



Bulletin

Society for the Anthropology of Europe

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1992 IN SAN FRANCISCO: PROPOSED SESSIONS

David Kideckel
Program Chair

A number of sessions are already in the works for the 1992 AAA Annual Meeting in San Francisco. Tentative titles and/or themes along with the names and addresses of their organizer(s) are listed below. We encourage you to contact these individuals directly regarding your participation in one of these sessions.

1. Racism and Culture in Contemporary Europe:
Organizer: Sam Beck, Field and International Studies Program, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853
2. Authenticity and the Invention of Tradition in European Society and Ethnography:
Organizers: Ellen Badone and Sharon Roseman, Anthropology, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada L8S 4L9
3. The European Community and the Appropriation of Local Communities:
Organizers: Gwen Neville, Sociology Department, Southwestern University, Georgetown, TX 78626 and Thomas M. Wilson, Queens College-Belfast, Belfast, Northern Ireland
4. The City in the European Community:
Organizer: Robert Rotenberg, Sociology-Anthropology Department, DePaul University, Chicago, IL 60614

(Continued on page three)

UNITY AND DISUNITY IN THE NEW EUROPE

Stephen D. Jones
Features Editor

Just when you think it's safe to go back into Europe, nationalism rears its ugly head. Not that the established nation-states have gone back to their longstanding tradition of butchering each other; for now it's groups within the states that can't seem to stand living side by side. Mostly the us/them lines are being drawn according to some putative historical ethnicity, but sometimes -- as for instance in the East/West German friction described by James McLeod in the last issue of the *Bulletin* -- lines are being drawn according to more recent distinctions.

(Continued on page four)

MARY MURRELL NEW ANTHROPOLOGY EDITOR AT PRINCETON U PRESS

Pat Gibson
Bulletin Editor

As the result of a brief interview at the AAA Meetings in Chicago, Mary Murrell, the new Anthropology Editor for Princeton University Press has agreed to allow us to publish excerpts of a letter she sent us in response to a number of questions, including: "What information would be useful for the membership?" What follows is an edited version:

(Continued on page six)

**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 two to four 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

All *Bulletin* submissions except those handled by the editors below should be sent to:

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Copies of the *Directory* may be ordered (\$4.50 for members, \$6.00 for non-members) from:

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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 December 31, 1991 we had a total membership of 691, with 588 paid members and 103 members who had not paid. Broken down into regular and student members, the figures are as follows: 404 regular members and 184 student members had paid their dues while 60 regular and 43 student members have not paid their dues for 1991. Compared with December 31 of 1990, SAE has experienced a total membership increase of 8.5%. As last year, however, a larger number of members did not pay their dues for 1991 -- 60 regular and 43 students as compared to 48 regular and 38 students for 1990 and 28 regular and 28 students for 1989. Specific percentage increases can be broken down as follows: Increase in total regular member - 6.7%; increase in dues-paying regular members - 4.4%; increase in total student members - 12.4%; increase in dues-paying student members - 12.2%.

REMINDER!:
YOUR ANNUAL
MEMBERSHIP RENEWAL
IS DUE

1992 IN SAN FRANCISCO: PROPOSED SESSIONS

(Continued from page one)

5. European Neo-Fascism/Cultural Memory
Organizer: Uli Linke, Anthropology, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ 08903
6. Envisioning Europe via Film and Visual Representation:
Organizer: Gary McDonogh, Social Science, New College of the University of South Florida, Sarasota, FL 34243
7. Homes and Domestic Space in European Society:
Organizers: Donna Birdwell-Pheasant, Sociology-Anthropology, Lamar University, Beaumont, TX 77710, and Denise Lawrence, Dept. of Environmental Studies, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona, CA 91768
8. European Secret Societies:
Organizer: Maria Filifer, Anthropology, University of Minnesota-Minneapolis, Minneapolis, MN 55455
9. Language, Religion, and Nationalism in the Balkans:
Organizer: Frances Trix, Anthropology, Wayne State University, Detroit, MI 48202
10. European Models of Education:
Organizers: Kathryn M. Anderson-Levitt, Behavioral Sciences Dept., University of Michigan-Dearborn, Dearborn, MI 48128, and Deborah Reed-Danahay, Anthropology, Emory University, Atlanta, GA 30322
11. Human Rights in Eastern Europe:
Organizer: M. Carole Nagengast, U. California-Riverside and Amnesty International (write to: 26410 Ironwood Ave., Morena Valley, CA 92366
12. The Role of Intellectuals in Contemporary European Culture and Political Economy:
Co-Organizers: Anastasia Karakasidou, Anthropology, Columbia University, New York, NY 10027 and Hermine DeSoto, Women's Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Madison, WI 53706 (after 12/15/91, Humboldt University/Ziegelstrasse 12 #14; Berlin (Ost) 1040 Germany)

If you are interested in organizing your own session and would like it advertised through the Society for the Anthropology of Europe, please contact:

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FIRST DEPARTMENT OF CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY IN CENTRAL EUROPE FORMED

The first Department of Cultural Anthropology has been formed at the L. Eötvös University (ELTE-BTK) in Budapest, Hungary. The department wants to fulfill two main objectives. First, it intends to give a solid, overall theoretical basis to students of anthropology; second, it aims at initiating and supporting field research among the Hungarian ethnic group within and outside Europe.

The library of the department will gladly accept gifts in the form of books, audio- and especially video-cassettes. All institutions of related fields are encouraged to review their libraries and spare what they can. The library, when established, will serve not only staff and students, but all the visiting scholars and anyone in Hungary with the need to use its materials. For further information, or to send donations, please contact:

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L. Eötvös University (ELTE-BTK)
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ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGISTS FOUNDED IN ATHENS

The Association of Social Anthropologists, a Greek non-profit scientific association, was established in Athens in June, 1990. The aims of the Association principally are: 1) the development of Social and Cultural Anthropology-Ethnology in Greece; 2) the institutionalization of Anthropology-Ethnology in the University and in the research centers; 3) the protection and promotion of the scientific and professional interests of its members; 4) the collaboration with other anthropologists interested in the study of the Mediterranean world; and 5) the collaboration with Greek and foreign associations in order to encourage the exchange of information concerning development of anthropological thought.

To be eligible for membership, one must be a Greek graduate or post-graduate social anthropologist, cultural anthropologist, or ethnologist who has studied in Greece or abroad, as well as foreign anthropologists-ethnologists who have worked principally in Greece or who are interested in working in Greece. Colleagues who wish to become members of the Association must be proposed by three members of the Association. For further information, please contact:

Ada Klioni, Secretary
Association of Social Anthropologists
Aghion Apostolon 3
GR 11362 Athens, GREECE

UNITY AND DISUNITY IN THE NEW EUROPE

(Continued from page one)

At first glance, it seems ironic that European countries are splitting at the seams just as they gear up for the first continent-wide federation they've ever seen. But there are obviously a number of factors at work, and they may not be so contradictory. I thought I'd ask Europeanists in my local (New York City) area for their thoughts on the resurgence of ethnic tensions, and its relation to European unity.

My questions centered on the unification/separatism dichotomy, the causal influence of political and economic forces, the causal influence of traditional hatreds, and the validity and/or practicality of independence movements. In general, the anthropologists that I interviewed did not find the situation contradictory. They tended to stress political and economic causes over ethnic hatreds, though they noted that the factors that sometimes pushed for pluralism, at other times pushed for assimilation. Only some of them dealt with the (admittedly messy) validity question, and these anthropologists felt ethnic self-rule both difficult to refute and difficult to accomplish. Interestingly, no one mentioned any great threat to overall European peace. Or, for that matter, to European unity.

Dr. Judith Friedlander is Dean of Social Sciences at Hunter College, which is part of the City University of New York's (CUNY) system; her most recent work has been on Jewish intellectuals in France (*Vilna on the Seine*, Yale 1990). Dr. Friedlander considers ethnic movements -- both in Europe and the U.S. -- to be potentially dangerous. "Separate but equal has rarely worked in democratic society," she says. "I don't mean to imply I'm against cultural diversity. We should be able to live in a pluralistic society. But the Enlightenment ideal of the abstract individual -- a primary principle of all Western democracies -- doesn't protect difference. We might even say that, before democrats were willing to legislate that all men were created equal, they tried to establish the conditions for making everyone the same, by creating a universal culture through the nation-state -- in other words, there would be only one nation (or culture) within the state.

