were so familiar with everyone's tastes and desires that they had no difficulty satisfying them. A number of these authors also tell us that the shamans reserved the partner of their choice for themselves.

Here we come to another aspect of the shaman's share in Inuit sexual communism, namely the sexual share (or the sexual services) which the shaman, because of the authority conferred on him by his functions, could demand of his patients, his flock or his debtors.

The shaman was always rewarded when he offered his services privately and it was not unusual for him to ask for payment in the form of sexual services from one of the women of the family which had called him in, whether the wife or the daughter of the man of the house. Out of religious sentiment or fear, these requests (which in all known cases came from male shamans) were usually accepted, but refusals are also recorded in the ethnographic literature (cf. Kjellstrom 1973). In public, on the other hand, his services were free but most authors mention that in difficult circumstances—epidemics, prolonged bad weather, scarcity of game—the shaman could, at the time of a public shamanic séance, demand that all the members of the group exchange spouses, sometimes even continuing to reshuffle the couples until the evil had

disappeared (cf. Freuchen 1961). At this point, I should mention that the sun's disappearance was considered a potential threat to the group's reproduction and to cosmic order, and that it is therefore not surprising that ritual spouse exchanges may, at the time of the winter solstice, have followed public shamanic séances, as several authors report (quoted by Kjellstrom 1973). It was at this time that séances of the *Ipiqtalik* type took place in Igloolik (as illustrated in Fig. 14), during which the shaman was harpooned in the back like a walrus; similarly, Sedna was also harpooned at winter festivals with spouse exchanges on Baffin Island. In any case, I have noted numerous references in the accounts I have studied to the therapeutic effects, the purification (of the actors) and even the pacifying effect (on the mistress of the marine animals) of the trials of strength and the ritual spouse exchanges.

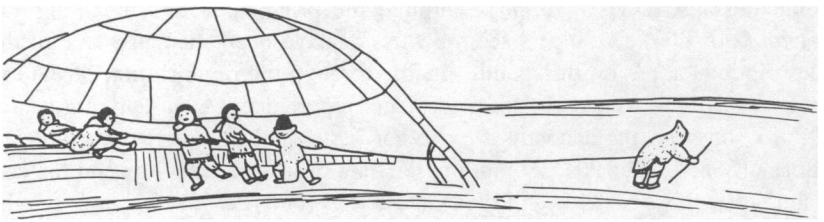


Fig. 14. At great shamanic séances, some particularly powerful shamans would have themselves harpooned in the back like walruses. The shaman *ipiqtalik* (who has been harpooned), filled with irresistible strength, leaves the igloo and goes into every igloo in the camp, uttering guttural sounds like a walrus and spitting water and blood. After a drawing by Zebedee Enoogoo, Arctic Bay 1964, reproduced in Blodgett 1986.

This connection between shamanism and sexuality, which should no doubt be considered an aspect of the connection between religion and sexuality (cf. Frazer 1926; Bastide 1973; Hamayon 1982), is even more obvious when one takes into account the fact that shamans used to be responsible for remedying the infertility of couples; women shamans dealt particularly with problems related to pregnancy and labour, and men shamans with those having to do with fecundation and conception. Treatment of this second type of problem might involve symbolic intervention in the form of a shamanic séance during which the shaman went to seek a baby which had emerged from the earth (a myth recounts that the two first humans were born in this way) and introduced it into the woman's uterus. He might visit brother moon and ask him to carry out this fecundation (cf. Saladin d'Anglure 1988a). He might also intervene personally by having sexual relations with the patient.[48]

I have already mentioned, when dealing earlier with the relationship between *Idluriik* (exchanging adversaries) and the *Tivajuut* festival, in other

words, with the articulation between a restricted system of spouse exchange in the first case, and a generalized ritual system of spouse exchange in the second, that the *idluriik* were shamans in Aatuat's account. In that narrative the festivities began with duels between *idluriik* and continued with a ritual spouse exchange, which enabled participants to playact exchange and antagonism on the public as well as the private level. The present author even felt this articulation of two systems to be interesting enough to encourage their re-examination as two aspects of a single system rather than separately as was the case in the few studies devoted to them. Other data emerged to encourage me in this course when, in the course of a study of adoption in Iglulik, my informants talked about simple spouse exchange as a remedy for infertility which was frequently resorted to in the past, concurrently with adoption. On this occasion they gave me a series of examples which enabled me, against all expectations, to study simple or private spouse exchange in relation not only to infertility and adoption but also to shamanism. I was in fact very surprised to discover that out of 17 exchanging couples studied, in other words, 34 individuals, 10 men out of 17 and 3 women out of 17 were shamans. This is twice as high a proportion of shamans as that observed in the total adult population (cf. Saladin d'Anglure 1988b).[49] Shamans, both male and female, were therefore twice as given to exchanging (privately) as non-shamans. I also noted twice as many cases of sterility or infertility among shamans as among non-shamans, which raises another problem, that of the possibility that there is an inverse proportion between the shamanic function and the procreative function among the Inuit; other Amerindian peoples also seem to express this fact, at least in their discourse. Might not this inverse proportion be equally applicable, in a more general way, to the religious function and the procreative function? The shaman is, like the priest, a great social and symbolic reproducer; for this purpose (or because of it) must their procreative capacities be reduced or controlled?

Inuit shamanism disappeared as a cult and as a system of public rites about 50 years ago; two examples from Igloolik illustrate an original transition to Christianity as well as the importance of the links between shamanism and sexual communism. The first of these concerns a former great shaman and great exchanger who introduced Christianity into the region, starting from Pond Inlet (a more northerly village where an Anglican priest lived) in 1922, when the Fifth Thule Expedition led by Rasmussen was visiting the Iglulik territory. "In order to raise the morale of the group, Umik decided to raise a tax, for the benefit of his family, on all goods from the trade stores, and then forbade wife exchange between the men of the camp, keeping it exclusively for himself" (Freuchen 1939:404). Freuchen was not the most objective of researchers in the team, but the facts are likely.

The second example deals with another shaman, Quliktalik, the nephew of Aatuat, who was also a great exchanger (he appears as Qu in the diagram in Fig. 15); he became the principal Anglican catechist of the area, and when, towards the end of his life, his name was given to one of his great-granddaughters, he asked the child's parents to be very liberal and permissive with her where sexuality was concerned because, he said, he had been a great lover of women and she, being his namesake, would not want to restrict herself to one husband.

Let us return to the proposals put forward by Mauss and Beuchat, according to whom winter sexual communism was the high point of Inuit social life and stood in opposition to summer individualism as expressed particularly in adoption, in other words, in the individual appropriation of children. By developing a binary, or dualist, approach to Inuit social life in an ecological milieu in which winter and summer stand in such great contrast, these two authors provided themselves with a powerful tool which enabled them to reduce to simple oppositions the multiple and complex data about Inuit social morphology as well as religious life, jural life and what they call the property system. In doing this they achieved a global theoretical analysis of Inuit society which is without parallel in the ethnological literature on this people, while not hiding a certain bias in favour of the winter pole, where society and religion exist, since these are the two themes that interest them. In this bias, Mauss's socialist political choices show through very clearly; following in the steps of Jaurès, Mauss condemns revolutionary violence just as much as the utopia of an absolute socialism (as is shown clearly by Karady 1968:xxi and Birnbaum 1972:43), and preaches a moral rather than an economic socialism, "a new way of seeing, thinking and acting," to be realized thanks to "a new law, a new scale of value." Did Mauss think he had found among the Inuit an original example—observable in an elementary and seasonal form—of such a form of socialism ? It is not impossible, especially as in the course of 1905-1906, one of the two academic years (with 1904-1905) which Mauss devoted to the Inuit in his courses at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, and also the year in which he and Beuchat put the finishing touches to the *Essai*, he visited Russia, where the first Russian bourgeois democratic revolution had just broken out, and where the first workers' Soviet had just come into being. We know that during this journey he was in touch with several Bolsheviks, former refugees whom he had met previously in France (cf. Karady 1968:xxi). However that may be, Inuit winter communism, from this viewpoint, became the high point of the Social, its apogee, and summer individualism a sort of rest after such intensity of social life. But does not this theory, to which Mauss and Beuchat lend an almost universal applicability, however brilliant it may be, suffer from a certain reductionism, particularly in its interpretation of the seasonal variations of Inuit social morphology? Could

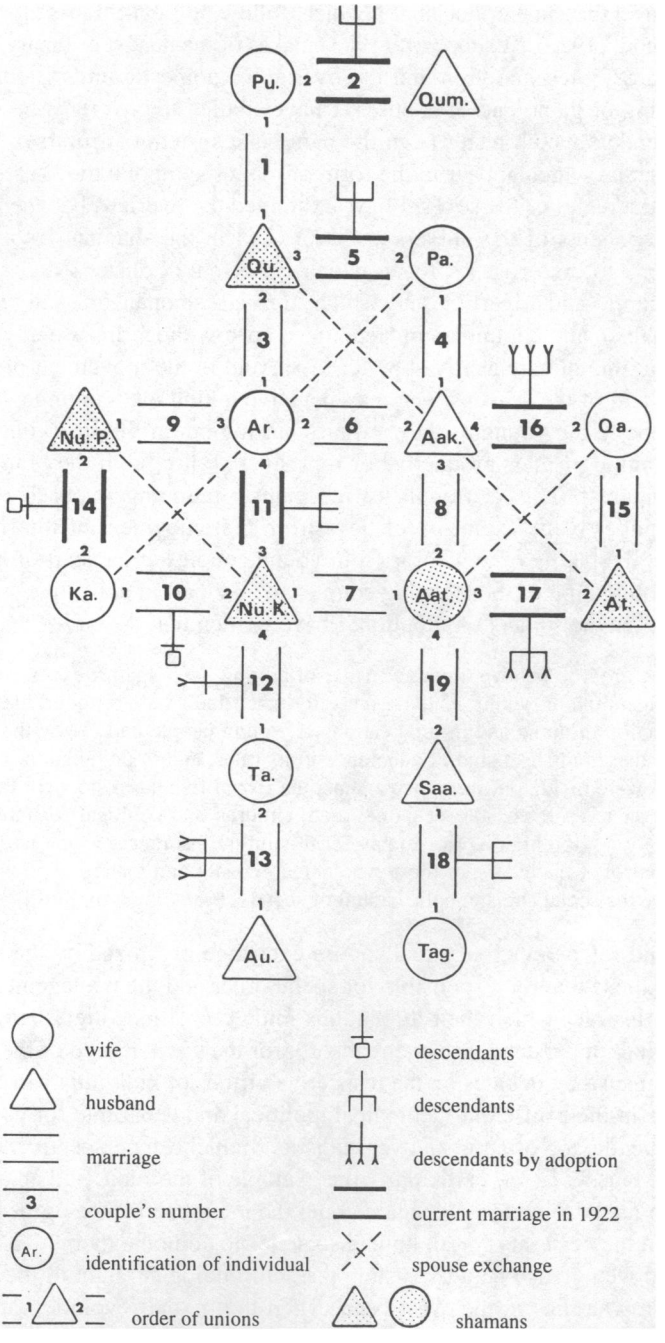


Fig. 15. A spouse exchange network in the Igloolik Inuit area (1900-40).

we not level the same criticism at it which, following Lévi-Strauss (1958, 1962) and Dumont (1973), Tcherkézoff (1983) makes of the dualist or binary illusion?

I have explored adoption and the overlap of domestic units it constitutes, the sharing of game and of spouses; I have studied the overlaps between the social genders which result from the namesake system or from sex ratio imbalances, and which appear in the form of real or symbolic transvestism; and, beyond the realm of the sexes, I have examined the overlaps between the various components of the universe as expressed in the shaman. As a result, I have come to prefer an approach which is not only holistic (Maussian), but also dynamic and tripartite, and which, through shamanism, embraces both individualism and communism. Here, or to borrow the terms used by Dumont (1983), at this hierarchically superior level, and in the movement of the generations and of the seasons, one may perceive a kind of "communistic" violence done to the young as they are just starting out in life, marking them, at the beginning of their productive or reproductive life, with the brand of collective interest. This can apply to the painful tattooing imposed on young girls at puberty, the exclusion of boys from the enjoyment of the first game they kill, the taking of newborns from young couples at the start of marriage, and the obligation of those young couples to take part in collective spouse exchanges. On the subject of adoption, I have written that

> For the group, I believe, it was a matter of arming itself against excessive individualism among young adults, especially when luck was on their side in the production of game and in procreation. . . . young people had to pay their tribute to the group, as a sign of adherence to its rules, and in doing so they themselves were taking out insurance against the risks life held in store for them. A social share of 15 to 30% of game, food, children and conjugal sexuality was certainly not too high a price to pay for this future insurance, which was under the control of the elders, of those who name, transfer and manage, and who exchange the social and symbolic capital of society. (Saladin d'Anglure 1988b)

One could say as much of ritual spouse exchange organized by the shamans, who are those mainly responsible for social order and the management of disorder,[50] disorder which their ambiguous middle position fitted them particularly well to understand, use and reabsorb, for the greater good of the group.[51]

At a time when debates on the respective virtues of individualism and communism (in their different ideological, political and economic forms) are still on the agenda, too often in an overdualistic, Manichean perspective, could we not use Mauss's *Essai*, particularly the example of the Inuit, and an anthropological point of view to think again about the interdependence of the two concepts and the necessity for all human societies to combine them?

Would we not also gain by casting the anthropological light of the Inuit example on what has in the West been called the sexual revolution and which took the form, most notably, after May 1968, either of attempts at communal

living with economic and sexual sharing, under the authority of patriarchs, which attempts usually drifted back towards the reconstitution of conjugal families, or of organizing limited spouse exchanges (the North American "swingers")? One could no doubt classify these phenomena as part of the tradition of utopian socialisms which emerged at a time of the most thoroughgoing 19th-century puritanism, when the first descriptions of Inuit sexual communism were published. These are large questions which certainly go beyond the limits of this modest ethnographic contribution, but when one refers to Mauss and Beuchat's stimulating *Essai* it is tempting to consider human phenomena in their diverse expressions and dimensions, even from the starting point of a single ethnographic example.[52]

Acknowledgments

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are now no more, among them Aatuat and Ujaraq, whose information was so important to this article. I am much indebted to Iqallijuq, tirelessly willing to impart Inuit knowledge, countless pieces of information, verifications and cross-references, without which it would have been very hard to complete this research. I wish to render special homage to them.

Translator's Notes

* This is the translation by James Fox of the quotation from the *Essai sur les variation saisonnières des sociétés eskimos,* pp. 468-469 (p. 135 of Saladin d'Anglure's French text):

> The Eskimos are one of the peoples who have made the most use of the practice of adoption, yet it would be neither possible nor useful if the winter group retained its unity throughout the year.... If the nuclear family did not periodically replace the large family, there would be no cause for married couples without children to be concerned about their future material and spiritual welfare. They would feel no need to adopt some young relative or stranger to care for them when they were old. (Mauss and Beuchat 1979:74)

** James Fox's translation of passage quoted from the *Essai* (pp. 135-136 of Saladin d'Anglure's text):

> The *kashim* [*qaggiq*] is built exclusively during the winter. This is itself good evidence that it is the distinctive feature of winter life (Mauss and Beuchat 1979:46).... [It] is always essentially a public place that manifests the unity of the group. This unity is indeed so strong that, inside the *kashim* [*qaggiq*], the individuality of families and of particular houses disappears; they all merge in the totality of the society.... The winter settlement lives in a state of continuous religious exaltation.... The slightest event requires the more or less solemn intervention of the magicians, the *angekok*. The winter solstice festivals [celebrated in the *qaqgiq*] are always and everywhere accompanied, quite significantly, by the phenomenon of sexual licence.... Communal sex is a form of communion, perhaps the most intimate form there is [ibid.:57-60].... The best evidence of genuine kinship among members of the same settlement is the custom of exchanging women. This is reported in almost all Eskimo societies. These exchanges take place in winter between all the men and all the women of the settlement.... These general exchanges take place among all the members of the group and form a kind of sexual ritual. And there are other more or less permanent exchanges of women contracted between individuals for specific reasons. Some occur in the winter house; others are contracted just before the group disperses in June for the summer season.... The men who make these exchanges become brothers by adoption; the women who are exchanged are considered to be each other's sisters; and the same applies to all the children born from these unions [ibid.:68-69].

Notes

1. It is no doubt in this work and with reference to the Inuit that Marcel Mauss made most use of the concept of communism, both from the economic point of view, as regards the distribution and redistribution of game (1973:467) and from the sexual point of view, as regards collective or restricted spouse-exchange. It is surprising to see that a recent work like *Primitive communism*, whose author, Alain Testart (1985), claims to base his argument in part on the Inuit example, can completely ignore Mauss and Beuchat's *Essai*, to the point of not even

citing it. Some very interesting data would have been found in it which is unfortunately absent from the more recent ethnographies used.

2. Throughout this article I shall refer to the edition of the *Essai* which appeared in Marcel Mauss, *Sociologie et anthropologie*, 5th ed. (Paris: PUF, 1973). In 1979, an English translation by James J. Fox was published by Routledge Kegan Paul.
3. As Balikci (1986) so rightly points out; see also Saladin d'Anglure (1986).
4. Volume edited by D. Damas (1984) which includes 40 or so contributions from contemporary specialists on the Inuit. Having served on the editing committee for this volume, the author must assume his share of responsibility for the omission.
5. To adopt the terminology introduced by the Fifth Thule Expedition led by Rasmussen (1921-24). Before that, when the terms Igloolik or Iglulik were used, they meant Inuit groups settled north of the Fox Basin around the very ancient winter and spring camp called Iglulik (see map, Fig. 2) on the island of the same name. Rasmussen and his team extended its use to cover all the groups—who according to them were very closely related—settled in a region including the present villages of Arctic Bay (Tununirusiq), Pond Inlet (Tununiq), Igloolik (Iglulik), Repulse Bay (Naujaat) and Chesterfield Inlet (Igluligarjuk). Most contemporary authors have simply adopted Rasmussen's typology without any rigorous critical discussion having been held on the subject (cf. Saladin d'Anglure 1989). My research was carried out in Igloolik itself, that is to say, in the heart of the Iglulik group.
6. Mauss and Beuchat in fact talk about wife exchange, but this author prefers to use the more neutral term spouse exchange until such time as the facts demonstrate quite unequivocally that it is women who are being exchanged. As early as 1961 Guemple had adopted this second usage.
7. *Kashim* is the traditional term used for the ceremonial house among the Yupik of the Bering Sea, in Alaska (cf. Nelson 1899), which Mauss adopted; *Qasgiq* is the modern written form of this (cf. Fienup-Riordan 1988). In the Central Arctic *qaggiq* means the big ceremonial snow igloo and also the circular stone structures used in some places for summer gatherings. I prefer the latter form as my data is principally for the Central Arctic.
8. The most recent edition of the *Handbook of North American Indians* (*Arctic* [1984] 5), devoted to the Inuit, only mentions private spouse exchange with reference to 12 of the 20 large Inuit groups described. And of those 12, in only 3 cases is ritual or public exchange mentioned in connection with collective festivals conducted by shamans or including shamanic séances. Apart from Kleivan's interesting comparative study (1960), work on festivals of the type Mauss and Beuchat examine, such as those of Thalbitzer (1925-41), Lantis (1947) or Nooter (1975) have little to say about spouse exchange and the shaman's involvement in those exchanges. To this author's knowledge, only one study has taken Inuit spouse exchange as its main theme, and that is Lee Guemple's (1961); this is an important comparative work of compilation which deals with private and ceremonial exchange, but from the point of view of social relations and kinship rather than its connections with the religious domain. Alongside this study, a few articles on Alaska should be mentioned, that of Rubel (1961) on spouse exchange between economic exchange partners, that of Hennigh (1970) on the exchange of women and that of Spencer (1968) on spouse exchange in northern Alaska. Finally, I shall mention the interesting update on Inuit marriage by Kjellstrom (1973) which devotes a chapter to spouse exchange. Thus, for the Central Arctic we have had very little new ethnographic information since the publication of Mauss and Beuchat's *Essai*.
9. According to Lee Guemple (1986), we owe this distinction between ritual exchange and common exchange to Thalbitzer (1941); however, we have seen above that Mauss made the distinction almost in the same terms.
10. This is the recent official (Anglo-Saxon) spelling of the island's name. When I am speaking of the group I shall therefore talk about the Iglulik and when I refer to the present village I shall use Igloolik.

11. This is probably a relationship determined by eponymy, because they are cross-cousins.
12. Both were shamans; Qaumauk was known for his moon voyages (cf. Thérien 1978).
13. Franz Boas was among the first to describe her cult in the Baffin region, and since then she has usually been known in the literature as *Sedna*, another localizing demonstrative with a similar meaning ("she from below"), used in the Cumberland Sound area visited by Boas (1888, 1901, 1907). More recently, Savard (1970) has made a structural analysis of the variants of this myth, as has Oosten (1976) of the Iglulik and Netsilik traditions. There is an abundant bibliography about this myth which is too long to give here. I shall, however, mention the voluminous and as yet unpublished work of Sonne (1990) which attempts by means of an approach borrowed from the history of religion to make an historical criticism of the available texts on Sedna; she tries to show the importance of factors connected with Western acculturation in the construction of some versions of the myth, particularly the Iglulik version reported by Rasmussen (1929). I have reservations about her conclusion, in the absence of the least systematic and comparative ethnographic investigation of the theme. This work could however serve as the basis of such a study.
14. It is also the name by which she is known on the west coast of Greenland.
15. This small island, which in the myth was connected, at low water at the time of the spring tides, with the main island of Iglulik, is now a peninsula. It should therefore be theoretically possible to date the version of this myth as it has been handed down in Iglulik, by taking into account the known and measurable phenomenon of uplift of the earth's crust in this region, linked to isostasy and the effect of climatic variation on sea levels. This type of study would no doubt introduce new and interesting arguments for dealing with the historical production of myths, taking into account, in particular, the critical analysis of Sonne (1990) who disputes the antiquity of the Iglulik version of the Sedna myth. She sees in the second episode of the myth, that of the petrel (which in other areas is the subject of an independent myth) a recent development attributable to whalers.
16. This camp, now used in summer, is a former winter camp where there are many archaeological traces of semi-underground houses. The Parry-Lyon expedition wintered a little off-shore from this camp in 1822. The place takes its name from a structure of circular stones which, according to the Inuit, served as a gathering place and a place of celebration, a sort of summer *Qaggiq*; the name means "which looks like the first circle of snow blocks of an igloo"; in the middle of the circle there is a block of stone which, judging by the traces which remain, must have served to hold an oil lamp; see Parry's description (1842:362) and his description of its use in connection with the capture of a large whale.
17. This is the same term as the one described in the previous note but with the suffix "*kuluk*," meaning "little."
18. On the other hand, it emerges from Boas's data (1888, 1901, 1907) from the south and southeast of Baffin Island, a region fairly distant from Iglulik, that the reference to *Sedna* (the name there given to *Kannaaluk*, cf. note 13) is much more explicit in the autumn festivals with masquerades and spouse exchanges; perhaps it is less necessary to make an explicit reference in Iglulik, the site of the myth?
19. In the mythical geography of the Inuit Central Arctic, the island of Iglulik occupies a special place which is recognized for hundreds of kilometres around. One day a map should be made of the geographical inscription of the myths of origin in Inuit lands so as better to determine the large, regional cultural divisions. It goes without saying that a number of places may have the same mythical status in the same large area of the Arctic. But a certain mythical regional specialization also appears, which should be looked at in relation to other historical, cultural, and social variables. It is astonishing that this question has escaped the sagacity of ethnographers and geographers of the Inuit Arctic. Even the recent article by Malaurie (1986): " Another reading of Arctic space, for a sacred geography of place," although it claims to take into account native categories and representations in elaborating a sacred

geography of places, bypasses this important question, while lingering over secondary points, such as the fact that, in the Iglulik region, the traditonal camp of Avvajjaq (cf. map, Fig. 2) was abandoned after the death of the last great Inuit chief who died there. It frequently happened, in fact, according to my informants, that after a series of deaths during epidemics, the site of the camp where such tribulations occurred was abandoned for a number of years, placed in quarantine or left "fallow" in order to escape the lethal spirits drawn there by the superabundance of human remains. An implicit Inuit rule was that the same winter camp was not used for more than three years running.

