

lution as well as detailed reading and screening suggestions). Finally, the book also points to <lissagraphicnovel.com>, the website surrounding the experiment, with additional information and a behind the scenes documentary: “The making of Lissa.”

While a cynic might argue that the extensive material complementing the comic works against the genre of graphic novels by over-controlling the meaning of the story ultimately undermines the very idea of drawings, comics, and ethnofiction as alternative means of representation, I find the chosen format overall convincing.

It is before anything inspiring teaching material. The combination of the ethno-graphic fiction together with transparent, accessible discussions on the research and the manifold reasons that shaped the construction of the graphic novel offer students multiple entry points to familiarize themselves with the realities of anthropology in the making.

For the same reason, it shows graphic anthropologists a way forward and facilitates other scholars to read and appreciate comics and drawings as potential ethnographic material. Ethnographic novels – all graphic novels really – offer multiple, often implicit layers of meaning. A reader can, for example, look at what is happening within a panel, look at the drawing style or the shape of a panel and how they inform the meaning, pay attention to how two panels form a dialogue or even take a step back to appreciate the general composition of a page or a two-page spread. This can be challenging at first, which makes the appendixes most useful, as anthropologists still need to learn how to expand their analysis skills in order to work with graphics and less linear narratives.

Sometimes the transitions from one page to another can be hard to follow and the more symbolically packed two-page spreads difficult to decipher. But I consider the articulation of images + texts in “Lissa” to allow for a rich narrative that brings an eclectic amount of testimonies (slogans, soundscapes, graffiti, memoirs, scientific papers, etc.) into a dialogue that reflects on the complexities of medical care and human societies today. A dialogue that forcefully shows how simple graphics can convey complex ideas and emotions, from loss to pain, feeling of isolation or gender roles and social ruptures at play in medicine and social movements.

“Lissa” ingeniously shows why visual and graphic anthropology matter. Visuals endorse many important roles in Anna’s and Layla’s own lives: photographs alternatively serve as therapeutic practice, to support the remembrance of the deads in and after the revolution, or to stage state propaganda. In this regard, I really enjoyed the opposition between the first and the last page of the comic. Opening on the concentrated power of a single man, Hosni Mubarak, whose campaign posters flood Cairo, the story ends with the two friends perusing the alleys of a new Cairo, marked by revolutionary graffiti that one after the other lead to Ganzeer’s final composition. Integrating the work of many other artists and revolutionaries, the mural shows the powerful resistance

that otherwise silenced voices can oppose to dictatorship when brought to work together. Just like the mural and with the same sense of polyphonic ethics the book really shows how visuals and form are all but neutral.

For all these reasons, I am convinced that “Lissa” announces a promising and successful series. One that, as George E. Marcus rightly foresees, could speak to a great variety of audiences thanks to the tremendous number of agents drawn in the collaborative making process.

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**Heintze, Beatrix:** Ein preußischer Major im Herzen Afrikas. Alexander v. Mechow's Expeditionstagebuch (1880–1881) und sein Projekt einer ersten deutschen Kolonie. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2018. 357 pp. ISBN 978-3-496-01604-5. (Studien zur Kulturkunde, 133). Preis: € 49,00

Twenty years ago most anthropologists and historians of Africa still considered it necessary to distance themselves from those who wrote about colonial history or the history of exploration – disciplines which were considered by nature Eurocentric. One of the first books to break with this tradition was Johannes Fabian’s “Out of Our Minds. Reason and Madness in the Exploration of Central Africa” (2000), which appeared in German a year later under the title “Im Tropenfieber” and was based on lectures held at the Frobenius-Institut in Frankfurt am Main. Now a former member of that institute, Beatrix Heintze, has taken things a step further, devoting a weighty book and a thousand pages online to the account of a single expedition by a Prussian military officer who explored part of what is today northern Angola. She combines the approaches of conventional and digital source editions.

Von Mechow’s expedition of 1878–81, financed by the German government, had the purpose of mapping the Kwango, one of the tributaries of the Congo River, in order to make part of central Africa accessible to steamships – a project actually realised by H. M. Stanley soon afterwards. Apart from a detailed map (usefully reproduced in the online supplement) and a lecture on his explorations, von Mechow published nothing. But he left to posterity a manuscript diary, often scarcely legible, of which a 685-page transcription is included with copious annotation in Heintze’s online supplement. He also spent much time collecting hitherto unknown botanical and zoological specimens: the appendixes list in detail 28 animals (mainly insects) and more than 50 plants named after him. In addition, as a participant in what has been called “the scramble for art in Central Africa,” von Mechow acquired 31 local (ethnographic, ethnological) artefacts, mainly from the Yaka area, where he cultivated a good relationship with the Lunda ruler there, Putu Kasongo. Heintze also draws upon various letters, as well as more than 800 pages of other relevant archival documents, 33 of which she reproduces. Through the device of a set of “historical pre-

views” and “historical retrospectives” she is able to move forwards and backwards in time, linking developments in Central Africa with those on the African coast and in Europe.

