



Bulletin

Society for the Anthropology of Europe

October 1991
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EUROPEAN PRESENCE IN CHICAGO PHENOMENAL IN 1991!

With 1992 at the door, and massive political and economic reorganization occurring in Eastern Europe, this year's American Anthropological Association (AAA) program has a strong European focus. In addition to the SAE annual Breakfast Roundtable, our Distinguished Lecture (see separate story), and fourteen SAE-sponsored panels (three of which are invited sessions), five additional invited sessions have been sponsored by other AAA units, each with a European theme. Moreover, in addition to the SAE business meeting, area business meetings for Britain and Ireland, Germany, Hungary and Eastern Europe are part of the formal program (other area groups continue to meet on a more informal basis). What follows is a list of those panels and meeting with a European focus.

SAE Breakfast Roundtable: (Sat. 11/23 - 8:00-10:00 a.m.)

Organizer: David Kideckel

1. William Lockwood -- European Gypsies
2. Peter Allen -- European Ethnographic Film
3. Ernestine Friedl -- The Mediterranean and Changing Europe
4. Donald Pitkin -- European Field Experience: Informant, Friend, Colleague, Alter Ego.
5. Ed Hansen -- I have the "Hots": Higher Order Technical Skills of the New European Order
6. Andrew Lass -- Cultural Malaise in Eastern Europe

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MARILYN STRATHERN SAE DISTINGUISHED LECTURER FOR 1991

Marilyn Strathern of the University of Manchester in England will present the 1991 Distinguished Lecture sponsored by the Society of the Anthropology of Europe (SAE). Professor Strathern is best known for her research in Melanesia and is the author of the heralded *The Gender of the Gift: Problems with Women and Problems with Society in Melanesia* (1988). Apart from her research on gender and inequality, Professor Strathern is also recognized as a first-rate ethnographer. More recently, Professor Strathern has been conducting research in Europe where she is examining the impact of new reproductive technologies on perceptions of kinship. Her lecture, entitled "The Pursuit of Certainty," will address comparatively her work in New Guinea and England. Professors Jane Schneider and Michael Herzfeld will be discussants. A Cash Bar Reception will take place at 7:00 p.m., following the lecture.

STEPHEN D. JONES NEW FEATURES EDITOR

Pat Gibson
Bulletin Editor

Beginning with the February, 1991 issue, Stephen D. Jones will join the *Bulletin* staff as our Features Editor. With this position filled, the *Bulletin* is again fully staffed. I wish to take this opportunity to thank the many SAE members who volunteered for the three positions available. The continuing enthusiasm and willingness of our members to work on SAE projects is admirable and much appreciated.

**SOCIETY FOR THE
ANTHROPOLOGY OF EUROPE**

The Society for the Anthropology of Europe (SAE) was founded at the 1986 Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Membership is open to all members of the AAA who work in or are interested in Europe as an area concentration.

The *Bulletin* is the newsletter of the SAE and is published three times a year in February, May and October. Deadlines for material to be submitted are as follows:

Winter	January 1
Spring	April 1
Fall	September 1

Allow four to six weeks delivery time. If you don't receive your *Bulletin*, please contact the American Anthropological Association.

Individuals who are not anthropologists or are not based in North America may subscribe to the *Bulletin* without joining the SAE/AAA by sending the \$10 annual subscription fee to AAA, 1703 New Hampshire Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20009

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SAE MEMBERSHIP CONTINUES TO GROW!

SAE membership continues to grow, after breaking the 600 mark in September of 1990. As of August 31 we had a total membership of 664, with 559 paid members and 105 members who had not paid. Broken down into regular and student members, the figures are as follows: 396 regular members and 163 student members had paid their dues while 58 regular and 47 student members have not paid their dues for 1991.

REMINDER!:

**VOTE!!
OCTOBER 11**

**COURSE DESIGN RESOURCE PACKETS
FOR TEACHING THE
ANTHROPOLOGY OF EUROPE
NOW AVAILABLE**

Sarah C Uhl
Projects Committee Chair

The Projects Committee is distributing five "course design resource" packets for the teaching of the anthropology of Europe. Each guide contains background information about European anthropology courses taught in universities and colleges in the U.S. and Canada and a set of topic-related syllabi, which are xeroxed from the originals. All materials have been compiled from the 1990 national "SAE Survey on Courses in the Anthropology of Europe." An SAE Project Committee report is also available.

The following prices are based on current processing and first-class postage fees:

Survey on Courses on the Anthropology of Europe \$10.00
(Project Committee Report)

Course Design Resource Packets

Topical Courses with a European Emphasis	\$8.00
Mediterranean Europe	8.00
General Survey Courses on the Anthropology of Europe	8.50
The Archaeology of Europe	6.50
Regional and Specific National-State Courses in European Anthropology	7.75

Make check payable to SAE/AAA and send to:

Dr. Donna E. Muncey
Box 1969 -- CES(SEP)
Brown University
Providence, RI 02912

Please send new or updated syllabi to Dr. Muncey. They will be compiled and made available in supplements to these documents.

Special Report

**ORPHANS OF THE STATE:
TURMOIL AND TROUBLES IN THE
"NEW GERMANY"**

James R McLeod
Ohio State University-Mansfield

It's small town politics on a big time scale. Or maybe it's big time politics on a small town scale. Either way, the reunification of Germany has hit Berlin hard, right in the teeth. *Ossies* (East Germans) and *Wessies* (West Germans) are competing for power in a city which has a history of turmoil

and trouble, a city which is soon to become the new capital of the reunited *Deutschland*. Germans are stuck in the problems of redefining themselves -- the pride of being ethnically Germanic may not be enough to heal the wounds caused by spending forty years apart.

"This is not a merger; this is a takeover." These words, uttered with emotion by Dr. Rudiger Pieper, director of the Paul Lobe Institute in Berlin, summarize the facts of the new German state. The West has emerged predominant, with little concern for the culture or lifestyle of the subordinate East. The fact of the matter is that the old Germany is dead; but the new Germany that has arisen from the ashes of the reunification is a strange bird, part-eagle, part-turkey. Sixteen million *Ossies* find themselves strangers in a strange land, speaking more or less the same language, sharing a common ethnicity, but without a common culture. And while economic and political issues predominate in the "*Neue Große Deutschland*," few people are talking about the cultural realities of the reunification process. It is these cultural issues that will ultimately make Germany stand or fall. As many Germans told me, "What is good for Germany is good for Europe." By the same token, what is bad for Germany is bad for Europe. And what is bad for Europe is bad for the United States.

There are many jokes told in the West about the reunification process. One of the less virulent went like this: "Erich Honecker (former DDR President) should be given the highest prize (*Bundesverdienstkreuz*) of the West German government; after all, he kept the East Germans away from us for 40 years." The divisions between West and East are real and they are substantial; and whether or not they can be overcome by economic forces alone is a question few people are asking. It is true that almost all East Germans see their newly found freedoms as positive; freedom to travel, freedom of speech, freedom to organize politically, and most especially freedom from the hated *Stasi*, the dreaded secret political police of the old DDR. While all of these freedoms are much loved and were coveted dearly under the old system, the *Ossies* are not completely happy with the new system either. They have found that they depended on the State in a way that a market economy simply does not recognize as valid. The State was both father and mother for East Germans, a kind of fictive kinship which could be best described as non-benevolent paternalism. Sometimes the State was kind and merciful; sometimes it was angry and malevolent. In either case, it was a State you could depend on. It was pervasive, constant, and watchful. When it was kind, it provided subsidies for housing, food, and medical care; the overall expenditure for child-care for women in East Germany was many times that in France, a leader in this field. East German homes often look shabby on the outside; they are unpainted, the walls are cracking, and they are sometimes next to houses which seem to be falling down. But when one gets inside, they are clean, neat, and natty to the point of exactness. It made little sense to fix the outside while the State owned the property; but it made excellent sense to fix the inside when that was where you lived. When the State was malevolent, it was horribly so; people were taken away in the middle of the night, disappearing like the vanishing people in South America. All activities were watched, much like the worst nightmares portrayed in Orwell's *1984*. Phones were tapped, informers paid high prices, travel was forbidden, walls were erected. Those attempting to escape were shot. Through it all, most of the time -- or until 1989 -- the 16 million East

Germans kept a stoic face in the midst of programmed mediocrity. So what, they said; the State owns our bodies; we own our hearts. Bombarded with messages about the consumer society from the West, they cooperated with each other in the East. They were united in a common loyalty against the State; even party members knew that the policies were ridiculous, but what could they do? The system is the system, they said. As to what they felt, that was private. Their politics were public, their emotions private. A formula for disaster? Perhaps, but consider the public humiliation anyone in such a system faced by not going along with the program. Confronted with such a dilemma of alternatives, what would you do? Especially when Soviet tanks (until very recently) were there to back up the program -- and had done so in both Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and in East Germany in 1953.