20. At the time of the Fifth Thule Expedition (1921-24) Mathiassen (1928:199) noted that young girls were having themselves tattooed less and less at Tununiq (Pond Inlet); of the 60 mature women included in his census 16 were not tattooed. According to my data all female shamans and wives of shamans were tattooed at that period.
21. According to the testimony of Mitiarjuk, an Inuit woman informant from the south shore of the Hudson Strait in arctic Québec (Nunavik). Explicit reference is made here to the tarry oil which seeps from an oil lamp. This threat of blackening should be compared with an episode in the myth of origin of the sun and moon in which sister sun (Siqiniq), her curiosity piqued at not recognizing the man coming to take her as his sexual partner, when the game of extinguishing the lamps is being played—during which collective spouse exchange was practiced—smears her breast with soot (or tar from the lamp, according to which version is being told) and realizes the next morning at the sight of the blackened face of her brother (Taqqiq, brother moon) that he has committed the offence of incest.
22. Who, it will be recalled, had her hands cut off by her father who then pushed her down into the depths of the sea. In the captions to the Pakkaq's drawing of a tattooed hand, Rasmussen (1929:148) noted that Kannaaluk liked to see fine tattoos; I believe that a connection can be made between this belief and the fact that Kannaaluk had had her hands cut off.
23. See Maertens (1987a) for an interesting analysis of female tattooing in hunter-gatherer societies. He notes that differentiating tattoos for men and women, according to a logic comparable with what we have just described for the Inuit, can be observed in many "primitive" societies.
24. Jean Blodgett, ed., *North Baffin Drawings, Collected by Terry Ryan on North Baffin Island in 1964* (Toronto Art Gallery of Ontario 1986). Terry Ryan, employed as artistic advisor by the West Baffin Eskimo Cooperative of Cape Dorset, undertook, in 1964, a journey through the northern part of Baffin Island, during which he asked the Inuit for drawings in each of the villages he stopped in. He brought back from this tour 1,850 pages of text and drawings, including Aatuat's. She was then living in Arctic Bay (Tununirusiq) after passing the first part of her life in the Iglulik region.
25. In fact at least three can be distinguished in the drawing (cf. Fig. 5)
26. See the drawing of this character, reproduced from Boas (1888:606), in Fig. 11.
27. The term *Qaggiq* means gathering place; with the suffix *-taq* added, it means a fox trap made of an arch of stones with a hatch on top; in arctic Québec it also means a trap for arctic char, on the foreshore, which holds the fish prisoner when the tide goes down. The Inuit of this region also apply the term to the circular stone structures used, as at Ungalauujaq (see note 16 above), for communal feasts, except in winter, particularly when a big whale had been captured. Most authors who have taken an interest in the *Qaggiq* or the communal festivities held there have recognized its religious importance as a place of mediation with the natural and supernatural worlds (cf. Nelson 1899; Boas 1888 1901 1907; Thalbitzer 1941; Lantis 1947; Kleivan 1960; Kjellstrom 1973, etc.).
28. For a discussion of binary or ternary, diametral or concentric, egalitarian or hierarchical structures, see Lévi-Strauss (1958, 1962), Dumont (1983) and Tcherkézoff (1983).
29. The same term *ikujijut* was used for the sharing out of women performed by the masked dancers, and the sharing out of frozen meat. A woman chosen in this way became a *ikuktaq*, that is, "a piece taken from a whole by a violent act" (blow with an axe or a knife on frozen meat).

30. See Damas (1972b) for a good description of Inuit food-sharing practices in the Central Arctic.
31. If we examine Lee Guemple's compilation (1961:115-118) of kinship and spouse exchange terms, we see that of 32 Inuit groups, 26 associate the term Idlurik with "cousins"; of these, 1 specifies "song-cousins," 4 specify "male cousins," 1 "cousins of the same sex," 11 "cross-cousins" and only one "cross-cousins of the same sex." Such diversity is explained largely by the methodological and ethnographic gaps in the monographs used; in a third of the cases the term implies in addition to "cross-cousinship" a "joking" relationship. There is, however, enough agreement for the concept and the social relations it covers to be made the subject of systematic investigation and thorough comparative analysis in the future. Are we dealing with a case of polysemy or with a semantically overloaded concept? This author inclines towards the second hypothesis.
32. Do the relations between cross-cousins of the same sex express a sort of dualism in Inuit kinship, a cleavage stemming from both antagonism and exchange (play/exchange or war/exchange as Burch and Correll 1972 so rightly point out for Alaska)? Does it not refer us back to the debate begun by C. Lévi-Strauss (1967) and taken up by F. Héritier (1981) over the "asymmetrical pair" constituted by a brother and sister, in other words the pair from whom the cross-cousins issue (cf. also Saladin d'Anglure 1986)? This would be all the more interesting in that the Inuit kinship system still awaits a theory. The cleavage would be observable on both the male and the female sides. Does not Aatuat, who is the symbolic reincarnation of her mother's brother, and who, by (or since) her adoption, has attenuated her links with her father, become in a way a cross-cousin to her own elder sister, and an adversary in singing and games to the members of her father's camp, which includes Ivaluarjuk, her paternal uncle and her dead namegiver's ex-adversary in singing and games? This would explain her swift change of camps and her aggressiveness towards her sister and her father's kin. If we also take into account the fact that Qaumauk had received as his second wife the sister of Ivalu, Nuvvijaq (Qaumauk's cross-cousin), and that this union was broken as a result of the bad treatment meted out to Nuvvijaq by her co-wife (a break-up which led to strong animosity between the two families) we must regret that the ethnographers did not systematically study the relationships of kinship, alliance, and adoption between adversaries in song and games (*idlurik*), throughout their life-histories. A recent and very well documented article by a musicologist (Nattiez 1988), devoted to drum-dancing among the Iglulik, deals with the singing and drumming competitions between *Idlurik* in the *qaggiq*; but because of his mainly musicological and typological preoccupations, the author, who has only made short visits to the region, only adds a few really new elements to the question which interests us here. The same remark may be made about the work of the ethno-jurist Rouland (1979) who only deals with singing duels as a legal means of settling conflicts. We would have to consider *Idlurik* relations as a total social phenomenon, to use Mauss's expression, in order to be able fully to understand their richness. Two attempts to juxtapose the semantics of kinship terms and the social and cultural environment have been made by Dorais (1986) and Thérien (1987) and should be developed further.
33. In other words, embrace Inuit-fashion, "sniffing" each other with their noses (*kunikpuq*), as Aaatuat says at the beginning of her story. This is one of the rare occasions when adult men embrace each other.
34. Guemple (1961:42) notes the same ambiguity in data from Alaska, when he quotes the description of a communal festival on Saint Lawrence Island (Alaska) where dancing and spouse exchange rituals are organized on the basis of *idlurik* relationships.
35. Kleivan (1960) clearly perceived this aspect.
36. When the mask was made of plucked seal skin, the background was black and the imitation tattoos, in scraped seal skin, were white; when it was in caribou skin, with the hair, the background was white and the tattoo marks black, as in Fig. 8. According to Mathiassen (1928: 199) the term *tunniit*, which I have often encountered in the sense of facial tattoo, refers

more particularly to tattoos on the cheeks, for which I have noted the term *uluagutiik*, mentioned by Aatuat (cf. Fig. 1a).

37. It is, no doubt, this strap (which, according to Boas's drawing reproduced in Fig. 11, passes under the artificial penis) which made it possible, by throwing out the chest, to erect the penis, and by stooping the shoulders, to lower it.
38. See Boas's illustration (1888:606) reproduced in Fig. 11.
39. Cf. Tcherkézoff (1983) for a thorough study of this classic theme of anthropology.
40. Maertens (1978b) brings out very well the relation between mask and masculinity, and the fact that it is practically always masked men who take the female parts in rituals. Although in a more recent article (1986) he has attempted to apply his approach to my Inuit material, his explanation, drawn from psychoanalysis, differs from mine which I intended to be more ethnological. Gessain (1954, 1975, 1978, 1984) is one of the very few Inuit ethnologists to have taken an interest in "androgyny," in connection with myths, rites and masks; however, bearing as he does the stamp of his psychoanalytical training, his reading has always been based on the psychoanalytical approach.
41. For more details on androgyny or the "third gender" of these great mythical figures, see Saladin d'Anglure (1988a); see also Randa (1986).
42. The structural analyses carried out by Savard (1970), Oosten (1976, 1986) and Hutchinson (1977) clearly reveal the importance of these two complementary figures.
43. See note 28.
44. See Kjellstrom (1973:151-154) for a good review of sources on this subject.
45. See Kleivan (1960) for some interesting comments on the subject.
46. Cf. Damas (1963, 1975a) and Guemple (1961) for the terminology of exchange at Igloolik.
47. Guemple (1986) notes the complete absence of recent research on ritual spouse exchange, whereas in the 1960s and 1970s common or private spouse exchange was the subject of numerous studies and a renewed approach, taking native categories and the economic and social context in which it operated into account. See in particular Burch and Correll (1972).
48. It would no doubt be interesting to compare this aspect of Inuit shamanism with (positive) psychoanalytic transference, and even with the sexual abuse (according to the Western code of medical professional behaviour) of their patients with which certain psychotherapists are reproached and which sometimes hit the headlines in the West.
49. Fig. 15 representing "A spouse exchange network in the Iglulik region between 1900 and 1940" is taken from this article. It shows eight infertile couples involved in the exchange of spouses; when one of the new combinations became fertile, that new couple became a conjugal family or, if a couple remained childless, they would decide to adopt. Of the 10 individuals involved in the exchange, the outcome of which was new conjugal families, 5 were shamans. For the demographic aspects of matrimonial alliance in the Central Arctic, see Damas 1975a.
50. See Balandier's (1988) interesting essay on the relationship between Order and Disorder in traditional society; his somewhat dualist approach prevents him, however, from seeing the centrality of the overlaps and the ternary dynamic which I am seeking to bring out here. See also the article by H. Hutchinson (1977) on "Order and Chaos in the Cosmology of the Baffin Island Eskimo," of which a similar criticism can be made.
51. I am aware that, like Mauss and Beuchat's *Essai*, my analysis may seem to favour those factors which ensure the proper functioning of Inuit society and to ignore disfunctions, crises, and antagonisms. However, my ternary approach to shamanism, which I intend to be dynamic and thus to integrate disorder, crisis and change, enables me, I believe, to escape criticism for functionalist reductionism.
52. Since the French publication of this paper, the author has published another paper devoted to the astronomical context of the Tivajuut rituals and festivities: "Frère-Lune (Taqqiq), Soeur-Soleil (Siqiniq) et l'intelligence du Monde (Sila)" in *Études Inuit Studies* 14(1-2) (1992).

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RESEARCH NOTE

HAUSA DREAMS

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Introduction

Dreams and Deeds is the title of Robert A. LeVine's classic study of achievement motivation among Nigerians in the early 1960s (LeVine 1966). Employing a method which relies in part on the narration and analysis of dreams (night-time, recurring, and day-), LeVine finds that "deep-seated" behavioural dispositions help account for the ethnically linked differences concerning the drive for achievement (LeVine 1966:62). More specifically, whereas southern Nigerians rank high in terms of "achievement motivation, concern with self-improvement, non-authoritarian ideology (i.e., obedience and social compliance values), a favourable attitude toward technological innovation, and rapid advancement in Western education and the Western type of occupational hierarchy" (with the Ibos marginally more advanced in these dimensions than the Yorubas), the Hausa of northern Nigeria rank relatively low (LeVine 1966).

In a later reflection on his previous study, LeVine is at pains to acknowledge the historical dimension to his sociocultural analysis of Nigerian society (LeVine 1971:210-212). There is nothing permanent or natural about the ethnic differences noted earlier; rather, they represent different phases in a "sequence of socioeconomic adjustment."

LeVine's initial work, enhanced by his succeeding theoretical fine-tuning, remains a stimulating and pioneering example of the use of dream material to explore the multiethnic dimension of Nigerian society. It is nevertheless important to note that, as in the case of so many experiments in social psychology in the United States, the sample consisted of a rather peculiar category of the population: students.[1] More precisely, the Nigerian dreams under analysis were those of anglophone male secondary school students of the top grades. Even in the late 1980s, those Nigerians educated and literate in English con-

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stituted a privileged minority of Nigerian society; in the early 1960s, they certainly were budding members of the elite. A less rarefied, more representative sample of Nigerians and their dreams might shed further light on the inner workings of the Nigerians mind and provide an added foundation for inter-ethnic sociocultural comparison.[2] The purpose of this paper is to take a modest step in this direction.

Background

In the summer of 1986, the presenter returned to two neighbouring Hausa villages separated by the Niger-Nigeria border where he had previously conducted nearly one year of fieldwork exploring self-identity and national consciousness (Miles 1986). As in most villages throughout Africa, the major economic activity is agriculture. Common to settled habitations of the Sahelian belt spanning the continent, villagers engage in "dry" (i.e., rainfed) farming with a single annual growing season. In any given year, the sufficiency of rains is problematic.

Although both villages have primary schools and have had adult literacy programs, few inhabitants are literate or fluent in their country's national language. Adults are the least likely to speak or read English or French. As throughout most of Northern Nigeria and south-central Niger, the villagers speak Hausa and practice Islam.

Compilation of dreams was not the primary focus of the return visit but constituted rather an exploratory venture: more extensive follow-up research is required. The dream categories and analytical findings are presented below as neither comprehensive nor definitive, but rather as preliminary and indicative.

Dream Collection

Dreaming is a rather private affair, not only as an experiential phenomenon, but also as a subject of social discourse. Eliciting dreams among adults is problematic; even among friends, some dreams are deemed best kept to oneself. Dream recall is even more chancy. Even those who might otherwise oblige in responding in random sample surveying may not have any remembered dreams to offer at interview time. However unsatisfactory, one is left with self-selection and, naturally, the willingness of respondents to share their nocturnal memories.

In the anthropological situation, the dream collector must achieve a rather high degree of empathy and trust before people will share their dreams. "Systematic" dream collection is therefore all the more problematic. In Western cultural contexts, the initiative for dream-sharing is commonly associated with the dreamer who may pay a psychological specialist to listen to, and eventually interpret, his or her dreams. For the anthropological dream

collector, the converse "paying for dreams" is fraught with obvious dangers relating to incentive and reliability. It is here that the advantages of dealing with a more controlled population—such as children—become logistically attractive. While the dreams of youth are worthy of analysis, those of adults, though more difficult to access in a systematic fashion, are no less important.

In the present case, I simply let it be known that I was interested in villagers' dreams and made myself available to volunteer tellers. Local custom and religion (which even on the village level may take the form of purdah) inhibited women from volunteering; from the (male) researcher's side, it would have been impolitic to approach women and query them on any of their nighttime experiences. Ultimately most dreams were offered, as may be expected, from my closest friends and neighbours in the village. Still, a number of villagers whom I scarcely knew did seek me out to volunteer their dreams. These dreams did not seem to differ from those of closer confidants in their depth or intensity.

Dream Categories

The number of dreams collected in this exploratory search was limited: thirty-five. Even with this modest sample, however, five discrete themes emerged (although some dreams clearly cross-cut more than one theme). These were: (1) dreams about farming; (2) dreams about money; (3) anxiety dreams; (4) dreams about pilgrimage (i.e., Mecca), and (5) dreams about the fieldworker himself. Examples from each of these dream types will be offered, followed by a brief comment.

Dreams about Farming

> "I am at home, sitting. Alhaji Y. goes off to my farm and says, 'Your farm is doing fine. The millet is doing well. But continue working on it.' "
>
> –M., Farmer and teaman

> "Two days prior I go to my farm and see that there is millet and sorghum and peanuts—a lot of it. I feel very good."
>
> –Alhaji S., carpenter and youth club secretary

> "I am cutting hay during the rain. I tie up and bring it into the house."
>
> –S., farmer

> "I am in my farm weeding. But it is *very* difficult to cut the hay—I practically can't."
>
> –H., chief's son

Comment

A caution relating to the seasonal bias of this inquiry should be acknowledged. As Chambers (1983) astutely points out, the findings of rural researchers are often skewed by the temporal constraints associated with their field-

work: "And northern academics too are seasonal in their global view. For they are found in third world nations mainly during long vacations" (Chambers 1983:20-21).

The summer months of July and August, when these rural Hausa dreams were collected, corresponded with the Sahelian rainy season. Agricultural activity is at its most intense at this time and villagers are naturally preoccupied with their farming. Given the precarious nature of dry (i.e., rain-fed) agriculture in this drought-prone region, where survival is largely a function of yearly harvest yield, perhaps a more appropriate adjective than "preoccupied" to describe the farmers' state of mind would be "anxious." The frequency of dreams dealing with farming and/or food in this sample may therefore be attributed, at least in part, to the season during which the dreams were compiled.

Dreams about Money

"I have no money—not even a nickel."

"A. comes back from Mecca. The next day I ask where he is. I'm told, 'The very day he returned, he didn't stay in the village. He's gone off to the bush to collect hay.'

"I remark, 'Someone goes to Mecca, to get money. He returns and that same day he goes collecting hay to sell? This year, in Mecca, there's no money.' "

"I am digging in the ground and find money. Lots of money. Both hands are full of money—but when I wake up, there is no money."

– Alhaji S., carpenter and youth club secretary

Comment

For most villagers, material poverty is an inescapable and preoccupying reality. Though wealth is not measured solely in terms of money—livestock and farming land are valued above all—money does symbolize wealth and escape from the constant daily struggle to survive. Equally important, money is a prerequisite for performing the highest social duties: marriage (for which a man needs to provide dowry) and pilgrimage to Mecca (for which one requires airfare).[3] Note below how money figures in anxiety dreams and dreams about pilgrimage.

While it is difficult, particularly in the cross-cultural context, to prove any universalistic function to dreaming, amongst impoverished Hausa villagers dreams about money provide an overt example of the dream as a mechanism for fantasized wish fulfilment.[4] Such dreams also argue for the necessity of providing the background economic information of dream informants and including members of underprivileged classes in psychological studies of a population.

Anxiety Dreams

"I am travelling in the bush. Soldiers come to arrest me. Each of them has a gun. But I fight with them. I grab one of their guns and they are frightened and run away."

"I am in a motor car and travelling. In fact, I am the driver. The car falls into a ditch but I am thrown up into the air, while the car remains in the ditch."

"I am entering an airplane to go to Mecca. But soldiers grab and arrest me in order to bring me home. I break away and run, and climb a mountain."
– Alhaji S., carpenter and youth club secretary

"Two snakes are striking like lightning and chasing me. I run away but they follow me, right into the village. I climb to the top of a house. But they climb up, too. I jump to the ground—and so do they. Then the people kill them. (When I came to town the next day and asked people the meaning to the dream, they said it meant that I would have two children.)"
– A.B., primary school teacher

"S.S., Alhaji I and Alhaji S. and myself all go to the market [at a nearby village]. I bring them with my bull and cart.

"When it's time to go, I discover they've taken off on their own, leaving me behind. It is six o'clock. I am angry that my brothers have gone and left me there.

"So I return by myself. When I get home, I see them and they say, 'F., where is the bull and the cart?' [I exclaim a prayer of protection.]

"So I run back to [the village]. I am half way there (nearby the Fulanis whose picture you took) when I awake." – F., farmer

"I am in the bush and two hyenas are chasing me. I climb a tree and when I am at the top, I see that at the base of the tree there is a well. But the tree breaks and I fall into the well.

"There is a branch at the bottom of the well on which I sit. I yell to be rescued. For two days people are looking for me, but without success.

"Finally, a member of the search party says, 'I hear cries of a man in a well. Let's go and see if it's our friend. . . . [They throw down a rope and I climb up.]

"When I climb out, I suggest we all go somewhere so I can get some air. But they all run off into town, leaving me alone in the bush.

"I look around me and at the base of a tree I see a sack. It's full of money. I take the money and come home. I find a bag and pour all the money into it.

"Then I bring a dowry to a divorced woman and an engagement is made. We take 2000 naira and give it to her parents. Then she told me to bring 400 naira to buy her things—clothes, perfume, etc.

"We conduct the wedding and are sleeping together. But I don't know that there is a snake in the sack of money. The snake sneaks out of the bag and bites my bride. She dies. ('That's it, dawn broke and I woke up. Now look at me—no wife, no money, no snake. I looked for the money but didn't find it. The dream is a lie.')" – A.S., farmer

"People cry out, 'Somebody's coming!' I see the man, but he's like a hyena. When he approaches, he grabs me by the throat. I take a knife from my pillow and stab him above the eye. Then another man, like a chameleon, jumps me from behind. He bites me in my side but when I lift my shirt to see the wound, I don't see anything.

"Then the hyena-man gathers lots of money. I tell him, 'Let me have the money and I'll do some trading with it.' But for the next seven days, I don't earn any money—not even a cent." –R.D., grain porter

"I am in an institute of higher learning, waiting for the elevator to bring me to the lecture hall. But when the elevators come, there's no room. I wait again. Finally it comes again and I get in. But there is a blackout and I am trapped in the elevator." –L., secondary school teacher

Comment

Of all the dream categories isolated, the anxiety dreams are the most personalistic. More than the other dream types, for which some common cultural and social interpretations may be proffered, a greater understanding of the personal background and psyche of the dreamer is necessary to extrapolate meaning. This cannot be provided here. What does call out for comment, nevertheless, is the use of archetypical symbols through which conflict and anxiety are expressed.