"In Eastern Europe during the 19th century, progressives were inspired by the ideals of Western democracy, but they hoped to be able to maintain cultural diversity. By the turn of the century social democrats had created the dream of cultural autonomy in a multinational state, an idea that the Soviet Union adopted in a very diluted form. Now, with the recent emergence of democracy in Eastern Europe and a multiplicity of national movements, we are witnessing the latest chapter in a confusing and rather unhappy story."

According to Dr. Susan Gal, Associate Professor of Anthropology at Rutgers University, her study area in Eastern Europe has seen tensions rise because of democratic reforms. "Hungary doesn't seem to have any particular ethnic violence," she says, "but there are controversies about how to provide for the rights of gypsy populations within the new constitution." The former communist government did not address the problem, if indeed it was a problem.

The communist government of Bulgaria did address the problem of its Turkish minority, if indeed it did not cause it. Gerald Creed, a PhD candidate at the CUNY Graduate Center and Adjunct Lecturer at Hunter College, believes that tensions between the Bulgarians and Bulgaria-born Turks were muted before the government began its assimilation policies of the 1970s and '80s -- perhaps to divert attention from economic crises. Turks were forbidden to speak their language and were required to change their names to Bulgarian ones. Those who refused to do this were forcibly resettled in areas with few Turkish inhabitants. This eventually escalated into a movement to send them back to Turkey.

These policies have fortunately changed under the new administration, but Creed sounds another note on the correlation of "Westernizing" processes and ethnic unrest. "Both democratization and privatization are making the ethnic issue heated," he says. Most Turks live in geographical pockets where they are in the majority, and ethnic Bulgarians in these communities are being faced with, in effect, Turkish rule. Moreover, "Turkish Bulgarians are in a better position to thrive under privatization because they have contacts in Turkey. When shortages develop, Turkish proprietors can have goods on their shelves in no time. But Bulgarian entrepreneurs have nowhere to turn."

The Turkish government is apparently promoting Bulgarian-Turkish market ties, while the Turkish minority is still smarting from recent persecution. And the new socialist party, composed primarily of former communists, is promoting an ethnic Bulgarian nationalism, perhaps replacing the discredited idea of communist solidarity with yet another kind of solidarity. "Socialism tried to homogenize the population," notes Creed, "which itself facilitated nationalism." Meanwhile, the opposition parties have created a coalition that is trying to woo the ethnic Turkish party with cries of "See what they did!"

Bulgaria also has a gypsy population that, like the Turks, suffers from some ethnic stereotyping. But it is perceptually divided into "hardworking" and "bad" subgroups and, Creed believes, only the latter experience more overt prejudice. Creed knows of no political movement of the gypsies.

Despite ethnic and religious differences, Bulgarians have shared basic cultural traditions that may have partly obviated ethnic violence. This seems to be also true of France, where Dr. Susan Rogers, Associate Professor of Anthropology and French Studies at New York University, like Dr. Friedlander, does her fieldwork. "As far as the French are concerned there is no racism in France," says Rogers. "The problem with France, along with a number of other European countries, is that there's no perceived history of cultural pluralism." An emphasis on Frenchness and assimilation has been operative until recently. For instance, Italians who migrated to northeastern France tended to assume all French ways, and there were few ethnic tensions. However, immigrants from so-called "Third World" countries are beginning to insist on the right to their ethnic differences. "This flies completely in the face of French culture."

The French generally see these tensions as being a recent phenomenon. On the other hand, Dr. Gerald Sider, Professor of Anthropology at the CUNY Graduate Center and Staten

Island College and Associate of the Max Planck Institute for History in Göttingen, Germany, looks at the situation from another perspective. "To my mind this kind of ethnic rage/hatred/brutalization floats around Europe all the time. Either the governments sit on it or they don't. They aren't sitting on it now." He cites a recent incident in the former East Germany where "ethnic Germans" stoned refugees; the government's response was not to imprison the stoners but to remove the refugees. Sider doesn't believe that the hard-core Nazi-types constitute much of the population -- "The percent is very, very small. But a lot of people get swept up into these prejudices and this contributes to the resurgence of this problem."

As to the previous Eastern European governments: "They had no sympathy for or understanding of local cultures. They neither allowed ethnic tensions, nor did they do anything positive." Leftist governments seem to have a persistent difficulty in dealing with ethnicity -- Sider notes the conflicts between the Sandinistas and the Mosquito Indians, the Vietnamese government and the Montagnards. "So things go underground and fester."

The result has been bite-size population groups that, if they earn independence or autonomy, can be easily manipulated by international capitalism as it moves into the unified Europe. "Pandering to local groups helps multinational corporations reach new pools of labor. Do you think they are making donations to things like Breton parades because they care about ethnic groups?" Processes of denigration -- like those affecting East Germans in the new German economy -- are also in the interests of the pan-European market. "There's a concerted effort to squeeze the east out -- turn them into the victims of the expansion of European capital." As always, somebody has to do the menial work.

Sometimes ethnic separatist movements can be muted if they are not ignored but pandered to. Sider points out the success of Canada in dealing with the ethnic French of Quebec. "Their ethnicity was legitimized and even emphasized, and this quieted some of the French Canadian rage -- but transferred the costs of the province's integration onto the backs of the Cree Indians."

The legitimizing of ethnicity has seen some success in Spain, the focus of much fieldwork by Dr. David Gilmore, Professor of Anthropology and Head of the Anthropology Department at the State University of New York in Stony Brook. In Spain it was a rightist government that tried to squelch ethnic distinctions, and banned regional languages like Catalan. After Franco, democratization worked directly in favor of ethnic rights, and here the socialist activists were the ones on the side of the ethnic separatists.

"The Catalonians went about it well," says Gilmore, "and got their 'semi-autonomy' -- control of local culture, schools, most of the police -- but they're still part of the state." The same rules were applied to the other historical regions. The Andalusian independence movement practically came from out of nowhere when Franco died: "You can trace their rising influence in the votes. The laws on regional semi-autonomy seem to have pacified this movement. In the Basque country, where there is a stronger ethnic consciousness, semi-autonomy has caused a drop in calls for independence to about 20% of the population."

"When people see a benefit, then they'll stay," notes Gilmore. There are ethnic movements whose goals are reasonable ones. But you can get splinters within splinters, as in the U.S.S.R. A lot of it has to do with the sense of falling behind." As to the prejudice factor, Gilmore notes: "Ethnic identity is always in contradistinction to someone else."

Gilmore adds that "the groups that want to secede all want to be part of the European community. It's as though there's some sort of suction pulling them both ways."

According to Dr. Joan Vincent, Professor of Anthropology at Barnard College, Columbia University, the secession movement in Northern Ireland has come and gone, while the region is already benefiting from EEC policies. Northern Ireland was originally regionalized as a method of protecting the large number of protestants in the north from possible prejudice under the catholic region in the south, which was seceding from the United Kingdom. This led to prejudice against the northern catholics, and a civil rights movement that actually cut across ethnic and sect boundaries.

This in turn escalated into civil war when the British army and the Irish Republican Army entered the picture. But Vincent does not see the situation there as a polarity of religions. At least not in terms of independence or unification -- where, Vincent says, "the catholics themselves are divided along class lines, with the middle class having indicated a readiness to accept the present boundaries of Northern Ireland. The protestants equally represent many shades, ranging from Paisleyites on the extreme right to the Church of Ireland, many of whose members have long favored Irish unification. Overall, it's only at parades where people are obliged to take one side or the other."

However, the people descended from protestant Scottish settlers -- the "Ulster Scots" as they are calling themselves -- have had a sudden revival of awareness of their separate ethnic identity. Books and articles are appearing which tout the greatness of their heritage and contributions to Ireland. Part of this urge for distinctiveness is doubtlessly due to the continuing violence, "but I would also say it's because everybody's doing it," adds Vincent. "I don't really see it as a sort of territorial claim."

