

Rezensionen

Les Amitiés Franco-Burkinabè : Traditions et modernité au Burkina-Faso. Paris : L'Harmattan, 2007. 223 pp. ISBN 978-2-296-04530-9. Prix : € 22.50

Les auteurs, membres de l'association "Les Amitiés Franco-Burkinabè", prennent soin d'avertir leurs lecteurs que leur ouvrage n'est "ni savant, ni ethnologique", et ils expriment l'espoir que les spécialistes, ethnologues entre autres, "auront 'pardonné' ... les approximations qu'ils n'ont pas manqué de repérer" (220). Nous voilà prévenus. Le but assigné au livre est de présenter le Burkina Faso d'une manière simple, concrète et vivante, en mettant l'accent d'une part sur les "survivances du passé" (ethnies et langues – près d'une cinquantaine –, coutumes, croyances, organisation socio-politique, "façons d'être et de penser"), et d'autre part sur "les nouvelles données du modernisme" (décolonisation, émergence d'une nation, scolarisation, évangélisation, économie happée par la mondialisation, hauts et bas de la démocratie, émigration massive, changements négatifs de mentalité dus à l'individualisme, à l'affairisme et à la corruption). Le texte est constitué d'abord de brèves mais substantielles notices de fond (p. ex. "la religion ancestrale", "l'islam", "la notion d'ethnie", "l'agriculture", "la pauvreté"), ensuite de points de vue plus personnels et de témoignages, enfin de multiples petits extraits de livres et de journaux soigneusement datés, avec un constant souci de refléter la pluralité des regards et des opinions. Une annexe replace l'histoire du Burkina Faso dans celle de l'Afrique subsaharienne, et une autre retrace son évolution politique depuis l'indépendance. Ce livre sans prétentions, bien présenté et rédigé avec empathie, fait alterner regards portés de l'extérieur et perceptions de l'intérieur. Il sera certainement utile à tous ceux qui aborderont pour la première fois ce pays qui étonnera toujours par la diversité et la richesse de ses cultures.

Pierre Erny

Barry, Laurent : La parenté. Paris : Éditions Gallimard, 2008. 863 pp. ISBN 978-2-07-034857-2. (Collection folio essais, 498) Prix : € 11.50

This is an original and important book whose aim is to "rethink" the current theories of kinship and marriage. The author has done fieldwork among the nomadic Fulani of the Ngaoundéré plateau (Cameroun) who practice what is commonly known as the Arab

marriage. The author starts his book by making a complete and detailed history of the different theories of kinship and marriage up to now. The author starts his own theory by arranging kinship and marriage upon four principles (*principes*): 1. the cognatic principle; 2. the parallel principle; 3. the uterine principle; 4. the agnatic principle.

The uterine kinship principle is analysed first and it will make many readers blink since it is represented here among people having a heavy patrilineal connotation, the Fulbe among whom the author stayed a long time and who preferentially practice the Arab marriage of a man with his FBD. He argues that it is a simple consequence of avoiding marriage with any uterine kin which is the main prohibition.

The cognatic system forbids symmetrically the marriage with kin of both of the two married people. The cognatic systems include our society and in general all complex systems. But the system can forbid all kinds of parents or restrict the prohibitions but it does it always symmetrically. Barry treats in great details the evolution of our own system through history because we have a long series of written documents which permits such a development.

The principle of parallel kinship is well-known. It forbids all marriage with parallel kin but favors the marriage of one or the other sorts of cross-cousins. These are the elementary structures of kinship. The author examines some examples from India, the Mukkuvar, and some New Guinea peoples, the Maring among others, and the African case of the Ashanti.

The principle of agnatic kinship is rare but we have two well-analysed cases, the Lakher and the Han. It forbids the marriage with all agnates, a possibility of marrying cross-parents and sexual or matrimonial preference for strict uterine parents. This system is never named nor listed in all theories of kinship and marriage.

This is a brilliant book but not so easy to read because of the rich and dense argumentation but it is an exciting reading.

Jean-Claude Muller

Bergunder, Michael: The South Indian Pentecostal Movement in the Twentieth Century. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2008. 380 pp. ISBN 978-0-8028-2734-0. Price: \$ 40.00

Bergunder accomplished a noted qualitative field research study in "The South Indian Pentecostal Movement in the Twentieth Century." In this descriptive study, he moved Pentecostal hagiography from providential and life experiences to using more systematic research approaches. Using documents, interviews, and observations, he crafted a comprehensive story based primarily on historical connections in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. This provided a diachronic network. Second, he constructed a contemporary synchronous network that attempted to connect different Pentecostal churches, organizations, and individuals in the four southern most states in India. Thus Pentecostalism became a constructed category. He is to be commended for his clear definition and purpose for such a comprehensive study.

