

critical is from Robert Tonkinson and his experience of a fundamentalist Christian group at Jigalong in Western Australia during the 1960s, who seemed unable to see the Aborigines as fully realised moral beings. Tonkinson notes that Catholic and other missions may have conformed more to Burridge's model of sustained transcultural interactions rather than reactive condemnation, yet he questions whether Burridge's approach to mission and missionaries was overly optimistic.

Others in this volume help broaden the missionary critique. Lohmann notes (145) how missionaries can place themselves in a position where they expect the obedience and respect of others, even as they are offering these qualities to their God. This can be morally problematic if their relationship with God seems so special that God's will and their own views become inseparable. Dalton makes the intriguing point that Europeans, including missionaries, acted much like sorcerers: powerful, autonomous, and having little sense of obligation to share their wealth with villagers. Their refusal to engage in reciprocity brought great shame in its implication that Melanesians were not worthy to deal with on an equal basis. Thus the arrival of Europeans, including missionaries, posed a radical challenge to the Melanesian moral system in its impact where reciprocities that grounded communities no longer applied. As Barker points out, this could be both threatening and liberating. Many accepted the new churches and started to rebuild their moral communities around cooperative and economic ventures. He notes (91), how today many Melanesians are experiencing a conversion towards a more individualised ethic, leaving less space for collectivist traditional values.

This volume points to new directions in ethical theory and practice. If your budget can afford, it is a book well worth having. Certainly, it is a volume well worth reading.

Philip Gibbs

Berthod, Marc-Antoine : Doutes, croyance et divination. Une anthropologie de l'inspiration des devins et de la voyance. Lausanne : Éditions Antipodes, 2007. 431 pp. ISBN 978-2-940146-71-0. Prix: € 30.00

Il s'agit d'un travail très remarquable de ce directeur d'un institut de recherche valaisan. Il applique en particulier l'un des préceptes trop oubliés de la méthode cartésienne, qui consiste à établir d'abord un bilan exact et complet de l'état de la question. Déjà son préambule, "approcher la voyance" ne néglige ni l'apport de poètes, ni celui des sociologues, ni les journaux populaires, ni bien sûr la mise en situation de l'auteur lui-même comme anthropologue en situation d'entretien, avec son souci d'accord et de retour d'information vis-à-vis de ceux qu'il étudie. Il fait preuve en même temps d'une érudition éblouissante, voire exhaustive – par la suite peut-être excessive (mais bien compréhensible) quand il cite les mémoires non imprimés de jeunes étudiants helvétiques.

Le chapitre qui suit se préoccupe de "situer les arts divinatoires" d'abord dans l'histoire – Bible, antiquité classique, astrologie persistante chez les chrétiens, visionnaires médiévaux, évolutions théologiques modernes,

positivisme, où la divination devient marginale (on regrettera la faible place laissée à l'Orient proche ou extrême, quand l'Égypte fantasmée reste si présente). Puis est examinée l'influence des institutions – regard des médias, approche scientifique parfois ambiguë, en revanche réglementation juridique et contrôle religieux hostiles – dans des positions face auxquelles les "voyants" se regroupent pour préciser leurs conceptions ésotériques et leurs pratiques et obtenir une part de légitimité (95–110 particulièrement intéressantes). Enfin sont évoqués trois récits autobiographiques de voyants, qui mettent en relief les épreuves diverses que chacun d'entre eux a dû surmonter.

Suit le chapitre "rencontrer les devins", qui présente (sous pseudonymes) les six personnages, cinq femmes et un homme, avec lesquels l'auteur a noué des relations en profondeur, pour tenter de partager leurs univers singuliers, retracer leurs modalités de travail, comprendre leur parcours, leur rapport au sacré, les liens qu'ils créent entre eux et avec leurs consultants. Pages très concrètes, souvent émouvantes, qui nous plongent au cœur d'une observation participante englobante et du travail "de terrain" proprement dit de l'anthropologue. Chaque devin porte le sentiment d'une mission à remplir au service d'autrui, souvent dans un contexte mystique assez "New Age" comme pour "Stella" (199–208). Ces histoires de vie sont longues, certes un peu répétitives, mais finalement rapprochées de l'hypnose et des avatars de la psychologie moderne.