Scotland Scots have always maintained a degree of autonomy vis-a-vis London, but Jonathan Hearn, a PhD candidate at the CUNY Graduate Center, sees a general leaning toward even further "devolution." This was most prominent in the 1970s when North Sea oil-drillers off the Scottish coast were generating much income and the Scots saw too little of it headed their way. "There's a long-standing tension between the Scots and the English," says Hearn. "To a certain extent it's just custom, but it also has very real underpinnings." The situation isn't helped by the proliferation of vacation and retirement homes of English in comparatively poor Scottish areas.

Still, Hearn thinks Scottish independence could be precarious. "Economically there will be big winners and big losers with European unification -- the free trade aspect creates losers." Scotland could be among the latter.

Northern Italy is another region talking about separation. Dr. Jane Schneider, Professor of Anthropology at the Grad Center,

has worked in the area. "The Lega Lombarda is looking for more economic autonomy. The north is more prosperous than the south, and the Lega thinks that its taxes are funding southerners -- it sees the south as unproductive." Schneider admits that the south is underproductive, having shifted from an agricultural to a service economy without the intervening stage of industrialization. Prejudice is involved too: There is a class distinction growing out of the history of southern immigration to the north; and there has also been violence against North Africans in northern France.

But, like most of the other anthropologists whom I interviewed, Schneider sees the problem as having an economic dimension. "Everywhere in Europe, regions or even single cities are thinking of ways to approach the EEC on their own. There's a way in which the unification of Europe or European unity in 1992 will be an opening for subnational units, groupings, to assert themselves more aggressively, and independent of the nations they're in now. Because there will be resources in the Community for rebuilding cities, for cultural programs, that sort of things. And there will be pressure groups making claims." She adds, echoing Gilmore: "The ethnic struggles aren't just economic but they are a part of a process that puts people in touch with a new Europe -- disassociating themselves from their nation and associating themselves with Europe at the same time.

"This can be a good thing or a bad thing," Schneider continues. "There is a new order shaping up and some peoples are going to be left out. It's important to make a distinction between ethnic claims of powerful groups trying to distance themselves from others, and ethnic claims of groups or regions who have been excluded from prosperity."

One is reminded of Dr. Gilmore's comments about areas that are "falling behind," and Hearn's "big winners and big losers." With free trade among regions with unequal resources, some regions will be more "free" than others -- as Americans are discovering.

Schneider is at pains to point out that ethnic movements aren't all one thing -- "and they're not the only thing that's happening. And within ethnic groups there are distinctions to be made." Both she and Rogers question how much ethnic movements in Eastern Europe can be compared to those in the West.

Furthermore, Dr. Rogers is concerned with the way Americans are approaching the issues. "The American perspective is often a bit holier-than-thou. It doesn't sufficiently take into account the different social structures and systems of cultural meaning of these countries."

Perhaps I should feel contrite about my opening paragraph. Certainly, America has its share of ethnic violence -- and we seem to have cornered the market on nonethnic violence. In fact, most of the opinions above suggest that economic troubles are more at fault than perennial hatreds. Still, the original Nazi movement had economic roots, as did many if not most of Europe's long cycle of wars.

Whether Europeans really hate each other or not, they do have a history of internecine strife, and their conflicts can be instructive. These conflicts will have much bearing on the anthropology of Europe, whatever country we study, or study

in. And it will probably have a tremendous influence on the politics and well-being of the country we live in.

Note: I am extremely grateful to all the anthropologists I interviewed. They gave much of their time and offered their valuable insights without complaint. I should also note that, as a piece of journalism not research, this article presents only the opinions of particular workers given at particular moments, and therefore does not necessarily represent a thorough overview, either of the views of New York anthropologists, or even of the views of those interviewed.

MARY MURRELL
NEW ANTHROPOLOGY EDITOR
AT PRINCETON U PRESS

(Continued from page one)

You asked me a number of questions about Princeton's plans for acquiring titles in European anthropology -- questions that I have been asking myself as well since taking over the anthropology list here in early October. I am primarily seeking bold theoretical work that addresses itself to a broad anthropological audience -- and possibly to other audiences as well. In addition to being the object of much current attention, Europe presents very fertile opportunities for important theoretical work. These two factors contribute to my continued enthusiasm for European anthropology.

We have recently published Michael Herzfeld's *A Place in History: Social and Monumental Time in a Cretan Town*, Susan Roger's *Shaping Modern Times in Rural France*, Sally Cole's *Women of the Praia: Work and Lives in a Portuguese Coastal Community*, and William Christian's *Moving Crucifixes in Modern Spain*. Princeton maintains its interest in European subjects, and I have been actively encouraging authors writing on Europe. I am always happy to talk to authors working on Europe.

Important changes, however, have taken place in the scholarly market for books that affect editorial decisions at Princeton as well as other university presses, and it is very important for all academic writers to understand the economics of publishing. Editors today have no choice but to search for books that will appeal to a larger market than in the past. University presses have never made their publishing decisions entirely on the basis of a book's merit. Ethnographies that ten or more years ago would have sold 1,000 copies to the library market sell on average 350-400 copies. A publisher needs to sell 1,000 cloth copies, usually, or two to three times that many in paperback to break even. Thus, we look for books that will be widely read or that we think will be adopted for course use (course adoption depends largely on a book's accessibility and brevity).

I'm encouraged by the many fascinating projects I learned of at the AAA meeting in Chicago, and look forward to publishing the best of them.

**ORGANIZATIONS
and
INSTITUTES**

*** CENTER FOR AUSTRIAN STUDIES**

The Center for Austrian Studies at the University of Minnesota covers all aspects of Austrian history and culture. Austria is broadly defined as not only present-day Austria, but other countries that were once Habsburg lands -- Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Italy, Poland, and the Netherlands. The Center publishes the *Austrian Studies Newsletter* (ASN) three times a year. Topics include history, art, literature, music, film, philosophy, political science, and economics. The editors make a continuous effort to expand the newsletter's scope. The ASN has a circulation of approximately 2,400 (1,600 in North America and 800 in Europe). For further information, including guidelines for submission, please contact:

Austrian Studies Newsletter
Center for Austrian Studies
University of Minnesota
314 Social Sciences Building
267 19th Avenue South
Minneapolis, MN 55455
Tel: (612) 624-9811

*** SOCIETY FOR SPANISH & PORTUGUESE
HISTORICAL STUDIES**

The Society for Spanish & Portuguese Historical Studies (SSPHS), is an organization of 400 members interested in Iberian history and society from the Middle Ages to the contemporary period. The SSPHS was founded in 1969 and holds a conference every spring and also in conjunction with the American Historical Association. A *Bulletin* of the Society is published three times a year. Membership is \$17 per year, \$20 for institutions, \$7 for students. For information, please contact:

Prof. Sara Nalle
Department of History
William Paterson College
Wayne, NJ 07470

*** ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF
IRELAND**

The Anthropological Association of Ireland, founded in 1987, is an association of social anthropologists devoted to the study of social anthropology in Ireland. The Association holds two conferences a year in December and May. This May 1-3 the conference will be entitled: "The Anthropology of Borders." The Association also publishes a newsletter twice a year, *Anthropology Ireland*, which is free to members. A recent publication of interest to SAE members is: *Social Anthropology in Ireland: A Sourcebook*, Hastings Donnan and Joseph Ruane, eds. The book provides information about anthropological research on Ireland and more general career information for students planning to pursue anthropology as a

profession such as programs, courses, and employment opportunities. The book costs £2.50, and may be obtained from:

Dr. Hastings Donnan
Department of Social Anthropology
The Queen's University of Belfast
Belfast BT7 1NN, NORTHERN IRELAND

For further information, or to join: (full or associate membership - £5.00, or £2.50 for students) please contact:

Lee Komito
Sociology Department
University College
Dublin, Belfield
Dublin 4, IRELAND