It all came down to a question of bananas. A joke told by *Wessies* about the *Ossies* -- a political cartoon to be exact -- showed an East German eating a pickle. The caption was "Oh, my first banana!" The punch line is that East Germans didn't know the difference between a pickle and a banana, and that cultural reality revealed their ignorance of the real world. When the Wall was first opened, *Ossies* came over in droves, and *Wessies* sold them bananas at exorbitant prices. Yet the *Ossies* bought them by the thousands. Bananas became a symbol of their new freedoms, and in turn became a symbol of their naivete about the real world of the West. "Yes, they have Bananas" was the initial outburst from the East -- and bananas became the West German icon for East German simplicity.

The truth is much more complex than that. East Germany is experiencing a kind of cultural imperialism which only has analogy in the burning of native dictionaries which the American government exercised in their original takeover of Guam in 1898. A maxim told in East Germany sums up this process succinctly: "Before we had two bad systems; now we have only one." The reunification of Germany is a fact, and one which has been realized on three levels: Political, legal, and economic. What remains to be accomplished is perhaps the most important of the levels; the problem of culture. Presuming that political, legal, and economic union will result in cultural union is problematic at best. *Ossies* and *Wessies* have much in common, but they also have much that is at odds. During the election campaigns of 1990, Kohl and De Maziere assured the *Ossies* that "No one will be worse off after the reunification." Estimates vary, but there will be between two and five million unemployed East Germans over the next five years, in a total population of only 16 million or so. And we must consider that this is occurring within a population which had guaranteed full employment for the forty years of socialist administration. Given Germany's "social welfare" state, they will not starve. But they will be relatively deprived, and they will be very angry about it. The East Germans say "Look, the *Wessies* had the Marshall Plan, they had all that help from the West, especially from America, and they prospered. We had to pay reparations to the Soviets, over 3 billion marks in hard currency, and we got no help from anyone. Now the *Wessies* call us lazy, say we lack enterprise, and are an inferior people. What were we supposed to do?"

Germany has become, to paraphrase G.B. Shaw, two peoples speaking an uncommon language. The language of the West is money, pure and simple; the language of the East was survival under a difficult system at best. The language of

mercy has yet to be spoken, and language of domination has already reached its peak. The degree to which *Wessies* and *Ossies* can come to some accommodation about their respective cultural legacies has yet to be seen; but it is a fact that Germany is unified only in terms of political rhetoric. The cultural fact of that unification is still somewhere in the future. And that future will not only affect Europe; it will ultimately affect the entire world. We had better take note on this side of the pond.

CES 1991-1992 CONFERENCES ANNOUNCED

Dr. Ioannis Sinanoglou, the Executive Director of the Council for European Studies (CES) has brought to our attention three conferences co-sponsored by the CES under its program of workshop grants that he feels would be of interest to anthropologists.

Anthropology Perspectives on European Integration in 1992.

October 1991, at the Graduate School, City University of New York.

For further information, please contact:

Thomas Wilson
Department of Social Anthropology
The Queen's University of Belfast
Belfast, BT7 INN
Northern Ireland, U.K.
Tel: 011-353-46-21616
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Gender and Modernity: Social Rationalization in the Twentieth Century

Late autumn 1991 at Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut.

For further information, please contact:

Susan Pennybacker
Department of History
Trinity College
Hartford, CT 06106

Matrilineality and Patrilineality in Comparative and Historical Perspective

April 30-May 2, 1992, University of Minnesota at Minneapolis.

For further information, please contact:

Mary Jo Maynes
Department of History
Social Science Building
267 19th Avenue South
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, MN 55455

**EUROPEAN PRESENCE IN CHICAGO
PHENOMENAL IN 1991!**

(Continued from page one)

SAE-SPONSORED PANELS AND MEETINGS:

Wednesday, November 20

- * Approaching 1992 Along Europe's Northern Rim: Assimilated and Assimilating, Karen A Larson and Myrdene Anderson, Chairs (2:00 - 5:15 p.m.)
- * Ethnographic Network for Britain and Ireland, Gwen Kennedy Neville, Chair (6:30 - 8:30 p.m.)

Thursday, November 21

- * Invited Session: Civilizing Eastern Europe: Critical Reflections on the Postrevolutionary '90s, Gail Kligman, Chair (8:30 - 11:30 a.m.)
- * Ethnographic Reflections on European Social Theory, Robert C Ulin, Chair (1:45 - 3:15 p.m.)
- * The Anthropology of the Senses and European Modernity, C Nadia Seremetakis, Chair (3:30 - 5:00 p.m.)

Friday, November 22

- * European Feminism: National Identities and National Debate, Hermine De Soto, Chair (8:15 - 11:30 a.m.)
- * Invited Session: French Ethnology and the Ethnology of France: American and French Outlooks, Joelle Bahloul, Chair (8:45 - 11:45 a.m.)
- * Network Meeting for the Anthropology of Germany, Uli Linke, Chair (12:00 - 1:30 p.m.)
- * Colonialism and European National Identities, Caroline Brettell, Chair (1:45 - 4:30 p.m.)
- * Self or Other? Reflexive Anthropology in the European Context, Jill Dubisch, Chair (3:15 - 5:00 p.m.)
- * SAE Business Meeting, Michael Herzfeld, Chair (5:30 - 7:00 p.m.)

Saturday, November 23

- * Breakfast Roundtable (see above) (8:00 - 10:00 a.m.)
- * Invited Session: Beyond the Site: Anthropology and Regional Studies in the Aegean Area, P Nick Kardulias, Chair (8:45 - 11:45 a.m.)
- * The Anthropology of European Community Integration in 1992, Thomas M Wilson, Chair (1:45 - 4:00 p.m.)
- * Putting Meaning in and Taking Meaning Out: The Construction of European Identities for 1992, Katherine C Donahue, Chair (3:30 - 5:00 p.m.)
- * SAE Distinguished Lecture: "The Pursuit of Certainty," by Marilyn Strathern (5:30 - 7:00 p.m.)
- * Cash Bar (7:00 - 8:30 p.m.)

Sunday, November 24

- * Identity and Meaning in the European Context, Robert Reed, Chair (8:00 - 10:15 a.m.)
- * Politics, Economics and Labor in the European Context, Jeffrey E Cole, Chair (10:30 a.m.- 1:00 p.m.)
- * Remembrance and Reconstruction of the European Left: 1968-1992, Roland E Baumann, Chair (1:00 - 4:30 p.m.)

**OTHER PANELS AND MEETINGS OF
INTEREST TO EUROPEANISTS:**

Wednesday, November 20

- * Invited Session: Ethnicity in the North: Soviet and Western Views, Marjorie M Balzer, Chair (5:00 - 7:15 p.m.)

Thursday, November 21

- * Invited Session: Television and the Mediation of Culture: Issues in British Ethnographic Film, Annette B Weiner and Faye D Ginsburg, Chairs (8:00 - 10:00 a.m.)
- * Hungarianist Research Group, Eva Huseby-Darvas, Chair (12:00 - 1:30 p.m.)
- * Invited Session: Parental Views on Education and Intervention Programs: Ethnic Minorities in the Netherlands and America, Lotty Van den Berg-Eldering, Chair (1:45 - 3:45 p.m.)
- * Invited Session: Social Complexity in Late Prehistoric Iberia, Katina T Lillios, Chair (1:45 - 5:15 p.m.)

Friday, November 22

- * East European Anthropology Group, Joel Marrant, Chair (12:00 - 1:30 p.m.)

Sunday, November 24

- * Invited Session: Ethno-Nationalism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, Katherine M Verdery, Chair (12:00 - 3:00 p.m.)

