

gest, because they are imbricated in a wide network of Daoist monastics and temples as well as within the local lay community. These monastics pursue two seemingly contradictory tasks: self-cultivation and providing ritual service to the lay community (not only chanting scriptures during exorcistic rites but also doing divinatory and *fengshui* consultations). But we were told that actually ritual service provision also contributes to deepening one's self-cultivational pursuits, not least because the more one chants the scriptures the better one understands their deeper meanings. So the monastics are both monks and priests. And one does not need to become a monastic in order to "pursue the Dao." Some of the local lay devotees (lay adepts) are extremely dedicated to Daoist learning. For example, a certain devotee Zhu not only was once a leader in the local Daoist association but has a personal set of the gigantic Daoist Canon at home, while the Wengong Temple itself does not even have a set (109).

The book is at once a social history of the Wengong Temple, the evolution of the cult of Han Yu (the main deity enshrined in the temple), and Daoist networks in the Hanzhong region; an ethnography of monastic life; a social analysis of the complex relationships between the temple and the locality, the monastics and the lay community and the state (the Daoist Association and the Religious Affairs Bureau); and a symbolic analysis of the process of becoming a monastic as a rite of passage, monastic ritual kinship, and the monastics' self-cultivational pursuits. Different parts of the book will appeal to anthropologists, comparativists, and scholars in Chinese history and religious studies. A short review such as this one will obviously not do justice to the scope and depth of Herrou's study. I will only briefly highlight two areas where this book's findings have made important contributions to anthropology: ritual kinship and gender identity.

The Chinese kinship system is known for its strong pronatalist and patrilineal principles. Not forming a family and not having male progeny are regarded as the worst of unfilial acts, hence the early struggle of the Buddhist *sangha* to get accepted by Chinese society. But Buddhist monasticism did take root in Chinese society, and its Daoist equivalent the Quanzhen Order flourished as well, in time becoming the most dominant Daoist order and with a national network of monasteries. Herrou explicates in detail the ways in which the Quanzhen monastics created a parallel ritual kinship system based on the transmission of esoteric knowledge, communal living, and ties between monasteries. This ritual kinship network turns out to be much more extensive (temporally as well as geographically), and most probably much more rewarding, than the consanguineous and affinal kinship network that a person leaves behind (people in this part of China rarely belong to large lineages). Though not able to pay respect to his ancestors when alive or become an ancestor himself when dead, a monastic dead or alive nevertheless always has a place in his or her own lineage of transmission in the Quanzhen Order. Some of the monastics travel widely, always expecting to be hosted by other temples in a system of reciprocity in the big Daoist "family." In fact,

the Daoist monastics even become "brothers" with the Buddhist monastics.

Mixed-sex monastic living is a new phenomenon, not found in traditional China. How do the monastics reconcile celibate ascetic life with mixed-sex communal living? Though the Wengong Temple monastics live in a ritual kinship world without mothers, wives, or daughters – they address one another purely in male terms – they nonetheless wear unisex robes, behave in non-gender-specific ways, and most importantly, strive to transcend ordinary gender identity altogether so as to achieve a genderless "oneness" with Dao.

An anthropology of an elite, literate institution such as the Quanzhen Daoist Order in a highly sophisticated literate society such as China is particularly challenging. Firstly, one is required to have not only the keen observational and interview skills of an ethnographer but also a high level of sinological and Daoist Studies training to make relevant and often difficult textual evidence to bear upon the ethnographic data. Secondly, because the subjects of inquiry, i.e., the monastic clerics, are often the very producers of sophisticated texts or are at least eager reproducers of such texts (sometimes equally eloquent orally), the ethnographer would inevitably be pulled towards (or seduced by?) the literate and often mystifying end of what might be called a "practice-discourse spectrum" at the expense of more humble and less "discursible" details of daily practice. In Herrou's study one discerns the sinologist and Daoist scholar in her competing with the ethnographer in her to dominate the descriptive and analytical space. For example, often the Wengong Temple monastics are used to illustrate and exemplify an idealized and normative Quanzhen Daoist monastic lifestyle, all the while a systematic and scholarly Daoist apparatus is mobilized to interpret the Wengong monastics' practices. As a result the theories of the most sophisticated and articulate informants, Daoist masters (dead and alive), and Western Daoist Studies scholars tend to dominate in Herrou's interpretation of Daoist practices. Yet Daoist esoterics is only half of the story. Herrou is too good an ethnographer to let the social world of her informants be obscured by symbolic constructs. This is an important book that deserves a wide readership.