*** HUMANITIES RESEARCH CENTRE**

This Centre, located in Australia, provides a number of conferences annual that would be of interest to Europeanists. They also support Visiting Fellows from the United States and Europe, who reside for roughly one semester at the Centre. The following conferences have been planned for 1992: "The European Moment?" (June 5-8, 1992) which is devoted to reassessments of the balance between new and old in the late eighteenth, early nineteenth centuries. To this end it will have contributions concerned with late-Enlightenment ideas of Europe in both political and cultural perspective, as well as contributions concerned with the reception of such ideas in the romantic movement(s), in the growth of nationalism, in the notions of a European political system, in the formation of international ideologies, in the emergence of post-Enlightenment ideas of Europe's position and role/mission in the world at large; "Europe: Representations of Change" (July 6-10, 1992) which will cover a wide range of approaches to the phenomena of change in Europe from the writing of contemporary and late modern history and the interaction between politics, the arts and the media, to questions concerning the rhetoric, the semiotics and the symbolism of public events; "Intellectuals in Europe Today" (September 30 - October 1, 1992) planned in conjunction with the Centre for European Studies, Monash University, Melbourne, the conference will explore changing roles and perceptions of intellectuals in Europe (East and West) since 1945, with special emphasis on the contemporary situation. Possible topics for discussion include the notion of the 'European' intellectual, the differing roles of intellectuals in East and West, the return of the intellectual in the East, the crisis of the intellectual in modern mass society, the avant-garde, intellectual fashions, cultural and political elites, the notions of an English intellectual 'establishment' and intellectual communities. Anyone interesting in contributing a paper to this latter conference, or for further information, should contact:

Dr. Margaret Stoljar
Humanities Research Centre
Australian National University
GPO Box 4
Canberra, ACT 2601
AUSTRALIA
Tel: (06) 249-4786
Fax: (06) 248-0054

NETWORK FOR THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF GERMANY

The second Network Meeting for the Anthropology of Germany was held at the AAA Meetings in Chicago. Individuals interested in the Anthropology of Germany should submit the following information to Uli Linke, the Organizer of the Network: 1) a list of publications pertinent to the anthropology of German-speaking countries; 2) papers delivered (title, abstract, key categories, etc.); 3) a description of work in progress; 4) areas/topics of research interest (past and current); 5) names and addresses of German anthropologists in Germany or anthropologists/folklorists (sociologists?) in other countries interested in the anthropology of Germany; 6) names of institutes or research centers that would be interested in reciprocal information exchange; 7) meetings and conferences of other associations such as the German Studies Association, that would be of interest to members. For further information, or to provide the information requested above, please contact:

Uli Linke
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New Brunswick, NJ 08903
Tel: (908) 932-1139 or 932-9886

SIXTH ANNUAL SUMMER STUDY PROGRAM BRUNNENBURG CASTLE, ITALY

The University of New Orleans (UNO) and the University of Florida announce the sixth annual Summer Study program in the Merano Valley of Northern Italy. Directed by Professor Paul Magnarella from the University of Florida, who will also teach Anthropology 3090 and 3991: "Field Studies in an Alpine Village," the program provides an opportunity to live and learn in the beautiful region of the South Tyrol, which borders on Austria and Switzerland in the Alps, and earn six semesters credit at Brunnenburg Castle. The castle, owned by the anthropologist Dr. Siegfried de Rachewiltz, the grandson of Ezra Pound, houses an extensive museum of ceremonial and agricultural artifacts from the Tyrolean area as well as an extensive collection from Africa. Students may elect to join the UNO-Innsbruck International Summer School-1992 which begins on July 5, following the UNO-Brunnenburg program. For further information, please contact:

Office of International Study Programs
P.O. Box 1315
University of New Orleans
New Orleans, LA 70148
Tel: (504) 286-7116

ARCHAEOLOGY COLUMN

Robert Wheelersburg
Elizabethtown College

CONFERENCE REPORT

Katina T Lillios
Tufts University

Social Complexity in Late Prehistoric Iberia (3000-1000 BC)

Organizer: Katina T Lillios (Tufts U); Discussant: Antonio Gilman (Cal State Northridge)

Presentations:

- 1) Christopher R Hoffman (UC-Berkeley) "The Making of Material Culture: The Roles of Technology in Late Prehistoric Iberia."
- 2) Michael Kunst (Instituto Arqueológico Alemán-Spain) "Copper Manufacture at Central Places? Some Aspects of the Importance of Iberian Copper Age Fortifications."
- 3) Susana Oliveira Jorge (Universidade de Porto-Portugal) "Neolithic and Chalcolithic Settlements of Northern Portugal."
- 4) João Carlos Senna-Martinez (Universidade de Lisboa-Portugal) "The Late Prehistory of Central Portugal: A First Diachronic View."
- 5) Margarita Diaz-Andreu (Universidad Complutense-Spain) "The Copper and Bronze Age in the Southern Meseta."
- 6) Felipe Criado-Boado (Universidad de Santiago de Compostela-Spain) "Increasing Ideological Complexity in Megalithic Societies."
- 7) Vitor Oliveira Jorge (Universidade de Porto-Portugal) "Burial Barrows of Northern Portugal from the Neolithic to the Early Bronze Age."
- 8) Katina T Lillios (Tufts U) "European Nationalism and the Historiography of Copper and Bronze Age Portugal."
- 9) Rafael Mico Perez (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona-Spain) "Critical Approaches to Explanatory Models of the Southeastern Iberian Copper Age."
- 10) Juan Manuel Vicent Garcia (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas-Spain) "Early Social Complexity: Functional Differentiation or Exploitation."

At the 1991 American Anthropological Association meeting in Chicago, eleven archaeologists from Spain, Portugal, Germany, and the United States participated in the above session, whose aims were:

- 1) to identify the principal loci of culture change between the Copper and Bronze Ages of Spain and Portugal (3000-1000 BC), and
- 2) to address current models and measures of social complexity for later Iberian prehistory.

For over one hundred years, prehistorians have recognized the dramatic transformations that occurred between the third and second millennia BC in Iberia, particularly in terms of settlement and burial patterns, economy, technology, social organization, and ideology. These changes include the building of megaliths and fortified hilltop settlements, the development of copper-based metallurgy, and the presence of exotic luxury goods. Explanations for these changes, which until recently were best documented in southwest and southeast Iberia, took the form of diffusion, migrations, and colonizations from the eastern Mediterranean (e.g., the Aegean,

Egypt, the Levant). These traditional explanations had to be rejected, however, upon the development of radiocarbon dating and its calibration in the 1950s and 60s. Copper and Bronze Age material produced dates that were earlier or nearly contemporary with their supposed eastern prototypes. The primarily theoretical implication of this technological advance was that the changes in the archaeological record between the third and second millennia BC of Iberia had to be understood in terms of indigenous factors. For example, the fortified hilltop settlements of Portugal, which used to be thought of as colonial outposts, are now considered central places for copper manufacture (Michael Kunst) or other specialized activities.

Two trends in the study of later Iberian prehistory were made apparent in the session. First, there is a high degree of regional variability in terms of settlement/burial density, artifact types, and subsistence economy for the later prehistoric record of Iberia. No longer can the southwest and southeast suffice to characterize the whole of the peninsula. Those areas that were identified and discussed in detail include Galicia (Felipe Criado-Boado), northern Portugal (Vitor and Susana Oliveira Jorge), central Portugal (João Carlos Senna-Martinez), the Meseta (Margarita Diaz-Andreu), and the Balearic Islands (Christopher Hoffman).

In addition to the variability in the archaeological record for later Iberian prehistory is the diversity of methodological and theoretical approaches that are currently being applied to understand the archaeological data. Functionalism, structuralism, and Marxism are the dominant paradigms used in the study of social change in Iberia; some of these approaches were critically addressed by Juan Manuel Vicent Garcia and Rafael Mico Perez. Katina Lillios presented an historiographic analysis of Copper and Bronze Age studies in Portugal in which the role of nationalism was highlighted.

Antonio Gilman, the session's discussant, offered a general overview of the principal trends in Iberian research. The salient feature of this research is that it has undergone a florescence in recent decades. Since the overthrow of the Franco and Salazar regimes, regional centers for the study of prehistory have been created throughout the peninsula, and the number of researchers actively engaged in field projects has increased dramatically.

The proceedings of this session will be published in the near future. Contributions by scholars who were not able to attend the meetings in Chicago will be included in these proceedings.