ARCHAEOLOGY COLUMN

Robert Wheelersburg
Elizabethtown College

Greetings to the readers of the SAE *Bulletin*! I would like to introduce the archaeology column and provide an example of the type of material I want to publish in this section. Although titled the archaeology column, I would like to expand the content somewhat. As you know, disciplines in many parts of Europe are extremely rigid and interdisciplinary work is often unheard of. Often some of the most interesting and useful work for American historical archaeologists is done by historians, folklorists, and linguists, while geographers and climatologists are producing results needed by prehistorians. Thus, I would like to expand the content to include information on current research projects in Europe that would be of interest to archaeologists and ethnohistorians alike. I would also prefer to focus on large scale, long term research projects that involve interdisciplinary and international teams of researchers seeking to investigate the cultural dynamics of a particular region over time. One of the benefits to this approach is that people will learn of more localized research projects. Since, in many countries research results are published only in "non-research" (i.e. not English, German, French or Spanish) languages, Europeanists interested in addressing larger questions may learn of material that would be applicable to their work. As an example of what I mean, I will begin by describing a project with which I have been associated

There are several research projects being conducted in northern Scandinavia including Lapland, the northern Swedish provinces of Västerbotten and Norrbotten (known as Norrland) and the former Swedish province of Österbotten (now Finland; old Swedish provincial names = West Bothnia, North Bothnia, and East Bothnia) by staff and guest researchers at the Center for Arctic Cultural Research. Two projects yielding significant results are the Bay of Bothnia seal hunting cultures project, and the Saami (Lapp) transition to reindeer herding project. Most of the publications and research reports produced from these projects are in Swedish or Finnish; however, these usually have English or Russian summaries.

There were three socioeconomic systems in Norrland during the Scandinavian Late Middle Ages. Moving from East to West these systems represented a graduated mixture of indigenous and cultural groups and economic methods. First, was a partially indigenous, mostly transplanted coastal (circumBaltic) economy based upon trade in the Gulf of Bothnia and the greater Baltic, and upon sea fishing (salmon and herring and seal hunting. Russian, Scandinavian and European (i.e. Hanseatic League) groups participated in this economy. Second, Swedish/Finnish settlers established an inland (Norrland) economy, comprised of lake fishing for pike and trout, limited agriculture (primarily livestock) and fur hunting/trading. The third system was an Interior (Lapland) economy located in the westernmost interior along the Norwegian border and in Finnmark. This system was an indigenous Saami (proto)pastoral economy based upon reindeer hunting/herding, and taxation/trade with coresidential and transient Russo Scandinavian agropastoral populations.

The Bay of Bothnia Seal Hunting Cultures Project

A multidisciplinary team consisting of archaeologists, ethnologists (folklorists), linguists, and historians from Sweden, Finland and the United States investigated protohistoric and historic seal hunting populations along the northern Baltic. Archaeological studies focused on remains from the Iron Age and the Late Middle Ages associated with fishing and sealing along the North Bothnic coast. Both detailed surveys and excavations on the western coast were conducted, with sites dated through C-14 analysis, lichenometer, and stone weathering calibrations, in combination with established shoreline displacement measurements. Many of the dwellings along the coast, including longhouses were built during the period A.D. 400-1200 (Younger Iron Age), with the main period of occupation in the Viking Age. Osteological analysis for seasonality and target population structure along with documentary analysis of tax records indicated that the economy depended heavily upon ring seal hunting during the fall. This data, in combination with the development of ethnohistorical resource utilization models and place name studies revealed a settlement pattern for the Viking seal hunting populations of semi-permanent coastal villages (less than 10 km from the shoreline), supplemented with seasonal sealing camps. From A.D. 1200 this form of sealing decreased in the northern Bothnic area as the herring fishery industry increased.

Comparative Nordic language studies differentiating between the north and east Swedish dialects for words like "seal" and

"ice" determined the strategies used by the sealers in designating prey and ice conditions. The sealer's classification schemes for seals represented rich folk taxonomies. These ethnotaxonomies differ significantly from modern taxonomic structures for seals, and the traditional terms for seal used by the seal hunters reflected the knowledge necessary for a successful catch, including color, body shape, and behavior. Ice terminology indicated ethnoscientific knowledge of weather and terrain, and their effects on seal behavior. Terms contained information on ice location and conditions, the influence of ice on seal hunting, the ability of ice to bear loads, and its passibility. Sealers' terminology for ice represented a well differentiated and specifically defined ice landscape to facilitate sealing.

Finally, studies of sealing, including historical native harvest documents, combined with historical landscape analysis and economic history focused on the native harvest of seals between A.D. 1551-1610, the period during which the best source material for the early seal hunting societies was developed. The documents stated that the sealing yields for Österbotten were approximately ten times larger than that for Västerbotten. Due to its flat topography and large populations, Österbotten was an economic region pursuing agriculture, fishing, and sealing. Sealing voyages onto the pack ice dominated the sealing and gave a rich yield. The more rolling and mountainous terrain and smaller population in Västerbotten and southern Norrbotten contributed to an agricultural economy, combining crop production for subsistence with fishing, and fur trapping for European markets. Fur trapping, which was an important source of income for both the primary producers and the Crown, caused scheduling conflicts with sealing because of the competing seasonality of the resources. This excluded the Västerbotten population from participating to any great extent in the Bothnic sealing economy. Located between the primarily sealing economy in the east and the agricultural and fur trapping people to the west, the economy in northern Norrbotten and northwestern Österbotten was dominated by lake and river fishing, supplemented by trapping and not seal hunting.

Seal hunting declined rapidly after 1570 in Österbotten, perhaps related to a decreasing yield in seals. This decline was due to a change in climate towards colder winters, which caused the mean annual distribution of the ice coverage to move southward. This climatic factor caused the breeding grounds of the grey seals, where the largest catches were made, to come outside the range of the sealers. Thus, climate and ultimately, economic decisions, reflecting distance and transport cost considerations caused sealing to decline in importance in the circumBaltic region, although sealing continued on a limited scale into the twentieth century.

Changes in Saami Society and the Evolution of Reindeer Pastoralism. Researchers combined archaeological and historical studies to develop a model for the evolution of Saami society and the adaptation of modern reindeer herding in northern Sweden, from the mid-16th century to the late 1800s. Excavations at prehistoric sites in Lapland are also providing significant information about the origin of the Saami and reindeer herding.

Little was known about the Saami prior to the mid-16th century. In the first few centuries A.D. there first appeared an

indigenouk, perhaps Saami reindeer hunting society in Norrland. Archaeologists believe it is possible to isolate the emergence of a "westward economic shift towards the mountain area." The shift to the mountain zone was interpreted to be the development of a nomadic economy that, for at least part of the year was dependent upon reindeer. Excavations at two prehistoric Saami dwelling sites provided evidence that up to 75% of the meat diet was moose, not reindeer, supplemented by reindeer, beaver, and especially fish. Thus, a focus on the mountain zone may have resulted from a shift in subsistence strategies.

Recent archaeological work at the Iron Age village "Gene" in southern Norrland added an interesting piece to the puzzle over the evolution of herding economies in Lapland. While most Iron Age villages are called agricultural, animal husbandry was more significant according to the data than the limited amount of cultivation possible in the subarctic region. These villages were better described as "mixed" in which limited cultivation, livestock breeding, fishing, seal hunting, wild food collecting and trading were important. Although the Saami are traditionally considered to have been the indigenous nomadic pastoral economy in Norrland, non-herding Saami may have been in contact with this settled Scandinavian population practicing both agriculture and advanced animal husbandry centuries before the Saami developed modern reindeer herding techniques.

Perhaps the most significant research on Saami socioeconomic evolution concerns historic tax documents during the Late Middle Ages. Starting in the 1550s, taxation of the Saami was recorded by Sweden's Crown Sheriffs in Norrland, and taxes were paid in native harvest goods, first furs, then foodstuffs, and later money. In northern Lapland, historical sources illustrated how the Crown's military campaigns in Europe and the Baltic, and Sweden's need to feed its field armies caused the Saami tax base to shift from a harvest in fur and skin, to one of consumables, primarily fish and reindeer products. According to this model the Saami expanded reindeer herding from a few draft and decoy animals (with limited milch pastoralism) to a carnivorous pastoralism nearer to the modern form around A.D. 1620. This shift in subsistence strategies in the 17th century was a response to increased governmental control, trade (especially the European export market), land use competition with Swedish/Finnish settlers, and internal social dynamics that altered the natural man-animal population ratios and production system of the Saami, allowing a modern form of reindeer pastoralism to develop.

