

Behavior. Class Race and Culture. New York 1988). Oddly, Hannerz did not discuss formal schooling for the youngsters on Winston Street.

A key impediment to social mobility is black students' fear of "acting white" as described by Signithia Fordham and John Ogbu, "Black Students' School Success: Coping with the Burden of 'Acting White'" (*The Urban Review* 1986). Among African Americans the high school dropout rate is now somewhere between 50 and 60 percent. Roland G. Fryer, in "'Acting White': The Social Price Paid by the Best and Brightest Minority Students" (*Education Next* Winter 2006), reported his research on a set of social interactions in which minority adolescents who get good grades in school enjoy less social popularity than white students who do well academically. Some black adolescents ridicule their minority peers for engaging in behaviors perceived to be characteristic of Whites, such as speaking standard English, getting good grades, enrolling in an Advanced Placement or honors class, and wearing clothes from specific stores. Fryer found that the ways schools are structured affect the incidence of the harm of "acting white." It is most prevalent in racially integrated public schools and less so in the private sector and in predominantly black public schools. Fryer refers to the phenomenon that Hannerz had noted on Winston Street more than three decades ago: social groups seek to preserve their identity in situations that threaten it. If the group risks losing its most successful members to outsiders, then the group will seek to prevent the outflow.

In a 2004 address before Jesse Jackson's 33rd Annual Rainbow/PUSH Coalition conference, Bob Cosby, prominent black comedian and actor, created a hullabaloo in the black community when he blamed Blacks for their own problems given the opportunities that have opened to them – schools and businesses promoting cultural diversity and set asides for minorities. He pleaded with Blacks to stop blaming the "White man" for their problems and harshly criticized the current state of African-American culture. He said, "What are they [Whites] doing or trying to do to us that their grandfathers didn't try to do to us? But what is different is what we are doing to ourselves."

Cosby ridiculed the poor grammar of some blacks: "'Why you ain't,' 'Where you is' ... and I blamed the kid until I heard the mother talk." Cosby hinted that social welfare programs may be having unintended consequences for African-Americans. To black people who say Cosby is exposing the "dirty laundry" of the black community, he said, "Your dirty laundry gets out of school at 2:30 every day. It's cursing and calling each other 'nigger' as they're walking up and down the street. They think they hip – can't read, can't write – 50 percent of them." Cosby stressed the importance of education and proper parenting. "Eight-year-old, nine-year-old boys have no business teaming up to rape a nine-year or ten-year-old girl." And he said if such behavior is in the media, parents should keep it out of the home. "Before you get to the point where you say,

'I can't do nothing with them,' I am just saying, 'Do something with them' ... your children have to know where you came from ... about those people hanging [during the civil rights struggles] and how when they did hang them on a Sunday, the theme song was 'Amazing Grace.'" He condemned "the analgesic of cursing and profanity and standing around and just letting the day go by." He berated men for beating up their women because they didn't get an education and find a job.

Cosby's diagnostic comments dovetail with those of Hannerz. Both commentators see lost opportunities, but although Cosby points to black parent and community responsibility, neither commentator offers a practical intervention for positive change. For that, we must look elsewhere.

Judith Lynne Hanna

Hayden, Brian: *Shamans, Sorcerers, and Saints. A Prehistory of Religion.* Washington: Smithsonian Books, 2003. 468 pp. ISBN 1-58834-168-2. Price: \$60.00

Brian Hayden, professor of archaeology at Simon Fraser University, has chosen an ambitious subtitle for his recent book. One might think it a grand boast to attempt a prehistory of religion on a global scale from the Palaeolithic to the present, but on closer inspection the volume emerges as something attended by still greater risk. As finally revealed in the author's words from his closing chapter, "one of the main goals of this book is to help readers understand what religion is and how to use it for their own personal benefit and growth" (410). The resulting juxtaposition of academic enquiry and spiritual journey makes for an uneasy ride, bringing us an idiosyncratic work that is quite excellent in parts, frustrating in others, often rather brave and at times merely peculiar.