MEMBERSHIP NEWS

* ALICE JAMES (Shippenburg U) has received an NSF Planning Grant to do summer research 1991-1993. The grant is titled: "Ethnic Differences and Fertility: Family Traditions and Household Economy in Greece and Turkey."

* RICHARD MADDOX (Augustana C) has received the Social Science History Association's 1991 President's Book Award. The honor recognizes publication achievement within the association's academic year. The award recognizes Maddox' research and writing of *El Castillo: The Politics of Tradition in an Andalusian Town, 1634-1982*, forthcoming from the

University of Illinois Press. It is a part of a series entitled "New Directions in Social Science History." His research was funded by the National Science Foundation, the Fulbright Scholarship Committee and the Social Science Research Council (SSRC).

* SUSAN M DI GIACOMO (U Massachusetts-Amherst) has accepted a visiting professorship at the Autonomous University of Barcelona Medical School during the spring semester of 1992.

Special Report

THE GLOBALIZATION OF CHRISTIANITY: A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE GERMAN SITUATION

Karla Poewe
The University of Calgary

For some time now, I have been working with the concept of global culture, the idea that major traditions (religious or secular) travel the globe, take on local color, and come back in changed form. The example I am investigating, because I first encountered it in Africa, is Christianity. In the last three decades this major tradition has travelled primarily in the form of numerous revitalization movements including "the faith movement," "the Vineyard movement," and "the prophetic movement." Each of these movements has its source in one or more major ministries which are quite independent from traditional Christian denominations. The ministry, in turn, is centered on an inspired founder who created a popular theology by elaborating one major doctrine, like "the prosperity gospel," interpreting the rest of Christianity from this vantage point, and exporting it in the form of tapes, videos, how to books, and international conferences. While most mega ministries originate in the U.S., they also exist in South Korea, South Africa, Latin America and, on a smaller scale, in Britain, Canada and Germany.

In Germany, where I conducted a pilot study this summer, the situation is complicated in many ways especially with unification.

From the perspective of the *Staatskirche* (state church) one would think that independent charismatic churches don't exist in this part of the world. This is wrong. Not only do they exist; they are growing although on a much smaller scale than in the U.S. We found them in Hamburg, Berlin, Stuttgart, Göttingen, Köln, München, and other cities.

Several people identified four different streams (*Strömungen*) of the charismatic phenomenon in Germany: 1. the Anskar Kirche idea, an independent Lutheran experiment; 2. the Pentecostal stream, an independent Pentecostal experiment; 3. the Faith churches, *Glaubensgemeinde*, influenced by the American Faith Movement, but of more modest expression; 4. the renewal, *Erneuerung*, within the traditional churches. Both Catholic and Lutheran churches are engaged in interesting experiments in part to counter the threat of spiritual entrepreneurs.

An example is the *Personal Gemeinde*. *Personal Gemeinden* are founded by ministers or priests who gather together charismatic Christians from several mainline churches within a major city and form something like an independent church but within the traditional umbrella church. The idea is to remove troublesome charismatics from specific mainline neighborhood congregations without starting a new denomination. It is also part of an experiment by existing mainline denominations to move away from the neighborhood or territorial church.

To understand the conflict between east and west German charismatic Christians one has to understand the history and attitude of the church in the former DDR. According to Dr. Toasperm, who is the spokesman for the charismatic renewal, there are no traditional churches which are entirely charismatic in the east. In the former DDR, the *Landeskirchen* were separated from the state. This separation between church and state is extremely strong and highly valued in the east and is a bone of contention with the west. Evangelical churches of the former DDR, were minority churches which survived persecution in an extremely hostile communist environment. Their roots are not in America, as are the roots of the *Glaubensgemeinde*. Rather, their roots are anchored in the tradition of the *Bekennende Kirche*, that part of the church which opposed Hitler just as it later opposed Communism. Interviewees still remembered relatives who were in Hitler's concentration camps, just as they have relatives who were jailed under the Communist regime.

In eastern Germany the charismatic renewal dates back to the years after WWII in southern Sachsen. Then in the early 1970s the *Erneuerung* (renewal) or *Erwächung* (awakening) broke out among the young and spread with the Jesus Movement. Today there are about 350 ministers in the *Erneuerung* of the east. Because of earlier harsh conflict between evangelicals and charismatics in these churches, various theologians organized *Theologische Gespräche* (theological discussions) for 5 years and then published a document about the movement. The eastern church had hoped that after the *Wende* and reunification the western church would adopt this document, but it has not. This is another bone of contention. It also makes these Christians from the east feel voiceless.

At present, many pastors of Lutheran churches in the east are resigning. Since reunification their churches are empty. In smaller cities there might be but 2 or 3 people at a Sunday service. *Gemeinden*, it is said, *sind müde* (are tired). Before the wall fell, these churches were frequented by political groups because they were relatively safe within church walls. There were frequent prayer meetings. After the wall fell, these, at any rate non-believers fell away as did many of the 10% to 25% nominal Christians.

This brings me to another point. Charismatic churches emphasize a living God and church. That is, it is believed that God through the Holy Spirit reveals his presence in the lives of people through signs and wonders. But the interpretation of signs reflect the deep cultural differences between *Ossies* and *Wessies*. The latter interpret signs in terms of personal needs for healing, renewing joy, lifting depression, increasing one's sense of freedom, and improving one's economic situation. Signs in the east tend to have political connotations.

Thus Easterners argue that they have lived in *Babylonische Gefangenschaft* (Babylonian prison) for 70 years, since the Bolshevik revolution in 1917 Russia and the 1918 revolution in Germany. Seventy years later came Gorbachev. In their words, "God used Gorbachev the way he used the Persian King. Communist rule in the DDR was 40 years of wilderness. The wall fell following marches, 7 Mondays in a row around the Ring Strasse of Leipzig, like the fall of the wall of Jericho in the Bible. In short, in the former DDR, the church was not only a minority church but also a political statement.

The social profiles of east and west independent churches also differ. Most west charismatic churches attract middle and upper middle class business people and professionals. They are open to Europeanization and other ethnic groups. One finds within them many ethnic intermarriages and a prominent presence of English speakers. Peter Dippl, converted through an American black, runs the *Christliches Zentrum Berlin*, a church which is particularly responsive to *Ausländer* (foreigners) and street people.

While it may be changing, east German charismatics were somewhat xenophobic. They worried that their meaning of Christianity, garnered from a life of sacrifice, deprivation and political oppression, would be ignored. The population they must console is economically and spiritually broken, without ideals and goals. As one minister said, "the atmosphere is one of desolation. Almost daily I am asked the question, were the last 40 years all for nothing?"

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), NSF support of European Cooperative Research (May 1991), and the SSRC Dissertation Fellowship for West European Studies (October 1991). This column calls attention to two sources of funds to bring visiting scholars from Europe to the United States (with thoughts toward the organization of sessions for next year's AAA meetings).

Fulbright Scholar Awards to Visiting Scholars from Abroad

Contact: Visiting Scholars from Abroad Program

Address: Council for International Exchange of Scholars
3007 Tilde St., NW, Ste 5M
Washington, DC 20008-3009
Tel: (202) 686-7866

Deadline: Varies according to the home country

Grants are available for about 1,000 scholars from abroad each year for lecturing or postdoctoral research at colleges, universities, and research institutions in the United States.

German Marshall Fund Short-term Travel Awards

Contact: Adela Jabine, Grants Administrator

Address: German Marshall Fund of the United States
11 Dupont Circle, NW
Washington, DC 20036

Deadline: Applications must be received no more than six months and no less than six weeks before conference dates

The awards support transatlantic travel by individuals participating in conferences in North America or Europe. The purpose of the support is to establish contacts between academics and non-academics. Thus Europeanist anthropologists in the United States would be able to use these funds to invite practitioners in government, business, trade unions, public interest groups, and international organizations to participate in academic or research conferences. Write for information about what program areas are emphasized each year (in 1991: US-European economic issues, US-European relations, employment, environment, and immigration).

CONFERENCE NEWS

* *Rethinking Marxism* announces an international conference "Marxism in the New World Order: Crises and Possibilities," November 12-14, University of Massachusetts-Amherst.

