

en organisant sa survie par la dette, a fortiori en cas de maladie attribuée à la persécution d'un parent. Le don appelle un contredon souvent indirect et en temporisant, par exemple lors d'un investissement pour la formation d'un jeune. Entre jeunes surtout, la parenté s'énonce sur le mode de la plaisanterie, de la taquinerie, du dialogue ludique, mais il y a toujours partage, entraide et soumission aux règles hiérarchiques. Le cadet deviendra l'aîné quand celui-ci partira, l'apprenti exploité attendra d'être maître pour exploiter les autres. On s'identifie par sa parenté, sa bande, son revenu, vite grignoté par les cousins, amis et voisins. Ce qu'Ibrahima vieillissant recherche, c'est que François l'épaulé : il le domine, donc il l'exploite comme gagne-pain. Les frères, vendeurs à la sauvette, pratiquent l'évitement et la fuite. Si la survie s'obtient par solidarité communautaire, celle-ci reste fragile car les lourdes redevances des jeunes obligés à l'égard des aîeux (d'excellentes pages sur le culte des Pangol et sur la consultation des marabouts, 102–106 !) et des aînés incitent à une indépendance précoce. Au coin de la rue, la solitude affective et morale entraîne plutôt drogue, alcoolisme, violence et petite délinquance.

En attente du salariat jusque vers les 35 ans, sans émancipation résidentielle, célibataires faute de situation et de dot, les hommes jeunes pratiquent le "don galant" avec marmots à charge de la famille et problèmes de mariage ultérieur de leurs "enceintes". A quel sein se vouer? Les femmes sont "jugées sur leur capacité à tenir leur foyer, préparer le repas, nettoyer le linge, s'occuper des enfants ... Les hommes cultivent "l'art de l'éclipse", de la négociation, du compromis – non par rébellion ou résistance au code dominant, mais pour s'en protéger ... La norme prévalente associe le mariage, la venue précoce d'enfants et l'adhésion aux rôles sexuels traditionnels" (147). Mais désormais les unions pré-maritales obligent les conjoints à se marier parfois, selon des faux-semblants, des logiques parentales, économiques ou amoureuses. Les mères demeurent néanmoins les clés de voûte de la famille. La fraternité comme le repas s'énoncent d'abord selon le mode matrilocal.

Le lecteur sera très sensible au contournement des obligations, mais aussi au rien-faire, au prix de l'émancipation, ainsi qu'à la difficulté d'être femme, mère et épouse (ch. 4). L'auteur saisit bien les embryons du changement de la condition féminine. Hélas, je retrouve l'Afrique et le Dakar que j'ai perçus naguère, malgré l'espoir de changement escompté depuis cinquante ans ! Evidemment, je féliciterai l'auteur de captiver ses lecteurs par un style alerte, par son analyse perspicace et par son choix d'une ethnologie modernisante des formes vécues du lien social au cœur d'un ailleurs qu'il a profondément senti et excellemment restitué.

Claude Rivière

**Rountree, Kathryn:** *Crafting Contemporary Pagan Identities in a Catholic Society.* Farnham: Ashgate, 2010. 194 pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-6973-9. Price: £ 50.00

Most ethnographers of contemporary Paganisms have analyzed these new religious movements as forms of reclamation or re-indigenization by middle-class urbanites

who have moved away from magical belief systems, a year cycle that connects them viscerally to nature and the seasons, and worship that provides direct, personal connections to the divine – vehicles for re-enchanting a world disenchanting by the forces of modernity. For some adherents, they are also a way to construct regional and national identities by linking to folklore and heritage. This ethnography of modern Pagans and witches on the Mediterranean island of Malta give us a provocative counter-narrative that potentially challenges these interpretations, and offers an intriguing picture of the forces of religious syncretism at work.

Based on three years of fieldwork, Rountree's study takes readers into the heart of the still small but growing Pagan community on Malta through the lives of a handful of practitioners, whom the reader gets to know in their own words. Though they are relatively isolated geographically, Maltese Pagans connect through the Internet to the global Pagan movement, and are frequently visited by Pagans from Britain and continental Europe who are drawn to the island by its rich heritage of Neolithic monuments. While Maltese Neo-Paganism and Wicca are similar in form to their continental counterparts, the author illustrates how they are also exquisitely local, creating a unique variant rooted in autochthonous Catholic and folkloric traditions, the island's natural landscape and Neolithic heritage, and the mythology and festivals of the broader Mediterranean. But there are surprises in store for readers. Maltese Neo-Pagans are much less removed from vernacular magic than their counterparts in northern Europe, and they construct identity rather differently than Neo-Pagans in other parts of the world. European, North American, and Australian Pagans tend to contrast themselves against Christianity and Catholicism in particular, denouncing it as repressive, antifeminist, and authoritarian, and blaming it for the persecution of witches and destruction of indigenous religions. The situation is quite different on Malta, a predominantly Catholic country with a "composite religious culture" that includes a strong substrate of popular magic (67). The author argues that this vernacular religion is so closely interwoven with Maltese concepts of identity, everyday life, and the year cycle that Maltese Pagans do not feel compelled to reject it. She finds many parallels between Roman Catholicism and Wicca, a "broadly interchangeable cultural logic" (95) especially apparent in the yearly round of festivals and seasonal customs. Of course, modern Pagans argue that this is because early Christians coopted many pagan seasonal traditions. Be that as it may, many Maltese Pagans feel no contradiction between their cultural Catholicism and their newly-adopted religion, sometimes combining elements from the two. Catholicism continues to dominate their family and social lives because it is so much a part of year- and life-cycle celebrations. To be Maltese is to a very great extent to be Catholic, so Maltese Neo-Pagans maintain dual identities as Christians *and* Pagans – a state the author calls "religious bi-culturalism" (119).