Animals figure prominently in these Hausa anxiety dreams. The snake is startling in its classical Freudian guise, particularly in its role as killer of woman and portender (*per* local interpretation) of male procreation. In actuality, snakes are not as common in the Hausa countryside as might be supposed: their appearance as dream material is therefore all the more striking. Neither does the hyena roam freely in the bush; it is not a real threat to villagers and its evocation is clearly symbolic of sublimated danger or terror.

Another dream device familiar to classical dream analysis is the fall and/or ascent: into a well, upon a house, in an airplane, out from a ditch, in a tree, up a mountain, in an elevator. Even if the specific meaning of vertical imagery may be open to interpretation, its frequency here provides evidence for symbolic universality.

Dreams about Pilgrimage

"Alhaji A. and his wife Hajja U. are returning from Mecca. I get up and run. I express delight and pleasure—pleasure that they've come.

"They say, 'Let's go to [a neighbouring village] to get our belongings.' so I get a donkey and we go to [the village] to get their belongings. (Then I heard the cry, awakening me, 'It's time to pray! It's time to pray!')" (F., farmer)

"I go to the airport to accompany someone going to Mecca. The airport is almost filled up but there is still one place left. The airplane agent says to me, 'Since there is one more seat, just get in and go.'

"I get in the plane and fly to Jiddah. As I leave the plane, an official asks, 'Where are your papers?' I say 'I have none. Allah alone has brought me.' Then this man, an Arab, says 'All right, go on.'

"Then I pass on to the gates of the city. An Arab comes to me and says, 'Get in this car, I'll take you to Mecca.' So he brings me to Mecca and leaves me off at a rest house.

"At the rest house there are people from [our village] who had gone to Mecca but didn't know I was coming. When they all see me they are astonished. One Alhaji—whom I really don't know—asks me, 'How is it that you have gotten to Mecca, you who have no money?' I tell him, 'Allah has brought me, even though I haven't a cent.' A woman from [our village] asks me the same question. . . .

"Then someone brings me a nice gown, someone else brings me a hat, and someone else brings me prayer beads." —T., town crier

Comment

The centrality of religion in rural Hausa life cannot be overemphasized. All aspire to the honorific title of the pilgrim: *alhaji* (for a man) or *alhajiya* (for a woman).

Pilgrimage represents a crowning achievement in the adult's religious and social life. It is a rite of passage, the token of both material and spiritual achievement. With the advent of air travel and government facilitation of the *hajj*, the accomplishment of the pilgrimage has become an increasingly common aspiration. Such a goal is most poignant among poor villagers least likely to realize this dream in their lifetimes. Dreaming about Mecca reflects spiritual preoccupation among a segment of the population otherwise enmeshed in the struggle for physical survival.

Dreams about the Fieldworker

"You have given me two head of cattle. I am grazing them in the bush but then they run away. I catch them, but with great difficulty.

"Then I return to your house and discover that your horse is gone. I am concerned that you will be angry. I go looking for the horse and find it near my home. I wonder if you wish to go riding it just then, so I prepare to bring it back." —M., fieldworker's groom

"I accompany you to Kano. When we arrive at the airport, you tell me, 'Stay here.' You run into a friend of yours—another white man. You introduce us.

"You say, 'Stay here with my friend. I'm going to New York and then returning.'

"I ask, 'If you go to New York, won't you stay a long time?'

"You answer, 'I won't stay a long time. Two days, and I'll be back.'

"You take off. (But before you came back, I woke up.)" —M., teaman

"I receive a letter from my uncle, summoning me. But it is the day of your departure. (I feel very badly about having to choose.) So I write back, explaining that I can't come because I have to accompany you. Uncle replies, saying that it's alright." –F., fieldworker's domestic helper

"You are preparing to return to America. You tell me to prepare myself, because you are going to take me with you. I say that I agree, but that no one at home knows it.

"The next day, we prepare to go. We get into [the van that brought you here]. I go to my father and say, 'Father, I'm going to America with Mallam Bill.' He says, "All right. Have a safe journey and return safely.' "

–S., fieldworker's research assistant[5]

Comment

S. LeVine (1981) has penetratingly tackled the delicate issue of informants' dreams about the researcher in the anthropological setting. Sensitive to inherent imbalance in the research relationship (particularly those of power and dependency), she observes that "the empathy with which researchers receive their [informants'] revelations may . . . induce fantasies of being miraculously rescued or transformed" (LeVine 1981:277). While LeVine is seemingly referring to psychological rescue or transformation, the dreams narrated above indicate a strong tendency to view the researcher as a vehicle for actual escape or flight.

Is there any better challenge to the methodological myth of anthropological neutrality than the appearance of the researcher's own persona in informants' dreams? The fieldworker cannot help but represent, to some degree, the outside world;[6] what is revealing is the degree to which informants express a wish to venture to that foreign world (though the phenomenon of spontaneous, distant wandering is a familiar part of the Hausa ethos) (Olofson 1976).

Linked to the psychologically expressed desire to travel away with the researcher is the ambivalence of separation. Accompanying the traveler means leaving behind hearth and home. It is a difficult choice to make, as the conflict in the above dreams makes clear. The analogy that S. LeVine (1981:292) draws between the informant-researcher dynamic in "exotic settings" and patient-therapist transference "in our own society" is an apt one. One can go a step further and compare the departure of the fieldworker—given the success of his or her acceptance within the community—to the common conflict arising within the termination of psychotherapy in the Western, clinical, equivalent situation. Where social science research includes as part of its techniques the collection of dreams (whether as primary or secondary focus of fieldwork), the otherwise latent relationship that has evolved between "observer" and "observed" may be brought to the fore.

Hausa Interpretation of Dreams

Dream interpretation is the province of the Islamic priest (mallam) who may possess varying degrees of training and expertise in dream interpretation. The status of dreaming in rural Hausaland is itself fraught with ambivalence. According to one village mallam, dreams are a matter of "craziness" or "worthlessness," the antithesis of "sense" or "intelligence."[7] Another mallam distinguishes between dreams which are lies and those which are truth. (Great mallams and women ["of those who fear Allah"] have true dreams.) At the same time there is a general system of coding, operating on the principle of opposites, which renders specific dream events meaningful. Though dismissed on the one hand as valueless (for unreal), dreams are also taken quite seriously as manifestations of prophecy.

What causes dreams, according to the mallams? The answers range from the prosaic to the sublime. Working hard, especially under great toil, induces one to sleep a lot and hence dream a lot. According to another mallam, dreams are caused by the wandering of the soul which leaves the body while the person sleeps. The soul meets other wandering souls and also the dead. This same mallam, in conformity with even mainstream Western psychology, stated, "What you think about, what's on your mind, that's what you'll dream."

All dream interpreters utilize the paradigm of prophetic opposites. Laughing in one's sleep is a sign of sadness (or sadness to come). Crying in one's sleep, on the other hand, is a good sign. Dream water is actually filth: the man who dreams he is drenched in water has done something evil in the eyes of Allah.

Colours are of significance. White and yellow are desirable, signifying goodness, wealth, grace (*alheri*). Black and red are bad signs, for they represent misfortune or death. Objects associated with these colours have like interpretations. Fire, because of its red colour, is a portent of something bad. By extension a car, to any other motorized vehicle, is also bad (because of its "fire/energy" or *wuta*). Dreaming of a bicycle, in contrast, is good, for a bicycle does not utilize mechanical energy.

Certain dreamed referents possess their own symbolism. Camels represent angels. Water combined with hay (water alone, we have seen, represents dirt) is a positive dream sign.

Comment

The emphasis on coding symbols and perceived divining function of the dream in Hausaland parallels what Kilborne (1981) has found in another Islamic context, Moroccan dream interpretation, attributing it to varying motivations among dream interpreters. In both Hausaland and Morocco there has been significant melding of traditional customs with Islamic norms;

dream interpretation also appears to reflect this amalgamation of folk and Islamic perspectives. Islam, being a literate tradition, continues to penetrate rural Hausaland, and therefore greater uniformity in pan-Islamic dream interpretation may be expected. To signify the relativity of this process, whereas Hausa village mallams now know of Islamic dream books, they are not yet in common circulation or usage.

Future Directions and Implications

This initial exploration into the dreams of rural Hausa villagers raises two sets of interrelated questions. One set deals with potential differences among different Hausa subcategories. How do the dreams of Hausa women differ from those of Hausa men? Are the dreams of the rural Hausa different from those of urban dwellers? Do the superimposed political cultures of Nigeria and Niger affect the psyche, and hence dreaming, of Hausa from these two different nations?

Another direction for future research is to investigate the dreams of other ethnic Nigerian groups with a comparable economic profile. Do rural Igbo villagers, for instance, substantially differ from their Hausa counterparts in terms of their deepest psychological concerns? Or do they rather share similar existential concerns? If, as may be hypothesized, preoccupation with developmental needs (e.g., successful farming, adequate income) unites members of different ethnic groups in Nigeria, such findings may be used to counter the otherwise divisive process of ethnic politicization. In an atmosphere where, as is currently the case, religion is being raised as a wedge between different Nigerian populations (Clark 1988), perhaps psychology may provide a unifying, if conventional, thread.

On a less grandiose scale, dream collection may at least be a useful tool for fostering the empathy between researcher and informants which is an indispensable element to successful fieldwork. The researcher's attempt to collect dreams, and the villagers' willingness to narrate them, facilitated communication about topics otherwise ignored and with informants not normally encountered. Dream collection may thus serve as a useful adjunct to fieldwork not ostensibly psychological in focus or orientation.

Notes

1. Of course, the "student as guinea pig" phenomenon is not restricted to psychological studies in the West. Uzoka's recent investigation into "attribution of causation to dreams in a Nigerian population" is limited to university psychology students and majors. No data which would enable inter-ethnic comparison of results are provided (Uzoka 1988:60-63).
2. In a later study (Shweder and LeVine 1975) again utilizing dream material from Nigeria, LeVine did use a more plebeian sample: 60 boys and girls, ranging from five to thirteen years of age, who were interviewed in Hausa. The purpose of this study was not to compare dreaming patterns among different ethnic groups, or even conduct a content analysis as such, but

rather to test the universality, and hence validity, of Kohlberg's "doctrine of invariant sequence" in cognitive development.

3. As the last dream of this variety indicates, Mecca represents not only religious fulfillment (pilgrimage is one of the five pillars of the faith) but the opportunity to gain wealth as well. For a fuller account of how Hausa villagers view Mecca as a source of material enrichment, see Miles 1986b.
4. That psychic fixation with money may be attributed to real material poverty is not even considered in the most eclectic and erudite treatment of this linkage (Borneman, 1976).
5. This dream was recounted twice, first when it was recalled and then later in the day when it was to be transcribed. Interestingly, when S. recounted it the second time, he completely forgot saying goodbye to his father. In its first telling, this had come across as the most dramatic segment of the dream.
6. This is so even when the fieldworker is from the society he or she is studying. For example Srinivas, though himself a Brahmin Kannada speaker from Mysore, was viewed as a "respected outsider" by the villagers of Rampura (Srinivas 1976).
7. In Hausaland, *majanuni* and *iska* as opposed to *hankali*.

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IN MEMORIAM

SALLY M. WEAVER
1940-1993

Thomas S. Abler
University of Waterloo

The anthropology community in Canada lost one of its leading figures with the death of Sally M. Weaver, Professor at the University of Waterloo, at her home in Cambridge, Ontario, on May 5, 1993. She died while in the prime of her career, at age 52, from cancer. In this brief obituary I hope to indicate something of the contribution of Sally Weaver to anthropology at Waterloo, in Canada and internationally. Along the way I will provide an anecdote or two on Sally the person who meant so much to all of us.

Weaver was born on August 24, 1940, in Fort Erie, Ontario. Her university education, both undergraduate and graduate, was in anthropology at the University of Toronto. She earned an Honours B.A. in 1963, an M.A. in 1964 and she completed her Ph.D. in 1967. She was the first female to earn a Ph.D. in anthropology from Toronto and, to my knowledge, was the first Canadian woman with an anthropology Ph.D.

I first met Sal in 1965 while we were both Ph.D. students at the University of Toronto. We shared an office in the Borden Building, where Spadina Avenue circles the Connaught Laboratories. We occupied a "cat walk" which had connected the two halves of the building. It was an ideal set-up for two doctoral students—we kept our desks at each end and the electric kettle and instant coffee in the middle. As we relaxed over coffee we could discuss the theoretical issues in anthropology, our common interest in the Iroquois people, their culture and history and gossip about anthropologists in and out of the department.

At the time the Anthropology Department at the University of Toronto was going through one of its cyclical traumas of internal conflict, so Sal and I hid in our office in the Borden Building, removing ourselves from the blood being spilled in Sydney Smith Hall which housed the bulk of the department.

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Our major problem was keeping pigeons out of the office when we opened windows on warm days. Sal was looking for a job, and made contact with the University of Waterloo. Most of us at Toronto thought of Kitchener-Waterloo only as a town one had to pass through on the way to theatre at Stratford. Sal took the train (they ran more frequently then) for her job interview, informing her contacts at this end that they could easily spot her. They should look for red hair and a red fox collar on her coat.

She joined the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Waterloo as its second anthropologist in September 1966. That academic year she completed and defended her thesis on Health Care on the Six Nations Reserve.

At Waterloo Weaver was energetic in developing the anthropology program. We expanded (I was hired as the third anthropologist in September 1967, and two more anthropologists were hired in 1968), instituted a general, then an honours degree and had our own budget by 1970. Weaver became Associate Chair for Anthropology within the combined department in 1975-76 and moved anthropology to fully independent departmental status. Weaver served the department as its first chair from 1976-79.

Weaver also quickly made contributions to the growth of anthropology, and communication among anthropologists, within Canada. She served a term on the Executive of the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association from 1970-73. That organization, however, neither had a large anthropology membership nor did it attract many anthropologists to its meetings. Weaver, along with others, saw a need for a separate association for social and cultural anthropology within Canada. She was instrumental in the founding of the Canadian Ethnology Society (now the Canadian Anthropology Society) in 1974. Sal served as President of the organization in 1975-76. As past-President she organized a plenary session on applied anthropology in Canada at the fourth annual Congress of the Canadian Ethnology Society. On May 8, at the 1993 meetings of the Canadian Anthropology Society (CASCA as the CES is now known), Dr. Joan Ryan was awarded the Weaver-Tremblay Prize in Applied Anthropology, the award named in honour of Sally and Adé Tremblay of Laval.

Weaver was frequently asked to serve on panels and boards beyond the university. Among the positions she held were Trustee, National Museums of Canada (1972-78); Member, Program Committee for Canada, International Union of the Anthropological Sciences, XI Congress (1980-83); Member, Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council's Task Force on Native Issues (1982-83); Board Member, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Geneva (1985-88); and Board Member, Association for Native Development of the Performing and Visual Arts (1988-91).

A great deal of communication among anthropologists takes place at professional meetings. Here Weaver excelled both from the podium and in infor-

mal interaction with colleagues. At one such meeting in Bloomington, Indiana, I had the opportunity, along with Sal and other anthropologists (including a nun in habit), to take a tour of the Kinsey Sex Institute led by its director, anthropologist Paul Gebhard. I recall Sal's reaction to a papier-mâché phallus half a metre high—"It's just like the mushroom we danced around in Brownies."

To turn to Weaver's scholarly efforts, I see four major thrusts in her career.

The first was in history and politics at the Six Nations Reserve. This grew out of her doctoral research. It produced a number of publications, most notably the revision of her Ph.D. thesis published in 1972 as a monograph in the National Museum of Man's Publications in Ethnology, her chapter on the Six Nations in Vol. 15 of the Smithsonian Institution's *Handbook of North American Indians* (1978) and her chapters (still forthcoming) in *The History of the Indians of Ontario.*

Secondly, Weaver took a brief fling at bibliography in a project where she and I were co-directors. The Canadian Indian Bibliography Project was funded in 1971-72 by grants totalling over $42,000, not a small sum in 1972 dollars. As co-director of the project I acknowledge its great debt to Weaver in exploiting provincial and federal sources of funds beyond the Canada Council. The result was an annotated bibliography of over 700 pages published by University of Toronto Press in 1974.

A third thrust of Weaver's research carried her into the national arena where she examined the policies of the Federal Government *vis-à-vis* the Native Peoples of Canada. Her anthropological skills allowed her to untangle the exotic tribal behaviour of the Ottawa bureaucrat. Because of the interdisciplinary nature of the research and the cross-disciplinary interest in it, she published some of this work in non-anthropological journals. Reviewers of her recent grant application to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (for research she intended to carry out in a forthcoming sabbatical year) attest to the impact of her policy research. One noted, "Her work is widely cited beyond Anthropology," and that Weaver "is known to and well respected by scholars in Political Science, Public Administration, Native Studies, and Law alike." A second simply stated, "Dr. Weaver is demonstrably one of Canada's finest social science researchers."

Her book, *Making Canadian Indian Policy*: *The Hidden Agenda 1968-70* (University of Toronto Press, 1981) has been widely influential. It dealt with the proposal in a 1969 "White Paper" by the Canadian government to terminate its relationship with Native Peoples. On the 50th anniversary of its aid to publication program, the Social Science Federation selected this monograph as one of the 20 best works in English in the social sciences that the SSF had subsidized. A third anonymous reviewer of Weaver's recent SSHRC application, "not from Weaver's discipline," called this book "still the most important monograph in the field."

The fourth thrust in Weaver's research was the examination of the relationship of the state to indigenous minorities in other settings, specifically Australia (with its Aborigines) and Norway (with the Sami). Her research looked not only at the policies of the government but also at the response of indigenous organizations to these policies. It was while she was pursuing research in Norway that doctors first discovered cancer in her system. Weaver brought the same energy and clarity to her classroom presentations that she exhibited in her written work and conference papers. The only consistent complaint on teaching evaluations from lecture courses was sore hands from having to write too much too fast. Her seminars brought graduate-level performance from even average undergraduate students. University of Waterloo graduates who have gone on to graduate school have been unanimous in praising her seminars as providing superior training for meeting the demands of graduate work in anthropology. While anthropology has no graduate program at Waterloo, Weaver did supervise graduate students in the School of Urban and Regional Planning where she had a joint appointment from 1973 to 1988.

All who have had contact with Sal were almost overwhelmed by the enthusiasm she brought to any task in which she was engaged. Despite the reemergence of cancer diagnosed in early 1993, she continued, to the best her health would allow, to proceed toward the goals she had developed for her upcoming sabbatical year. She continued to work almost to the end, and in fact submitted an updated vita to the Department at Waterloo a week before her death.

Unlike many anthropologists, possibly reflecting Sally's sound judgment of people, Sally made a good choice in her first spouse. She is survived by her husband of 30 years, Dr. David Weaver, Professor of Mechanical Engineering at McMaster University. At his urging, an award for senior undergraduate students who show promise of following a professional career related to Weaver's interests has been established. Contributions payable to the University of Waterloo, with a note indicating they are for the Sally M. Weaver Award in Anthropology, may be sent to the Department of Anthropology, University of Waterloo.

BOOK REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

The Concept of Work: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern
Herbert Applebaum
Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992. xiii + 645 pp. $74.50 (cloth), $24.50 (paper)

Reviewer: Constance de Roche
University College of Cape Breton

With this volume, Applebaum makes a hefty contribution to SUNY's Series in the Anthropology of Work (edited by June Nash)—though not one of commensurate intellectual weight. It is his third in the series, his fourth SUNY publication and his sixth book in little more than a decade. His quantitative output is all the more impressive in that it is, in a sense, avocational; he is Director of Commercial Construction at Hartz Mountain Industries. The book is an attempt to extend the anthropological purview onto Western history—starting with pre-Classical Greece, including Republican and Imperial Rome, moving from early Christian Europe through to modern Europe and America—as well as to speculate about the future of work in the West. As such it is his most ambitious project to date. Designed on so monumental a scale, without foundations in historiographical training and set on methodologically slippery slopes, the construction is doomed to a certain vacancy rate.

The author begins with the claim of having avoided the straitjacket of "any philosophical or ideological bent" (p. ix), a claim that will appear naive to any post-positivist reader. Indeed, the cultural underpinnings of his perspective emerge briefly and periodically: for example, the coupling of an allusion to poor motivation as a cause for the failure of the Soviet Union and a warning that the decline of the work ethic (whose meaning shifts a bit across the wide terrain of chapters) may undermine the West's competitive efficiency (pp. 463-464). The perspective can be also read in omission. Though he attempts to describe women's work roles in pre-modern societies, Applebaum says virtually nothing about more recent, non-market (especially domestic) work, and his own definition of work is sufficiently broad to warrant more discussion (see p. x). Or, one might notice that his dozen pages on Marx (as lengthy as his treatment of Benjamin Franklin) decontextualizes the alienating role of technology by ignoring the social relations of production, though elsewhere he notes that technology can only be understood in sociocultural terms.

The claim to objectivity, moreover, confuses values and theory. The book's purported "anthropological perspective" amounts to little more than a framework of organizing themes elaborated from substantivist models of non-market society (see p. 9). Though one might excuse Applebaum for ignoring the sterile debate involving this model, it is more difficult to understand why he makes no effort to review, apply or develop subsequent attempts at transcending it. Indeed, in his 37-page bibliography, I identified only 16 anthropological works—the most recent of which, discounting three of his own five, was published in 1982. And of the latter, Wolf (1982) is not cited in the text.

His perspective leads to a description not only of how abstract work was conceived by the literati, but also of specific work roles and statuses. Unfortunately, the latter

agenda is not systematically applied. In the first five chapters of Part Three ("Work in the Modern World"), this agenda gives way to an idealist one that belies the author's own goals. The chapters comprise only a history of intellectual thought, as if the great thinkers were simply representative of their cultural milieu. Applebaum knows better; early and repeatedly he admits the methodological limitation which he most fully embraces here: the cultural conceptions of the non-literate and relatively powerless are largely lost to history. For contemporary times, when at least some ethnographic materials attempt to give voice to workers, there is silence. Applebaum excuses this perversity of presentation by claiming that intellectuals were men of influence. Hegemony be what it may, the effort remains flawed. A methodologically creative ethnohistorian might do better. But by failing to interpret intellectuals in a sociopolitical framework he even robs them of a capacity to refract a broader picture. Should Locke be understood as an apologist of the bourgeois revolution? Was Marx not a critic of industrial capitalists? Indeed, when Applebaum notices inconsistencies among intellectuals, he recognizes them as inevitable signs of complexity but overlooks their potential for keying systemic contradictions.