The conference is being called to reflect on society, capitalism, and socialism and to discuss Marxian theory in the context of its many traditions and challenges. Submissions of papers and especially of formed panels are encouraged. The submission deadline is **June 1, 1992**. For information, please contact:

Antonio Callari, Conference Coordinator
Economics Department
Franklin and Marshall College
Lancaster, PA 17604
Tel: (717) 291-3947
Fax: (717) 399-4413

* SOUTHERN ANTHROPOLOGY SOCIETY

The 1992 Annual Meetings of the Southern Anthropology Society will be held at the Ponce De Leon Hotel, St. Augustine, Florida, April 23-26. The Key Symposium organized by Patricia Kwachka and Jerald Milanich is titled: "The Southeast at the Time of Columbus: Evidence from Linguistics and Archaeology." The purpose of this session is to explore the extent to which these subdisciplines can lead to better understanding of the Native American People prior to and leading up to the time of contact. In addition there will be several invited sessions which will focus on other topics including research in the U.S. South. For further information, please contact:

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JOURNALS...JOURNALS...JOURNALS...

* EAST EUROPEAN POLITICS AND SOCIETIES

Obscured for years by superpower politics, Eastern Europe emerges now as a herald of new geopolitical realities worldwide. The break-neck pace of change in the area -- and its consequences -- makes keeping up-to-date on Eastern Europe essential.

No journal is better poised than East European Politics and Societies (EEPS) to bring you the analysis you need on developments in the new Eastern Europe. EEPS's Editorial Board -- a world-class panel of historians, political scientists, economists and social scientists -- ensures the excellence of every contribution through its rigorous peer review process. And this authoritative scholarship on contemporary issues makes EEPS articles useful both in your classroom and in your own research.

Forthcoming articles include: "The Selected and the Elected: The Making of the New Parliamentary Elite in Hungary," Akos Róna-Tas; "The Information Technologies and East European Societies," Gary L. Geipel, et al.; "Problems of Contemporary Polish History," Lech Trzeciakowski; "Problems of Contemporary Czech and Slovak History," Jan Kren; and Special Section: "The Transforming Economies in East-Central Europe," David Stark, ed.

For a limited time, the journal is being offered at a 15% discount: \$23 for individuals, \$39 for institutions, and \$18 for students (a copy of ID must be provided). For further information, please contact:

East European Politics and Societies
University of California Press
2120 Berkeley Way
Berkeley, CA 94720

A NOTE FROM THE BOOK REVIEW EDITOR

Gary McDonogh
Book Review Editor

I continue to look for new reviewers as well as new titles. At the moment, it is especially important to try to find reviewers interested in the rich list of archaeological texts which we have received. In addition, reviewers for work on Eastern Europe and on themes related to HispanoAmerican connections amidst the ambivalent celebrations of 1992 are of interest.

I am generating new titles through University Press catalogues, but this does not mean that I am not open to suggestions, especially with regard to titles not published in the U.S. or in English. Also, I would be interested in working with people who have ideas for thematic reviews which might draw on current research or be oriented towards classroom teaching.

BOOK MARKS

Gary McDonogh
Book Review Editor

* WITCHES IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE

Dennison Nash
University of Connecticut

Bengt Ankerloo and Gustav Henningsen, eds., *Early Modern Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990. 477 pp. \$89.00 (cloth).

This is an important book that deals with its subject, European witchcraft of the early modern period, in a masterly, comprehensive way. Its authors bring to bear a huge array of archival data on a phenomenon which is viewed as part of an historic process that includes all of western Europe. It stands out because of its extensive geographic scope, its methodological and theoretical sophistication, and its conception of witchcraft as a many-sided phenomenon.

There is a felicitous introductory chapter by the editors and interesting concluding pieces by E. William Monter and Peter Burke, but the book's primary contributions are to be found in three central sections. The first deals with the witchcraft ideology of the learned classes that dominated Europe until the triumph of scientific-rational thought. This ideology, centered around the concepts of the devil and witches' sabbath, was to become the foundation for the operations of religious and secular courts in their witch hunting for several centuries. Among the more interesting points here are those made by Stuart Clark (that Catholic and Protestant views of witchcraft were not essentially different) and John Tedeschi (that, considering how careful and restrained it was in its procedures, the Inquisition has got a bad rap).

The second section deals mainly with the emergence of the dominant ideology, which is seen not as an invention of learned elite, but as a product of the give and take between their views and often vigorous supernatural worlds of common people. Here, fascinating arguments about local input from the western Alps (by Carlo Ginzburg) and from Sicily (by Gustav Henningsen) reinforce the argument concerning the importance of the creative thrust from below.

"And after fusion, diffusion." This statement by Carlo Ginzburg aptly characterizes the main concern of the third section of the book. However, it might be better to use the term acculturation to refer to what went on, for example, in the inquisitorial process. Sometimes the local tradition prevailed and people went on settling some of their differences through accusations of witchcraft, but other times pastors, priests, and judges, and other officials managed to diabolize what appeared as ordinary *maleficium*. In the latter case, in the words of the editors, a witch trial "can be seen as an expression of social integration and progress." So, too, can the advance of scientific rationality, which emanated from the elite classes and brought an end to official witch hunting in the eighteenth century.

In the third section there is so much of ethnographic interest that I cannot be doing it justice in a short review. In it, nine authors analyze witch hunting on the European periphery from Hungary around the northern rim of Europe (including Iceland) to Portugal. Noteworthy is the absence of England which, through the work of Alan Macfarlane and Keith Thomas, dominated the field of European witchcraft studies early on, but as the editors point out, has much in common with northern Europe. However, one should be careful not to overdraw the similarities. Though, as Robert Rowland suggests in part 2, witchcraft confessions in Continental Europe between the late fifteenth and late seventeenth centuries were remarkably alike, each peripheral area had its own kind of beliefs and practices relevant to witchcraft. For example, official witchhunting emerged earlier or later and in some places not at all. It is true that in most societies the accused were women, but in Iceland, Finland and Estonia the witch was likely to be a man even after significant incursions by the dominant ideology. Though in some societies witch hunting seems to have reflected inter-class conflict, with the better-off accusing the poor, in others, accusations fell within the same class.

The book is sociological and rarely descends to psychological analysis as, for example, that practiced by some Americans in their studies of witchcraft. Though most of the authors reject the functional aspect of the structural-functional paradigm that British authors have used in Africa and England, the (social) structural side often appears, especially in the treatment of *maleficium* in the countryside. The other kind of structuralism also is present as, for example, in Robert Rowland's analysis of the standard narrative sequence for confessions that prevailed in Europe, from the late fifteenth to the late seventeenth centuries. The main theoretical contribution of this book, however, is to see witchcraft in the period under study to be something taking place in an emerging complex society, which requires the integration of levels of analysis ranging from the local community to the state. In the words of the editors, the European witch persecutions "express both interpersonal action on the local level and major shifts in the relationship between centre and periphery as part of a historical

transition encompassing world economies, national states, and pre-capitalist class relations in Early Modern Europe." The contributors' broad view of the subject makes witchcraft not just some epiphenomenon, but as part of the main currents of European history. It also opens up a fruitful line of inquiry for scholars in the various human sciences.

* IRELAND AND CHANGE

John Messenger
Notre Dame

Chris Curtin and Thomas M. Wilson, eds., *Ireland From Below: Social Change and Local Communities*. Galway: Galway University Press, 1991. (Introduction, Acknowledgements, Contributors). 338 pp.

The focus of ethnographic research worldwide shifted from tribal to peasant/farming communities in the 1950s and from the latter to urban communities in the 1970s. The second shift in focus is reflected in this work with its emphasis on sociology and urban, economic, and political anthropology and on socio-cultural change in Ireland during the past quarter-century. Several of the 18 essays in the volume pay lip service to pre-1980 ethnographies based on research in "West of Ireland peripheral and island communities" that "were relatively static and unchanging, governed by traditional norms and customs" (p. ix), by Arensberg and Kimball (1940 and 1968), Messenger (1969), Cresswell (1969), Harris (1972), Brody (1973), Leyton (1975), Kane (1977), Fox (1978), Schepher-Hughes (1979), and Russell (1979). But these essays, although in some cases using the ethnographies as a base line for assessing change, "are case studies of specific communities, and the agents, and short- and long-term impact, of socio-economic change at the level of human day-to-day experience, the level which shapes the quality of peoples' lives" (p. viii). Change is conceptualized "as a continuous process in which the occupants of communities are not just passive victims but are actively engaged through a variety of social, political, cultural, and economic strategies in determining their own futures" (p. x). The essays are meant to supplement "a substantial body of literature" made available in the 1980s "which addresses the theme of change at the national and regional levels" (p. viii) (reviewed in the Introduction).