In contrast to modern Pagans in Britain and Ireland, Maltese Pagans do not narrate themselves as the descendants of the island's builders of prehistoric megalithic

temples. And while some have family members who practiced vernacular magic, they do not claim them as forebears practicing an ancient religion. Instead, most of their texts and practices are drawn from English-language books or the Internet, with no attempt to re-indigenize them. The author explains this as a product of a Maltese identity that links itself strictly to the arrival of St. Paul on the island 2000 years ago; most Maltese see no connection between themselves and the island's first inhabitants, who are believed to have been wiped out by successive waves of invaders. She theorizes that Malta's long history of colonization by outsiders has led to a tendency to undervalue the local and look outward for sources of cultural renewal.

Of course this religious biculturalism does not always go smoothly. Maltese culture is still suspicious of modern Paganism, often understanding it as diabolism; most Maltese Wiccans and Pagans are "in the broom closet" to all but their closest associates, many of whom are also Pagan. While they do occasionally assemble to conduct rituals on the site of ancient stone monuments, their rituals must remain low-key, while the Catholic prayer services held there are much showier and more public. Yet this book provides an important model of how new religious movements gain converts and make inroads into a society without necessarily taking an oppositional or confrontative stance, and how individuals negotiate multilayered religious identities. One wishes the author had engaged a bit more with anthropological literature on Mediterranean religiosity, particularly the coexistence of multiple religious traditions side by side, in order to insert this variant of modern Paganism within a broader regional cultural context.

This book also challenges current scholarly explanations of why people are drawn to the new Paganisms. If Maltese Pagans aren't attracted to Neo-Paganism for the same reasons that motivate their northern European, North American, and Australian counterparts, then perhaps the paradigm developed thus far by other scholars of the movement – linking the development of Paganism to a reclamation of folklore and localism – needs to be questioned. Some scholars have also theorized that certain modern Pagans who narrate themselves as heirs to an ancient Pagan tradition may have inherited magical practices such as folk magic and vernacular Catholicism from their families. This book challenges that hypothesis, making it a very exciting piece of work. It may be, for example, that at root, the appeal of Neo-Pagan religions has little to do with either seeking re-enchantment or creating usable pasts. Or perhaps on Malta, the need for connection is not with a local heritage and folk tradition, but with a global spiritual culture that draws on a Romantic literary and magical tradition. Either way, this book makes a significant contribution to the expanding literature on this group of new religious movements and their practitioners. It will be of interest to scholars of religion as well as Mediterraneanists, and is accessible enough to use as an undergraduate text.

Sabina Magliocco

**Salazar, Noel B.:** *Envisioning Eden. Mobilizing Imaginaries in Tourism and Beyond.* New York: Berghahn Books, 2010. 224 pp. ISBN 978-1-84545-760-0 (New Directions in Anthropology, 31) Price: £ 55.00

The book is praised on its back cover by tourism research experts like Nelson Graburn and Mike Robinson, and the foreword was written by Edward M. Bruner. Such acclaim raises high expectations which are mostly fulfilled, although it seems that the original subtitle of the doctoral thesis would have been a better choice: "A Global Ethnography of Tour Guiding." That's what it is.

Based on ethnographic fieldwork carried out over a period of 14 months in Yogyakarta/Indonesia in 2003 and 2006 and 11 months in Arusha/Tanzania in 2004 and 2007, the book concerns the interplay between globalized tourism landscapes and local service providers in two destinations, or, more broadly, examines the complex ways in which processes of globalization and localization interconnect and collide with one another. It is a study of tourism imaginaries and their circulation between tourists and service providers. The author demonstrates how global tourism spreads imaginaries about peoples and places, how tour guides use these images and ideas, and how they reproduce them in their guiding narratives and practices.

Salazar gathered data from multiple sources, his methods of fieldwork consisted primarily of different types of observation. As a participant, he joined tourists on twenty-eight tours in central Java, and twenty-four trips in northern Tanzania. His methods of observation included socializing with local tour guides, talking informally to them, taking field notes. He further conducted different types of interviews with guides, people involved in guide training, tour operators, tourism authorities, both in Indonesia and Tanzania.

Chap. 2 explores the world of tourism imaginaries and fantasies, and describes the tourism landscapes of the research destinations – namely, Yogyakarta and Arusha. Chap. 3 ("Seduction") addresses the question how guides familiarize themselves with imaginaries and discourses via both formal schooling and informal learning, and how they learn to translate fantasies into seductive tales.

In chap. 4 (Imaging and Imagining Other Worlds), the narrative strategies and performative techniques that local guides use are explored. It is shown how their practices are firmly steered by tourism imaginaries and discourses, and how they assure the (re)production of fantasies during their encounter with tourists. The realities of poverty and corruption are bracketed and substituted by imaginaries of the exotic paradise. Salazar explains how local guides ensure their clients experience exactly what they expect, receiving the images and fantasies that travel agencies or tour operators originally sold to them when they booked their trip.

Tour guides do not have any need to travel around the world to adopt cosmopolitan attitudes; the world comes to them. Successful local guides are prototypes of imaginative cosmopolitan mobility. They find creative ways to distance themselves from the locals encountered during a trip and align themselves on the side of the tourists. Guided tours are strategic encounters in which guides