Theory is neither constructed nor theories deconstructed; historical "facts" are reconstructed—at least for pre-modern periods—from hints in primary sources (e.g., the Homeric myths) and extensive presentations of secondary analyses. The framework of thought in numerous learned tomes is outlined in a plain and readable manner. Descriptively, it is a full house, with rooms of interesting furniture.

These furnishings include a review of sociological and economic analyses of the social impact of current technological change. Though somewhat repetitious (a problem that is more forgivable in earlier chapters that cover interrelated substantive topics), being largely organized by author and publication rather than by theme, it is a rich, if not conclusive, literature that anthropologists of work will find useful. If no general theory of social change is ultimately brought to bear—the work sometimes hints at materialist conditions and more often at ideographic ones—the author does at least resist the temptation to make predictions of change, acknowledging the social structural constraints that limit possibilities as well as the technological innovations that offer potential.

Applebaum will probably be better remembered for helping to reinstate industrial ethnography (see 1981) and for facilitating the development of the Society for the Anthropology of Work (as founder of the *Anthropology of Work Review*) than for this overly ambitious enterprise. But this one, too, may stimulate further efforts.

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Power and Difference: Gender in Island Southeast Asia
Jane Monnig Atkinson and Shelly Errington, eds.
Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1990. xiv + 498 pp. $49.50 (cloth), $14.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Melanie G. Wiber
University of New Brunswick

This book examines the cultural construction of gender in Southeast Asia, a region often viewed as lacking a ritual or economic gender differentiation. As an exercise in "interpretive" anthropology it purports to explore ideological forces, but actually takes forays into materialistic and sociological explanations as well. Southeast Asia is divided into two contrasting regions: the Centrist Archipelago (the Philippines, Borneo, Southern Malay Peninsula, Sulawesi and Java) and the Exchange Archipelago (Sumatra, Lesser Sundas, Sumba, Seram and Moluku). In Boon's pivotal article, the former is characterized by optionally endogamous "houses" competing for hierarchical position, whereas the latter has exogamous, exchange-oriented lineages with established wife-giver and wife-taker status differentials. Gender in the first case is submerged in stratification, while in the second case (Exchange Archipelago) it is an elaborated cultural symbol. Unfortunately, this kin-based contrast remains relatively undeveloped in the articles. Errington's Introduction suggests other potentially unifying concepts however; these have also received insufficient attention. For example, power is not defined or used consistently in many of the contributions, nor is Barthes' mythological approach utilized in an analytical fashion to "demystify" cultural concepts of gender. Nevertheless, the articles are stimulating and the book is an important contribution to gender research.

The first half of the collection is process-oriented and the authors share the conclusion that, despite the apparent lack of gender differentiation, women are devalued in social process. Atkinson examines differential access to spiritual potency among the Wana of Sulawesi to explain the real male-female difference in political participation. Tsing examines the interaction between gender image and participation in dispute settlement among the Meratus of South Kalimantan. Keeler investigates language use in hierarchical Javanese society to demonstrate female lack of prestige/potency. Hatley examines the stereotypical gender content of Javanese dramatic performance and how negative female stereotypes are tied to ambivalence about social change. Kuipers compares male and female ritual speech use among the Weyéwa of Sumba to show the source of male authority in agnatic lineages and to contrast it with female efficacious emotionalism. In contrast, the latter half of the volume is comprised of more traditional approaches. In an investigation of menstrual taboos in Huaulu (Seram), Valeri rejects Strathern's critique of Ortner's nature/culture dichotomy on the basis of her failure to realize the different view of nature held by "people without a scientific culture [with] the notion of natural law" (p. 266). Hoskins also follows Ortner in an analysis of Kodi (West Sumba) double descent, but notes that in Kodi cosmology gender is a metaphor for *both* mutuality and asymmetry. Rogers shows how Batak (Sumatra) gender concepts operate both in the centre/periphery relations with the wider nation state and in those of the lineage-based exchange system. Female stereotypes reflect tensions in both these arenas. Blanc-Szanton also addresses change and extra-cultural influences by examining the impact of colonialism on the Ilonggo (Philippines).

Finally, Ong investigates the interplay between Malaysian (Islamic) ideology and the image of women generated by their employment in industrial free-trade zones of Malaysia.

These articles reflect both the strengths of the interpretive approach and many of its weaknesses (see Keesing, "Anthropology as Interpretive Quest, *Current Anthropology* 1987). There are two themes at work here: (1) ideology as causal agent in gender "attribution" (influenced by Lévi-Strauss and Ortner) and (2) ideology as reflections of economic and political causal factors (Marxist feminism). The authors often mix these causal agents without attempting to grapple with the issue of what is logically prior. Many articles uncritically identify kinship practices as the source for ideological constructs (Boon, Kuipers, Valeri, Hoskins, Rogers). Valeri explicitly relates Huaulu gender constructs to alliance theory, but ends up explaining it by reference to the "deep structure" of a universal culture/nature dichotomy. Others take a functional approach, such as Keeler's argument that female lack of potency allows them to "get jobs done." There are also some disturbing methodological questions here. Attempts to interpret aspects of the "other" make them sound suspiciously like "us." For example, *their* "potency" (p. 43) sounds like *our* "charisma" and Keeler's status-related analysis of speech pattern usage (p. 133) reminds one of boundary marking with "the Queen's English." Further, although many contributors recognize alternative constructions of gender categories within the same culture, the male voice is habitually the authoritative informant, as with Valeri's analysis of taboos with their source in male feelings, perceptions and reactions (pp. 260-261).

Nevertheless, the book is an excellent resource. The articles should stimulate much useful debate in upper-level gender or regional ethnography courses. It should also initiate many interesting lines of future research.

Ethnography and the Historical Imagination
John and Jean Comaroff
Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1992. xiv + 337 pp. $55.00 (cloth), $18.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Joseph R. Manyoni
Carleton University

This captivatingly provocative book falls firmly into the current genre of critical ethnographic and methodological literature in anthropology. *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination* is a *tour de force* of the ethnographic enterprise and attempts to locate ethnography squarely within the boundaries of the broader historical contexts which have shaped the discipline of anthropology in all its manifestations. It evokes not only the intellectual climate that spawned ethnographic interest in "native cultures," but also raises some fundamental questions of epistemology in the construction and presentation of the so-called "savage societies" to Western readers.

The authors depict the current state of anthropology as one riddled with ambivalence towards its enterprise and its "mode of inquiry that appears, by turns, uniquely revelatory and irredeemably ethnocentric" (p. 7). They concur with the pointed observation of Aijimer (1988:424) that ethnography "always has been . . . linked with epistemological problems" (and, one might add, of both conceptualization of research

problems and of ethnographic practice). The authors raise tantalizing questions about the methodology and interpretation of ethnographic research. They draw attention to the sometimes apparent contradictory perspectives of its major proponents, that is, whether anthropology is part of "natural science," as Radcliffe-Brown (1957) would have it, or part of history as advocated by Evans-Pritchard (1961, 1963).

The Comaroffs conclude that "Ethnography . . . is a historically situated mode of understanding situated contexts, . . . each with its own . . . radically different . . . objects and objectives" (pp. 9-10). They fortify this conclusion by recourse to the evidence of cultural historians which, the authors claim, validate our endeavor as ethnographers" (p. 18). They further assert that "cultural history has been adept at revealing that all social fields are domains of contests," particularly in the area of "culture" (p. 18). This postulate is then applied to an analytical re-evaluation of some standard ethnographies, principally Leach (1954), to show that failure to take into account the historical perspective subverts even the most perceptive ethnographic analysis.

In one sense, the book is a methodological excursus in that it re-evaluates the epistemological basis of the ethnographic enterprise and, in another, it is a critique of the hermeneutics of cultural translation of non-Western social systems. The authors find strong support for their argument regarding the affinity between ethnography and history in the dictum of Lévi-Strauss that "Both history and ethnography are concerned with societies *other* than the one in which we live. . . . [I]n both cases we are dealing with systems of representations which differ . . . from the representations of the investigator" (1963:16-17). However, the authors are concerned with a broader conception of "historical anthropology" which goes beyond what they call the parochial idea of Western universal historiography which, nonetheless, ignores other histories outside of the "orthodox practices of periodization in European history" (pp. 19-22). A welter of evidence is adduced from extant ethnographic studies to demonstrate the authors' point that reported ethnographic practices of native societies are often reduced to fictional, neat "scientific" categories of historical anthropology which thus ignore culture ambiguities of the polyphonic representation inherent in empirical facts.

The book is divided into three topical parts on: (I) Theory, Ethnography, Historiography; (II) Dialectical Systems, Imaginative Sociologies; and (III) Colonialism and Modernity. Each part consists of three expository chapters of these thematic motifs and a concluding chapter (post hoc) on the link between ethnography and the colonial enterprise and hegemony. This last chapter is undoubtedly the quintessence of the whole argument of the book, to wit, the inextricable nature of ethnography and history in the colonial context.

Overall, the authors succeed in demonstrating the point of their argument by a judicious use of the "illustrative case-study method," drawn in part from the authors' own extensive studies on African ethnography and partly from historical records on Africa as viewed from a Western perspective. In fact, through constant reference, copious paraphrases and quotations from the authors' previous studies, they impel the reader of the present volume to examine or re-examine these original works. The skilful re-organization of these varied publications into a unified corpus of evidence is successful in supporting the central argument for the unity of history and anthropology. Seven of the 10 chapters are restructured versions from previous publications.

These materials also redirect us to focus on the close affinity between the history of colonialism and the ethnographic enterprise. It is noteworthy that the image of Africa and the African "savage," which informed much of 18th- and 19th-century European perceptions of their colonial subjects, was a combined product of missionary report-

age justifying its civilizing and redemptive enterprise, the ethnographic "scientism" of a budding anthropology and a crude socio-biology supporting crass racial theories.

The book may be recommended for senior undergraduate and graduate seminars and would be certain to arouse passioned intellectual debates about the goal and methods of ethnography. It provokes a rethinking of the epistemological basis of ethnographic interpretations of "other cultures."

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Native Liberty, Crown Sovereignty: The Existing Aboriginal Right of Self-Government
Bruce Clark
Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990. 259 pp. $39.95 (cloth)

Reviewer: James (Sa'ke'j) Youngblood Henderson
University College of Cape Breton

University College of Cape Breton sheds a necessary light on the issue of self-government. Speaking directly from the perspective of the Imperial Crown, this book demonstrates that aboriginal self-government has always been an existing constitutional right. The author's thesis is that Aboriginal sovereignty and Crown sovereignty complemented each other in Canada. The Crown claimed ultimate sovereignty, but promised not to molest or disturb the tribal cultures; this included recognition of the right of self-government. The book continually supports this thesis through a strictly legal analysis. Interestingly, this narrow viewpoint brings clarity and power to the issue.

Without addressing the broader moral, anthropological and philosophical issues, the book demonstrates that it was the immigrants' need for self-government which created the problematic issues of Canadian political thought and identity. This work illustrates that the insecurities and desires of the immigrants twisted aboriginal and treaty rights until they could no longer be recognized. Aboriginal and treaty rights enshrined in prerogative laws were viewed as merely another obstacle in their quest to be the political equals of their mostly European ancestors. The prerogative rights were

hidden by their desire to be more than a collection of immigrants living off aboriginal wealth and talents. It is a strange tale, but closer to the truth than most Canadian myths.

In this important book, the author deftly exposes His Majesty's original constitutional vision of Canada. He unravels the British colonial pretences surrounding aboriginal rights with riveting logic and with historical documents. This book and the author's scholarship constitute an important milestone in the decolonization of Canada. It elegantly replaces the myth of the rise of responsible government. More importantly, this legal history reveals the unlawful activities of the provinces and the federal governments, which attempted to dismantle the aboriginal governments, and why these attempts were constitutionally invalid.

Chapter after chapter reveals that ever since 1763, the First Nations had the constitutional right of aboriginal self-government: not the familiar *Indian Act* band government structures, nor the racial dreams of the National Indian organizations, nor the narrow concerns of the First Ministers, but rather a right to their culturally-defined traditional government. For those who work with the aboriginal people or seek to understand their modern movement toward tribal self-determination, it is required reading. The author's vision is clear, even if his proposed remedy is not. Most importantly, it lays the foundation for tribal government and respect in Canada's future.

Women of the Praia: Work and Lives in a Portuguese Coastal Community
Sally Cole
Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991. xvii + 189 pp. $39.50 (cloth), $12.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Ann Marie Powers
Acadia University

Women of the Praia is one of those rare monographs that combines theory, method and ethnography and weaves them together to provide a splendid book that is at once an important contribution to European ethnography, as well as a critical pedagogical resource.

Incorporating the life histories of five women from Vila Cha, a parish in northwestern Portugal, Sally Cole presents a detailed account of changing gender relations through three generations of fisherfolk (''*os pescadores*'') and agriculturalists (''*os lavradores*''), focussing on the emergence and decline of the maritime economy.

From fieldwork undertaken in 1984-85 and again in 1988, as well as through the use of archival data, the author describes the changing patterns of social and economic organization which characterized the maritime economy of Vila Cha during the Salazarean regime (1926-74). With insight and artistry, Cole challenges the view of women in the Mediterranean as being victims of their own sexuality, tied to a code of honour and shame which enhances male prestige. Instead, with vivid clarity we see how ''in practice, gender is actively constructed and negotiated at several levels and that local gender systems do not merely mirror the hegemonic constructions of church and state'' (p. 79).

During the Salazar regime, the division of labour and male emigration (as far distant as Mozambique and Newfoundland) within the maritime community provided a

context in which women saw themselves more in terms of their roles as workers and managers (producers) within the household, rather than as reproducers. While at the community level there may have existed a myth of male dominance, under the Salazarean State communities were essentially powerless and it was the household that took priority in the lives of rural people. Consequently, among the fisherfolk of Vila Cha, the ideal of a partnership between spouses existed and female autonomy was exemplified by patterns of female inheritance and uxorilocality and a positive identity of women as *trabalhadeiras* (hard-working). By contrast, the male-centred households of the agriculturalists of the same parish, whose wives did not leave their homes, were subject to the constructions of gender and family from a state that legislated male dominance and a church which promulgated female servitude. The women of the wealthier *lavradores*, confined to their homes, were envied by the fisherwomen of Vila Cha *not* for their position within the home, per se, rather for the wealth and status such a role (*dona de casa*) symbolized. Cole goes on to explain how this paradoxical attitude towards women who were *donas de casa* eventually became a source of conflict for young maritime women hired by industries coming into the area during the 1960s. Low wages, coupled with increasing time away from their households, led to a decline in status and autonomy for many of these women and increased social stratification throughout Vila Cha.

By understanding gender as a changing historical and social construction, the meaning of honour and shame in the Mediterranean takes on new dimensions. No longer is shame seen in opposition to honour, nor woman seen as "the other" of man. Cole brilliantly deconstructs this code to demonstrate the system as one of social control applied to both men and women and places the analysis of shame into a context that is not sexuality dependent. By so doing, it reminds us once again of how our theoretical assumptions sometimes misguide us into asking the questions which will produce the answers we expect, rather than seeing the kaleidoscope of meaning and behaviour that exists within every culture.

This book is exemplary in many ways and is a welcome resource for teaching and research in a variety of courses from European cultures and historical ethnography to gender and sexuality. My students thoroughly enjoyed it, as did I.

Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa, Volume 1
Jean and John Comaroff
Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1991. xx + 414 pp. $60.00 (cloth), $18.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Sean Morrow
National University of Lesotho

Historians schooled to seek economic and political motives have sometimes dealt simplistically with missionaries in Africa. Missionaries were generally not drawn from the most socially or economically significant classes and, at least initially, often possessed little understanding of the communities they entered. They became, even so, crucial interpreters (or misinterpreters) of Europe and Africa to each other. Unsummoned and importunate though they were, their activities in incipient or actual

colonies could provide a rich store of metaphor upon which Africans could draw in questioning and challenging authority.

Jean and John Comaroff are well equipped to deal with this area. They have drawn on their knowledge of the Southern Tswana and wide familiarity with the British context to create a rounded work of historical anthropology. As they say, this is not an "event history" of the interaction of non-conformist missionaries and the Tswana. It is an attempt to "trace the contradictions and continuities among the various dimensions and discourses of the encounter between the mission and the Tswana" (p. 292). They range over the intellectual and social history of 19th-century Southern Africa and, in this first volume, of Britain, creating a satisfying picture of the ambiguous missionary presence. It should be added, however, that the best mission studies have, at least since the 1970s, examined many of the themes pursued by the Comaroffs, though seldom in such sharp focus. Works by John McCracken, Ian Linden and Robert Straver come to mind.

The Comaroffs argue, with considerable subtlety, that amongst both missionaries and Tswana overt intentions tended to result in unforeseen outcomes. Mission history must start, they argue, in Europe and they create a picture of missionaries struggling to maintain their hold on the lowest rung of the middle-class ladder, idealizing supposed past social balance and imagining the creation in Africa of the sturdy yeomanry evidently extinct in Britain. Images of Africa, some hostile, some romantically positive, flowed together, culminating in anti-slavery rhetoric which evoked sympathy with Africans whilst rarely questioning their supposed savagery. The contrasting Tswana reality of communities "where human action was never a simple reflection or a mechanical enactment of 'social structure,' [and where] everyday practice could and did produce a subtle, shifting mosaic of social and political forms" (p. 152), is described and the initial meeting of these worlds, which set the agenda for subsequent dialogue, is analyzed. Probing each other's cultures, missionaries attempted to Christianize the Tswana and the Tswana attempted to turn the mission to their advantage. The missionaries tried to separate realms of church and state, a project more revolutionary than they knew, in that it subverted structures based on the indivisibility of the secular and the sacred. Those marginal to Tswana society were promoted within the mission and the way for colonialism prepared. The context of this analysis is a defence of historical anthropology against critical postmodernism and other schools of thought. The Comaroffs "insist on situating methodological discussion in analytical practice" (p. 17). Historians, at least, will enthusiastically agree.

This is in many ways an excellent book. It would be better if it were shorter and if its prose was less mannered. There is a tendency to patronize some of the clerical sources, to which, after all, the Comaroffs' enterprise is greatly indebted. Phrases like "the good reverend," "the good doctor," "the literary cleric" read all too much like sneers. The authors also reveal a certain academic hubris. They argue that a study of this type may "affirm—indeed, chart the way to—revolutionary consciousness" (p. xiii). Possibly. But in a book published by the University of Chicago Press? In this language? With its likely audience? The validity of the academic study of consciousness is beyond doubt. Academics might ask themselves, however, just how significant their role may be in its formation.

New Neighbours: A Case Study of Cooperative Housing
Matthew Cooper and Margaret Critchlow Rodman
Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992. 326 pp. $50.00 (cloth), $19.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Alan Smart
University of Calgary

New Neighbours is an ethnography of two housing co-operatives in Harbourfront in Toronto, but it is also more than that. It explores the conflict between use values and exchange values in the construction of Canadian housing, and argues for the relevance of housing co-operatives in improving the quality of urban life by allowing citizens to take "greater control over the conditions that affect their own lives" (p. 4). Given that Canadian co-operatives have fallen upon politically hard times (discussed in a useful background chapter), such an argument is particularly timely.

The authors argue that giving citizens "more control over the conditions that affect their lives would improve the quality of urban life" (p. 268). They find the advantages of co-operatives not simply to be the provision of more affordable housing, but also the encouragement of participatory democracy and of the diversity necessary to meet the needs of housing people in a nation like Canada.

Perhaps the greatest merit of this book is that it makes these arguments not simply through theoretical argument or through examination of statistics, but through intensive fieldwork in the co-operatives. Such research is distressingly rare in studies of North American housing, and the insights liberally scattered throughout this book indicate the advantages of looking in detail at what actually happens and not just what people say about it.

The authors argue that co-operative housing is much more effective at providing the use values that are sought in housing, not just for those who cannot afford private housing, but also for many of those who could afford to buy their own dwelling. They argue that much of our present housing fails to "meet the needs of a diverse and rapidly changing population," and that "an explicit recognition of the primacy of use values over exchange values in housing will best ensure that these needs are met" (p. 9). The only reservation that I have about this useful and timely book concerns this point. The social construction of further housing co-operatives is powerfully constrained by the dominance of exchange values in capitalist societies and the reliance of this housing form upon the political will to subsidize it. The authors say little about how this housing sector might be further expanded, given the lack of political support in Canada at this time. Yet, if this non-profit housing form provides desirable, efficient housing provision that responds to unmet needs, could its provision not also be accomplished without relying upon fickle governmental support?

This book will be very useful for those interested in housing, urban anthropology, the social construction of communities and urban development. It is written clearly and concisely enough that it could also be used as a textbook for senior undergraduate courses.

Communities at Risk: Collective Responses to Technological Hazards
Stephen R. Couch and J. Stephen Kroll-Smith, eds.
New York: Peter Lang, 1991. 320 pp. $50.95 (cloth)

Reviewer: Alf Hornborg
University of Lund, Sweden

This collection of essays deals with modern, technological disasters from a sociological perspective. The case studies discussed include internationally well-known accidents such as Three Mile Island, Chernobyl and Bhopal, but also several of more local, predominantly New England, interest. These include toxic waste leachates in a residential area (Love Canal), industrial water pollution, an oil spill, a PCB fire in an office building, radon contamination and the threat of a watershed "development" plan. Ten of the 12 chapters are grouped into four parts according to the kinds of responses focussed on, respectively, "social psychological," "local organizational," "cultural" and "political economy."

The "social psychological" contributions present statistical material on different varieties of psychological response to disasters. The "local organizational" section addresses questions concerning the success or failure of local protest groups. The "cultural" part illuminates the role of therapeutic "disaster subcultures," the symbiosis between media and activists and the likelihood of "environmental stigma." The chapters on "political economy," finally, deal with the transformation of political structures and with the control of information as a source of power.

Kai Erikson's interpretive, initial chapter, "A New Species of Trouble," and a final chapter by the editors summarize some general conclusions which can be drawn on the repercussions of human-made disasters. Erikson emphasizes the essential differences between technological and natural hazards. It is ironic that the former are in part generated by our struggle to protect ourselves from the latter and that they generally have proven even more difficult to deal with. Technological disasters provoke anger and blame rather than resignation. Moreover, as they often involve toxic poisons, they "pollute, befoul, taint, rather than just create wreckage," eliciting an "uncanny fear" in us (p. 15) and, perhaps, a lower sense of self-esteem. Toxic emergencies are not temporally bounded, nor can they generally be apprehended by the use of our senses. They strip our "emotional insulation" against risk, dissolving our trust in expertise and our confidence in logic and reason. Technological disasters offer us a "distilled, concentrated look" at the chronic perils spread out everywhere in modern society.