The editors in a brief but comprehensive introductory essay summarize the contents of each contribution to follow, and the 17 essays are arranged in five sections. In the first section - "Religious Traditions and Innovations" - Lawrence J. Taylor writes of "The Mission: An Anthropological View of an Irish Religious Occasion," followed by Graham McFarlane's "Dimensions of Protestantism: The Working of Protestant Identity in a Northern Irish Village" and Bodhan Szuchewycz's "The Meanings of Silence in the Irish Catholic Charismatic Movement."

Four essays make up the second section - "Social Meaning and Cultural Context:" "Powerful Wakes: Perfect Hospitality" by Maurna Crozier, "Local Knowledge and Political Violence in County Fermanagh" by Joan Vincent, "A Labouring Man's Daughter: Constructing 'Respectability' in South Kilkenny" by Marilyn Silverman, and "Clubs, Pubs and Private Houses in a Clare Town" by Chris Curtin and Colm Ryan.

The section "Adaptive Strategies and Economic Process" has contributions by Leo Howe, "Unemployment, Doing the Double and Labour Markets in Belfast;" by Joseph Ruane, "Success and Failure in a West of Ireland Factory;" by Mark T. Shutes, "Changing Agricultural Strategies in a Kerry Parish;" and by Chris Curtin and Tony Varley, "Brown Trout, 'Gentry' and Dutchmen: Tourism and Development in South Mayo."

Five essays follow in the section "Political Leadership and Mobilisation." John J. Conway writes of "The Divergence of Public and Private Development in Two Kilkenny Neighbourhoods," Lee Comito of "Dublin Politics: Symbolic Dimensions of Clientelism," Thomas M. Wilson of "Brokers' Broker: The Chairman of the Meath County Council," Vincent Tucker of "State and Community: A Case Study of Glencolumbkille," and Sharon Bohn Gmelch of "From Poverty Subculture to Political Lobby: The Traveller Rights Movement in Ireland."

"Methods and Sources for Ethnographers," the final section, has but one contribution, by Philip H. Gulliver, "Doing Anthropological Research in Rural Ireland: Methods and Sources for Linking the Past and the Present." It is a "must read" for prospective ethnographers, a blueprint for ethnohistorical research which includes a multitude of data sources, among them parochial records, business and farm records, newspapers, valuation records, census data, parliamentary papers, poor law union and rural district records, legal records, interviews (four kinds), household surveys, and participant observation.

The essays are well written and informative, and each has copious references to major works, especially those published in the past decade. References to contemporary theoretical "fads and fashions" -- especially symbolic and interpretive varieties -- are found here and there to attest to the sophistication of the authors.

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*** DOING RESEARCH: THE SELF AND 'OTHER'**

Kerry K. Skiffington
University of Vermont

John L. Wengle, *Ethnographers in the Field: The Psychology of Research*. University of Alabama Press, 1988.

John C. Messenger, *Inis Beag Revisited: The Anthropologist as Observant Participant*. Sheffield Press.

These books represent ways of coming to terms with the psychological truths about fieldwork as more than a job or an act of research, as an experience with implications for the fieldworker as an individual and for the place and people studied. Beyond this, they differ in focus and goal, in methodology, in conclusions, and in the author's own involvement in these truths.

The insights of Wengle's book into the personal effects of fieldwork, challenging one's sense of self as an individual and as an anthropologist, must be praised. The work is useful to the graduate student in the field (or preparing for it) and to the advisor who is tempted to dismiss the inevitable psychological stresses with comments such as "you're just lonely." It is also useful to the scholar asking what it is to do anthropology: Wengle states his purpose to be "to enable us to understand the psychology of fieldwork and therefore to gain a comprehensive knowledge about the nature of the anthropological endeavor" (ix). He begins to do this by briefly commenting upon methodological issues throughout the text.

The book provides great detail in specific cases of individuals' psychological responses in the field and broad conclusions about what occurs to all of us: "...fieldwork is always, to some degree, identity-dystonic" (xx). We often joke that fieldwork is a *rite de passage*; perhaps Wengle has revealed why.

In contrast, the much more self-oriented analysis of Messenger provides a better model for viewing oneself within the field. Where Wengle views women as particularly psychologically susceptible to the field experience, Messenger has a self-possessed assurance that he is affected. That is, he is self-critical about the ethical issues which have become apparent since his involvement in local culture through the composition of a ballad in local style and for local consumption. So, too, he makes explicit the sorts of criticism from the Irish which may be expected and may be valid about his ethnographic analyses. In this, he presents the methodological issues which participation in research and the research setting make inevitable. In this, I find Messenger the useful tool for field research, and Wengle the guide to one's own feelings and motives. Yet both provide revelations about the relationships we search out in the field, both within

ourselves and with the Other, which inevitably influence the published report.

*** THEORY: DEEDS AND MISDEEDS; THE PRESENT AND THE PAST**

Susan Parman
California State University, Fullerton

Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, ed., *Culture Through Time: Anthropological Approaches*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990.

Renato Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1989.

In her assessment of the changes occurring in anthropology since the sixties, Sherry Ortner (1984) uses the phrase "modern practice theory" to encompass diverse theoretical perspectives concerned with human action and the dynamic creation of culture. Both Rosaldo and Ohnuki-Tierney describe such developments -- the loss of certainty in anthropology's traditional quest for timeless, static, island cultures. Synchronic studies, enduring structure, and the eternal "ethnographic present" have been replaced by multivocal histories informed by reflexivity, theories of the self, and ethnographic hegemony -- thus producing a kind of anthropological Heisenberg indeterminacy principle that has led, on the one hand, to solipsistic navel-gazing, and on the other to exciting reassessments of the power and possibility of anthropological analysis.

Although anthropologists who study Europe have always had more historical data than anthropologists studying non-Western cultures, they tended to focus on the study of peripheral, small-scale, rural communities and to value them in proportion to the degree to which they were untainted by outside influence, political consciousness, and historical change. To the extent that these anthropologists studied dynamic change, strategy-planning actors and networks of interaction in a world system, they were not considered anthropologists but sociologists, psychologists, community planners, and so on. During the past twenty years, theoretical shifts within the field of anthropology have made such research more acceptable.

Rosaldo and Ohnuki-Tierney approach the issue of change in the field from different perspectives. Indeed, the differences are reflected in their titles -- truth vs. time. In the first, Rosaldo questions what anthropologists do, whether they can do it, and how they have misdone it. In the second, Ohnuki-Tierney accepts the existential parameters of the anthropological domain and is more concerned with methods of exploring it.

Rosaldo attempts to capture the immediacy of human motives, to reach through the curtain of cultural differentness and touch the heart of the Other. What means much may not be thickly described. Culture must be described in the context of action rather than the integrity of logic. Ritual, for example, should be seen not as a self-contained entity but as "a crossroads where distinct life processes intersect" (p. 20). He mounts an ironic and often better attack on the position from which Western ethnographers launch their "objective" studies of the Other (for example, attacking the myth of the Lone Ethnographer objectively constructing the classical

ethnography and calling attention to the "objectifying" rhetoric of ethnographic prose).

I suggest that Rosaldo's book is not so much a new mode of social analysis as a reinvention of the sense of immediacy that every anthropologist must establish in the process of achieving rapport with a different way of life. Every discipline goes through a process of hardening of the categories and must periodically be revitalized. The important issue is not whether we should recognize the force and power of human motive, but how we describe the results. Once we have recognized the filters of our own experience and bias and the distorting lens of power, what is our business? What is out there, and how do we describe it?