The text certainly says much more about Europeans and their desire to “penetrate” the veiled “dark continent” than about Africans. Moreover, von Mechow was by no means free from racist prejudices. Yet what he wrote about African commerce, politics, and everyday life is important, not least because no earlier written sources for this region exist. Moreover, here we encounter someone whose vision of a future German colony in Central Africa, imbued with the colonial enthusiasm of his day, turned out to be pie in the sky – making this book a welcome antidote to most of the grand narratives on exploration and colonisation (including postcolonial ones), which tend to focus on the success stories. We learn a great deal about African “domestic” slavery, the struggle of porters for better working conditions, poison ordeals, indigenous geographical knowledge (or the perceived lack of it), the diplomatic significance of gifts (including gifts of women), local warfare, as well as about Putu Kasongo’s monopolies of cattle and of long-distance trade between the area east of the Kwango and the Atlantic Ocean.

Heintze’s work offers everything one could possibly require of a scholarly edition. Her 246-page introduction, supported by 800 detailed footnotes, exhaustively covers the different periods of von Mechow’s life, giving priority to his expedition of 1878–81 but also discussing his role in the better-known Loango expedition of 1874–76. The meticulous transcription of his expeditionary journal, enhanced by a further 1,200 footnotes, is likewise invaluable. The whole publication is a *tour de force*.

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**Hickel, Jason, and Naomi Haynes** (eds.): *Hierarchy and Value. Comparative Perspectives on Moral Order*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2018. 157 pp. ISBN 978-1-78533-996-7. Price: \$ 95.00

As the editors write in their “Introduction,” this volume, based on a special issue of *Social Analysis* from 2016, investigates something that strikes many anthropologists as anomalous. That is, people who live fairly content in hierarchical systems, analysed most famously in something else that concerns the volume, Louis Dumont’s model of hierarchy in India. The substantive chapters, then, are concerned with hierarchy and the values associated with it, both to illuminate and raise questions about Dumont’s work.

The first of those chapters is by Signe Howell, who describes two value systems among the Lio of Indonesia, the hierarchical *adat* (custom) and the fairly egalitarian Catholicism, which is attempting to subordinate *adat* by treating it as colourful folk custom. At least so far, however, Catholic egalitarianism is primary only in

the restricted sphere of religious activities such as church services, while *adat* is primary in most of the rest of life, and especially in the clan activities that are central to the maintenance of the cosmological order.

The next chapter, Diego Maria Malara and Tom Boylston’s description of Ethiopian Orthodox Christians, is concerned not with the co-existence of value structures but with how people’s practical relationship with a hierarchical structure of values and social relations can modify the effects of that structure. The chapter presents three aspects of that practical relationship. One is the obligation of superiors to support obedient subordinates, modelled on the image of mother love. Another is the existence of mediators who can speak to the powerful on behalf of the subordinate. The third, appropriate when the dominant person is powerful but does not behave properly, is to submit publicly but in practice to ignore what the powerful person wants.

The next chapter, by Frederick H. Damon, draws on settings ranging from the Trobriands through the American South after the Civil War to modern government policies, to make the argument that creating value requires destruction of some sort. This can be giving away a *kula* valuable, as it can be the public lynching of a Black in Texas and massive government spending on real or rhetorical wars. This, Damon says, reverses Dumont’s position: the moral and ritual order do not stand apart from and govern social practice. Rather, the social practice of destruction generates that order.

In the next chapter, Stephan Feuchtwang argues that Dumont was wrong to treat India as the ideal case of hierarchy, rather than as only one sort of hierarchy. He does so using Mauss’s idea of civilisation, defined by a body of collective representations and practices that usually is hierarchical. Against Dumont, Feuchtwang says that civilisation’s constituent social units can differ and have more than one moral-evaluative frame, and routinely they contain the basis of an internal critique of the civilisation’s hierarchy and, indeed, of the civilisation itself. Feuchtwang illustrates his case in terms of the history of Chinese civilisation.

In the following chapter, Arsalan Khan describes the hierarchical worldview of Tablighi Jamaat, an Islamic revivalist movement in Pakistan. A key part of Tablighi practice is several months devoted to *dawat*, speaking to people face-to-face, and urging them to good Islamic practice. The practices of *dawat* and other areas of Tablighi life are taken to reflect and produce piety, and do so in terms of hierarchies that Khan describes. The Tablighi set themselves against Islamists, concerned with efficacy rather than what they see as Tablighi fixation on form and reliance on Allah to bring about an Islamic society. For the Tablighi, Islamists turn people into undisciplined folk who ignore their place in the hierarchical order and the duties appropriate to it.

The final substantive chapter, by Olaf H. Smedal, describes the Ngadha in Indonesia. They are organised in terms of kin-based Houses and are divided into commoners and a small set of nobles who seem to have no