Taxation records from southern Lapland were complete enough to reconstruct the native harvest of twenty Saami families during a critical period from 1600-1620. The Västerbotten tax records reveals that the Saami economy during the Late Middle Ages was diverse. It was based upon (proto)pastoralism, hunting, trapping, and fishing, supplemented with trade in foodstuffs and manufactured goods. From earlier tax records and archaeological investigation, the Saami economy in the early 1600s continued the economy practiced in the mid-1500s, and perhaps before. Following the tax reorganization at the beginning of the 17th century from fur to food, approximately one third of the Västerbotten Saami paid their taxes in reindeer. Those paying in reindeer maintained relatively large herds, and were beginning to specialize in pastoralism. A second Saami economic strategy also was indicated by the tax records, based primarily on fishing. Finally, one third of the Saami

specialized in another economic pursuit -- as middlemen in trade or village specialists working either for the Crown or private enterprise.

The modern Swedish Saami are divided into three economic categories: those that herd reindeer, those that fish, and those that work for government or private industry. The tax records research demonstrated that this modern form of Saami society existed in the mid-16th century. The evolution of reindeer herding and the specialization of the remainder of the Saami on fishing and wage labor occurred as a result of both internal and external influences. Modern external influences, especially cultural protection laws and economic support through protective regulations and price supports by the Swedish government, continue a pattern of relationships with the Saami that started in the Middle Ages.

MEMBERSHIP NEWS

* **JOHN R EIDSON** (U Maryland-College Park) has been awarded a Fulbright grant to deliver a series of lectures on cultural anthropology at the University of Leipzig for the academic year 1991-92.

* **ELIZABETH A SHEEHAN** (CUNY) has been awarded a 1991-92 National Academy of Education Spencer Fellowship for \$30,000 to support a study called "Higher Education and the European Community: A Case Study of the Irish University." NAE Spencer fellowships are postdoctoral grants designed to promote scholarship in the United States and abroad on matters relevant to the improvement of education in all forms.

* **HERMINE G DE SOTO** (U Wisconsin-Madison) has been awarded a 1991-1992 research grant from the National Council for Soviet and East European Research for continuing her research in eastern and western Germany. Her funded project title is "Contesting Female Personhood: Comparison of East and West German Legal Culture in the Process of Unification."

DGV SEEKS CONFERENCE DETAILS

The German Ethnological Society (DGV) is planning a section in its forthcoming newsletter in order to provide its members with information about scientific conferences at home and abroad. Not only ethnology but other related disciplines are to be included. For this reason the executive committee of the German Ethnological Society kindly requests details on topics, dates and venues of any coming conferences of U.S. scientific associations as quickly as possible. Should no scientific conferences be taking place this year, any advance information provided on such activities for 1992 would be appreciated. Reports on earlier conferences are also requested.

The executive committee of the German Ethnological Society looks forward to exchange of information with similar associations in the U.S.

Please send information to:

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Institut for Volkerkunde und Afrikanistik
Ludwigstrasse, 27/L
8000 München 22, GERMANY

WHILE YOU'RE UP, GET ME A GRANT

Susan Parman
California State University, Fullerton

This column was established to describe grants and fellowships available to Europeanist anthropologists at all academic levels, from pre-doctoral students to full professors. The column does not duplicate the information provided by each agency's program announcement; for a complete description, write or call the agency.

Previous columns covered various programs offered by IREX (February 1989), grant possibilities concerned with the study of peace (May 1989), various programs supported by the German Marshall Fund (October 1989), two funding opportunities through universities that involve cooperation between the United States and Europe (February 1990), the American Research Institute in Turkey Fellowship Program (May 1990), some of the projects of the European Science Foundation (October 1990), the Wenner-Gren Foundation (February 1991), and NSF support of European Cooperative Research (May 1991). This column is about the **Dissertation Fellowship for West European Studies (Social Science Research Council/SSRC).**

Contact: Elizabeth O'Brien or Kent Worcester

Address: Social Science Research Council
605 Third Avenue
New York, NY 10158
Tel: (212) 661-0280; Fax: 1-212-370-7896

Deadline: November 1, 1991

The purpose of this fellowship is to support 9-18 months of dissertation field research in Western Europe (or other countries relevant to the research proposal; the project can be comparative). Fellowship recipients are also eligible for up to six months of support after they return to their home universities. A stipend of \$1500 per month is intended to cover living and research expenses in the field; additional allowances are given for transatlantic transportation.

All full-time students enrolled in doctoral programs in the United States are eligible (there are no citizenship requirements), and American citizens or permanent residents of the United States who are enrolled at accredited foreign universities are also eligible to apply. Applicants must be enrolled in a doctoral program and have completed all requirements for the Ph.D. except the dissertation at the time the fellowship begins.

CENTER FOCUS

John W. Sheets
Central Missouri State University

* UNITED STATES

WESTERN EUROPEAN STUDIES PROGRAM Washington University in St. Louis

Although there have surely been crises and obstacles, there is also a growing integration process occurring in 20th-century Western Europe. This process functions at all levels: economic, political, educational, and cultural. The Western European Studies Program allows undergraduate and graduate students to integrate European languages, history, art, literature, and theory into a broadly-based concentration that will extend or supplement their knowledge of Western European issues. They may pursue a second undergraduate major or minor, Master's degree, or Ph.D. minor in a variety of topics relating to Western Europe. The program thus serves a liberal education and those preparing for graduate studies in business, government, education, or other fields likely to include a European dimension. All students in the Western European Studies Program will take the introductory course, *Western Europe Today*. The course boasts a variety of perspectives presented each session by different participating faculty members representing each of the departments involved in the program: Afro-American studies, art history, comparative literature, drama, economics, English, French, German, history, music, philosophy, political science, Spanish. Students structure their program around core courses, at the undergraduate and graduate levels; they are encouraged to participate in the Washington University Year Abroad Programs to Western European universities. The John M. Olin Library has the European Documentation Center to which the European Communities Office in Brussels has, since 1963, sent all of its official publications. Olin Library and its affiliate departmental and school libraries contain more than two million volumes and 15,000 periodicals. For additional information, please contact:

Paul Michael Lutzeler, Chairperson
Western European Studies Program
Washington University
Campus Box 1104
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JOURNALS...JOURNALS...JOURNALS...

* ANTHROPOLOGICAL JOURNAL ON EUROPEAN CULTURES

The *Anthropological Journal on European Cultures* (AJEC) is a new journal focusing on development in European cultures.

It attempts to stimulate the interdisciplinary discourse within an anthropological perspective. The anthropological reflection as understood by the editors is to transcend both the confinement of disciplinary boundaries and the discrepancies between theory and practice. Central to the anthropological discourse is humankind in its dynamic encounter with time, space and with idealisations and realisations of human societies, perceived and formulated as experiences and expressions of cultural identities and cultural differences.

Increasing complexity in society is emphasised by increasing problems between people on one side and the natural and man-made environment on the other side. The selection of themes for the various issues will reflect the European context both in critical evaluation and by demonstrating new directions towards greater mutual awareness as an instrument for improved practice in the realisation of cultural diversity within European unity.

Vol. 1, No. 1, of the AJEC is entitled "Anthropologizing Europe," and contains the following articles: "Europe: Projecting Different Views," Franz-Josef Stummann; "Anthropological Horizons, the Humanities and Human Practice," Iná-Maria Greverus; "Self and Other in the Tradition of British Anthropology," Anthony P. Cohen; "Cultural Anthropology Approach in Polish Sociology: Past and Present," Antonina Kioskowska; "The Cultural Study of Scandinavia: Where are the Frontiers?" Lena Gerholm and Tomas Gerholm; "Is There a Mediterranean Anthropology? The Point of View of an Outsider," Christian Giordano; "The First Italian Anthropologists' Congress of Complex Societies: Longing for a Beginning," Massimo Canevacci. Projected topics for future issues include: "Anthropologizing Europe II," "Culture in the European Community: Boundless?," "Societal Movements and Regionalism in East-West Relations," "The Urban Idea and Its Impact on Europe," "Ecological Perspectives on Europe," "Comparative Analysis of Political Cultures," "The Invisible Economy."