The architecture of the book is impressive in its scope. Over the course of more than 400 pages and 13 chapters of extremely dense text (my guess is 8-point type), Hayden takes us from the origins of our species to the twenty-first century. The book moves through the familiarly enigmatic material from the Lower Palaeolithic to the painted caves of Europe, developing a feel for the spiritual expression of hunter-gatherers on the way. The transformations of the Neolithic are dealt with in some depth, and then the author travels swiftly past the Celtic and Germanic cultures to the early empires of the West, before arriving at our own time via a detour through the Judeo-Christian complex.

This work tries to occupy a big room. With such a vast coverage there are inevitable problems of source critique and general rather than specialist knowledge. By the same token a volume of this kind is hard to summarise, so we will be forced here to look at the larger picture and then to delve into selected portions of the discussion.

Hayden's central thesis is that the spiritual experiences of the world can be divided into "book" religions and "traditional" religions, equating respectively to state-based control systems and frequently ecstatic interpersonal networks of indigenous knowledge (though

this is to treat his arguments with unfair brevity). The book focuses decisively on the traditional religions, especially in their ecological setting, and here shamanism is a recurring theme, as one might expect. On this huge canvas, Hayden argues for a gradually developing emphasis on shamanism throughout the Palaeolithic, with an important role played by rites centring on animals. This is combined with an increasing element of social hierarchy in religious expression, and the rise of fertility rituals with the transition to a predominantly agricultural economy. With a special emphasis on what he sees as a kind of Indo-European mind-set, from the Bronze Age and Iron Age onwards Hayden argues for the slow usurpation of sacral power by elites and the growth of secular control over spiritual affairs that ultimately culminates in the world faiths of the last two thousand years.

I think it has to be said that little of this is new. One must ask, for example, how different these ideas really are from the classic “hunting magic” hypothesis for Palaeolithic parietal art, and even the vegetation cults so beloved of Frazer, mixed in with the Great Goddess and perhaps a little Jean Auel. The Eurocentric rise of the elites similarly mirrors the popular idea of state religion as a kind of fall from a primal earthly paradise. In the light of all this one also wonders what the book offers to its apparent target audience that a classic popular science work such as Campbell’s “The Way of the Animal Powers” (San Francisco 1983) does not. Campbell’s publication is even more profusely illustrated, and indeed several of its images have been borrowed by Hayden who also quotes him frequently.

This is perhaps unkind but there are more serious faults. Not the least of these is the curious geographical bias that becomes more apparent the later we move in time. There is a clear emphasis on Europe from the Neolithic onwards, Africa is largely absent once we have got past the “dawn of humankind,” while Meso America and South America hardly get a look in.

Perhaps the most worrying, and also disappointing, aspect of the book is its preference for monolithic explanations. Thus, we see the “development” of religion in a clear sequence, reminiscent of the evolutionary theory currently enjoying a revival. Ironically, this is to obscure the very variety, the fascinating inconsistency that characterises many of the “traditional” spiritualities that Hayden pursues. Although making it admirably clear that he has an open mind on spiritual matters and their verity, at the same time the author seems unaware of just how complicated it is to write of “a real supernatural insight” (42) in a book of this kind without delving deeper into exactly what he means. Hayden in fact offers surprisingly little real definition of the “religion” for which he claims to provide a prehistory, despite a wealth of recent work in this area. At the same time in his presentation of ecstatic cults and shamanism he curiously tries to impose structure on that which is anything but orthodox (at least at the generalising level at which the book operates, despite the variation noted in his chapter 5).

Eclectic data selection has also clearly been a problem, and we find some omissions that go beyond mere carping – for no work of this kind could hope to be truly comprehensive – to enter the realm of worrying oversight. Given the vitriol that the debate has attracted, I suppose it is almost refreshing to see the archaeology of shamanism discussed with hardly any reference to the recent discussions on rock art, but here it feels more a case of ignorance or haste rather than choice.

