

of racism or nationalism? Is Islamophobia racism or religious intolerance?

The problem, according to Banton, is that despite this theoretical incoherence, people agree that racism is a moral evil, with roots in the politically toxic phenomena of colonialism, slavery, and Nazism, which needs to be addressed in politics and policy. Therefore, the political consensus at the emic level that racism is a problem drives the theoretical construction at an etic level of a field called race or race relations, which is then reified and gains institutional solidity. “Race” becomes something to be explained rather than a factor which may, alongside other factors, shape more general processes of human social interaction. (The same kind of argument applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to ethnicity.)

One has to agree with Banton that the field of race studies is incoherent: definitions of its boundaries are easy to pick holes in. Yet defining the problem of the field as “the social significance attributed to phenotypical differences among humans” is too broad. Social science needs to classify emic concepts about this into subcategories. Such etic classifications must be recognised as partial and permanently provisional and their usefulness assessed in terms of their theoretical power but also their political effects. Banton’s faith in the possibility of an entirely etic, analytic level, divorced from politics, policy, and the emic is misplaced and takes little account of the politics of knowledge production. The concepts he defines as etic – for example, reciprocity, relative deprivation, socio-economic status, social mobility (6) – are also rooted in a specific history and overlap with emic concepts. Indeed, the concept “phenotypical variation” is an excellent example of how a seemingly neutral, etic concept actually hides a specific history of emic meanings: as noted above, the phenotypical variations that get loaded with “racial” meanings are not just any physical differences, but ones that became significant in a history of European (and Arab) colonialism.

It makes sense not to reify race studies in ways that lead social scientists to separate out “race relations” as a specific kind of social relations, divorced from other relations. Banton is right to critique the way the peculiar US experience of race has shaped the field of race studies in ways that have encouraged such separation. But it also makes sense to identify a particular history of modes of thinking about human diversity, which culminated in the 19th and 20th centuries in a peculiar set of biological theories and in some peculiar social orders (e.g., the United States, South Africa), but which shaped large portions of the world in a powerful fashion. The roots and components of these kinds of racial thinking can be traced, as can their continued development and mutations. This does not add up to a theoretically watertight, etic, “culture-free” definition of a field, but rather depends on the idea of family resemblance between diverse forms of thought and action, which conjugate in varying ways aspects of physical appearance, internal essence, and behaviour; it also recognises that theory and politics are inevitably linked. The manner in which theorists trace resemblances has implications for politics and social policy. For exam-

ple, linking racial thinking to colonialism broadly conceived, rather than focusing primarily on slavery, while also emphasising that “race” is not just about meanings attributed to phenotype, implies including American indigenous peoples in the field of race studies, rather than locating them in the field of ethnicity.

Banton’s book is very thought-provoking: it made me think harder about the theoretical aspects of race and ethnicity than most books I have read recently on the topic. His willingness to challenge taken-for-granted theoretical stances is very bracing. There is also a lot of interesting information in this concise book, including material on the history of race and ethnicity studies that is highly relevant to understanding the field, but is often overlooked these days. His impressive mastery of the field gives readers a very informative and synthetic long and broad view, along with a coherent critique, which while it engages specialist academic also suits the book for an undergraduate audience. The critique is one that I sympathise with to some extent, but that I think is ultimately flawed.

Peter Wade

Bell, Joshua A., and Erin L. Hasinoff (eds.): *The Anthropology of Expeditions. Travel, Visualities, Afterlives.* New York: Bard Graduate Center, 2015. 286 pp. ISBN 978-1-941792-00-1. Price: \$ 65.00

This is an engaging collection of seven long essays, an introduction and afterword. Written by senior scholars, it provides a useful addition to the literature on a broad panoply of subjects including the motivations and methods behind assembling collections, their dispersals, institutionalisations and usages, and their digital re-mobilisation for empowering source communities. Kuklick raises some general questions around the organisation and purposes of expeditions within field sciences paying special attention to the way they established credibility through dispassionate, direct, and often singular observations. Their integrity, she insists, was further legitimated by their heroic and adventurous qualities. Through hardship and adversity, field studies were held to be character building and essential to the formation of the plausible witnesses through the heroic self-fashioning they demanded. Veracity and experience not only lead to rigorous and credible observation but also triggered the mental conditions necessary for empathic identification with foreign, often colonised, subjects. Kuklick acknowledges, like Bell and Turin, that, although seldom specified, many expeditions depended on pre-constituted networks and relationships that existed in colonial territories and I would add among national élites.

Although a number of contributors discuss ideals and motivations, Erik Mueggler’s article on Joseph Rock’s Expedition to Gansu focuses more acutely on the internal social relations and dynamics between expedition leaders and their members; in this case Rock’s Nazi bearers and preparators. Mueggler also discusses the mediation of gender categories and, in the expedition’s afterlife, the mobilisation of prestige. All these facets provide fascinating insights fundamental to the study of the cultures of expeditions. Mueggler’s reintroduction and application

of Simmel's 1911 essay "The Adventure" brilliantly contrasts ordinary life and its contrast to adventure with its predisposition to the search for a "higher unity" as an important component of the process of self-fashioning previously discussed.