Subscriptions rates are \$24.00 for individuals, \$36.00 for Institutions, and \$14.50 for students. For further information and for subscription orders, please contact:

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Special Book Review Section:

BOOKS FOR TEACHING THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF EUROPE

Jill Dubisch
Book Review Editor

In a recent issue of the *Bulletin*, I called for a special series of reviews of books which SAE members had used successfully in teaching courses on the anthropology of Europe. The

response so far has been definitely underwhelming. In an attempt to stimulate contributions, the following reviews are offered as starters. (Books covered in such reviews can be ones which have been reviewed before in the *Bulletin*. What is important for this special set of reviews is that each work be considered from the standpoint of classroom use.)

Susan Parman, *Scottish Crofters: A Historical Ethnography of a Celtic Village*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology, 1990.

Stanley Brandes, *Metaphors of Masculinity: Sex and Status in Andalusian Folklore*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980.

Reviewed by **Jill Dubisch**
University of North Carolina at Charlotte

When I was choosing reading materials for my course on Peoples of Europe (Fall 1990), I wanted a mix of articles and book-length monographs. I settled on *Scottish Crofters* and *Metaphors of Masculinity* as representing not only two different ethnographic areas of Europe, but also two somewhat different approaches to ethnographic writing.

Parman's book provided a means of introducing the students to "new ethnography" -- that is, to an ethnographic work that was reflexive and conscious of historical context and of the processes by which history itself is created and by which meaning (both for anthropologist and those studied) is generated in a particular cultural context as well as reflective of important contemporary issues in anthropology. At the same time, the book never loses sight of the anthropologist's task of conveying a sense of people and their lives. All of this is accomplished in the very accessible form of a Holt, Rinehart and Winston case study (a rare accomplishment, I might add, as all too often the books in this series are disappointing).

Among the issues for which Parman's book provided a good stimulus to classroom discussion are the question "What is Europe?" (one of the sub-titles in Chapter 2) and the notion of "tradition" as a cultural construction (particularly well-covered in the author's discussion of crofting as a "traditional" and ethnically distinctive practice and her discussion of the "traditional" highland dress). These sections allowed us to explore the ideas of ethnic stereotypes, the historical and political contexts which produce them, and the effects on those who are stereotyped. In addition, the book had a particular appropriateness for those living in a region with a strong Scots-Irish heritage. (The chapter on drinking and religion was of particular interest to my students and generated a number of comparisons with southern culture.) All of these features make *Scottish Crofters* an excellent work for introducing students not only to a particular European people but also to Europe generally and to anthropological issues, especially those generated by, but not limited to, a European context.

My second choice, Stanley Brandes' *Metaphors of Masculinity* is a favorite of mine, and was selected not only because it is entertaining and readable and not only because it provided exposure to a contrasting cultural area of Europe, but also because I wanted an example of an ethnography focused on a particular problem, in this case the definition and maintenance of masculinity and its expression in Andalusian folklore and popular culture. The book generated lively comparative discussions of gender roles and of the construction of masculinity and femininity in both European and American

society. From a wider perspective, the book also raised the issue of why anthropologists study popular culture and folklore and other "trivia" of daily life. (A film on carnival would be a good accompaniment to Brandes' book. I would suggest Jerome Mintz's excellent film *Romeria*.)

With each book I used specific chapters as springboards for discussion of general anthropological issues and as the starting point for comparisons with other European cultures through articles and chapters from other books.

Books for Teaching the Prehistory of Europe

Reviewed by Janet E. Levy
University of North Carolina at Charlotte

The only single text available for courses in European Prehistory is *Prehistoric Europe* by Timothy Champion, Clive Gamble, Stephen Shennan, and Alasdair Whittle (Academic Press, 1984). Luckily, it is also a basically good textbook. It covers the Lower Paleolithic to the Roman expansion and integrates developments in the Mediterranean area with those in temperate Europe. The archaeological literature for prehistoric Europe is truly vast and this volume makes a valiant attempt to synthesize the evidence in an anthropological framework. The authors emphasize subsistence, settlement, and social organization rather than culture-historical or typological details. The general theoretical perspective is a materialist, culture-evolutionary one, emphasizing internal adaptation and culture change and de-emphasizing the traditional focus on migration and diffusion as mechanisms of culture change. There is a strong focus on exchange mechanisms for explaining contacts between areas.

Despite the authors' clear desire to present an anthropological approach, there are still a huge number of sites, phases, types, dates, and other minutiae for students to absorb. My students (mostly juniors and seniors) call the book "disorganized." This is not true, but the mass of unfamiliar terminology is a stumbling block for American students. You will need to provide some focus or clarification on the terminology for students. If you are inclined to some of the newer theoretical developments, including Marxist, symbolic, or critical approaches, you will have to supplement the text's generally materialist, ecological, and culture-evolutionary approach.

The maps and illustrations are generally good although many of the artifact illustrations maddeningly lack a scale. The index is erratic; site names are comprehensively included, but general topics are not so predictable. The bibliography is excellent.

One volume that can be used as a supplement is *Origins: The Roots of European Civilization* edited by Barry Cunliffe (Dorsey Press, 1988). This is a series of chapters based on BBC radio broadcasts about archaeology. These chapters focus in on several significant sites, including Neolithic wet sites in France, Minoan palaces, Carthage, etc. There are good illustrations, a useful bibliographic essay, and a chapter telling about sites and museums that can be visited. A drawback is the focus on famous sites and fancy artifacts; the focus is historical rather than anthropological and there is a hint of an older, treasure-hunting approach to archaeology. There is a strong emphasis on the Mediterranean area.

A second possible supplement is *Prehistoric Farming in Europe* by Graeme Barker (Cambridge University Press, 1985). This is a very personal book written by an archaeologist who keeps a farm himself. It covers the whole geographic area from the Mediterranean to Scandinavia to the Ukraine and from the beginnings of farming through the Roman expansion. The focus of the book is the relationship of land use and agricultural technology to prehistoric social systems. It is not a subject that lends itself to striking illustrations, but the maps are good and the writing is very enjoyable. Neither of these supplements will be helpful if the Paleolithic is your emphasis, but they will enrich a course where the focus is on later prehistory. Both are more accessible to students -- although less comprehensive -- than *Prehistoric Europe*.

Using European Sources in a Small Anthropology Department

Reviewed by Patricia R. Gibson
The University of the South

Being one member of a two-person anthropology department at a small liberal arts college, I find myself teaching eight different upper division courses, one of which is Peoples and Cultures of Europe. I will address favorite sources used in this course in some detail while giving a cursory overview of European texts that I have found effective and/or have been popular in my other classes. As a rule, I try and incorporate at least one European work in every course where appropriate and I change them frequently.

Peoples and Cultures of Europe:

Nancy Scheper-Hughes, *Saints, Scholars, and Schizophrenics: Mental Illness in Rural Ireland*. University of California Press, 1979;

Jonas Frykman and Orvar Löfgren, *Culture Builders: A Historical Anthropology of Middle-Class Life*. Rutgers University Press, 1987;

Douglas R. Holmes, *Cultural Disenchantments: Worker Peasantries in Northeast Italy*. Princeton University Press, 1989;

Gail Kligman, *The Wedding of the Dead: Ritual, Poetics and Popular Culture in Transylvania*. University of California Press, 1988.

I have tended to assign a minimum of five and a maximum of seven books for this course -- a mixture of Holt, Rinehart/Waveland Press case studies, but also more recent works that reflect diverse regional areas. *Saints, Scholars, and Schizophrenics* has consistently been among the most popular with the students. The topic is interesting, students find the comprehensive methodology used by Scheper-Hughes fascinating, and her ability to make the people of Ballybran come alive intrigues them and gets them involved. All of this leads to great discussions much of the time. We use the text to focus on such diverse issues as the cultural components of mental illness, historical dimensions, migration, the role of religion and child rearing practices in mental illness, and recent genetic components of schizophrenia. This book would also be an appropriate text for a Medical Anthropology course.

The Culture Builders, using a very different approach, has also proved consistently fascinating for students. Often they find it difficult to believe that the middle class value system to which

they subscribe has such recent origins. Such topics as the "rationality" of the clock and the schedule, adolescence as a recent "creation," and a tidied-up version of nature lead to many discussions. What is especially effective are excerpts from diaries and books of the period -- the former reveal the ambivalence of some of the products of this new value system while the latter demonstrate the unquestioning and unwavering authority in the voices that helped to construct it. For comparative purposes, many of the tactics used by the middle class to distance themselves from both the peasantry and the aristocracy fit neatly into more recent attempts by some elites to develop systems by which to justify their oppression.