Despite this, the breadth of Hayden’s research, and evidently also his travels, is remarkable. The book does present a coherent argument, illustrated with as wide a range of crosscultural examples as I have come across, pitched at a level that will appeal to a broad readership. The book also tries to define the concept of the “sacred” in universal terms of access, applicable equally to your favourite poem or to the revealed God. This is a brave move, and one that is I think to be applauded, though it perhaps owes more to the postprocessualist canon than the author acknowledges.

This brings me to the central contradiction of the book mentioned above, which proves to be simultaneously its greatest strength and weakness. Although much of the volume indeed attempts to set out a prehistory of religion, there is a world of difference between this and seeking to guide an audience into spiritual engagement. One might ask whether the two objectives are remotely compatible, a question thrown into stark focus by a simple comparison of the opening and concluding chapters. Early in the book, Hayden examines the nature of traditional religions and hunter-gatherer beliefs, with impressive archaeological detail; his final chapter includes a guide to evaluating modern cults should you be considering joining one (408 f.).

This rather queasy balance persists throughout the book and takes on a further, autobiographical tone. Thus, we are repeatedly offered a distinctly partial blend of other scholars’ explanations for religious or spiritual phenomena such as shamanism, to be finally presented with the author’s own views in the form of “but it seems to me that.” Repetitions jar on the eye, as we are constantly told how “I found that [when visiting sacred place X or traditional culture Y]” and that “in my estimation [having been confronted with belief system Z].” The cumulative effect is remarkably like the earnest persuasion of a true believer, for whom information related from personal experience is the only basis for genuine communication. In some sense this is a method to respect, and our literature might benefit from more scholars willing to put as much of themselves in their work as Brian Hayden has done. However, the technique is not new and has been brought off better before on all sides of the theoretical debate – Binford, Hodder, and Tilley being obvious examples.

There are numerous curiosities, some of which imply rather unusual perspectives on the part of the author. Thus, the Bronze Age figure carved into the chalk of White Horse Hill at Uffington in southern England is described as the work of “Indo-Europeans” (299), which is rather like saying that the Aztecs were anatomically

modern humans – undoubtedly true but an odd thing to mention. The book is also dotted with text boxes that take us on small but strangely haphazard digressions, often fascinating and sometimes puzzling. There is an emphasis on playful experimentation that may not be to everyone's taste but which does not feel misplaced in this context – one example is the short essay on how to talk to trees (55 ff.; the upshot is apparently that you give them some fertilizer and then lie underneath them for half an hour, relaxing your mind and “looking up at the three dimensional fractal mandala created by the interarching branches”).

So, a prehistory of religion? Undoubtedly, of sorts, but a highly individual one. In focussing on some of its oddities in the latter part of this review, I may have given the impression that this is a fringe book of some kind, on the cusp of New Age wisdom. It is not. Brian Hayden has written a serious meditation on the nature of human spirituality, including his own, reflecting on the immense time-depth of past lives and their aspirations. At the heart of the work is the way in which these are held in tension with what are almost certainly similar needs today, finding expression in what is often perceived as social anachronism. Does the book succeed? On its own terms, yes, I suspect it does, though the author's frame of reference might be a long way from that of the “average” archaeologist of religion, if such a thing exists. The only works that come close to it in terms of combined personal revelation and intellectual enquiry are probably Tim Taylor's “The Buried Soul” (London 2002) and Julian Cope's “The Modern Antiquarian” (London 1998), very different though they are from each other. Like those volumes this is a book that should be read by everyone professionally concerned with the ancient mind. Often provocative, always stimulating, this work is an intelligent challenge and all the more interesting for that.

The book is impeccably produced and superbly illustrated as one would expect from the Smithsonian, and is reasonably priced given its length and quality.