The editors suggest that a "latent" theme in all the chapters is "the idea that technological degradation of the biosphere sets in motion organizational activities and psychological processes that frequently result in personal, social and cultural change" (pp. 293-294). Natural disasters generally do more damage to the human-made environment than to the natural one, whereas human-made disasters tend to do the opposite. Moreover, the human-made environment can almost always be refashioned, whereas contaminated groundwater, soil and air are "much more difficult (if not impossible) to restore" (p. 297). In the absence of an adaptive "disaster subculture" such as may exist for natural catastrophes, responses to technological accidents require more interpretive work, have to be more innovative and are more likely to result in long-term change. People will differ in their responses not only in terms of whether or not they choose to become politically active, but also in their definitions of a crisis

and of adequate courses of action. Social conflicts, Couch and Kroll-Smith suggest, will increasingly focus not so much on wages and other traditional benefits as on the right to clean environments.

Although it addresses an extremely important topic and does make several good points, the volume lacks theoretical depth. One would have wished to find, among the sociological statistics and empirical conclusions, more interpretive essays like Erikson's. To an anthropologist it is a pity that more actual use was not found for Douglas and Wildavsky's (1982) cultural constructivist perspective, mentioned only in passing. Sociologists may be similarly puzzled by the seemingly total ignorance of the work of Ulrich Beck on "risk society," the six-year delay in English translation (1992) notwithstanding, and even more so by the omission of Anthony Giddens' work on risk as an aspect of modernity. The sociological discourse on the concept of "risk" (and "trust") would have provided a more profound framework for these case studies.

The book would also have benefited from a unitary macro-perspective on the forces responsible for what the editors call the "technological degradation of the biosphere." The essays are highly heterogeneous in terms of *positioning*. In some contributions there is an eerie distance to the anxiety of informants and the impression is that the knowledge produced is of less use to the environmental movement than to the corporations and governments it challenges. Activists are viewed as more or less successful "issue entrepreneurs" (Clarke, p. 108). In other studies, there is an unmistakable and commendable sense of commitment to the victims of disaster. Omohundro, for instance, reveals that he is "not a disinterested party," but an environmentalist. This hard-to-reconcile spectrum of approaches can be illustrated by the difference between, on the one hand, finding it "unfortunate" that victims of Three Mile Island tended to "externalize blame" (Davidson and Baum) and, on the other, criticizing the "organizational myths" of Union Carbide (Shrivastava) or celebrating the political success of organizations like POWER (Wolensky). The lack of overall positioning raises fundamental epistemological questions which the editors might at least have mentioned.

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Pilgrimage in Latin America
N. Ross Crumrine and Alan Morinis, eds.
Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1991. xvi + 432 pp. $45.00 (cloth)

Reviewer: Peter Gose
University of Lethbridge

This well-produced volume provides 15 case studies of Latin American pilgrimage, along with two useful introductory chapters and a conclusion. For the most part, the tone of the book is highly ethnographic and its main appeal will probably be to Latin American specialists. While several authors (e.g., Nolan, Sallnow, Poole) do touch on some of the larger theoretical and comparative issues in the anthropological study of

pilgrimage, most prefer to analyze pilgrimages in their specific cultural and social contexts. This is appropriate since the collection adds important new information on some large pilgrimages that have yet to be properly described. On the whole, this volume succeeds in striking a balance between empirical depth and diversity and is a welcome addition to the literature.

The contributions to the volume are arranged under two headings, "Middle America" and "South America," but most are in fact about the native cultures of Mesoamerica and the Andes. As a result, many contributors discuss the relationship between indigenous and Catholic aspects of pilgrimage, but few do so very helpfully. On the one hand, Harvey, Adams, Konrad, Silverman, Vreeland and Poole all argue that pilgrimage expresses indigenous traditions of ritual and belief whereas, on the other hand, Nolan and Urbano suggest that Latin American pilgrimage is essentially Catholic in form. All of these authors have good reasons for taking the positions they do, but the net effect is to promote an ethnic essentialism that may actually obscure the history and politics of the pilgrimages described here. Older emphases on the "syncretic" nature of native Catholicism in Latin America had many drawbacks, but at least they allowed that more than one logic could operate within the same set of practices, a useful insight that many of these authors have largely abandoned. Fortunately, the papers by Dobyns, Kendall, Pollack-Eltz and Sallnow are an exception to this trend and make the inter-ethnic character of pilgrimage central to their inquiries.

Perhaps the single greatest strength of this volume is at the level of method. There is tremendous diversity in how different authors go about studying the phenomenon of pilgrimage and some of the approaches are very novel and creative. For example, Konrad demonstrates that a lowland Maya pilgrimage is modelled on astronomic ideas, while Slater shows how the miraculous traditions of a Northeast Brazilian town are mediated through oral and written narrative and Poole does a superb analysis of the role of dance in the pilgrimages of the southern Peruvian Andes. In a field of study that was once dominated by Victor Turner's theology of communitas, this book provides us with many new points of departure and many local models that are compelling enough to change the way we see pilgrimage in general.

From Muyuw to the Trobriands: Transformations along the Northern Side of the Kula Ring

Frederick H. Damon

Tucson, Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 1990. xvi + 285 pp. $29.95 (cloth)

Reviewer: Naomi M. McPherson
Okanagan College, Kelowna, British Columbia

Deftly combining concepts from world-systems theory and structuralism, this book examines a non-Western world system (the Kula Ring) by presenting a detailed "exploration of relationships exhibited across part of the Kula Ring" (p. 11). That a system exists is established in the introduction with a fascinating discussion of regional continuities, such as lunar month names and sequences, and new year rites, and discontinuities, such as the orientation of new year rites. The latter are spatially oriented in Muyuw whereas they are temporally oriented in the Trobriands. Given that the regional system, from Muyuw to the Trobriands, is related to the larger world

system of the kula, the analytic focus of the book is to resolve the question of how the regional system and world system cohere. Two key ideas from structuralism, significant differences and transformation, inform the methodology employed. Thus, the "order in these systems derives from differences inherent in and between localities" (p. 14). More importantly, Damon is not intent on showing that "this is different from that" but on how "this turns into that," thereby applying the structuralist ideal of transformation in a most refreshing manner "to reveal variation in a regional system" rather than some "invariant conditions of the human mind" (p. 14).

Each chapter is a carefully crafted and densely argued presentation of the transformation of differences. Chapter 2 explores the formal opposition of Muyuw and Trobriand ideas of order and ultimate value, the former based on spatial orientations and the latter based on temporal orientations. Chapter 3 adds the crucial historical dimension to this study by reconstructing the dynamics of intervillage relations of exchange (mode of production and consumption) and the colonial experience of Muyuw/ Woodlark. The pivotal point in this chapter is a movement away from the usual concerns of exchange theory with "interacting parties" to an approach that "examines exchange dynamics as they derive from what is done with the exchanged items after they are exchanged" (p. 83).

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 constitute the heart of the book, both ethnographically and theoretically. In Chapter 4 we are presented with the transformation of relationships among kula, kinship and gender and mortuary rites. Chapter 5 is an analysis of Muyuw cosmology and makes the point that, contrary to the structuralist assumption, the Muyuw people are "fully conscious" (p. 120) of the models presented through the ethnographic materials. This is brilliantly supported by the analysis of Muyuw gardens as the embodiment of their cosmology, modelling "relations between people" and containing the "most complex and important locus of values" (p. 140). The transformations from Muyuw to the Trobriands traced in the preceding chapters are woven together in Chapter 6, particularly in the analysis of the differential use of outrigger canoe symbolism in Muyuw and Trobriand gardens (symbolism that confounded Malinowski), male and female wealth and exchange between clans and subclans to arrive at the convincing conclusion that the dominant cultural form of diametric dualism in Muyuw "is transformed into a backdrop for the hierarchy that dominates Trobriand culture" (p. 220).

Packed with ethnographic data and tightly constructed both theoretically and methodologically, this book does not lend itself to summary or to casual reading. Beginning students or those unfamiliar with the ethnography and languages (a glossary would have been useful here) of the Massim area will have some difficulty. *From Muyuw to the Trobriands* represents another high calibre contribution to the ethnography of Melanesia of the sort being produced by contemporary ethnographers of the Massim area. For Melanesianists, in general, this book is provocative and challenging. Does the complex system of exchange that characterized the Kula Ring make it a unique case or can such an analysis be applied to identify and explore other regional systems in Melanesia?

Haa Tuwuunáagu Yís, for Healing our Spirit: Tlingit Oratory
Nora Marks Dauenhauer and Richard Dauenhauer, eds.
Seattle and London: University of Washington Press; Juneau: Sealaska Heritage Foundation, 1990. xxxv + 569 pp. U.S.$35.00 (cloth), U.S.$17.50 (paper)

Reviewer: Margaret Seguin Anderson
University of Northern British Columbia

Haa Tuwuunáagu Yís is the second volume produced by Richard and Nora Marks Dauenhauer in the series Classics of Tlingit Oral Literature. It complements the first volume, *Haa Shuká, Our Ancestors: Tlingit Oral Narratives*, and improves considerably on the production quality of that earlier work. The Sealaska Heritage Foundation has obviously put substantial resources into this long-term project and is now being handsomely rewarded. This book, and the promised future volumes in this series, will be a treasure for anthropologists, linguists and students of comparative literature as well as for general readers who appreciate elegance of expression.

Haa Tuwuunáagu Yís begins with a lengthy preface establishing the goals of the series and of this volume and a 150-page introductory essay outlining issues in the study of oral literature in general and Tlingit oral literature in particular (such as the nature of crests and the use of extended complex metaphors and similes based on them to structure speeches). Examples for this section are selected from the corpus included in the volume, so that by the time the reader has worked through the introduction the content and form of the speeches is apparent. The introduction provides quite extensive and integrated treatment of aspects of Tlingit culture and spirituality that are germane to understanding the speeches; this section is well illustrated with 35 figures and photographs. The core of the book is the third section, the speeches themselves with facing translations; these are organized into three sections: a set of examples of different types ordered by level of complexity so that readers can become familiar with the patterns involved; a set of speeches from a traditional memorial in 1968; and a set of 10 speeches from a modern elders conference in 1980 (p. xii). Each of the speeches is thoroughly annotated. A well-organized glossary includes examples of the use of each word or stem selected from one of the speeches, a useful feature for both linguists and language learners, given the complex morphology and phonology involved. Finally, the volume is rounded out by one or two-page biographies of each of the people whose speeches are included, with photographs of each; a full volume of lengthier biographies is a proposed addition to the series.

The most significant contribution of this volume for anthropologists will be the new understanding of "potlatch" developed by the editors; they argue that from the Tlingit point of view it is the central ritual in traditional Tlingit ceremonial life for spiritual healing and removal of grief (p. xi); the evidence they adduce is in the speeches that they have carefully transcribed, translated and annotated. It is encouraging to note that they have managed to speak incisively to academic readers without compromising their commitment to a native audience; indeed the work is strengthened by the respect that the editors have for both the academic and Tlingit traditions. The texts themselves are also of interest to anthropologists, though they are even more crucial for linguists and for members of the Tlingit community. Most were recorded during actual performances over several decades, and the excellent transcriptions by Nora Marks Dauenhauer will be of immense value to specialists interested in the

structure of the Tlingit language and/or patterns of discourse organization and other aspects of language. The editors are characteristically modest about their own contribution to the volume, emphasizing that they are merely trying to explain and interpret the words of the elders as they understand them (p. ix). The magnitude of their efforts, and the significance of their success, will be readily apparent to those who have attempted similar work; few have succeeded so well.

Localizing Strategies: Regional Traditions of Ethnographic Writing
Richard Fardon, ed.
Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990. x + 360 pp. $39.95 (cloth)

Reviewer: Michael Levin
University of Toronto

Questioning the integrity of ethnography has become a mini-industry in our field. This collection offers a welcome change of tone, addressing the issues in a restrained way, from within anthropology, as it were. Using the convention of regionalism the papers discuss the presuppositions which have framed and shaped ethnographic writing: the common ethnographic experience, the specific representation of analytical problems, the contrasting of one region with another, even the presentation of one region as the negation of the representations of another.

From the fourth occasional conference in social anthropology at the University of St. Andrews in January 1987, introduced by Richard Fardon, the 13 papers cover Africa, Melanesia, Asia and include two "exemplars" of hunter-gatherer ethnography on Australia and "Eskimology." Conceived as examinations of "the dialectic between regional and theoretical factors in . . . monograph writing . . . sensitive to . . . both time and place," the papers focus on major ethnographic "regions." Many contributors, however, used the occasion of the conference to comment on the "new ethnographic criticism," in particular, the narrowing of the debate to discussion of the "simplified dichotomy between 'Self' and 'Other.'" Offering an antidote to the excesses of the new criticism this collection demonstrates convincingly the achievements and complexity of ethnographic writing.

No reader will be fully satisfied with this collection, but none will put the book aside in disinterest. The emphasis on "past British ethnographic concerns" is admitted in refreshingly frank terms in the Preface. Educational locality is one dimension overemphasized recently, but the papers here happily concentrate more on the literature than on "the schools" and the teachers. A specialist lucky enough to find a paper on her/his area will have a point of departure for reflection on, and perhaps critical reconstruction of, the political history of that regional ethnography. But all anthropologists who open this collection will, I am sure, find a permanent place for it on their shelves. One can skip quickly through ethnographic regions, across continents and inter-continentally... The very best papers are those whose authors avoided indulging themselves too deeply in the debates of the new ethnographic criticism and kept closest to the original brief of recognizing the importance of time and place in regional ethnographic writing.

The value of this collection as a resource is complemented by the stimulus it should give to discussion of the political, temporal and spatial context of anthropology and

awareness of the limitation of its conventional boundaries. For example, in the paper on West Africa, Elizabeth Tonkin asks why "the first indigenous researchers were historians and not anthropologists." Canadian readers will be disappointed that the author of the chapter on Inuit foregoes a valuable opportunity, stating in a footnote that he does not "wish to be embroiled in the controversy over whether . . . these people should be referred to as Inuit." Both of these questions have implications worthy of inquiry for the complex and different roles ethnography has in the intellectual life of different nation-states.

Whatever one might favour or criticize, none will leave this book without a respect for the range and depth of, and implications and consequences of, ethnographic scholarship.

Debating Muslims: Cultural Dialogues in Postmodernity and Tradition
Michael M.J. Fischer and Medhi Abedi
Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1990. xxxvi + 564 pp.
$49.75 (cloth), $23.50 (paper)

Reviewer: Gus Thaiss
York University

The title of Fischer and Abedi's book, *Debating Muslims: Cultural Dialogues in Postmodernity and Tradition*, sets the stage for an interesting and challenging look at an important geopolitical area (Iran) and an intellectual debate in modern anthropology (postmodernism). The two are, of course, not separated but are rather intertwined in the text, or, as the authors note: ". . . there is an increasing cultural interreference, or cross-cultural reading, or play between hegemonic cultural forces and counter discourses of resistance, subversion, and alternative realities" (p. xxxi).

As one would expect with a "postmodern" theme, the book can be read and interpreted at a number of different levels of understanding. This perspective in itself is both an aspect of postmodern literary criticism and a basic assumption of Shi'ite Muslim thought in Iran, thus combining, at a quite fundamental level, the two approaches. The structure of the book proceeds along the same vein constantly interspersing Bakhtinian and other insights into the communicative importance of dialogue and discursive interaction with the similar Shi'ite Muslim stress on the dialectical disputation method of teaching and learning.

There is no question but that Fischer and Abedi's book is an extremely erudite study covering not only a vast literature in anthropology, philosophy, linguistics, literary criticism, etc., but also an equally in-depth knowledge of excellent Persian and Arabic sources which makes the work quite useful for specialists in the field.

The main problem with the book, however, is that it reads like a collection of working papers that might have ended up as journal articles (in fact, Chapter Seven is a reprinted journal article), were they not brought together in this book. As such, they appear rather loosely strung together with little to join them except a rather vague sense of a dialogic process among Iranians and postmodernists. Despite this weakness, each of the chapters stands on its own with interesting and challenging insights.

Chapter One is a fascinating life-history written by Abedi recounting his life experiences in Iran and the U.S. As such it covers socialization, psychology, class dynamics, politics, folk religion, clerical styles and social changes in Iran in the 1960s and 1970s. In itself it provides, as the authors note, a useful introduction from "the ground

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

of a local rock star's death. These are compelling stories that, in paying attention to the intersections between our world and theirs, give the Chambri individuals they write about a wonderful immediacy. First-year students would find this book interesting and provocative. I found it hard to put down.

One reason the book works so well is that the authors acknowledge the agency of Chambri individuals while also pointing out their limited awareness of and control over the "altered contexts" in which they live. Government-sponsored development education has encouraged Chambri to believe that they can control the course of development through the choices they make. (The book begins with a nice quotation to this effect that the authors found in a Chambri girl's school notebook left in their privy.) But the horizons framing those choices are no longer regional, as when the Iatmul dominated the system of "commensurate differences" that linked the Chambri and their neighbours. Now the horizons are global ones based on incommensurate differences of development. The Chambri's best hope for the future was to maintain their autonomy by preserving their subsistence base. But their choices endangered the very autonomy they wanted to preserve.

The book explores this irony in a number of contexts. Inviting tourists to the initiation and building a traditional men's house for them threatened the traditional system the Chambri sought to strengthen. In a chapter on life in town, the authors show that young Chambri who left the lake in search of urban freedom put the rural social system based on entailments at risk; yet youths continued to be protected by that system when they sought sanctuary with "wantok" kin after breaking the law. A chapter on literacy considers the irony that preserving traditional knowledge by writing it down, in the Chambri ethnographer's frustrated attempt to create a Chambri Bible, threatened the individual power of big men. Gewertz and Errington conclude, in a not entirely convincing display of noblesse oblige, that their roles as American ethnographers were different from their Chambri protégés. As representatives of the system that had imposed itself on the Chambri, the authors argue, they had an obligation to understand the encounter between systems. This they did, but not by considering much that went on beyond Chambri experience. What they have done best is to offer us a wealth of poignant insights into the ironies of life in the Chambri world of intersecting worlds. The altered contexts of development have indeed given Chambri histories new, often unpredictable twists that make fascinating reading.

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Postmodernism, Feminism, and Cultural Politics
Henry A. Giroux, ed.
Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1991. x + 308 pp. $16.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Michael Manson
University College of Cape Breton

For some time the mass media have been proclaiming that we are living in the postfeminist era. More recently, they have been glibly dismissing "political correctness"

and so trying to discredit the widening view that education and culture, like all social institutions, are sites where ideological struggles are played out. But feminism is alive and well, thank you, and as necessary a force for social justice as ever. And the growing impact of postmodern thought has shaken educational and cultural practices out of their liberal torpor by disclosing the multiplicity of modernism's hegemonies.

Henry Giroux's current contribution to that disclosure, published as part of the SUNY Press series on Teacher Empowerment and School Reform, is a collection of eight essays, five of which have appeared elsewhere, as has Giroux's rather lengthy introduction. Although the introduction attempts to demystify the context of postmodernism and discuss its relation to modernism, the essays are not equally accessible. Those that take up theoretical concerns of postmodernisms/feminisms seem to me to require some prior knowledge of those discourses.

The introduction is certainly thorough and, when taken with Giroux's concluding essay, establishes both a theoretical basis and a compelling pedagogical program of transformative education. Yet Giroux's work is not without problems. Nowhere, for example, does he interrogate democracy, radical or otherwise. And despite his insistence on incorporating Others' discourses in the classroom, the refusal of which, he argues, enables their colonization (pp. 39, 251), the architectonics of the book disclose Giroux's own colonizing of the text. While half the contributors are female, and while the book nicely balances theoretical and experiential essays, Giroux's own two pieces occupy over a third of the book's space and, with the essay by Peter McLaren, Giroux's co-editor of the SUNY series, only half the book is available for Others' voices.

Both McLaren's often-difficult essay, "Schooling the Postmodern Body: Critical Pedagogy and the Politics of Enfleshment," and the other theoretical essay in the collection, Sharon Welch's "An Ethic of Solidarity and Difference," contain reservations about postmodernism. But while McLaren reinscribes some of the failures of modernism in the name of resistance to cultural hegemony, Welch consistently situates herself in a postmodernist femininist discourse and urges us to seek solidarity among diverse cultures as a communicative ethic that grounds transformative politics and that will not subtend (political) differences with liberalism. One of the essay's major strengths lies in the ease with which the theory's applicability in a classroom situation reveals itself.

The essays, which explore lived experience from within postmodernist/feminist perspectives, are, in general, stronger. Grounded in analyzed experiences from which the authors theorize, they enact much postmodern and feminist thinking. For example, Marianne Whately's study of male sexuality, "Raging Hormones and Powerful Cars," begins with Whately positioning herself as a woman using a feminist critique of sex education texts and practices. Although her "ultimate goals" are "making men responsible for their sexuality and defining women's sexuality independently of masculinist constructions" (p. 121), she analyzes John Hughes's films as windows onto adolescent perceptions of male sexuality in order to establish an experiential framework for her pedagogical project—to undo, by naming, power.

This is equally true of Douglas Kellner's analysis of advertising practices, "Reading Images Critically: Towards a Postmodern Pedagogy," and Linda Brodkey and Michelle Fine's "Presence of Mind in the Absence of Body." Both these essays are useful for teachers, but in different ways. Kellner's enacts a reading of images as a means of developing critical literacy and, thus, emancipatory strategies. However, his discussion of the images in cigarette advertisements, though grounded in feminist analysis and postmodernist ideas about culture, is not particularly startling. Brodkey

and Fine's methodology is also feminist. Analyzing the language of women who reported sexual harassment by their professors, they are able to draw the conclusion that there is a need for a feminist pedagogy that accompanies individuals' experiences and, thus, their partial knowledges. While the link they call for already exists in some feminist methodologies, the essay's suggestions for pedagogical practices should prove beneficial to teachers.

So, too, should Philip Corrigan's "The Making of the Boy." The essay is a moving account of Corrigan's experiences in the British school system from which he details the inscriptions of dominant ideology on the male body and, thus, the regulation of mind and spirit. Having disclosed the body effect of schooling, he is able to advance refusals that educators need to take up in their classrooms.

While Leslie Gotfrit's "Women Dancing Back: Disruption and the Politics of Pleasure" does not address specific classroom practices, nevertheless it locates itself in a postmodern feminist preference for the serious play that can subvert dominant social practices. By implication, then, it discloses the classroom as a site where teachers and students can explore resistances to hegemony. In addition to the sheer fun of reading about Gotfrit and her two female friends' invasion of a heterosexual club, the piece is a detailed and magnetic analysis of "the contradictory politics of pleasure" (p. 175) which critically takes up the postmodern interest in pop culture to make a case both for its contradictions as a resistance to hegemony and as a means to demarginalizing women.