The papers in Ohnuki-Tierney's *Culture Through Time* explore the theoretical implications of looking at culture as dynamic process. The book includes articles by Ohnuki-Tierney, Marshall Sahlins, Sherry Ortner, James Fernandez, Valerio Valeri, Don Handelman and Lea Shamgar-Handelman, Edmund Leach, James Peacock, and Peter Burke, and derives from a Wenner-Gren-sponsored conference called "Symbolism Through Time" held in 1986. The geographical loci are diverse (Hawaii, Nepal, Spain, Japan, Israel, India and Indonesia); the intent of the volume is to explore the variety of ways in which history and anthropology may enrich each other. What constitutes change (e.g., surface oscillations vs. long-term transformations), what is it that changes (mythopraxis, key scenarios, dominant metaphors), what causes change (incongruity, failure of paradigms, outside influences, secularization and modernization as reflected in changing conceptions of the self, etc.)? Given the reflexive warnings of the first book and the methodological diversity of the second, readers should feel better equipped to blunder into the forest of living symbols.

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Susan Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project*. Cambridge, Mass:MIT Press, 1989 (paperback 1990). 492 pp.

The Dialectics of Seeing, an acclaimed book in European philosophy and social history, is a semiotic history of perception and material culture under capitalism. Working with the research files of Walter Benjamin's unfinished socio-cultural study of Paris as the 19th century capital of European modernity, Buck-Morss demonstrates how Benjamin linked the history of perception to the perception of history through an analysis of the staging of commodities in 19th century shopping arcades and of the permeation of commodity logics throughout the sphere of cultural production. For Benjamin, the political and economic organization of perception through the dream-like aura of the commodity fetish was crucial to the assessment and eventual mobilization of revolutionary consciousness in modernity. Benjamin's goal was to liberate the repressed emancipatory codes of the material world created

by urban capitalism, which coexisted with the official mythic narratives of commodity exchange. Buck-Morss analyzes what Benjamin termed the "Ur-forms" of urban modernity: the material and perceptual forms that characterized the early stages of industrial mass culture and which harbored, because of their historical positioning, the "utopian" contents of both precapitalist wish-image and the equally utopian desires associated with advanced technology.

The book's relevance to anthropology is evident on several levels: 1) material culture is understood by Buck-Morss as consisting of disynchronous particularities that contain alternative semantic and experiential archeologies. This focus on the particular as opposed to the universalizing and homogenizing trajectory of commodity equivalence will strike a responsive chord among cultural anthropologists concerned with the issue of cultural resistance to capitalist penetration. 2) Buck-Morss traces the painstaking process by which Benjamin contextualizes the question of what modes of critical knowledge and perception are possible for the engaged theorist within the epistemological closures and historical amnesia characteristic of modernity. For Buck-Morss epistemology, sensory perception and cultural context are interdependent. Thus this work offers an indispensable alternative approach to the issue of self-reflexivity by centering on the historical and political formation of the researcher's perceptual experience. This is in stark contrast to confessional, autobiographical and ahistorical psychologized treatments of self reflexivity current in anthropology.

Other aspects of this work share common ground with anthropology via recent ethnographic studies. In *Of Revelation and Revolution* (University of Chicago Press 1991), the Comaroffs's focus on the socializing power, imaginary dimensions and hegemonic potential of European material culture in the missionization process in South Africa, parallels Buck-Morss's analysis of the symbolic dimensions of material culture in the internal colonization of European consciousness. The interpretation of political culture as material culture is the animating thrust of Feldman's *Formations of Violence* (University of Chicago Press 1991) which focuses on the circulation and exchange of political commodities, i.e., bodies marked by violence in Northern Ireland; it thus parallels Buck-Morss's concern with how commodity fetishism imparts an "after-image" to the logic of political representation. Taussig's use of the montage form in *Shamanism, Colonialism and the Wild Man* (University of Chicago Press 1987) to express the colonial juxtaposition of European, Indian and African perceptual systems and mythologies also evokes Benjamin's and Buck-Morss's use of montage as reflecting the disynchronicity of social experience in the first epoch of industrial development in urban Europe. Finally, Buck-Morss's focus on the sensory dimensions of objects as they fall in and out of exchange systems provides a comparative perspective to Seremetakis's treatment in *The Last Word* (University of Chicago Press 1991), of how the historical transformation of exchange relations underlie the cultural transformation of sensory experience in Greece. The European focus on the imaginary and perceptual dimensions of object exchange in *The Dialectics of Seeing* should serve to break the almost exclusive identification of these issues with Melanesia in anthropology, and in turn give Europeanists something to think about in their research on the material dimensions of modernity.

This clearly written text offers rich methodological insights suitable for graduate use provided that the teacher is capable of making the same in depth journey of translation in the classroom between disciplines, cultures and historical periods that is central to the spirit of both Benjamin's and Buck-Morss's projects.

*** SOUTHERN ITALY: FROM POVERTY TO CONSUMERISM**

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Donald Pitkin, *Mamma casa posto fisso: Sermoneta rivisitata 1951-1986*. With the collaboration of Susanna Cesarini. Translated by Maura de Bernart and Graziella Reggio. Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1990.

Donald Pitkin was among the first ethnographers of southern Europe: his latest book, written in collaboration with Susanna Cesarini, an assistant to the anthropologist Tullio Tentori, is a restudy of a community in which he first carried out fieldwork in 1951. *Mamma* represents a rare achievement for studies of southern Europe: in a mere 100 pages of text, it provides a sound ethnographic portrait of a southern Italian town which not only situates the town in historical perspective but also links that community to contemporary multinational capitalism.

For the people of Sermoneta, poverty has been replaced in one generation by relative prosperity, as they have been transformed from insecure agricultural laborers to workers for multinational corporations. Pitkin draws on his previous fieldwork to provide a study of the effects of changes caused by this industrialization. The central concern of *Mamma* is to document the unexpected and surprising emergence -- in apparent contradiction with a risk economy -- of a 'culture of immobility' (*cultura dell'immobilismo*), a configuration of values and behaviors which imply status, inertia and dependence.

The people of Sermoneta are characterized as actively constructing unnecessary ties of dependency. The town's feudal castle has been superseded as an instrument of domination by offices in the countryside of Sermoneta or corporate headquarters in the U.S. However, Pitkin finds that the same quality of domination survives in the worker's dependence on his or her employer. For what the people of Sermoneta want is not self-realization through a career, nor mobility, nor autonomy. Instead, they want a permanent job with a secure salary (*il posto fisso*).

Of the components of the emergent cultural ethic, the figure of the mother is identified as the key to the entire system. To compensate for the narrow worlds in which they live, mothers tie others to them through control of food and manipulation of indulgence in food. Bonds of dependency are also seen in the unfinished houses given to children, in the excessive concern with the family, and in the escalating expenses and exchanges required at life-cycle rituals. Additional manifestations of inertia are the disregard for school, lack of voluntary associations, and clientelistic local political systems.

In order to provide a comparative perspective on the situation in Sermoneta, some data are provided on a nearby town whose inhabitants have attempted to collectively resist domination by constructing a past for themselves. Pitkin suggests that the immobility exhibited in Sermoneta serves as a refuge from the uncertainties of the global economy. For the most part, however, the book reads like an exhortation to the people of Sermoneta to leave or to give up: mother; (excessive?) indulgence in food; preoccupation with house furnishings, including bathrooms luxurious to the point of resembling "harems"; and ultimately, the town itself. While Pitkin's previous restudy of Sermoneta, *The House that Giacomo Built*, was a celebration of one family's economic achievements, *Mamma* is written in a polemical tone with a considerable amount of sarcasm, aimed particularly at the centrality of the mother, sensual pleasures, and consumerism perceived to run wild. Apparently underlying the critique is a certain amount of frustration for opportunities not taken by the people of Sermoneta to create a different way of life.

This volume should appeal to a wide variety of readers. The arguments made will contribute to the debates about the way people do -- or should -- respond to international movements of capital. In particular, the assertions about the role of women in these processes are certain to elicit discussion. Clearly written, accessible, provocative, *Mamma* would make a wonderful classroom text. It is to be hoped that it is soon available in English.

* * * * *

SAE List of Books Received: January 1992

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April 23-26, 1992

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