Adam Chau

Heusch, Luc de : La transe et ses entours. La sorcellerie, l'amour fou, saint Jean de la Croix, etc. Bruxelles : Éditions Complexe, 2006. 241 pp. ISBN 2-8048-0059-8. Prix : € 24.90

Pour s'engager dans ce débat de haute volée, Luc de Heusch ne craint pas de dépasser les frontières arbitraires entre disciplines et de transgresser les interdits académiques. "Cette entreprise de braconnage" (220), l'auteur la mène admirablement en confrontant des notions rarement considérées comme voisines : transe, charisme, sorcellerie, amour fou, possession, chamanisme, extase. L'anthropologue belge moissonne aussi bien dans les champs de l'art lyrique et de la danse que dans l'histoire des religions, dans la psychologie analytique ou dans la

sociologie politique. Je cueille des titres et sous-titres au hasard : Charisme, séduction et domination. Du médiumnisme au prophétisme. Possédés somnambules et chamanes hallucinés. Le soufisme, la transe et l'extase... Ici, la *mania* grecque ou *Tristan et Yseult* sont évoqués, là, Gilbert Rouget est convoqué ou Denis de Rougemont contesté. De notre enchantement final par le verbe de l'auteur, celui-ci restaurant l'amour comme objet anthropologique, le ton est donné dès la première de couverture par la Thérèse d'Avila du Bernin transfigurée par l'étreinte de son Dieu.

Que le thème et les démonstrations aient été longuement mûris, j'en citerai pour preuve ce que je lisais du même auteur sur les religions africaines après la publication du Colloque de Bouaké en 1962 (Paris 1965) : "Le chamanisme comme la possession sont deux modes d'approche du sacré par le moyen de techniques corporelles plus ou moins violentes, débouchant parfois sur l'extase... La religion ici (en milieu africain et afroaméricain) est un théâtre dansé, une explosion dramatique, une exubérance dionysiaque, une allégresse physique" (In : Les religions africaines traditionnelles. Paris 1964 : 140). Et Leiris, Bouteiller, Rouch, Eliade d'être les références de l'époque sur l'adorcisme (retour de l'âme dans le chamanisme, injection d'une âme nouvelle dans la possession) et sur l'exorcisme (extraction d'une présence étrangère à soi dans le chamanisme, extraction d'une âme étrangère à soi dans la possession) (p. 148). Depuis cette époque, les études sur le chamanisme se sont multipliées (Hamayon, Assayag, Vazeilles); Vidal a revisité "Les possédés de Loudun" et les relations entre "La musique et la transe" (Rouget) ont eu quelque écho pour interpréter les frénésies des discothèques ou des techno-drogés, tout autant que les exhibitions de quelque leader charismatique en religion ou en politique.

Lever de rideau sur un théâtre dansé, avec rythmique du corps, parler-chanter suscitant l'émotion. Si la transe est codée par la culture avec une part de jeu, l'extase des mystiques paraît plus individualiste et vue comme frôlant souvent l'hérésie. Dans la transe identificatoire africaine, la possession initiale est plutôt signe d'élection et l'adepte se sent comme passive monture de son dieu; dans les mondes asiatiques et américains, le chaman se met en transe en tambourinant pour affronter ses dieux et maîtriser les esprits de la nature dans l'univers mythique. Rarement est absente la visée thérapeutique avec prise en charge d'un esprit pathogène comme le prouvent des exemples pris en Afrique centrale. Protégé par son dieu, le possédé fait souvent office de médium et son message interprété vaut comme acte de divination sinon de prophétisme. Ainsi Moïse, transi dans les hauteurs du Sinaï, envoyé de Yahvé et thaumaturge, fait-il une nation d'un peuple de pauvres hères. D'un débat avec Bastide et Rouget se dégage l'opinion selon laquelle "les idéologies qui entourent les diverses manifestations de la transe et de l'extase, composent un continuum structural dans un champ marqué par les pôles opposés du chamanisme et de la possession" (46). On se doute bien que la fidélité de l'auteur au structuralisme de Lévi-Strauss ne cesse de s'exprimer, même si l'on n'a pas grand chose à faire des

règles de l'échange matrimonial, sauf à dire avec Roberte Hamayon que le chaman est "preneur d'épouses dans la surnature" alors que "dans la possession, l'humanité serait *donneuse* d'épouses aux esprits" (60). Grand Dieu que d'infidélités chez les "infidèles"!