Each essay in this collection has been chosen to advance a radical democratic project by offering teachers "a language that allows them to create new ways of conceiving pedagogy and its relationship to social, cultural, and intellectual life" (p. 57). With the caveat that some of the essays may give readers who have no prior knowledge of postmodernist thought and language some difficulty, the book should be welcomed by anyone committed to introducing transformative politics into the classroom.

Making Knowledge Count: Advocacy and Social Science
Peter Harries-Jones, ed.
Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1991. 250 pp. $39.95 (cloth)

Reviewer: Alexander M. Ervin
University of Saskatchewan

Concerns for relevance, and the matching of social scientists with compatible social issues, have led some to examine the practice of advocacy. Attempts have been made to conceptualize this difficult but promising domain and to analyze its contents and strategies. The biggest challenge has been to show its relationship to more traditional social science which is supposedly neutral to causes and issues.

This collection of 12 papers, primarily by sociologists active in a variety of social movements, is edited and analyzed by Peter Harries-Jones, an anthropologist at York University. The topics, where research complements advocacy, include: race relations, refugee resettlement, the labour movement, the women's movement, feminism and politics, universities in liaison with community groups and the design of employment training, all in Canada, but primarily in Ontario, as well as a study of human rights in Chile. Moreover, four of the authors, including Harries-Jones, investigate the relationship of advocacy to social science.

What are some of the highlights of the book? Harries-Jones helps to place advocacy in the context of the emergence of recent social movements (e.g., environmentalism, feminist and pro-human rights) that are extra-parliamentary but not revolutionary or class-based. Such movements are concerned with empowerment and consciousness raising, and advocacy is an essential mechanism for making the public aware of alternative values.

One cannot but admire the courage, tenacity and ingenuousness of the Chilean social scientists who established over 30 centres of research and advocacy related to issues of poverty, gender and indigenous peoples during the repressive Pinochet regime. These endeavours, as described by Landstreet and his colleagues, were outside of academia and were sometimes under the precarious protection of the church.

Howard Adelman effectively describes the players (politicians, public servants, N.G.O's and media) and the highly fluid circumstances of advocacy for refugee rights. Elspeth Heyworth makes a very compelling argument for more equitable relationships between community groups and local universities, as Stan Marshall advocates industrial research conceived from the labour, rather than the management, point of view.

The chapters by Metta Spencer, Gareth Morgan and Steward Crysdale all provide useful insight regarding the relationship of traditional social science to advocacy. Included are overviews of the history of social science advocacy in Canada and suggestions for more compatible perspectives.

Finally, the other articles by Tim Rees and Carol Taylor, Don Dippo, Ronnie Leah and John Cleveland all make competent and interesting observations about their respective domains of race relations, employment training, trade unions and feminist issues and feminism *per se*.

I am very sympathetic to the issues of advocacy that were raised by Harries-Jones and his colleagues. However, I had one particular problem with this book. It was not easy to read. Surely we should learn to communicate more effectively if we are going to serve as social scientist/advocates. Frequently, I found this book somewhat turgid and overly academic. I sometimes found my mind wandering and then had to reconcentrate to retrieve the presumably relevant points.

In spite of this somewhat uncharitable comment on my part I do consider that the book makes significant contributions to the analysis (rather than the conduct) of advocacy. I would use it as source material for graduate and undergraduate classes in applied anthropology. With a lot of concentrated, disciplined reading, those interested in the analysis (and to some extent, the practice) of advocacy can gain much from the book. Furthermore, the Canadian content of the book has a lot to recommend it, especially since the issues can be made generalizable to other national contexts.

The Varieties of Sensory Experience: A Sourcebook in the Anthropology of the Senses

David Howes, ed.

Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991. xiv + 336 pp. $45.00 (cloth), $19.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Michael G. Kenny
Simon Fraser University

The purpose of the collection under review is to construct the foundations for an "anthropology of the senses" and to shift emphasis away from vision—the sense taken to

be at the heart of Western philosophical and psychological concern—so as to include the other sensory modalities of hearing, smell, taste and touch within the rubric of anthropological inquiry. The editorial intent is therefore both programmatic and methodological. We should attempt to understand cultures not as "world views" (a term which contains an implicit visualist prejudice), but as meaningful embodied ways of organizing the sensorium *as a whole*. The various ethnographic essays in the book show how this might be done and it concludes with a set of notes and queries meant as practical directives for future research.

The spirit of Marshall McLuhan hovers in the background. By emphasizing historical changes in perception wrought by changes in communicative media, McLuhan is seen as having opened up the general issue of the way in which culture, broadly considered, structures the sensorium and situates individuals in relation to the social and natural worlds. For example, what difference does it make to use visual as opposed to auditory metaphors when speaking of knowing or understanding ("I see," as opposed to "I hear")? Is "seeing" a more individualistic and private mode of apprehension than "hearing"? What does favouring one or the other tell us about culturally specific ways of apprehending and determining the relationship between self and experience? The fundamental point here is that different societies organize the sensorium differently by emphasizing one sensory modality at the expense of others and conceiving of the relation between perception and cognition in different ways.

Such questions lead on to empirical investigations of how the sensorium ("the entire sensory apparatus as an organizational complex") is actually structured in particular cases. The question now becomes one not merely of the relative emphasis given to a particular sensory mode, but of holistic analysis of the sensorium as a system of meaning: a system of synesthetic relationships between sight, hearing, taste, smell and touch as manifest in ethnographic contexts amenable to symbolic analysis (structuralist, Turnerian, etc.). We therefore learn of New Guinea drums which mimic the complex language of birds, of a forest world which speaks to the living in the voices of the dead. Likewise we learn of the message-bearing capacity of incense in Morocco, of the significance of flavours on the Indonesian island of Sumba, of the East-African safari tourist's "gaze," of the transmarginal nature of smells and of many other things.

As "sourcebook," the present work brings together material which the editor believes to be foundational to the field of sensory anthropology; it grew out of seminars in this area and has a strong pedagogical bent. It is meant for use in class and contains essays which suggest how primary ethnographic resources might be quarried for relevant material. At its most abstract level the book represents a critique of decontextualized perceptual psychology and of the Cartesianism taken to be implicit in a Western visual orientation (percipient clearly divorced from the perceived, mind from body). The message here is that "perception, like cognition, must be studied in its 'natural setting'" (p. 275). However, in setting up Cartesianism and psychophysics as straw men, the book contains something of an ethnocentrism of its own in that it diverts attention from the complexities of the "Western" sensorium itself (what of the bouquet of wines, what of the class associations of frying onions, what of the significance of bells and incense in the Catholic mass, what of phenomenology and formal aesthetic theory?). But that is a relatively minor point. On the whole this is a very interesting and useful effort, well calculated to get us to think differently about the perceptual order than we might otherwise have done.

Franz Boas Social Activist: The Dynamics of Ethnicity
Marshall Hyatt
Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1990. xii + 174 pp. $39.95 (cloth)

Reviewer: Norman Buchignani
University of Lethbridge

This short biography of Franz Boas accentuates those of his activities which might broadly be considered political. As such, the focus is wider than implied by its title. The first half begins with Boas the post-doctoral job-seeker (1882) and ends 25 years later with him well established at Columbia. Here Hyatt uses a global opposition of scientific professionalism versus amateurism to illuminate most of the substantive personal conflicts and objectives Boas had during this period. The tone is entirely laudatory, joining with a tradition of Boasian deification dating back to the 1920s. We thus see Boas, "the just," repetitively donning the righteous mantle of science in disinterested battle against nearly every (amateur, self-interested) significant figure in the ethnological/anthropological community of the day. To be partisan is not conducive to the best history of science, for it evidently prevents Hyatt from defining his criteria for professional/amateur status, from fully comparing Boas's specifically anthropological academic training (at most, a few months under Virchow and later Bastian) to that of others or from distinguishing quality of scientific practice from formality of training. Hyatt does not tell us how Boas's unceasing attempts to legitimate his own brand of anthropology constituted social activism, nor does he define the implication for social activism of Boas's particular sociocultural methods and his contrastingly large-scale generalizations on body form and race.

Hyatt thereafter outlines Boas's influential role as a champion of racial equality for Blacks (chap. 5) and immigrant minorities (chap. 6). Readers will find much of interest including Hyatt's use of Boas's less-well-known correspondence and speeches to chart the development of arguments that later appeared in *The Mind of Primitive Man*, his support of the NAACP and other Black institutions, his course work and lectures on race and culture and his physical anthropological studies of immigrants. And yet we are given few insights into Boas's motives for these activities save for the largely unsupported assertions that these sprung from being a scientist, a Jew and a liberal. Though these are all plausible avenues of inquiry, Hyatt presents nothing substantive about contemporary notions of science and social activism, anti-Semitism in academic circles in either Germany or America or Boas's voiced concerns with it, or with political liberalism in either context. Neither does the author suggest why it was only at age 45 that Boas's anti-racist sentiments powerfully surfaced. He barely mentions the social activist, anti-racist tradition that was then well established in New York or the contemporary non-racist academic influences on Boas. Likewise, while Hyatt presents informative material on the studies Boas did for *Changes in Bodily Form of Immigrants* (including criticisms of Boas's less than rigorous methods), he wrongly claims that Boas's demonstration of "the instability of the human form . . . contradicts all previous knowledge" and that before him "science had supported the racist alone" (p. 10). This may be why Hyatt does not seek to explain why Boas's claims about race and human variation, found soon after in *The Mind of Primitive Man* (1913), were so widely accepted among academics at that time save for asserting that they were "true."

The last two chapters present basic information on Boas's involvement with issues of academic freedom and research ethics, with fighting nativism during and after World War I (chap. 7) and with his subsequent efforts to counter Nazi Aryan propaganda (chap. 8).

Overall, I welcome this book because of its important topical focus. Perhaps because of this, I continually wished for more, specifically concerning Boas's formative years and its sociocultural context, more on Boas's expressed feelings about race, ethnicity and his own Jewishness, and especially more literature and archival support for the author's assertions. Unfortunately, also, there are no references to work produced after 1979. In general, I would suggest that the book would primarily be useful in undergraduate courses in applied anthropology or the history of anthropology.

Art and Ethnicity: The Ukrainian Tradition in Canada
Robert Klymasz, ed.
Hull, Québec: Musée Canadien des Civilisations/Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1991. 80 pp. $17.95 (paper)
Russian Copper Icons and Crosses from the Kunz Collection: Castings of Faith
Richard Eighme Ahlborn and Vera Beaver-Bricken Espinola, eds.
Studies in History and Technology, No. 51
Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1991. 85 pp. $14.95 (paper)

Reviewer: David Scheffel
University College of the Cariboo

Art and Ethnicity: The Ukrainian Tradition in Canada grew out of the exhibition organized by the Canadian Museum of Civilization (CMC) to celebrate the centenary in 1991 of Ukrainian immigration to Canada. As the title indicates, the exhibition, as well as this companion volume, concentrates on documenting the expression of ethnicity in art. Drawing on many years of research conducted by Robert Klymasz, the curator of CMC's East European Programme, and the staff of the Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies, the slim book features approximately 60 black-and-white and colour photographs of some of the exhibited objects. The selection includes archival pictures of early settlers and the artifacts of peasant life, religious objects such as icons, grave markers and processional staffs, embroidery and the ubiquitous *pysanky*, as well as some most interesting examples of contemporary photographs, prints and paintings which amaze the unfamiliar spectator with the range of styles and techniques employed by the post-Kurelek generation of Ukrainian-Canadian artists. This entire visual feast is beautifully produced and well described.

Billed as a collage of "approaches to understanding the subject matter in the exhibition" (p. 7), the five scholarly essays included in the book offer a competent introduction to the history and culture of the stereotypical Ukrainian-Canadian. *Stereotypical* because the reader receives a sanitized account of the Ukrainian presence in this country, devoid of any but the most superficial reference (Frances Swyripa, p. 22) to ethnic, political and religious strife within the far from homogeneous Ukrainian-Canadian "community."

This reservation aside, the five essays are informative but hardly scholarly in scope and depth. We learn, for example, that, because the early settlers did not have access

to the ancient iconographic guidelines employed in their homeland, the oldest icons painted in Canada were drawn from memory (Dmytro Stepovyk, p. 41). This is an interesting observation which gives substance to the claim that there is something specifically *Canadian* in the Ukrainian religious art produced in this country. But that claim is not pursued any further, and the reader is left to speculate how a Canadian-Ukrainian icon might differ from its native prototype. Another instance of this tendency to break off the analysis at exactly the point when things start getting interesting (and *Canadian*) is encountered in the essay on what is widely believed to be the quintessential Ukrainian art form—the painted Easter egg or *pysanka*. According to the folklorist Michael Owen Jones, each village in Ukraine adhered to its own, jealously guarded, pattern which—contrary to popular opinion—precluded the development of a uniform *pysanka* style in Canada. Again, an interesting observation which should lead to a description of the various *Canadian* styles. It does not. Instead, the reader is treated to formulaic conclusions such as the following: "a deepened appreciation of ethnic art can serve to promote a better understanding of ethnicity and of art in general" (Wsevolod Isajiw, p. 36).

It could be said that a booklet of this scope cannot and should not provide scholarly insights into the subject matter at hand. Written as a companion volume to a popular exhibition, it was probably not intended to make a contribution to scholarship. But then I wonder why CMC commissioned academics to explain the topic. Curiously enough, although the book is about art, not a single artist was invited to offer his or her views. Judging from the quality of the works featured in the book, an artist's perspective would have made more interesting reading than the semi-scholarly discourse.

Russian Copper Icons and Crosses from the Kunz Collection is also a companion volume to an exhibition which celebrated an anniversary. Organized to mark the millennium of Russian Orthodoxy in 1988, the exhibition consisted of 50 metal crosses displayed at the National Museum of American History. The collection is named after an agent of Tiffany's who acquired 350 metal crosses and icons at the market of Nizhni Novgorod in 1891, most of which came into Smithsonian's possession the following year.

The actual catalogue of the exhibition takes up about half of the short book, and this is easily its best feature. Every displayed object is captured in clear black-and-white photographs, dated and carefully described. The other half of the volume serves as an explanation of the history and place of metal icons in Russian Orthodoxy. It consists of eight mostly short articles and a brief introduction. We learn from them that Russians were introduced to metal images by Greek missionaries, and that they enjoyed popularity as portable objects of devotion until Peter the Great prohibited their manufacture in 1723. Subsequently the task of keeping this tradition alive fell to the fundamentalist Old Believers who have continued to make, trade and venerate metal icons until the present time. Indeed, the entire Kunz Collection seems to consist of objects manufactured by Old Believer artisans.

A reader well versed in Russian history and familiar with the role played by the Old Believers will have no difficulty learning a great deal from these essays. But a novice will be hard pressed to understand why Peter the Great attempted to stamp out metal icons or why the Old Believers insisted on resisting him. These important issues—which explain the very existence of the exhibited collection—deserve a more systematic and less fragmented approach than the one offered in this book.

Le Huguenot et le Sauvage
Frank Lestringuant
Paris, France: Aux Amateurs de Livres, 1990. 381 pp. N.p.

Reviewer: Claude Gandelman
Haifa University

This book deals with the beginnings of anthropological thinking after the discovery of the New World and the first explorations in North and South America at the end of the 16th century. At this time, most of the early French explorers—figures such as Roberval, Villegagnon, Laudonnière and Admiral Coligny (who became the leader of the Huguenot party and was eventually assassinated during the massacre of the Saint in Paris)—were Protestants.

The Protestants in the New World faced a double problem. On the one hand, they had to denounce the atrocities of the Spanish conquistadores and their hypocritical "Catholic" behaviour, which camouflaged the thirst for gold and conquest as a desire of salvation for the Indians—i.e., to free them from their false idols and convert them to the true religion. On the other hand, these Huguenot explorers were confronted by the absolute "otherness" of the Indians; in the name of Christianity, they had to condemn them as heretics. Yet, throughout the corpus of the Protestant explorers' texts, a sort of pre-myth of the "Noble Savage" comes to the fore. A large section of the book is devoted to this pre-myth of the Noble Indian, largely as it is presented critically to a Catholic audience by Thevet, Léry, Chauveton and others. Among the early Protestant explorers of the New World, for example, the names of Léry and Chauveton are prominent. The first is clearly an exponent of Calvin's anti-colonialistic ideas, whereas the other often dreams of a Protestant imperialism that will succeed that of the Catholic Spaniards (whom he sees as ephemeral conquerors of vast territories). According to Lestringuant, "The Léry-Chauveton collaboration largely contributed to the diffusion throughout Europe of the image of . . . *Le Bon Sauvage* . . . accompanied by the inverse image of his repulsive Other, the bad Christian . . . the cruel and treacherous Spaniard" (p. 129, my translation).

Of extreme interest also are the many illustrations reproduced from Thevet's *Cosmographie Universelle*, Jacques Le Myne's *Floridae Americae provinciae recens et exactissima descriptio* and other works. What is today called "Visual Anthropology" has its roots in these early phantasmagorical "documents." Many of the Protestant explorers also "phantasized" that the New World was given them to re-write there a new *Genesis* and a new Biblical topography that reproduces the old one; thus, they rename one of the rivers, the Mississippi, "fleuve Jourdain" and some of them think of the Florida peninsula as a new Garden of Eden (p. 150). The Huguenot Laudonnière thinks he can create a Protestant Florida State that will be a sort of New Jerusalem. And yet, all this "re-writing" of the Biblical story fails and the Protestant colonists themselves cease to be "millenarists" and utopian thinkers and turn into exploiters of the Indians. Nevertheless, the failure of a Protestant Florida will stimulate English colonization of the New World. Whereas in France the pro-Spanish party (the *Ligue*) triumphs, it is the British, Hakluyt, then Walter Raleigh, who are the real heirs of the Protestant explorers and utopian colonists.

Although this book is not the first to deal with the issue of the interaction between self-image and the image of the Other, it is certainly the first to deal comprehensively

with the image of the "Protestant Other" within the global context of New World explorations and the situation in France. It is well written and original, an indispensable instrument for all those interested in the beginnings of "anthropological thinking."

Sweet Promises: A Reader on Indian-White Relations in Canada
J.R. Miller, ed.
Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991. xix + 468 pp. $24.95 (paper)

Reviewer: R. Wesley Heber
Saskatchewan Indian Federated College

J.R. Miller's *Sweet Promises* is a compilation of readings on the history of Indian-White relations in Canada from early contact to the present. The articles address many key issues and events in Canadian history, including Indians in the fur trade, Indian-European military alliances, development of Canadian Indian policy and the growth of Native political organization. A central theme emerges from the readings of the gradual erosion of aboriginal rights, followed by the struggle for self-determination by Indian people in Canada. The selections, for the most part, are established articles that present the history of relations between Indian people and non-Indian authority from a Euro-Canadian perspective. Miller attempts to overcome this bias by including several articles from contemporary Indian scholars that highlight critical stages on the road to Indian self-determination. These include the Indian position in the 1885 uprising as laid out by Blair Stonechild and two articles on the emergence of Indian political organization in western Canada by Stan Cuthand and by Harold Cardinal. Other noteworthy contributions include Robin Fisher's article on Indian control of the maritime fur trade, Jim Miller's analysis of the conditions that led to 1885 and Sarah Carter's presentation of peasant farm policies in Indian agriculture during the late 19th century.

Detracting from the general high standard of the articles are several that express an ethnocentrism in use of language and through misrepresentations which do little to further Indian-White relations in a tense, post-Oka social environment. The most striking examples are Upton's portrayal of the Beothuck as architects of their own demise (p. 84), Rich's claim that the Indians were responsible for the near extermination of the buffalo and the beaver (p. 169) and Van Kirk's depiction of aboriginal women as drudges and beasts of burden (p. 181).

The book concludes with discussions of the Brundtland Report which is an attempt to reconcile aboriginal rights with economic development in a new world order. Brundtland's recommendation for universal education for economic development (pp. 447-449) is strikingly similar to the 19th-century policies of acculturation as presented in Usher's article (pp. 294-319), in which European models for Indian education were seen as the panacea for a perceived Indian problem. The inclusion of the Brundtland Report, with its Malthusian concerns of the Third World, represents a dramatic shift in the book's general appeal and supports the adage that history is doomed to repeat itself.

Despite some detracting features, *Sweet Promises* is a useful addition to readings in Canadian history and Indian/Native studies.

Our Chiefs and Elders: Words and Photographs of Native Leaders
David Neel
Vancouver, British Columbia: University of British Columbia Press; Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 1992. 191 pp. $35.95 (cloth)
Our Grandmothers' Lives as Told in their Own Words
Freda Ahenakew and H.C. Wolfart, eds. and trans.
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan: Fifth House Publishers, 1992. 408 pp. $24.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Margaret Seguin Anderson
University of Northern British Columbia

These two volumes have appeared almost simultaneously and express similar sentiments about their topics. Neel's book is "intended to be the antithesis of the 'vanishing race' photographs of Native people—this is a statement of the surviving race. It has been my intention to let the people speak for themselves" (p. 11). Ahenakew and Wolfart hope that "the life experiences of Cree grandmothers will reach a wider audience if printed. In printing the original Cree texts—in both roman and syllabic orthography and accompanied by a careful translation into English—told by seven women, we want to make sure that they are heard speaking to us in their own words" (preface). These two statements clarify the parallels between the two books and also crystallize one of the differences between them: both affirm a commitment to the value of listening to contemporary First Nations voices, but Neel's concise phrasing has im*media*-te impact (pun intended); Ahenakew and Wolfart's is complicated and obscures their intent. Despite this, I think that the latter volume will be a more valuable addition to the libraries of scholars.

Along with similar ideals, these two volumes have in common some wonderful first-person stories of everyday life and commentaries on the contemporary scene by elders whose words are honest and sometimes beautiful and compelling. In neither of these books have the editors glossed over inconsistencies or difficult messages from the elders who have spoken with them; the integrity of the original material will be valued in both compilations; there is a lot of less interesting material in both books, for different reasons which will be discussed below. Another shared feature is the fact—and the strong emphasis on the fact—that First Nations people have shaped both of these volumes. Freda Ahenakew's ability to speak Cree, and the life experiences she shares with the women who provided the texts for the book, are discussed at length in the introduction to *Our Grandmothers' Lives*; her co-author is certainly correct in asserting that her situatedness contributed to the project. On the other hand, the dustjacket blurbs and press releases on Neel's book stress his insiderness—his Kwagiutl-ness, but I do not think that it is unfair to suggest that the publishers may have overvalued the significance of his connection through his father and used it rather crassly. Neel's book is good; would it have been impossible for a non-Native to produce it? If you think so, think again about Dara Culhane Speck's *An Error in Judgement* (Talonbooks, 1987) or Julie Cruikshank's *Life Lived Like a Story* (University of Nebraska Press, 1990). It is appropriate to clear space so that Native voices can get heard, but it will be regrettable if it is only their Native-ness (and that weighed out by blood) that is prized, rather than their achievements. Genuinely collaborative work takes time, talent and enormous commitment and work, and it can certainly be enhanced by commonalities between the collaborators; luckily these are apparent in both

of the volumes being discussed here and hopefully pressures from the business side of the publishing world will not distort the very real contributions of these and future First Nations authors by confusing the issue of authenticity through simplistic marketing.