Mark Elliott's article on the Cambridge sculptor, Marguerite Milward, is a more straightforward work to rescue the history of a prematurely forgotten collection of busts representing distinct racial types, made during her successive excursions to the Naga Hills. Dwelling on Milward's early life and training as an artist, he discloses the social relations she established to make the sculptures, but questions the criteria she adopted (beauty versus idealised racial typology) in her choice of subjects and consequently their adequacy in fulfilling their scientific purpose. Milward's travels did not follow the same vein as externally funded, highly organised or institutionally sponsored expeditions described by other contributors and it is regrettable that neither differences in mode, scale, or purpose of travel is adequately discussed.

Joshua A. Bell follows a different approach to uncovering what I suspect more generally is a paucity of documentation on the internal organisation, funding negotiations, social interactions, and workings of most expeditions. Instead of adopting an historical approach, Bell presents a detailed study of the ascription and loss of documentation and the uses and dispersion of the objects collected by expedition members to illuminate its internal operations and its member's relationships with indigenous peoples. Manipulation of photographic images provides clues to their perception of the Papuans they encountered; the movement and dispersion of artifacts and plant specimens indicates primary interests and foci and chart the history of their changing value and importance, both for science and commerce, and for the presentation of the expedition's members by other family members.

Laurel Kendall's article on the Jacob H. Schiff Expedition, changes focus from the sociology of expeditions to the motivation behind assembling comprehensive Chinese collections, the materials collected, and its subsequent usages by the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH). The article contributes substantially to the emerging literature on the 19–20th-century growth in indigenous technologies and markets to satisfy the voracious demands of foreign collectors and buyers. Her methodology clearly exemplifies the process of excavating collections through successive time periods to locate changes in their institutional significance and usages. This focus is partly taken up again by Ira Jacknis in his study of shifts in patronage and funding and their effects on changing exhibition genres at the same museum. Jacknis, focusing on the Northwest Coast and American Southwest, documents exhibition history and different uses to which collections were put at the AMNH, giving special attention to changing methods of contextualising objects and gallery design (life groups, dioramas, photographs, murals) which he correlates with the changing importance given to science curators, debates on the fidelity and ethnographic accuracy of displays, and the effects of aesthetic encroachments.

Situating his article within a recent initiative to digitise two different but important archives created by Frederick Williamson and Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf, Mark Turin describes how colonial assemblages can be repositioned to benefit the communities about which they were made. Like other contributors, Turin's focus is the so-called afterlife of collections, but his article also destabilises some earlier assumptions. He notes neither of his collectors were rootless but on the contrary well integrated into colonial systems. Moreover, their collections were incidental to their work and were undervalued by the professions to which they belonged. Turin eloquently demonstrates the importance of historical specificity in a work based on the nuanced understanding of colonial histories and deep appreciation of the changing significance, value, and power of collections and the multiple effects and responsibilities inherent in the circulation of knowledge.

It is difficult for a collection as eclectic as this to claim to constitute a foundation for the "anthropology of expeditions." As Chris Gosden acknowledges in his afterword, this is not the first work on ethnographic expeditions. The overview of the literature in the introduction ignores key texts like Felix Driver's "Geography Militant. Cultures of Exploration and Empire" (2001), Mary Helm's "Ulysses' Sail. An Ethnographic Odyssey of Power, Knowledge, and Geographic Distance" (1988), and Mary Louise Pratt's "Imperial Eyes. Travel Writing and Transculturation" (1992), and leaves unacknowledged earlier German and Portuguese studies – the effect of disassociating expeditions from the burgeoning literature on travel and fieldwork. This in no way diminishes the importance of the volume, but suggests its value lies more squarely in the established field of museum anthropology.

Anthony Shelton

Brabec de Mori, Bernd: Die Lieder der Richtigen Menschen. Musikalische Kulturanthropologie der indigenen Bevölkerung im Ucayali-Tal, Westamazonien. Innsbruck: Helbling, 2015. 781 pp., DVD-ROM. ISBN 978-3-99035-370-7. Preis: € 98,00

"Die Lieder der Richtigen Menschen. Musikalische Kulturanthropologie der indigenen Bevölkerung im Ucayali-Tal, Westamazonien" des österreichischen Musikethnologen Bernd Brabec de Mori wirkt auf den ersten Blick aufgrund des Umfangs (fast 800 Seiten) und des schwer zu handhabenden Formats des Buches nicht unbedingt als eine anziehende Lektüre. Und trotzdem zeigt es sich sehr schnell als ein Buch, das sicherlich zum Klassiker der musikethnologischen Literatur zu Amazonien avancieren wird. Brabec de Mori ist kein unbekannter in dem Gebiet. Seit Jahren veröffentlicht er musikethnografische Artikel über die indigenen Gruppen, die entlang des Amazonasflusses leben, und verfügt als Forscher über ein solides Renommee innerhalb der internationalen musikethnologischen Community. Mit dieser Arbeit über die Musikpraktiken der Shipibo und ihrer Nachbargruppen in Peru, welche der Autor als Dissertation an der Universität Wien im Jahr 2012 vorlegte, stellt er ein monumentales