I have only used the Holmes and the Kligman book once, the last time (Fall 1990) I taught the course which I subtitled "A Clash of Symbols." I found the Holmes book especially effective in making both agricultural and industrial oppression in 19th and early 20th century Europe meaningful for students living in 1991. The effective mix of historical data with interviews with elderly survivors of some of this oppression including fascism before and during World War II were especially effective. Among the more vivid descriptions were those relating to the conditions female silk workers had to endure in order to help their family survive. Their world had been deliberately molded to create permanent bonded servitude for people kept essentially powerless to prevail against it. The Kligman book was an instant favorite, perhaps because of the wealth of ethnographic description which nevertheless did not mask larger issues such as gender, hardships of Eastern European agrarian life, and changes wrought by socialism. The interweaving of aesthetics and culture embodied in the Transylvanian tradition of ritual celebration and mourning by means of poetic improvisation provoked many energetic discussions. The less esoteric ethnographic descriptions of a contemporary Eastern European agrarian village were also edifying for students and the professor alike.

Of less scholarly significance, Luigi Barzini's *The Europeans* (New York: Penguin Books, 1983) has proved successful as a short introductory work to establish Europe as a continent before focusing on specific regions. Barzini, a well-respected journalist, has used a national character study approach to assess Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, The Netherlands and the United States. While some of his conclusions have not stood the test of time -- he found it almost impossible to imagine a European union of any substance, and now 1992 is almost upon us -- the insights he offers are based on more than fifty years of working in all of these countries.

Medical Anthropology

Lynn Payer, *Medicine and Culture: Varieties of Treatment in the United States, England, West Germany, and France*. Penguin Books, 1989.

With limitations similar to those mentioned for Barzini, I have had success using this book as a way to evaluate medical "mythology" in the industrialized world. Since many of my students are pre-meds, they are shocked rather than amused at some of the points Payer is making. On the other hand, by demonstrating that even biomedicine has a cultural dimension, she challenges the student to take a hard look at the more subjective elements of medical practice.

Political and Legal Anthropology

David Kertzer, *Comrades and Christians: Religion and Political Struggle in Communist Italy*. Reissued by Waveland Press, 1990.

Kertzer's ethnography is especially useful in demonstrating the importance of ritual and symbols in political process, not only in esoteric, "simple" societies, but in the "modern" world of Bologna, Italy. The important addition of the final chapter, "Comrades and Christians Revisited, 1990," addresses the momentous recent political changes and challenges facing Eastern and Western Europe alike. Kertzer's careful attention to the political significance of secular political rituals and symbols is especially convincing and thought provoking.

Anthropological Field Methods

Barbara Gallatin Anderson, *First Fieldwork: The Misadventures of an anthropologist*. Waveland Press, 1990.

As Anderson states in her prologue, this book "bear(s) little resemblance to conventional ethnographic accounts of village life." (vii) Indeed, again quoting Anderson, it chronicles a researcher, labeled "antianthropologist" by her children, "programmed for bad luck, genetically bereft of a sense of direction, plagued with a knack for being in the wrong country at the wrong time, and having an affinity for revolution, heat waves, and chaos" (ix). A most reassuring book for fledgling field researchers to read, it comforts the student to realize that he or she probably won't have enough time to get in as many scrapes as Anderson did. A humorous (and necessary) statement that anthropological field research is an all-too imperfect science.

Social Theory

Michael Herzfeld, *Anthropology Through the Looking-Glass: Critical Ethnography in the Margins of Europe*. Cambridge University Press, 1987.

While some of the students had difficulty with Herzfeld's more subtle points, the multiple layers of theory and ethnographic description offered here were appropriate challenges for advanced undergraduate anthropology majors. The intense questioning of conventional anthropological theory and theory-building is especially powerful, and I would go so far as to say a mandatory read for anyone seriously considering anthropology as a career. It was exciting to teach with this text; I found it a very effective way to measure theoretical sophistication in the students.

BOOK MARKS

Gary McDonogh
Book Review Editor

* URBAN HUNGARY

M. Estellie Smith
SUNY-Oswego

L. Gerevich, ed., *Towns in Medieval Hungary* (T. Szendrei, transl.) Highland Lakes, NJ: Atlantic Research and

Publications (published jointly with Akademiai Kiado, Budapest [1990] and Social Science Monographs, Boulder, CO; distributed by Columbia University Press), 1991. East European Monographs No. CCXCVII. 152 pp (cloth). \$35.00.

Given that one of the important orientations that distinguishes anthropology from sociology is the sense of history that (at least, ideally) informs the former, the extent to which urban anthropologists tend to pay little heed to the archaeological and early historical sources relating to the particular locales they study never ceases to surprise. When one considers that, from earliest times, the city presents a context in which certain developmental dynamics appear repetitively, it seems obvious that an understanding of 'the city' -- as well as its suburbs, hinterlands, relations with the larger polity formation and other cities -- can only be enhanced by a knowledge of times past. Importantly, our knowledge of early cities need not be -- indeed is creatively useful if it is not -- sited solely in the locale with which our research is concerned. Certainly, in the book under review, we see the familiar concerns about, e.g., urban growth/decline, the role of the elite as urban managers, the ways in which trade (and problems of obtaining the critical urban resources of food and water) acted as determining factors, housing shortages, urban renewal, an influx of fleeing refugees, spatial distribution of the population along socioeconomic and, say, according to ethnic or occupational interests, and attention to the way the city serves as the operational base for as well as the prize of war. Finally, attentiveness to such data is most helpful in encouraging a disengagement from the always intense involvement -- and too frequently myopic perspective -- that those of us who work in the city bring to dealing with the specific locales we study.

Given the significant presence of the Danube as a major shipping route, the famed fertility of the Hungarian Plain, and rich regional mineral and timber resources, this region has long been a center for trade and population movements, warfare and religious competition, state development and the competing domains of magnates. The papers in this volume, though touching upon the pre-Roman, Roman and Germanic presence, tend to emphasize the period between, roughly, the 11th through 17th centuries, when, first, the Magyars, then the Turks, and, finally, the Magyars again dominate the history of the region. After Genevich's brief introduction (pp. 7-8), there are five papers: 'The settlement history of Gyon (Arrabona) in the Roman Period and in the Middle Ages' (D. Gabler, E. Szonyi, and P. Tomka, pp. 9-25); 'The rise of Hungarian towns along the Danube' (L. Gerevich, pp. 26-50); 'The settlement history of Veszprem and Szekesfehevar in the Middle Ages' (A. Kralovansky, pp. 51-95); 'The development and topography of Sopron in the Middle Ages' (I. Holt, pp. 96-102); and 'Urbanization in the east-central part of medieval Hungary' (A. Kubinyi, pp. 103-50).

Each paper focuses on one or a cluster of linked towns and reviews what is currently known about their past history, primarily on the basis of archeology though with recourse to archival sources, art, and oral literature. Several discuss various historical as well as theoretical debates -- e.g., whether the so-called 'garden town' type was a special type of town on the Great Hungarian plain that represented a survival of the winter quarters of the earliest Hungarian settlers, the importance of differentiating between episcopal and free royal towns, and the perennial issue of how to distinguish between

market centers (*oppida*) and true urban centers. Though generously illustrated and supplied with urban street plans, and maps of particular sites as well as whole regions, one misses a single general map that aggregates all the sites discussed on a map of the country as a whole.

Given the renewed interest in Europe as a result both of the European Community and, for this book particularly, the remarkable developments in eastern Europe, this handsome volume should prove useful and interesting to scholars in a variety of urban-related fields.

* PUNK AND POLITICS: 20TH C. ARTISTIC MOVEMENTS

Bruce N Koplin
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Greil Marcus, *Lipstick Traces: A Secret History of the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989. Cloth. (\$35.00). Paperback (\$14.95).