A croire hystériques les possédés ! A moins qu'ils ne psychomatisent ! Névrose ou hypnose ? Qui le sait, même si Chertok et Freud viennent à la rescousse ? Cependant l'hypnose semble à l'auteur plus proche de la possession que du chamanisme. Que le culte haïtien manifeste une tendresse matrifocale, que le *rab* wolof implique maternage du malade, ne signifie pas une érotisation de la possession. De même en ce qui concerne la transe du chaman, auto-induite par le jeûne, le tambour ou les hallucinogènes.

Autre terre d'une autre extase : l'Espagne de Jean de la Croix et de Thérèse d'Avila qui comblent la distance ressentie des vieux Sémites entre le divin et l'humain. Vive flamme d'amour. Amnésie d'expérience. Ravissement dans le château de l'âme. Désir chamanique d'envol. On y joue de la métaphore autant que de la "béatitude", une possession réciproque selon Ruysbroeck l'Admirable. A l'inverse de G. Rouget, L. de Heusch n'exclut pas l'extase mystique du champ de la transe. Illumination et ésotérisme aussi dans le soufisme pris comme exemple du mysticisme musulman présent dans le chiisme comme chez les derviches de Konya ! Chez des romantiques comme Novalis ou Nerval, leur marche à l'étoile n'était que "quasi" chamanique. Quant à l'ecstasy des raveurs modernes, elle ne procure que de la transe sans dieu, de la possession sans amour (122). Avant Lévy-Bruhl le mot "mystique" avait déjà été bien galvaudé, d'où la nécessité de revenir longuement sur "les délices et les tourments de l'amour". Qu'est-ce que l'effusion mystique dans la poésie courtoise ? Pourquoi Hegel écarte-t-il de l'expérience amoureuse son trouble ? A quelles visions sont sujettes les béguines ? Quel voyage mystico-chamanique a tenté Dante ? Les réponses aux questions passent par le crible de la psychanalyse et par des développements inspirés à propos des Trobriandais de Malinowski et des Dii camerounais de Muller.

Si la mystique est empreinte d'idéologie chamanique, les fantasmes de la sorcellerie (vols nocturnes des âmes, dédoublements, dévoration, sabbats) sont interprétés par l'auteur comme un chamanisme en creux pour Afrique comme pour l'Europe. Charms ensorceleurs que ceux d'Orphée musiquant face aux gardiens de l'Hadès ! Apollon, lui, préside à la *mania* de la mantique et de la poésie. Des poètes et des philosophes nous disent les domaines respectifs d'Eros, d'Agapè et de Philia. Et l'anthropologue de finir en brassant la folie du führer, l'évu des Fang et deux pincées de baraka, pour dire comment une suggestion hypnotique joue dans le charisme, un charisme dont certaines roueries se sont appelées fascisme et populisme. Finie l'ère des mâles dominants ? Nos petits enfants verront resurgir d'autres Superman, Batman, Spiderman, pour se créer quelques transes.

L'auteur peut voir le soufisme comme mystique influencée par le chamanisme (59), il peut tenter d'insérer de la prohibition de l'inceste dans ses analyses ou bien

faire annexer ses thèmes par l'anthropologie de la communication (62) – qui doit finir par s'engouer, avec toutes ces religions en communication avec le surnaturel –, il s'agit la plupart du temps d'idées suggérées comme très éclairantes, même si les preuves sont rarement péremptives et si la fixation sur le chamanisme me paraît trop prégnante. Au total, voilà un brillant essai de confrontation de données et d'idées qui paraissent jusqu'alors cloisonnées. En embrassant une pensée si riche, si documentée, si suggestive, je finis par comprendre ce qu'il y a comme magie d'amour dans ma culture d'anthropologue.