Moving beyond the historical story in Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, and Andhra Pradesh, Bergunder addressed beliefs and practices of these people. In this section, the chapters appear to be a mixture of sociological and religious categories. Verification or duplication of content is threatened since some of those who were interviewed did so on the condition of anonymity.

Among concerns relating to this survey of Pentecostalism is the preconceived idea that this phenomenon originated predominantly in the twentieth century. Stanley Burgess documented manifestations of the Holy Spirit throughout the centuries (In: S. Burgess and E. van der Maas [eds.], *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*. Grand Rapids 2002). With a limited acceptance of the Holy Spirit's role, Pentecostals have not acknowledged the place and working of the Holy Spirit in the Eastern Orthodox Christian churches. Concerning this blindness, Pentecostals have not historically sought reconciliation with the Eastern Orthodox churches in South India, or the combined unification of churches now known as the Church of South India, or the Roman Catholic Church. They maintain theirs is an exclusive anointing or gifting.

To understand the context of India, one must look beyond a category of religious beliefs and practices. Further contextual questions must be formulated. How then does a minority group persist within an all-encompassing Hindu religious majority? How do systems operate when there are minimal differences between religion and state? Did this novel "add-on" (speaking in tongues) Christianity provide a model or distinctiveness that was not connected to the colonial British High Church or did it provide a wedge between the all-inclusivity of Hinduism? How did the economic benefits from Western Christians strengthen or provide possible avarice opportunities to those emerging from centuries of colonial rule? These are some of the contextual issues that need to be addressed.

By its nature Pentecostalism in India is not a univariate phenomenon. It is commonly accepted that there are differences in the ethnologic of the East and West. Hence, a dual path analysis, using economic indicators, between the Western benefactors and South Indians

could provide new insights. Other possible variables or common themes might study and analyze political forces, different understandings regarding individualism and group identities including caste and class, language usage, and accountability issues.

Precolonial India imposed mythological narratives that drove the rise of nationalism. This mirage was lifted somewhat when the remaining rajas signed agreements with the newly united Hindustan government (1947). But many Pentecostal leaders adopted their autocratic rule, privilege, and dynastic principle. Nationalism meant freedom and empowerment. It was similar to the adolescent who tells his parents, "I don't need you, but I need your money." By 1951 the Assembly of God Foreign Missions Board did not require missionaries and their supervisors to learn the national language Hindi or one of the other local languages. Thus they could only converse with those who spoke English. These growing pains changed the roles of missionaries. By the 1970s, Indian Pentecostals itinerated abroad in Pentecostal, Charismatic, and Non-Denomination churches. Their children were educated abroad, sought multiple citizenships, and fostered Malayalam- and Tamil-speaking churches elsewhere. The missionary was to become a servant leader entangled by cross-cultural vines.

Accessibility to informants and materials seem to guide the narrative. While Kerala and Tamil Nadu received much attention, both Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh were underserved. This leads to uneven coverage of information. While it is notable that Bergunder spoke Tamil and English and had translators of Malayalam, there is an absence of information in Telugu and Kannada. Without the inclusion of these languages, we do not have a comprehensive coverage of the Pentecostalism in South India. English speakers, who tend to be more educated, may introduce personal experiences or biases that support a Hawthorne effect.

There seems to be confusion concerning the thoughts and practices of Pandita Ramabai, who founded Mukti, in Kedgaon. Certainly she willed Mukti to the Christian Missionary Alliance at the time of her death (1922). Because of the historical rifts between North and South Indians, it would be unlikely that Ramabai would request a South Indian Pentecostal organization to succeed her. Through an extensive international network Ramabai received financial support that supplemented the commune atmosphere at Mukti. Furthermore, it should be noted there was no Pentecostal work in Bombay Presidency (now Maharashtra State) at the time of her demise. Among other omissions is that Ramabai sent her daughter Mano to Elim Bible School located in Rochester, New York. Many Assembly of God missionaries to both North and South India received their biblical education at Elim. It is unfortunate that the South Indian Pentecostals did not adopt Ramabai's passion for social reform.