This volume is sufficiently interesting as ethnography but it is equally interesting for its twofold movement to render irrelevant the anthropologist. First, the writer is an informant who interprets his experience in language equally as analytical and empathetic as what he would receive from our concepts. Secondly, the ethnographic subject matter is a group who consider their political and aesthetic analyses of western society to irrevocably encompass any that might be produced in an academic milieu. A third, stylistic interest, this one potentially cooperative, is a narrative style that explicitly collects and connects 'obviously unrelated' material: doing for our own history what anthropologists do in other peoples' structures. This book thus raises the issue of how the anthropologist of Europe and North America reacts when the subject matter anticipates his own conclusions and asserts a shared experience. It is equally, or perhaps ever more so, an entertaining and serious work.

The main work of the book is to establish that the popular music movement initiated, epitomized, and completed by the group The Sex Pistols was part of a series of loosely filiated artistic movements which for more than a century have been pursuing an absolute completion-and-politicization of art and life. Marcus, an American, is a long-time rock critic who now publishes primarily in art magazines. His materials range from probably the best-known such movement, Dada (he emphasizes its Berlin manifestation in order to sympathetically associate it with councilist movements), to the most wilfully obscure, the Situationist International movement of 1957-1972. A vignette from cabaret entertainment just before the Paris Commune is an implicit but significant ancestor. A detailed account of the Situationists (SI) is the real ethnographic contribution of this book, and they are early established as more than trivial through their role as the intellectual sources of the main "ideas" of the May 1968 events in France. They thus become relevant for the claims to absolute revolution within everyday life made in Punk Rock statements.

The SI were a fluctuating group centered upon the French film maker Guy Debord. They advanced and applied an analysis of

social life which combined several themes. The Dada notion that the separation of art and everyday life is now problematic was combined with the Frankfurt School deduction that any critique inevitably becomes subsumed (pejoratively, recuperated) into its subject matter, and then with Henri Lefebvre's reading, after "early Marx," that the post World War II social dynamic was no longer one of production (as in scarcity) but of consumption (as in the media society in which even and especially the imagination is reduced to leisure choices). The resulting program, sparingly expressed in complete arguments, was approximately as follows: Intellectual/critical analyses of the modern world meet the same fate as any other commodities; Any critique of the social, which must involve a critique of consumption will, when it enters into the marketplace of ideas be rendered moot in that process of consumption. The 'fix' of consumption is simultaneously and immediately negated by the implicit choice (albeit false) of a different commodity. This is the germ to Debord's notion of society of the spectacle; the commodity as omnivorous, ubiquitous, and deceitful. "The more you spend, the less you are" was the SI prototype of '68 wall slogans. But some hope lay in the device of reversibility as a way out of the subject/objectification relations held in the moment of the commodity. Any image could become its opposite through something like the negation of consumption. "If all consumers are proletarians, than all consumers can be revolutionaries" was SI logic. But the eternal question became, how to sustain that moment of reversal or revelation when the system of spectacle/commodities was bound to take over any such expression into itself. In its own practice the SI focused on strategies for the parasitic usage of existing art. Rather than let their own intentions and creations be objectified through distribution and reception, they sought to inject subjectivity into already given art-objects. Their favorite methods were substituting theoretical critiques in the dialogue of comic strips or, later, dubbing discussion of dialectics, revolutionary strategies and aesthetic theory onto the soundtrack of martial art films. A cult of poverty, or at least of non-productive and non-careerist labour, certainly renouncing any translation of intellectual capital into social capital, fostered an affinity with the Baudelaire/Benjaminian tradition of seeking imaginary/utopian "psycho-geographical" revelations from oblique meditation in and on the urban environment (Paris of course). In topical terms they are interesting at least for anticipating Warholian commonplaces, for doing much of Baudrillard's work for him, for their critique of copyright, and for their rigorous anti-authoritarian sentiments when compared with other theoretical revolutionaries; in '68 they eschewed any leadership position and told the students to use their own ideas.

Marcus makes the book interesting as he develops two differing narrative presences. He opens with something like an extended precis of this twentieth century impulse wherein the connections are tightly sequenced and significant evidence accrues from his own experience, particularly of the final Sex Pistols concert which figured apocalyptically in its immediate context. Then he retells the story, at length, both expanding the twentieth century material and interpolating into the narrative a variety of illustrious precursors who bolster the secret history. Cathars, Brethren of the Free Spirit, Hassan i'Sabbah's Assassins, John of Leyden, and Saint-Just, are all accepted for their gestures of excessive attention to both terms of a moral opposition, made in the further interest of a higher morality. The antinomian qualities of these figures make

them co-conspirators in the SI call to focus upon the moment as the crux of the transformation of everyday life into revolution. This especially strengthens the affinity of the Sex Pistols material, as Marcus considers them to have perfected the reversibility or negationist impulse within the audience/performer relation. This point is well described, with Marcus as the participant-analyst. He writes an urgent prose of tropes straining to self-expression, of potentialities which disappear if realized, at the same time as he conveys the sensorium of the Winterland Auditorium. He makes an effective claim for the motivation and manifestation, in the Sex Pistols' music, of the analytical topics derived from the various movements. It doesn't hurt that a third generation SI was the brains behind the band. In the course of the whole book, these two narratives of immediacy and conspiracy, popular culture and medieval heresy, anti-art and spontaneous politics, overlap, oppose, and converge into a single sense of movement that holds open both the various models expressed throughout, and the readers' ability to reject the material but retain the sense of their possibilities. This makes the book especially important to anthropologists of the present who tend to conflate forms of the personal with the content of the social.

Criticism of this book from our institutional position would most easily proceed to definitions, and to the identification of Marcus/Debord's folk model with an analytical model (although Marcus obviously put much care into how he recounts his interviews with SI personnel). It would be interesting to gauge the comparative familiarity with, say, X-Ray Spex' lyrics versus the *History and Class-Consciousness* among readers from varying disciplinary affiliations. As a tentative diagnosis; perhaps the SI were victims of theory after all, despite all their best intentions. Their analyses partake of that Hegelianism which froze so many models of action in the French 1950s. Their equating of objectification with alienation has a certain static quality, where the guiding criteria of analysis is ultimately an architectonic perception. Perhaps from their least acknowledged influence -- the surrealist belief that the unconscious, *a priori*, manifests oppositional instincts -- SI theory did not get to relational views of social existence, such as anthropology now benefits from by having brought Mauss to *Capital*. (Significantly, the SI learned their Mauss from Bataille, and took his word that sacrifice ends things.) Everything boiled down to *moments* -- the moment of perception and the moment of consumption. Allied to this stopping point was, perhaps, personality. Debord became consumed with turning the rules of the game back on itself and, like Adorno's political/cultural paralysis in the face of each new decade, this became unproductive to further analysis. Debord focused in upon the group/anti-group nature of the SI, and eventually excommunicated everyone except himself. But this too can be seen as relevant to Marcus' analysis, if we analogize the notion of a revolutionary career. Since, nowadays, the reunion of long dissolved rock bands is always unsatisfactory (from the criteria of their original creativity these are incestuous attempts to make productive relationships out of forms which should have remained separated), then Debord intuitively identified his impetus with that of popular music. Although he didn't make the definitive rock career move and die before he got old, he did withdraw all his films from viewing after his producer/colleague met with mysterious death in 1984 -- the causation of which he has since elaborated to a global conspiracy. So he bears a certain positional resemblance to the retired performer.

Of course a dismissive reading could make this book a study of the involution of an imaginary anti-community, or the dissipation of a spurious charisma. But this view depends upon the view from 1991 of the events of May 1968, or equally of punk rock in 1977. And here I would suspect that the American anthropologist's own self-image or at least practice, as a consumer of culture in her own society, would be an unacknowledged influence on a judgement as to the necessity of Marcus' work. Beyond this issue of identification, the design and accomplishment of this book makes it a relevant consideration for inquiries into the presentation of interpretations of everyday life in the present.

* IRELAND: AN ECOLOGICAL EVALUATION

Elizabeth A Sheehan
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R.W.G. Carter and A.J. Parker, eds., *Ireland: Contemporary Perspectives on a Land and its People*. New York and London: Routledge, Chapman and Hall, 1989 (paperback 1990).

This collection offers an excellent overview of the state of Ireland today. The book's editors, a geographer and an environmental scientist, aim "to explore the dynamic spatial patterns that form the physical and social environments" (p. 1) that have given rise to modern Ireland. They and the book's contributors do this through a series of essays that address Irish social, economic and environmental problems with a view toward the reality of limited resources rather than the illusion of unlimited development. Topics are discussed in relation to both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, providing information on relevant policy-making structures in each region, and then placed within the European and international contexts. All of the contributors are geographers and environmental scientists affiliated with universities in the Republic and the North.