Neil S. Price

Henare, Amiria J.M.: Museums, Anthropology, and Imperial Exchange. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. 323 pp. ISBN 0-521-83591-7. Price: € 48.00

Die bewusst etwas verzerrte Karte am Beginn des Buches stellt visuell das Thema dieser Arbeit vor: Schottland und Neuseeland rahmen ein verkleinertes Europa/Afrika/Asien ein. Henare stellt die Verbindungen zwischen diesen so entlegenen Gegenden im Laufe der letzten vier Jahrhunderte her, entwirft eine umfassende historische Ethnographie, gleichzeitig aber auch eine Geschichte der ethnographischen Museen in beiden Ländern. Ihr besonderes Augenmerk ist dabei auf die Betrachtung der Objekte gerichtet. Sie gibt wesentliche neue Ansätze des Diskurses über Objekte in den Museen heute, so dass ihr Buch weit über den Kreis der an Neuseeland oder Ozeanien Interessierten eine Leser-

schaft finden wird. Für ihre Untersuchung hat sie über hundert Museen in beiden Regionen besucht. Das in neun Kapitel gegliederte Werk folgt einer chronologischen Ordnung, andererseits aber auch dem Weg der Auswanderung von Schottland nach Neuseeland, und ihre eigene Reise zurück nach Schottland zur Forschung an Maori-Gegenständen in dortigen Museen ist als Teil dieses Beziehungsnetzes zu sehen. Zusammen mit Maureen Lander, einer der bekanntesten zeitgenössischen Maori-Künstlerinnen, die u. a. wunderbare filigrane Installationen mit Fasern geschaffen hat, besuchte sie in den genannten Gebieten die Museen und untersuchte Textilien und ihre Geschichte. Lander hat sie auch in die Technik der Fadenspiele eingeführt, ebenso wie Hinemoa Harrison in die Technik der Maori-“Weberei”. Obgleich sie es nicht so bezeichnet, ist es die Methode der so oft geübten Teilnehmenden Beobachtung, die jedoch bei Henare einen anderen Stellenwert erhält. So wird “thinking through things” ein methodischer Aspekt des roten Fadens durch ihre historische Ethnographie und nicht allein das Reden über die Dinge. Ein anderes Grundmotiv ihrer Arbeit bildet die Gegenüberstellung von Objekt und Text, gleichsam zwei Pole, zwischen denen die Fragestellungen, Untersuchungen, Sammlungen und Ausstellungen positioniert sind.

Ein nicht nur formales Element ihrer Textgestaltung sind die sehr persönlichen Erlebnisberichte, die anfangs etwas irritierend wirken, aber bei fortschreitendem Lesen immer mehr ihren Sinn verdeutlichen und sicher mehr sind als nur eine Anlehnung an postmoderne Moden. In diesen Berichten werden die persönlichen Beziehungen zu Gegenständen verdeutlicht, und damit wird das dritte große Thema des Werkes angesprochen, Tausch oder auch Gabe von Gegenständen zwischen Maori, Entdeckern, Sammlern, Auswanderern und Museen. Eine zentrale Rolle bilden darin die Ausführungen von Marcel Mauss zur Gabe, die teilweise ja auf Ethnographien über den Gabentausch bei Maori aufbauen. Die Forschungsarbeit an den Objekten verbindet nach Henare auf ähnliche Weise eine Reihe von Personen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. Unter Maori heute wird diese Behandlung der Gegenstände oft mit dem Ausdruck “to keep them warm” (gemeint die Objekte) belegt, eine Formulierung, die ebenfalls anfangs irritiert, aber zu weiterem Nachdenken anregt.

Henare beginnt ihre Darstellung mit den Reisen und der Sammeltätigkeit von James Cook und seinen Leuten in Neuseeland, wobei sie keine neuen Inhalte beibringt, insgesamt betont sie zu sehr die Bedeutung der Gegenstände (*artefacts*) in diesen frühen Kontakten, waren es doch anfangs vor allem Wasser und Nahrung, die von den Europäern verlangt wurden. Auch die anschließende kurze Übersicht der Verteilung der Cook-Sammlungen vor allem in Großbritannien gibt keine neuen Gesichtspunkte. Erst im dritten Kapitel beginnt das Beziehungsnetz Schottland/Neuseeland dichter geflochten zu werden: Es ist hier vor allem Sir Joseph Banks, berühmt geworden durch seine Teilnahme an der ersten Reise von Cook, den Henare mit seinen anschließenden Schottland-Reisen beschreibt und hier das Motiv ei-