Certainly Michael Bergunder is to be lauded for providing an ethnographic study that attempts to capture the ever-evolving Pentecostal streams among sundry banks. This book preserves biographies of those who

believed they were on an eschatological mission. Some ministered to higher caste Christians, while others cared for the Dalits. Their organization became one of splitting and dividing based on dynastic or language differences. Bergunder is to be applauded for codifying a complex phenomenon.
Ruth Vassar Burgess

Berliner, David, and Ramon Sarró (eds.): *Learning Religion. Anthropological Approaches*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2007. 239 pp. ISBN 978-1-84545-374-9. (Methodology and History in Anthropology, 17) Price: \$ 70.00

Undoubtedly, the most prominent trend in the anthropology of religion within Europe and America in the first decade of the twentieth-first century has been the developments within cognitive studies and evolutionary approaches. Scott Atran, Pascal Boyer, Harvey Whitehouse, R. N. McCauley, Thomas Lawson, Justin Barrett, Maurice Bloch, and others have contributed to these cognitive-evolutionary studies of religion. This anthropological trend seeped into American public discourse via a lengthy essay entitled "Evolution and Religion: Darwin's God" in the *New York Times Magazine*, March 2007. The reaction to these evolutionary-cognitive studies has varied within the anthropological communities in Europe and the U.S. The collection of essays in "Learning Religion. Anthropological Approaches" is devoted to the restoration of the social-cultural aspect of religion that tends to be marginalized by many of these cognitive studies. The major question of the volume is how ethnographic studies may illuminate the transformation of an individual as she moves from ritual mimicry to become an authentic religious believer.

Carlo Severi and Michael Houseman author the first two essays in the volume. Severi questions Rodney Needham's argument that "belief" is an arbitrary product of Western culture and cannot be applied cross-culturally. Needham relied on Wittgenstein and Hume to suggest that when one held a belief, this ruled out any form of doubt. Severi notes that Wittgenstein's "On Certainty" was much more compatible with what ethnographers tend to find everywhere; religious doubt often occurs as a condition for the acquisition of religious beliefs. In addition, Severi indicates with reference to his research on Kuna shamanism and other ethnographic work that beliefs can be developed without clear and specific semantic content. He concludes his essay by suggesting that "learning to believe" involves both memorization and the unconscious acquisition of the social context whereby various types of inferences can be developed. Houseman's essay focuses on menarche rituals from Neopagan or New Age Internet sites. The Neopagan and New Age practitioners use innovative rites of passage ceremonies that emulate ancient and tribal cultures to produce empathic relationships among mothers, daughters, and other women. Both Severi and Houseman integrate the cognitive, emotional, and social dimensions to demonstrate how both religious beliefs and rituals are transmitted.

David Parkin introduces his essay based on his long-term ethnographic studies of Islamic education and discourse in Zanzibar with a new reinterpretation of Geertz's definition of religion based on cognitive-evolutionary studies. He suggests that the original Geertzian definition tended to produce a meta-separation of the emotional and cognitive. Parkin asserts that acquiring a world religion such as Islam involves the formal inculcation of unquestioned assertions along with both unconscious cognitive and affective processes. He notes that learning religion (or science) involves an inner epistemological struggle that usually entails doubt, uncertainty, and ambivalence. Parkin has focused on how endless interpretations through contests between Wahabi and Sufi-based forms of Islam, along with serendipitous events influence religious learning. He concludes his essay with reference to how Wahabi and Sufi and animistic notions coincide with Harvey Whitehouse's distinctions between doctrinal and imagistic modes of religiosity.

Michael Lambek's essay draws on both analytic and existentialist philosophical traditions to understand religious learning for spirit mediums of Malagasy. He begins with Austin's category of illocutionary speech acts such as prayers, or sacrificial or purification rituals that can induce a new state of affairs. Lambek indicates that these rites become embodied within the individual and are radically different from theatrical performances. He is critical of the new cognitive and epidemiological studies and comments on how both Rappaport's and Geertz's critique of private language also applies to dubious theories of mind. Through a case study of a particular spirit medium in Malagasy, he emphasizes how collective rituals and interpersonal social relationships trump the vagaries of belief and scepticism to produce a serious practitioner.

Three of the essays reconstruct Lévy-Bruhl to illuminate how inner subjectivity is transformed through religious participation. Tanya Luhrmann relies on both texts and practices to investigate the strategies that evangelical Christians use for experiencing the divine directly. She features testimonials about how individuals discern whether their divine contacts are authentic. Luhrmann notes how individuals transform their inner subjectivity through both literacy and social processes. Marcio Goldman's essay draws on his ethnographic research on the Candomblé beliefs and practices in Brazil. He reflects on his own theoretical movement from a Durkheimian structural position to a post-hermeneutic, "musical" understanding of Candomblé. João Vasconcelos does ethnographic research on the Christian Rationalist movement in the Cape Verde Islands. He demonstrates how the Christian Rationalist movement provides both meaning and moral sustenance for literate middle-class women who face life crises. Vasconcelos has become like Goldman much more "musical" in his approach to religion.

Aurora Donzelli, a linguistic anthropologist, has been assessing the global encounter of Dutch Calvinist missionaries and the process of conversion among the Toraja highlanders of Indonesia. As Toraja religious lead-