Beyond these similarities, the actual approaches of the two works differ hugely. Neel has produced a book of portraits celebrating Native leadership in British Columbia. The photographs are very beautiful—Neel is an accomplished professional photographer and this is the strongest part of his volume; the accompanying short (English only) texts (from all but four of the elders photographed) are evocative and honest. The book design is elegant and the production is definitely high-rent. The Afterword by Marjorie Halpin is a brief but solid scholarly discussion of issues at the intersection of photography and ethnography impacting on indigenous peoples. Neel's 11-page introduction is a mixed bag. It includes an intriguing reflection on the process of his own movement towards photographing his father's people (from having spent most of his childhood and young adult years far from them). But he has overbalanced, and it shows: though he has as much connection (and more experience) with his non-Native roots, Neel has identified completely in this essay with the Native part of his heritage: "We remain as people, as nations, striving to hang on to the valuable parts of a culture handed down to us through our elders" (p. 18). This overidentification weakens his writing; some parts of the introduction read like an essay by an undergraduate enthusiast. A good editor could have strengthened it. But Neel seems to resist editing as somehow contaminating in writing—"It has been my intention to let the people speak for themselves. For this reason the text appears as unedited as possible, as it was told to me between 1988 and 1991" (p. 11). Neel has not thought as much about tape recorders as he has about cameras. He is well aware that photography is a subjective process.

> I approach photography as a personal vision. What the pictures say, to some degree, embodies what I choose to say about the person and what I feel about him or her. Photographs are not objective. Once this is recognized, one can see a portrait for what it is—a result of an interaction between two people. A photo session is a sharing experience—I try to share with my subjects, as they share with me, the resulting image. I have made an effort to have these images project truthful representations of the leaders. (Pp. 12-13)

Halpin has pointed to the inherent difficulties in the positivist project of capturing objective reality with the aid of cameras in her Afterword:

> The project of science, to banish unwanted human imagination or subjectivity from its descriptions of an observable reality, seemed well served by the new machine with its apparently natural production of visual facts. And there is, indeed, a direct relationship between the light reflected off objects and the resultant image of *something* there that is captured by the camera. How that something is controlled for the capture, and for what purpose, and how that image is received by a viewer, are, however, profoundly cultural matters. (P. 185)

This would have been a better book if Neel had acknowledged that there is no direct pipeline for the elders' voices through tape recorders any more than there is through cameras, and had done some tighter editing of his text.

This book has received substantial media attention, including being featured on a national morning news program as a highly desirable holiday gift. It is an accessible introduction to unstereotypical First Nations voices for the general public and it will

be particularly treasured by First Nations people, who will value it for the positive treatment accorded to elders and chiefs. It is not targeted to scholars and it will not be particularly valuable to them: its deficiencies could have been remedied by more thorough research, a more definitive introduction and more representative coverage of the full range of "Native leaders of British Columbia." Neel feels that the "selection of people included in this collection constitutes a reasonable representation of Northwest Coast elders" (p. 12); he has fallen rather short of the mark. He avoids identifying the elders' "linguistic grouping, as is the anthropological norm," providing instead the term by which each individual identified his/her origin. He also omits the usual map, but if he had included one he would have discovered that his book is lop-sided and perhaps staked his claim more modestly. The coverage here is a mix of serendipity and a heavy bias toward Vancouver Island and the facing mainland coast. Four Nisga'as and five Haidas "made the cut," but no other Northern groups are represented: no individuals are pictured here from the Haisla, Tsimshian, Gitksan, Wet'suwet'en, Tlingit, Tahltan, Tsilqot'in, Carrier, Sekani—none of the Athapaskan groups are included! Native names were not provided for most of the people "because of the difficulties in correctly transcribing names belonging to many distinct languages" (p. 20). The extra effort should have been made, out of respect for the languages and the elders.

The Ahenakew/Wolfart book is not likely to draw the sort of media attention that Neel's book has. Except for members of Cree communities and specialists in Algonquian languages or ethnography, this is not a very appealing book on its surface. There are few photographs and they are not artistically interesting; the book design is workmanlike rather than imaginative and most readers' eyes will glaze over totally when confronted with three orthographies in a single volume. But this is a well-produced set of texts with solid scholarship invested in the process of transcription/translation/editing to represent faithfully the words of the seven women who tape-recorded texts. The scholarly discussions are well grounded, but occasionally seem to meander in an undisciplined stream-of-consciousness; this could have been remedied by a brief summary overview of the discussion, use of headings and an index by topic. The texts themselves include wonderful content (heavy on the everyday and perhaps unique in their coverage of the minutiae of women's daily lives) and are meticulously rendered into analyzed documents. Ahenakew and Wolfart have kept the full texts of the tapes as recorded; they have eschewed pruning or tidying the texts and have included every hesitation, speech error and digression, because one of their goals was to analyze Cree as it is actually spoken; this means that some of the material is repetitive, but the textual project justifies its inclusion. These texts will be useful for many years to students of Cree language and to specialists in these cultures. This book, like Neel's, has strengths to commend it, and both are worth having.

Chimpanzees of the Mahale Mountains: Sexual Life and History Strategies
Toshisada Nishida, ed.
Tokyo, Japan: University of Tokyo Press, 1990. xiv + 328 pp. N.p. (cloth)

Reviewer: Anne Zeller
University of Waterloo

Since Goodall's work on chimpanzees was mainly published in English and has received support from organizations promoting the use of film, such as National Geographic, most people are much more aware of her work than they are of the Japanese research program. Nishida's book is an effort to collect and make available in English a comparable set of data on the Mahale Mountain chimpanzees. All the articles have been written especially for this book, but they refer to material previously published in a wide variety of journals, directing the reader to sources describing earlier work in detail.

The first chapter by Nishida, which provides an overview of chimpanzee behaviour at Mahale, is a fine summary and will permit easy comparison with other material on chimpanzees. Nishida notes some of the most salient comparisons with data from Gombe and the Budongo forest, such as information on incest, tool use and greeting gestures. The primate background to mother-son, brother-sister and father-daughter mating has long been an interesting focus for those investigating the human condition. The most clearly recognizable incest is between mother and sons, since in most cases fathers of offspring are not known with accuracy. Mother-son mating does occur with pre- and just post-weaning offspring, both in chimpanzees and in rhesus macaques (Fedigan, 1982). Nishida reports pairs of mothers and immature sons in which he says mating was often seen. However, there was but one case in which a mature son mounted his mother. She threw him out of the tree and he did not try it again. On the other hand, Goodall (1986) reported some episodes of mothers mating with mature sons. This behaviour may have had other significance than the purely reproductive. For example, it may have allowed the son the opportunity to assert himself over a female in the presence of other males. Brother-sister and father-daughter mating was not seen in Mahale because all natal females emigrated as late adolescents. In Gombe, Fifi was seen to scream and attempt to fight off her brothers when they tried to mate with her, even though she persistently solicited mating from all the other males. These observations of a persistent but not universal avoidance of incest, and its variability by age, suggest that the inhibitors tend to be social rather than biological in nature. These come into play when the relations between adult males and females are confounded by the relations between mothers and offspring.

Another topic to which comparisons with human resource acquisition strategies as well as the Gombe material are pertinent is the variability in subsistence activities. Of particular interest is the difference in ant-fishing techniques and the species of ants eaten. Gombe chimps eat driver ants. They fish using a long stick. Mahale chimps eat a number of species of Camponotus and Crematogaster ants which they lick up after chewing into nests. However, Mahale chimps occasionally use long sticks for extracting a nesting bird from a hole in a tree. Differences in culturally transmitted behaviours such as these are indicative of the behavioural plasticity of chimpanzees, but the uniformity of prey species and of extraction techniques within communities suggests a basic conservatism. Nishida notes that, in spite of the thousands of hours of chimpan-

zee observation, the adoption of a new habit has not been seen. New foods have been added to the food list after humans were translocated, leaving cultigens behind. In some cases adult females were observed to initiate their use, unlike the patterns reported for some macaques.

These comparisons help us to understand where areas of variability occur in the behavioural template of chimpanzees. However, a more organized presentation of these areas of comparisons, with input from all available studies of free-ranging chimpanzees, would have turned some very interesting comparisons into a truly valuable tool for exploring the ranges of labile behaviours.

It is Goodall's ability to move back and forth from the specific to the general which makes her work so readable to the non-specialist. Nishida's book is very valuable because of the detail and insight it furnishes in the discussion of particular research questions, but it lacks an overview from a population perspective. A concluding chapter, referring to the studies presented in the book, summarizing their content and drawing general insights into Mahale chimpanzee behaviour, would have been very useful. It would have permitted rapid comparisons to be drawn between this population and others which have been studied and would have contributed to a general understanding of chimpanzee behaviour.

Nonetheless this book provides an excellent compilation of material, some of which was previously unavailable to Western researchers. Since many anthropologists take the evolutionary paradigm seriously, information concerning the origin of social and technological behaviour, as well as the pattern of tradition development occurring in our closest relations, is of great interest in understanding the roots of human behaviour.

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1986 The Chimpanzees of Gombe. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Dream and Culture: An Anthropological Study of the Western Intellectual Tradition

Susan Parman

New York: Praeger, 1991. xii + 132 pp. $35.00 (cloth)

Reviewer: Kenneth Little
York University

The author states her interest in dreaming to be "evolutionary, scientific, and non-symbolic" (p. xii). She wants to focus on dreams and their interpretations using the framework of science, "with its assumptions of testability and commitment to phenomenon as object rather than subject" (p. xii), in order to "learn more about the world" (p. xii). This is because science "is the best thing we have for telling us what is, rather than what we would like to exist" (p. xii).

If only Parman had read Thomas Kuhn, Richard Rorty and Mary Hesse (among others) more carefully. Consider her language:

> The dream is the ultimate cultural Rorschach. Universal in occurrence among humans and other mammals, it stems from a nonsymbolic surge of arousal from the brainstem that splays the cerebrum with fireworks. In humans these random fireworks are interpreted by the neocortex and given symbolic shape. . . . The dream is like an onion, constantly being peeled, but with endless layers. This book is about the epistemological layers of the dream in Western culture. (P. ix).

Notice that Parman's descriptions are neither neutral nor objective but metaphorical from the start. Her scientific language about dream origins and processes is about "Rorschachs," "fireworks" and "onions." And such descriptions are not secondary elaborations of an objective world. Rather, Parman's choice and use of language positions her as a moral agent. It is just common sense to say that the world is "out there"; however, descriptions of the world are not. They are made up by people acting through and against cultural contexts, just like Parman is doing.

The good thing about this book is that it historicizes such descriptions about dreaming in terms of the epistemological contexts within which they are constructed. The dream becomes a vehicle by which Parman investigates various Western epistemologies starting with the Homeric Greeks, working through the Classical Age, the beginnings of the Judeo-Christian tradition, Neoplatonism, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, the Enlightenment and, finally, the 20th-century age of narcissism. But this study is more than just a linear history, a list of great thinkers and a compact description of ideas about the changing and various Western notions of mind, body, self, other, reason, madness, goodness and evil as these concepts become contextualized by, and help contextualize notions of, the dream. Parman traces the epistemological influences and the play of discursive projects responsible for the production of dream conceptions in ways that highlight their polyvocal nature and the anxieties of their influence.

In the postscript, however, and working against these insights about the discursive production of dreaming, Parman resorts to an overly generalized panic attack on the irrationalism of hermeneutics, postmodernism and deconstruction, which she lumps together as one kind of bad theory. Along with Freudian hermeneutics, these theories are her nightmares. They are likened to a Romantic reaction to Reason through which "[w]e wallow in the divine garbage of our idiosyncratic souls as we pursue our shamanic quests, but presume to be *the* Messiah who writes the history of others" (p. 111). Again, notice the metaphors.

Parman's book may be read as a nostalgic attempt to uncover the value-free foundations of dreaming which she finds in scientific realism. As she says, "[s]cience does not, as a method, destroy 'spirit' or 'will'; it is morally neutral" (p. 111). But, once we have science, then we can weave it "into the interpretive fabric of our meaning system" (p. 111) and then the dream of the truth of what it means to be human can emerge. I take this dream to be one about getting to the bottom of a metaphor, its final truth. What Parman does not realize is that irony is the nightmare of science and instrumental reason, for the more we try to get to the bottom of a metaphor the more we find ourselves forced to use more metaphors.

Gender in Crisis: Women and the Palestinian Resistance Movement
Julie Peteet
New York: Columbia University Press, 1991. x + 240 pp. $37.50 (cloth)

Reviewer: Sherna Berger Gluck
California State University, Long Beach

The blurring of the distinctions between disciplines and the value of cross-over scholarship is demonstrated beautifully in Julie Peteet's book on Palestinian women in exile. Relying on participant observation and interviewing, Peteet documents women's experiences during what turned out to be the last one-and-a-half years of the Resistance movement's control in Lebanon, ending her field research just a few weeks before the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the subsequent massacres and dismantling of the PLO power there. Using anthropological techniques and drawing on concepts and theories from women's history, she makes an important contribution to the scholarship on feminist consciousness and on the activism of Palestinian women in exile. She also provides what is probably the best English-language history of the Palestinian women's movement from its early organizational forms in the 1920s, grounding it in the emergence of early-20th-century Arab feminism.

The primary focus of the book is on the development of political consciousness (including national, class and gender identity) and on the implications both of the techniques of mobilizing women and of the forms of their activism. Peteet argues that because of expanded education for girls and women and their entry into the work force and national politics, Palestinian women in Lebanon did not suffer the loss of status that has marked Third World women's separation from agricultural production. Moreover, despite the absence of a clearly articulated ideology on women and gender relations, by responding to the force of social circumstances and attempting to transfer control from the family to organizational needs, the Resistance created the conditions for heightened consciousness.

It is the discussion of different forms of gender consciousness and activism that gives direction to the book and the variety of activists that Peteet studied that makes it so highly nuanced. Drawing on the distinction between female consciousness and feminist consciousness that Temma Kaplan identified in her landmark study of Spanish women in the 1910s (1982), Peteet differentiates the activities of women that merely expanded gendered boundaries from those that challenged them. Despite the fact that she sometimes conflates these concepts, interview materials and descriptions drawn from her observations help to illuminate the distinction and to reveal how gender ideology was both reinforced and redefined.

In fact, the strongest chapters in the book are those that more directly utilize her observations of and interviews with women. Strangely, one of the weaknesses of the book is the very cursory manner in which the author discusses her fieldwork. Although adequate for ordinary purposes, this was no ordinary research site. The community that was already "in crisis" came under major assault just as Peteet completed her fieldwork and Shatila Refugee Camp, where she lived, was the site of a major massacre. There is something disquieting about not knowing from the beginning the fate of the women with whom she lived, ate and laughed; about her failure to discuss these events up front and, instead, choosing to deal with them under the rubric of a "brief update on the research community." Despite these shortcomings, this book has

a resonance that extends its value beyond the study of this particular community. Its detailed exploration of consciousness, ideology and activism makes it a valuable case study that also furthers our thinking about gender and politics in the Third World.

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1982 Female Consciousness and Collective Action: The Case of Barcelona 1910-1918. Signs 7(3):545-566.

The Native Game: Settler Perceptions of Indian/Settler Relations in Central Labrador
Evelyn Plaice
St. John's, Newfoundland: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University, 1990. 155 pp. $18.00 (paper)

Reviewer: Jo-Anne Fiske
Saint Mary's University

The "native-game," according to Plaice, comprises the struggle of a local group of Labradorians "to qualify for some kind of native status in the eyes of the outside world" (p. 123). Confronted by the growing politicization of their neighbours, the Montagnais-Innu and the political and economic implications of the Indians' land claims, residents of North West River seek to legitimate their own political claims by reference to native (Inuit) ancestry and to their historical participation in the fur trade. As "trappers," "old timers" and "Settlers," the descendants of early European colonists seek to construct an unique ethnic identity, one that sets them apart from Indians and from other European residents whom they view as "newcomers" and "outsiders."

Assuming that "the important criterion in ethnic history is the *defining* of differences between groups," Plaice argues that analysis of Settler perceptions of Indians exposes the cultural differences exploited by those claiming a Settler identity. Ethnicity, she states, is a resource that is manipulated in order to create and communicate social identities within a group. Hence, her goal is not to analyze Indian/Settler interactions but to shift attention to intra-ethnic communication.

The argument unfolds in two steps. The first is a study of the historical, economic and political developments that shaped the shifting social identity of North West River residents. Chapter two describes settlement and economic changes over 250 years which are divided into three economic eras: pioneer settlement and the development of the fishery; geographical mobility of the fur trade period; and 20th-century sedentarization and the emergence of an administrative period marked by reliance on the International Grenfell Association. Chapter three charts the continuity between early settlement patterns and contemporary residential arrangements.

The second section turns to contemporary social relations and the identification of a plethora of "social characters" said to comprise the Settler ethnic identity. Chapter four maps the construction of the "old timer" social character, chapter five the "trapper" social character, both of which are not only central to Settlers' claims to an unique and long-standing relationship to and understanding of the land, but central to

the notion of the Settlers as an unique people. The remaining ethnographic chapters, six through eight, focus on generational differences and contradictions in Settlers' perceptions of Indians and Indian/Settler relations. The book concludes with a brief reassessment of the theoretical perspectives presented in the Introduction.

The Native Game is based upon the author's M.A. thesis presented to Memorial University in 1987. This may account for the fact that the book is relatively atheoretical, a problem evident in the limited range of literature from which Plaice draws her conceptual framework and in the absence of references to recent developments in ethnic studies. Other weaknesses are also troubling. Very little is learned of the Indians against whom the Settlers create ethnic differences, a serious lack given the minimal, often stereotypical, picture of Shiskatshit, the adjacent Indian community. This weakness intersects with a failure to analyze gender relations. For example, only by means of a single footnote do we learn of contemporary intermarriage with Indian women. The historical development of inter-ethnic gender relations is treated similarly. The cultural significance of Inuit *foremothers* in shaping ethnic consciousness is not explored; surely this generated some significant views on sexuality and ethnicity. Moreover, intra-ethnic gender relations are dismissed as an area of inquiry on the grounds that "trapping culture was essentially male." But it is not clear that the trapping culture was divided into a male/public versus female/private dichotomy, as Plaice asserts, and the literature addressing this debate is neglected.

Nothwithstanding the several weakness of *The Native Game*, the book will find its place as a case study in undergraduate Canadian Society or Ethnic Relations courses. There is little here, however, for senior students or scholars intent on advancing theoretical understanding of shifting ethnic identities and their political implications for a nation-state avowing a commitment to aboriginal rights and multiculturalism.

Beyond Goffman: Studies on Communication, Institution, and Social Interaction
Stephen H. Riggins, editor
New York and Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1990. 456 pp. DM 178 (cloth)

Reviewer: Robert Prus
University of Waterloo

Beyond Goffman is one of three collections of articles dedicated to the intellectual contributions of Erving Goffman. The other two collections are *The View from Goffman*, edited by Jason Ditton, and *Erving Goffman: Exploring the Interactional Order*, edited by Paul Drew and Anthony Wooton. There is considerable value both in viewing these collections as a set of works on Goffman's writings and as a base against which to assess the present volume.

Although the contributors to *Beyond Goffman* are not especially attentive to the Ditton collection, and may not have been able because of time constraints to significantly incorporate any of the materials from Drew and Wooton into their manuscripts for the 1990 publication date, these two volumes are strongly recommended as precursors to *Beyond Goffman*. The statements in *Beyond Goffman* give very little concerted consideration to the question "Who was Goffman?" before attempting to transcend his work. Thus, readers may wish to refer to the entire set of papers in Ditton (especially the pieces written by Lofland, Manning and Brook and Taylor) and Drew and

Wooton (particularly the articles by Drew and Wooton, Kendon, Collins, Williams and Giddens). This sort of background material is not provided in the Riggins volume.

Beyond Goffman developed as a multidisciplinary and international production (stemming from a conference held in India in 1987) focussing on Goffman, but still there is surprisingly little concern about achieving some sense of Goffman's basic directions. Each author assumes a different, but typically disconnected thrust and, beyond Riggins' introduction, there is little attempt to interrelate the various contributions featured here. A synopsis paper would have helped in this regard, as would some stronger conceptual framing. Individual contributors situate their discussions in this or that aspect of Goffman's work, but subsequent interlinkages are absent.

The papers range from discussions of Goffman as a phenomenologist (Richard Lanigan), a post-modernist (Charles Battershill) and an anthropologist (Eric Schwimmer) to gender roles (Arlie Russell Hochschild) and the significance of possessions with respect to the presentation of self (R.S. Perinbanaygam and Stephen Riggins) to matters of miscommunication (Hans Dua), protest (T.K. Oommen) and public entertainment (Paul Bouissac). While these articles (and the others included in this volume) provide testimony to the broad relevance of Goffman's concepts to both the interpretive social science and virtually any realm of substantive inquiry, the discussions are largely speculative and discursive in nature and are not as compelling as one might first infer.

Anthropologists will likely find Eric Schwimmer's "The Anthropology of the Interaction Order" of particular interest, given its substantive focus. However, be forewarned that Schwimmer stops far short of showing readers how anthropologists might use Goffman's work in their field research. Those attempting to come to terms with "post-modernism" will probably appreciate Charles Battershill's "Erving Goffman as a Precursor to Post-modern Sociology." Although Battershill clearly (and unfortunately!) underplays Goffman's notion of a reflective and interactive self, he provides a thoughtful discussion of some of the main themes of post-modernism. Peter Manning and Keith Hawkins' "Legal Decisions: A Frame Analytic Perspective" is an insightful piece which also draws our attention to the problematics of framing (they outline 15 qualifications). Here too, however, their work is pitched at a general level and we do not gain much insight into the ways in which people actually invoke, acknowledge, shift, resist or negotiate frames in everyday life. Paul Bouissac's "Incidents, Accidents, Failure: The Representation of Negative Experience in Public Entertainment" is perhaps the piece that would have most aroused Goffman's curiosity by virtue of its potential for dramatic encounters, deception and the intersubjective self. Still, this account, which deals with circus performers and presentational glitches, is developed from the observer's viewpoint rather than from the participants' experiences and is much flattened as a result.