The editors' introductory essay is followed by sixteen chapters divided into sections addressing the social and political geography of Ireland, Ireland's economic resources, and its environmental resources. The first section discusses Ireland and the European Community, Irish politics and partition, population problems, crime, and the influence of Irish history on the human and physical geography of the island. These essays provide fresh insight into their chosen topics as a result of their emphasis on the material, rather than ideological, forces that have shaped Irish politics and the social landscapes of both North and South.

The essays in the second section concerning economic resources address Irish agricultural development, industrialization, retailing, transportation and tourism. These chapters provide useful summaries of the major changes and trends in the Irish economy since the introduction of planned development in the early 1960s and entry into the EC in 1973. There is much here as well concerning new "lifestyle" patterns of consumerism and mobility that have accompanied Ireland's increasing, albeit dependent, integration into the international economy.

The chapters in the third section, on environmental resources, consider Irish energy issues, water and coastal resource management, and air pollution. These essays emphasize the long-term consequences of "environmental overreach" in Irish economic planning as well as the need for cross-border cooperation in the development of new resource management policies. A final chapter provides background on Irish regional development strategies and suggests future directions for these at the local, national, and European Community levels. All of the chapters are accompanied by maps, tables and charts which help to illustrate the points made in the text.

A recurring theme of the book is how critical -- and therefore politically risky -- issues of long-term economic and environmental planning in Ireland get "organized off the agenda" by politicians and policymakers. As such, many of the contributions go beyond describing contemporary problems to point out how they are perpetuated by those within Ireland with the most power to address them.

The books' few shortcomings must be noted. This new paperback edition contains many typographical errors and misspellings, most likely carried over from the original hardcover edition. A more serious problem is the lack of a closing essay to bracket the collection and tie together the distinct topics addressed by each chapter. These are relatively small matters, however. The collection is best viewed as a reference book to which the reader will return periodically and rewardingly for concise information on the human geography of contemporary Ireland.

* RUSSIAN FUNDAMENTALISTS IN CANADA

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David Scheffel, *In the Shadow of Antichrist: The Old Believers of Alberta*. Peterborough, ON and Lewiston, NY: Broadview, 1991. 252 pp.

In 17th Century Russia a group of fundamentalist, schismatic Russian Orthodox clerics, monks and followers, who called themselves The Zealots, founded colonies across Russia, in order to distance themselves from what they felt were corruptions of the church in Muscovy.

By the 20th Century, after the disruptions of the Russian Revolution and subsequent collectivization of peasant holdings, these beleaguered Old Believers moved to Dobrudja and Turkey, and to Manchuria. In the 1950s those in Turkey migrated to the Soviet Union and then to the United States; those in China moved, via Hong Kong, to Australia, New Zealand, Paraguay, Argentina, Bolivia, and Woodburn, Oregon.

Life in the Willamette Valley didn't give some of them enough physical and social distance from their neighbors, and the polluting influences of American culture were a threat. To gain greater isolation, several thousand migrated to Alaska and Alberta in the 1960s and 70s. This book is a study of those who have settled in Alberta, on the edge of the boreal forest, some 250 kilometers northeast of Edmonton.

The stories of the vicissitudes of their recent migrations are as compelling as their rigid beliefs, obsession with ritual, apocalypticism and xenophobia are extreme. In the cultural plurality of Canada many of the Old Believers can function without English or formal education or a knowledge of the nation outside their community. They make their living by hunting, farming and logging.

Scheffel has some interesting hypotheses about the Old Believers' theology, including one that their search for purity fills a sacramental vacuum. The Alberta group does not have clergy, and are thus deprived of means by which the Orthodox Church maintains purity. Hence "... radical views embraced originally by semi-fanatical clerics find their way into peasant families, purity precautions observed traditionally in church are transposed to the home environment, and what may have begun as a puritan *movement* solidifies into a durable condition that can outlast centuries" (p. 204).

While it is laudable that the author spends a great deal of time on the historical background of the Old Believers, I would have preferred a more thorough description and analysis of their contemporary ethnographic situation. Practically half the book is devoted to the group's history, liturgy, theology and religious practices. Some of this, while scholarly, is tedious and will appear to be arcane and sometimes trivial to most readers, even those with an interest in and knowledge of the Eastern Orthodox Church.

Scheffel believes that Eastern Orthodoxy must receive more serious attention by anthropologists, through books such as his. This ignores the substantial number of anthropological studies done recently in Eastern Orthodox cultures which pay considerable attention to religion; the works of Danforth (1982; 1989) and Dubisch (1986) on Greece are three such examples. Worse yet, the author misses a number of anthropological monographs on Eastern Orthodox groups in the United States, such as those by Connelos (1989), Gerber (1985), Kiriazis (1989), Theodoratus (1971) and Patterson (1989) and in Canada, for example by Klymasz (1980), Patterson (1976; 1977) and Tarasoff (1989). Those published after 1988 would not have been included in his thesis at McMaster University, on which this book is based, but some precede that date, and those following could have been included for the publication of the book.

The greatest bibliographic omission is that of A. Michael Colfer's *Morality, Kindred and Ethnic Boundaries: A Study of the Oregon Old Believers*, which was the first anthropological research done on the Old Believers in North America. It has been available on microfilm for over two decades, and in book form since 1985 (AMS Press). That Scheffel and his dissertation committee missed this outstanding work is most unfortunate, and detracts from the thoroughness of the volume.

The writing is generally good, but not always: twice in the book he calls Old Believer women "robust," and attributes this state to "multiple births and a lifetime of hard work" (p. 60). Also, in his enthusiasm for his people, Scheffel gets a little carried away by their importance in helping us understand "... some unrecognized differences between Russia and the West..." (p. 191). The anachronistic, messianic, apocalyptic and paranoid beliefs of the group, convinced that the Antichrist is everywhere around them (and sometimes among them), is

hardly that of the contemporary world of Eastern Orthodoxy of the Soviet Union, despite the latter's current problems.

This book would serve as an interesting supplement in an introductory course in cultural anthropology, though students would be deeply bored by parts of it. It certainly offers insights into a little known group of traditionalist Europeans on the Canadian prairie, and as such contributes to the understanding of North American cultural diversity.

* * * * *

The following are new books submitted for review:

David I. Kertzer and Richard P. Saller (1991), *The Family in Italy: From Antiquity to the Present*, Yale University Press.

Thomas A. Kohut (1991), *Wilhelm II and the Germans: A Study in Leadership*, Oxford University Press.

Melvin Konner (1991), *Why the Reckless Survive: And Other Secrets of Human Nature*, Penguin Books.

Leif Lewin (1991), *Self-Interest and Public Interest in Western Politics*, Oxford University Press.

Montague J. Lord (1991), *Imperfect Competition and International Commodity Trade: Theory, Dynamics, and Policy Modelling*, Clarendon Press.

Anatoly I. Martynov (1991), *The Ancient Art of Northern Asia*, University of Illinois Press.

Julie M. Peteet (1991), *Gender in Crisis: Women and the Palestinian Resistance Movement*, Columbia University Press.

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Adam Daniel Rotfeld and Walther Stützel, eds. (1991), *Germany and Europe in Transition*, Oxford University Press.

Woodruff D. Smith (1991), *Politics and the Sciences of Culture in Germany, 1840-1920*, Oxford University Press.

The following books are available for review (from previous issues):

Michael Adas (1989), *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology and Ideologies of Western Dominance*, Cornell University Press.

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Pierre Bourdieu and Alain Darbel (1991), *The Love of Art: European Art Museums and their Public*, Stanford University Press.

Susan Buck-Morss (1989), *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walker Benjamin and the Arcades Project*, MIT Press.

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Douglas R. Holmes (1989), *Cultural Disenchantment: Worker Peasantries in Northeast Italy*, Princeton University Press.

Gail Kligman (1988), *The Wedding of the Dead: Ritual, Poetics and Popular Culture in Transylvania*, University of California Press.

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Jacqueline Lindenfeld (1990), *Speech and Sociability at French Urban Marketplaces*, John Benjamins.

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