Claude Rivière

Hobart, Angela, and Bruce Kapferer (eds.): *Aesthetics in Performance. Formations of Symbolic Construction and Experience*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2005. 239 pp. ISBN 1-57181-567-8. Price: \$ 60.00

"Aesthetics in Performance" is a formulation which seems to be very suitable as a title of the book encompassing a large gamut of contributions, fruit yielded during an international symposium that took place at Cross Cultural Centre Ascona in April 2001. The editors of the book, aware that the word "aesthetics" as well as the word "performance" can be understood in several different ways, give in the introduction a solid explanation to clarify these terms. Performance signifies for them an action or a practice which is understood by participants as performance. It is "a process that continually forms itself before reflection, engaging those embraced in its dynamic field to its constructive and experientially constitutive force" (1). It is a "nonreducible emergent phenomenon, a symbolic formation sui generis" (11). Aesthetic processes can only "achieve their distinctive character and potencies in their performative practice and the way they are made to appear to and through the senses" (11).

For the editors aesthetics is not only the domain of art. "Our use of the concept of aesthetics" – they note – "applies to created symbolic genres, or dynamic structures within which human experience, meaning, and value are constituted or emergent" (1). They recall the Kantian notion of sublime which is not limited to the art but extends to the general understanding of human being. Aesthetics binds the art with life. An aesthetic approach allows to discover the dynamic forces behind the human cultural and historical existence. After all, the living realities of a human being are already symbolic constructions within which all activities are oriented.

In this large frame of aesthetics in performance ten essays are inscribed, passing from a concern with life of art to a discussion of the art of life, according to the intention of the editors. They encompass different forms of human practice, from ritual as a performative enactment par excellence, through other aesthetic genres (poetics, music, and dancing), to the public events like carnival or remembrance day. In this way different performances can be seen from the perspective of their symbolic and aesthetic features.

The detailed review of each contribution would be su-

perfluous. In general, they present a high level of specialization and presuppose good knowledge of the discussed subjects. However, across the contributions one can trace the main thread of aesthetics in performance expressed through the senses and emotions.

The acoustic sensations are present in all discussed performances, especially in William O. Beeman's "Making Grown Men Weep" (23–42). The author argues that the opera singing is an excellent means of affective communication, better than spoken language, as well as chant or oratory. In regard of the affective effects opera singing can be easily compared with child weeping. The next contribution, that of David Shulman, "The Buzz of God and the Click of Delight" (43–63), assumes the passage from singing to reciting. It shows the interrelation between music and recitation of Indian poetry. Music as well as poetry has a similar interest in the physical production of sounds. Both – music and poetry – have the common fascination with the metaphysical side of sonic production. Furthermore, the repetition plays a very important role in preparation of singing and of reciting. These two essays concerning the vocal performances are joined by the third, that of Saskia Kersenboom's "Songs of Love, Images of Memory" (64–88), dealing with classical Indian songs of alapana, improvised melodies to be sung at the beginning of the raga performance without accompaniment. The alapana enables the exploration of feelings, moods, and motifs in Indian music.

Rohan Bastin's "The Hindu Temple and the Aesthetics of the Imaginary" (88–108) concerns the visual sensations related to the sacred space in Sri Lanka, with reference to the phenomenology of Mikel Dufrenne. Analyzing the Hindu temple, the author argues that the visitor of the temple is not only spectator but also devotee. The temple develops its status as sacred space through both design and rite, articulating the items of cosmogony and cosmological relations. The temple aesthetics fortifies the awareness of the presence of a deity.

Steven M. Friedson's "Where Divine Horsemen Ride" (109–128) is the only essay of the book concerning Africa. The author analyses the trance dancing of *gorovodu* of Ewe people from Ghana. He insists on the importance of dancing in Africa: "A danced ontology moves us out of an interiority that projects a vision of certainty, and into a world that calls the body to recognize itself in the contours of musical experience" (109). On the other hand, the trance in Africa is "a danced existence, a way of being-in-the-world in a musical way" (111). The music of the shrines which Friedson presents, forms a reality of shifting of centers, building the cross-rhythmic density of drums, bells, clapping sticks, and rattles. Similar to the crossroads, the cross-rhythms are sites of the liminal, where choices have to be made, where the other possibilities have to be open. The sensation of the interweaving of the world of gods and of humans is introduced through the constantly changing of rhythms.

Bruce Kapferer in "Sorcery and the Beautiful" (129–160) underlines that the efficacy of many rituals is founded in its aesthetics. He analyses the Sinhalese rites of healing, especially the Suniyama Performance, and