Beyond Goffman is a challenging book to read, not only because of the multiple and diverse frames the authors introduce, but also because the authors lack a more common departure point. Further, despite the theme, *Beyond Goffman*, there is little that is "groundbreaking" in a Goffmanian sense. In many cases, Goffman's work was used much more as a convenient, albeit stimulating, intellectual stepping stone rather than the source or base of genuine, sustained inspiration and scholarship. Those interested in learning of Goffman and his works would be better served by the Ditton and Drew and Wooton collections. As a postscript I must include one more reference, which should be added to any Goffman collection, John Lofland's significant analytic and personalized statement, "Erving Goffman's Sociological Legacies" (1984).

In concluding this review, I cannot help but lament the lack of ethnographic material in this volume. The articles in *Beyond Goffman* consist largely of extended discussions which touch upon, often in thread-like fashion, some of the phenomena of which Goffman spoke. But there is very little attempt to assess these notions in the world of lived experience and there is only a minimal appreciation of the ethnographic Other. However, nowhere can one more productively utilize, assess, clarify and perhaps extend Goffman's work than in the realm of ethnographic inquiry.

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The Hutterian People: Ritual and Rebirth in the Evolution of Communal Life
Peter H. Stephenson
Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1990. ix + 272 pp. $43.75 (cloth)

Reviewer: David Scheffel
University College of the Cariboo

On the anthropological map of the world, the Hutterites occupy a rather prominent place. Their long and well-documented history, their orderly designed colonies spread out over a large and easily accessible area, their anti-materialistic communalism, which contrasts so starkly with the surrounding society, have made the Hutterites a popular object of research among North American anthropologists. In Canada, Peter Stephenson belongs to the inner circle of the experts, looking back at a career that began almost 20 years ago under the guidance of John Bennett. This book is the synthesis of several strands of research devoted to the Hutterites and based on fieldwork conducted in Saskatchewan in the early and mid-1970s.

Dr. Stephenson sets out to address a topic which, he claims, has been neglected so far, namely, the role of ritual in the persistence and evolution of the Hutterian culture. He proceeds chronologically, devoting the first three chapters to a review of reasonably well-known historical facts concerning the origins and early lifestyle of the Hutterian Brethren in 16th-century Central Europe. The rest of the book introduces the reader to demographic, economic and religious aspects of modern Hutterite society in North America, with emphasis on several dominant symbols which link the past with the present and encapsulate the Hutterian "ethos" and "eidos."

To the extent that I could follow Dr. Stephenson's difficult prose, I see his book as an attempt at demonstrating parallels between the lives of individuals and the developmental process of the group that they belong to. In view of the prominent place of collectivism in the Hutterian culture, this concentration on the interplay between the self and the group makes good sense. So does the central claim that a careful analysis of Hutterite ritual reveals the structure of that interplay. This is nicely summed up in the way in which *rebirth* is articulated in the institution of adult baptism and the fis-

sion of colonies which have grown too large for their own good. Dr. Stephenson claims to have identified a correlation between the baptismal and the fission cycle whereby, in agreement with the collectivist ethos, the former is determined by the latter. This implies that candidates for baptism are dependent in their quest for individual (ritual) rebirth on the achievement of collective rebirth through the splitting up of their colony, and thus the satisfaction of the social needs of its members.

Unfortunately, this interesting argument does not come across very well. Dr. Stephenson proves in one clearly and warmly written "people chapter" (chap. 4) that he knows what constitutes good prose. But this is undone in the bulk of the text which is marred by excessively technical language. The model chosen to explain the role of ritual in the Hutterian culture, described as a combination of "systems perspective" with "cybernetics perspective," draws heavily on the natural sciences, and this does not help the clarity of the argument. Lost between graphs and diagrams, overshadowed by "holons," "equifinality," "self-simplification," "synergy" and *Forskalia tholooides*, the Hutterites themselves fade into the background, as if to underline the wisdom of the author's own warning that "numbers are the shadows which events cast, they are not the events themselves, nor should they play a part in the mystification of social life" (p. 202).

It is not for a reviewer to condemn an author for choosing a particular theoretical framework. But, in this case, where the theory does not help the reader, one wishes that Dr. Stephenson had tested some other anthropological approaches to ritual (and evolution) which have been employed since the mid-1970s, the period which seems to have engendered this particular model.

A Response to Scheffel

Respondent: Peter H. Stephenson
University of Victoria, British Columbia

In David Scheffel's review there are several comments to which I object. Scheffel suggests that I know how to write what he calls "good prose" illustrated by a "warmly written 'people chapter,'" but chides me for using graphs, diagrams and technical language in "the bulk of the text." That prose is characterized as "difficult," and Scheffel suggests the book is "marred" by it. Actually, until Chapter 5 (of an eight-chapter book), there is no technical language. In chapters on economy, demography and a proxemic analysis of ritual there are numbers and diagrams. It is hard to imagine adequately addressing these topics without resorting to a few charts, graphs and figures.

Scheffel also uses my own words to condemn the use of analytical prose and numbers ("numbers are the shadows which events cast, they are not the events themselves, nor should they play a part in the mystification of social life" [p. 202]). I am not opposed to using numbers or figures to understand complex events. The decontextualized quotation was meant to clarify my position on the debate between a Platonic conception of numbers as a priori logical categories and an approach which interprets numbers as a feature of cognition and culture—e.g., as symbolic for both researchers and their subjects (see Thomas Crump, *The Anthropology of Numbers* [Cambridge University Press, 1990]). That I favour the latter view implies much of how I hope demographers might interpret my work and it was "by way of warning off extreme

materialists who still haunt this world with the 'thought' that their materialism itself is not an ideology" (p. 202).

Scheffel says, "it is not for a reviewer to condemn an author for choosing a particular theoretical framework," but does just that by suggesting I should have drawn upon theories of ritual practice employed since the mid-1970s. (He does not reveal what these are.) I noted that my interpretation of rituals in terms of silence and space draws heavily on Stanley Tambiah (*Culture, Thought, and Social Action* [Harvard University Press, 1985]). Hutterian rituals are then situated within the theoretical paradigm of control, culminating in Rappaport's enlarged edition of *Pigs for the Ancestors* ([Yale University Press, 1984], p. 5). The point of departure for the book is the mid-1980s and not a paradigm ending a decade earlier. Finally, the research was done in Alberta (not Saskatchewan).

As for allowing the Hutterians to recede while broader issues of cultural evolution, ritual and population growth are described, I plead guilty. For me that is as much an obligation as the warm depiction of the Hutterians. MacLean, in *Young Men and Fire* (University of Chicago Press, 1985), observed that "one of the chief privileges of man is to speak up for the universe." My attempt to go beyond the borders of Hutterian culture is rooted in the same kind of thinking:

> Hopefully . . . something of what the Hutterian People have learned may be passed on outside the borders of their own society and experience. To have created and tenaciously preserved an essentially egalitarian and pacifist culture out of near oblivion is no mean accomplishment. Perhaps the hope such a rare event can inspire may lead to real insight into the rebirth which many of the darkened corners and persecuted peoples of our world have despaired of ever finding. (p. 12)

Surely there is a risk of parochialism in viewing local knowledge strictly in terms of itself. Scheffel appears to suggest that descriptive writing which exudes charm is "good" writing, while attending abstract and analytical topics yields "bad" writing. What are we to make of writing which decontextualizes quotations and casts a work in the wrong place and time? Simple inaccuracy aside, is this not perhaps the tyranny of a new genre supplanting an older one? I object to the tone of Scheffel's remarks which seem intended to paint me as yesterday's ethnographer.

The Nervous System
Michael Taussig
New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall, 1992. 207 pp. $56.50 (cloth), $19.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Christiane Paponnet-Cantat
University of New Brunswick

The Nervous System by Michael Taussig is, undeniably, a very challenging piece of writing. In order to outline a theory of culture, the author follows a complex procedure and tackles a number of issues such as power, control and the role of ritualization in political discourse. Questioning the commodification of culture in our post-modern world, Professor Taussig argues that the capitalist nature of modern culture is a product of reification by the state, by science and by the people themselves. Taussig reassesses the nature of modern capitalist culture by examining the social body and

the biological body. The state constructs the culture of the social body and science the culture of the biological body. State and science are masks. They render reality "inherently deceptive, real and unreal at one and the same time—in short, a thoroughly nervous Nervous System" (p. 113).

The nervousness of the social body is evidenced in the use of terror by the authoritarian state. For instance, the dirty war of Colombia is a war of silencing where terror becomes a social practice which gives force to the unsaid. However, coercion always brings resistance. The naming of the disappeared by their mothers is an effective way to oppose silencing, "the restless souls .... return again and again in the collective sphere to haunt the living" (p. 27). The naming of the disappeared allows the moral and magical power of the unquiet dead to flow into the public sphere. This recuperation of the collective memory by the mothers has a generative character; it empowers the individual by re-enacting reality.

The nervousness of the social body is also apparent in the obsessive redefining, by the authority, of a sense of mystery to the pre-European, Indian past. This redefinition of the past as symbolized by the ruins of Machu Picchu is a form of control. It is in the attitude of the old Indian healer that Taussig sees resistance to this coercion. Taussig establishes a parallel between the refunctioning of the state by the women and of Machu Picchu by the old Indian healer. The latter unintentionally reverses the official montage of colonial experience. Here we see the mothers and the Indian healer rebelling against the appropriation by the ruling powers of their dead or of their past.

In the democratic state of Australia, the culture of nationalism expresses the nervousness of the Nervous System. According to the author, it is coercive in nature because it mystifies history. However, using the ANZACS tale, the old soldier shows how the past can be de-mythologized and re-enchanted by bringing new meanings to the notion of heroism "that crack open the reified exterior with which its usage by the state has wrapped it in medals and decoration" (p. 54).

The nervousness of the biological body is expressed in the clinical construction of reality where scientific management of illnesses denies the human relations embodied in symptoms, signs and therapy. Science explains the how (fact) but not the why (value) of disease. It is left to the patient to create his/her own theory of etiology because the "non-compliant" patient is searching for the social explanations and moral meanings of his/her illness.

Although written from an anthropological point of view, Taussig's work transcends established disciplinary boundaries to reveal the entangled nature of discursive relations. Conscious of the danger of empiricism, the author sets himself up against positivist, linear thinking. His work rejects subject/object dualism as well as the reification of categories.

The Nervous System represents a new way to conceptualize anthropological studies. For Taussig, the task of interpretation calls for an archaeology of the implicit so that the opaque is brought within the realm of concepts. Theory becomes a tool used for de-mystification and re-enchantment. This way, the everydayness of the post-modern world is de-reified. In the process it is also liberated and thus "realized" in its totality with all blind spots being given meaning.

Michael Taussig's mode of analysis is shamanic in essence. It works toward combining a critique of the modern world with a search for a new Archimedean mode of thinking. It expresses the will to transcend reality and to challenge scientific thinking. It aims at reconciling the secular with the magical by using the regenerative powers of the aesthetic mode of analysis. It is art and not science which enables the anthropolo-

gist to put order upon chaos. It is, according to Taussig, the "allegorizing mode of reading ideology into events and artifacts, cockfights and carnivals, advertisements and film, private and public spaces, in which the surface phenomenon, as in allegory, stands as a cipher for uncovering horizon after horizon of otherwise obscure systems of meanings" (p. 147). It drags into consciousness what was previously left unsaid or unconscious of the dialectic between self and other.

This mode of analysis is surprising. It is a "making-strange" approach to reality which constantly shocks the reader. According to the author this mode is akin to Roland Barthes' seismology or the production of shock in that it has the same "tactility."

Through the aesthetic experience and the shamanic mode of analysis *The Nervous System* seeks to provide meaning to the perpetually disintegrating state of modern life. It is also a primary intellectual document which brings the work of Walter Benjamin to the forefront of this exploration.

Animals & Society : The Humanity of Animal Rights
Keith Tester
London et New York : Routledge, 1991. vi + 218 p. 15.95 $ (souple), 59.95 $ (cartonne)
Animal Rights, Human Rights : Ecology, Economy and Ideology in the Canadian Arctic
George Wenzel
Toronto et Buffalo : University of Toronto Press, 1991. ix + 206 p. 18.95 $ (souple), 55.00 $ (cartonné)

Reviewer: Daniel Clément
Musée canadien des civilisations

Ces deux livres récents, aux titres similaires, abordent différemment la question des «droits des animaux» et des droits des humains. Le premier de Keith Tester, un enseignant à Portsmouth, provient d'une thèse de doctorat présentée à l'université de Leeds en Angleterre, le second de George Wenzel, anthropologue et géographe de l'université McGill à Montréal, est issu d'une expérience d'au moins vingt ans en milieu inuit. Ces origines inégales expliquent en partie les différences de contenu et de ton des deux ouvrages.

Le livre de Tester est avant tout théorique et consiste en un examen critique continu des auteurs ayant abordé la question des «droits des animaux». En s'inspirant d'auteurs tels Foucault et Douglas, Tester tente ainsi de découvrir les relations et processus sociaux qui sous-tendent à la fois le discours actuel en Angleterre sur la pertinence de reconnaître aux animaux des droits moraux *et* les comportements des membres de certaines sociétés de défense des animaux. Les théories aussi à la mode que celle de Singer sur l'espècisme (l'équivalent du racisme mais cette fois fondé sur une hiérarchie des espèces), celle de Regan sur la reconnaissance de «droits» aux animaux ou celle de Clark sur l'égalité morale des hommes et des animaux sont présentées en premier. Suit une analyse historique et épistémologique des divers aspects liés à cette problématique avec comme hypothèse de départ la suivante : selon Tester, les énoncés relatifs aux «droits» des animaux ne visent nullement les animaux; au contraire, ces idées reflètent les perceptions humaines de la société, les animaux ne servant que de prétexte pour différencier l'humanité de l'animalité.

Un des arguments principaux de Tester veut que la reconnaissance de «droits» aux animaux soit la somme de deux tendances historiques qu'il définit comme la demande de différence et la demande de similitude. La demande de différence est illustrée par certains auteurs tels Bentham et Kant et certaines lois du XVIII[e] et XIX[e] siècle qui concourent toutes à une condamnation de la cruauté envers les animaux, interprétées par Tester comme un effort de la classe bourgeoise et citadine de se distinguer de la classe ouvrière à partir d'une différenciation analogue entre les comportements humain et bestial. La demande de similitude, qui s'est développée à la même époque, est illustrée à l'aide de Rousseau, Monboddo, Ritson et Shelley dont l'attitude prônée envers les animaux (ex. végétarisme) n'est en fait que le reflet de leur critique de la vie sociale et urbaine qui a corrompu l'humanité. Les «droits» des animaux en tant que thème contemporain défendu par des théoriciens et des militants plus ou moins violents est enfin expliqué par Tester comme le résultat de ces deux tendances, la demande de similitude étant toujours visible dans la reconnaissance d'une égalité entre l'homme et l'animal, la demande de différence étant présente pour sa part dans le fait même que l'homme en s'occupant du droit des animaux affirme ainsi sa propre différence.

Bien que directement lié à ce débat sur les «droits» des animaux, l'ouvrage de Wenzel a par ailleurs un objectif plus pratique, soit celui de dénoncer la campagne internationale menée contre la chasse au phoque qui nuit considérablement au développement social et économique des Inuit. Appuyé par une longue expérience de terrain à Clyde River sur l'île de Baffin, l'ouvrage de Wenzel se veut un instrument polémique visant à critiquer tous les arguments avancés par les militants écologistes (par exemple, Greenpeace, International Fund for Animal Welfare, Sea Shepherd Society) que ces arguments proviennent des militants eux-mêmes ou de théoriciens tels les Singer et Regan déjà mentionnés.

Dans son ouvrage, Wenzel tente de démontrer 1) que la culture et la société Inuit reposent toujours sur des valeurs traditionnelles telles la notion de partage, réfutant ainsi les arguments de certains écologistes à l'effet que les Inuit ne seraient plus traditionnels, 2) que le mouvement de protestation des défenseurs des droits des animaux fait partie intégrante du processus colonial du Nord canadien et que 3) l'image des Inuit véhiculée par les mêmes militants est farcie de stéréotypes qui risquent à longue échéance de nier aux Inuit tout droit de regard sur leur passé et leur avenir. Pour soutenir ses arguments, Wenzel présente un tableau relativement complet d'une communauté inuit tant des points de vue économique, historique, social que culturel.

Les livres de Tester et Wenzel sont inégaux. Chacun a pour ainsi dire les qualités de ses défauts. Celui de Tester est ardu et difficile comme toute bonne thèse universitaire; l'auteur fait toutefois le tour de nombreux ouvrages théoriques dont ceux encore de Lorenz, Wilson (sociobiologie), Lévi-Strauss, Durkheim, Thomas et Elias et saura ainsi plaire aux érudits. Le livre de Wenzel est plus actuel. Son ton polémique le rend de lecture plus agréable bien que d'autre part, les arguments sont souvent présentés pêle-mêle avec toutes les répétitions que cela peut entraîner. Le dernier ouvrage n'en constitue pas moins une bonne introduction aux problèmes contemporains en milieu nordique.

Cross-Cultural Caring: A Handbook for Health Professionals in Western Canada

Nancy Waxler-Morrison, Joan Anderson and Elizabeth Richardson, eds.
Vancouver, British Columbia: University of British Columbia Press, 1990. 282 pp.
$16.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Peter H. Stephenson
University of Victoria

This book is an important contribution to the practical side of Medical Anthropology and Sociology. The goals of the book are to provide potentially significant information on ethnicity to people working in the health care field without jargon or pretence. The contributors and editors largely succeed, in my view, in doing this because the work is highly collaborative. Members of the various communities described served as principal authors, or co-authors, of the various chapters. The contributors are also people deeply involved in the cultural life of their communities, as well as in medicine, nursing or social work.

The cultural groups described include: Cambodians and Laotians, Central Americans, Chinese, Iranians, Japanese, South Asians, Vietnamese and West Indians. Many of the important subdivisions which exist under these headings are discussed in the book, and important issues related to changing sex roles, violence and drug abuse are not glossed over but dealt with. Topics include: mental illness, dental care, hospitalization, birth and death, nutrition, traditional beliefs and attitudes, and problems of adjustment. Conditions propelling immigration or refugee status are described, and the appendix contains a helpful summary of immigration regulations and their relationship to the provision of health services to immigrants. The book is available in softcover, apparently in two versions: spiral-bound or paperback. The spiral bound version may be especially useful as a reference item on wards.

The conclusion offers some extremely pertinent advice (particularly about the use of translators) which I can thoroughly endorse. In some of my own recent research, *The Victoria Multi-Cultural Health Care Research Project* (Secretary of State Multiculturalism, 1991) I found that a large majority of health care workers preferred to use family members as translators because they had the "trust" of the patient. Most felt that the use of house staff was problematic due to potential breaches of confidentiality. Community members in the study (Vietnamese, El Salvadorans and South Asians), however, overwhelmingly pointed out that intra-familial privacy was impossible when family were used. Issues such as sexual abuse, drug abuse, violence, personal histories involving torture, etc., some of which are of major concern in their communities, could not be dealt with due to professional reliance on familial translators.

I would like to have seen some of the special legal and medical problems of refugees more clearly separated from those of immigrants. As well, although the conclusion deals squarely with issues of stereotyping, perhaps some of the individual chapters themselves could have included caveats about internal cultural variation. Throughout some chapters there is an inconsistent stance with respect to multi-culturalism: while their authors clearly embrace cultural and political pluralism, they assume an assimilationist tone with respect to medical pluralism. For example, in several chapters long post-partum periods of "lying in" are assumed to be, at best, harm-

less cultural practices which will eventually disappear. At worst, they are assumed to be a problem in hospitals where rapid and energetic post-partum activities are the policy. This is an unwarranted and untested assumption. Systematic cross-cultural research may yet reveal what many medical anthropologists already suspect based on participant observation work: that longer periods of post-partum relaxation are related to lower rates of post-partum depression. I also wish the terrible problems of survivors of torture had been dealt with in more detail.

In summation, I have very few quibbles with this book, which I think accomplishes some modest goals very well indeed. Although the goal of informing the health care worker of his/her client's cultural background may be modest, it is not without difficulty. Finding a middle intellectual ground which is neither condescending nor confusing, and dealing squarely with some glaring educational inadequacies among health care workers without raising what might be termed a "defensive inadequacy reaction" in the profession (which precludes education), is no easy task—and one I have personally struggled with more than a few times. Finally, as an acid test, I have used this book as a supplementary text twice in a medical anthropology course taken by large numbers of nurses, medical adminstration and pre-medical students. A number of students from various ethnic groups (Iranians and South Asians) liked the book (and so did their parents). Aditionally, those students with considerable work backgrounds "in the trenches" found the book particularly helpful—these included mainly working nurses and one prison guard! I think this book will be extremely helpful to my students in the future, and I plan to continue using it.

CONTRIBUTORS/COLLABORATEURS

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Sidney Greenfield is Professor of Anthropology at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee. He received his Ph.D. from Columbia University. He has conducted fieldwork in the Caribbean, Portugal, the Atlantic Islands and Latin America, particularly in Brazil. His research interests include family and kinship, economic anthropology, politics and patronage, the history of slavery and plantation societies and, most recently, manifestations of popular religion. He is currently working on a book on spiritist healing in Brazil.

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Marta Rohatynskyj is Assistant Professor of Anthropology at the University of Guelph. She received her Ph.D. from the University of Toronto. She has conducted fieldwork in Burkina-Faso and, most recently, in Papua New Guinea, to which she will be returning for the summer of 1994. Her research interests include gender and social organization, gender and development and multiethnic studies. Articles reflecting these interests have appeared in journals such as *Man* and *The Canadian Journal of African Studies.*

Bernard Saladin d'Anglure

Bernard Saladin d'Anglure is a social anthropologist who received his training both in Canada and in Paris. He spent seven years working with Claude Lévi-Strauss at the Laboratoire d'Anthropologie Sociale de Collège de France. He is currently a Professor at Laval University. He has conducted field research among the Inuit on a continual basis since 1956. A symbolic and structural anthropologist, he has specialized in the study of gender systems, ethnoastronomy and the connection between political and symbolic systems. His publications include a chapter on the Inuit of Québec in Volume Five of the *Smithsonian Handbook of American Indians* (edited by David Damas), "Nom et Parenté chez les Esquimaux Tarramiut de Nouveau Québec" in *Échange et Communications*, edited by J. Pouillon and P. Maranda (The Hague: Mouton), "La troisième sexe" in *La Recherche* 245 (July/August 1992) and "Au Claire le la Lune Circumpolaire" in *Interface* (December 1992). The last article discusses the importance of lunar symbolism in the understanding of Inuit seasonal variation.

Contents continued from page 2 . . .

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1979 Challenging Anthropology: A Critical Introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology. Toronto, Ontario: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, Limited.

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