Elles sont très bien résumées et synthétisées au début du 4^e chapitre, "penser les intuitions divinatoires", qui tente d'en établir la théorie (295–297 ss.). Avec références à Bastide et Laplantine, puis à Durkheim, Mauss et De Martino, l'auteur présente le "sentiment d'extension de soi", lié souvent à l'émotion religieuse, comme la base du "don" intuitif, de la force de parole amenant le devin à faire naître les "certitudes du possible" dans le dialogue existentiel parfois dramatique (cf. 321 s., 325) avec son consultant. Par la remise en cause de leur vision du monde se crée entre eux un sentiment de communion et la confiance en ce qu'ils disent. Des exemples de "rhétorique mantique" et de dialogues, puis une reprise des positions compréhensives de Bruno Latour au sujet de la croyance, terminent ce chapitre.

Le dernier et court chapitre, "raconter la voyance", est une reprise réflexive du parcours de l'auteur : lui aussi a été amené à se remettre en question et il a éprouvé également la difficulté de traduire des sentiments et des émotions en connaissance significative pour autrui : vivre le terrain n'est pas l'exprimer. Il propose cependant pour s'en tirer trois principes de méthode très intéressants (372 s.) qui correspondent à ceux qu'il a utilisés ... et termine sur la nécessité et la difficulté de se faire écrivain.

Suivent en annexes : la photographie peinte d'Arielle Dombasle en voyante par Pierre et Gilles (1991); un exemple d'arnaque d'une vieille dame par un "voyant-médium", article du journal suisse *La Liberté* (1999); un article "La voyance n'a rien à voir avec la science ... et tout à voir avec la conscience", par le psychiatre-psychanalyste Édouard Collot dans *Le Courrier*

(5 mai 2001); “Double vue : qu’est-ce qu’une bonne voyance ?”, ensemble d’articles dans un dossier “Voyance” du magazine *Cosmopolitan* (décembre 2000); six lames du jeu de tarot de Domenico Balbi; le tableau des centres d’énergie dits Chakras.

Pour terminer, excellente bibliographie de quelques 180 titres, et la table des matières.

J’estime en conclusion qu’à mes yeux, il s’agit d’un ouvrage de référence fondamental, exemplaire pour l’anthropologue, qui touche en profondeur aux problèmes de la croyance, et qui éclaire en particulier le phénomène actuel du “retour du religieux”.

Philippe Laburthe-Tolra

Borofsky, Robert, et al.: *Yanomami. The Fierce Controversy and What We Can Learn from It.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005. 372 pp. ISBN 978-0-520-24404-7. (California Series in Public Anthropology, 12) Price: \$ 19.95

It is not easy to find good, practical sense introductions to ethics for anthropology as one might suppose, and this problem is even more evident for didactic publications or textbooks for students. Robert Borofsky’s “Yanomami” is a valuable contribution to fill out this gap.

Sometimes the so-called great controversies in anthropology are very helpful to reflect upon ethical dilemmas and unethical behavior in our profession. One of these opportunities was Patrick Tierney’s “Darkness in El Dorado. How Scientists and Journalists Devastated the Amazon” (New York 2000) with its strong accusations against the geneticist James Neel, deceased in 2000 some months before the publication, and the (now retired) anthropologist Napoleon Chagnon. Tierney argued that Neel and Chagnon have violated basic ethical standards in their research projects among the Yanomami in southern Venezuela and even have contributed, through a combination of scientific ambitions and medical negligence, to have stimulated the expansion of a measles epidemic that had broken out just at the time when the two scientists started their research in the 1960s. While the main accusations against Neel could promptly be refuted, there continued to be the case against Chagnon. It regarded specially his research strategies, presentation of the Yanomami as “fierce people” in various publications and his specific forms or style to defend (or not) the Yanomami against the disastrous harms caused by invasions on their lands, above all in Brazil.

In spite of its sensational style (or just because of it?) Tierney’s book provoked a media storm in the anthropological milieu and outside academic circles. As a result, the American Anthropological Association saw itself obliged to appoint an El Dorado Task Force for analyzing the accusations and for elaborating an assessment published as a report on the association’s website.

The whole story around “Darkness in El Dorado” is very well documented in Borofsky’s book, including some comprehensive critiques of conveniences in American anthropology establishment to react upon Tierney’s accusations, but his approach is independent and quite

creative. In 2000, Borofsky invited six experts on the topic (Bruce Albert, Lêda Martins, Ray Hames, Kim Hill, John Peters, and Terence Turner) for a roundtable as a kind of jury trial whose contributions were first published on-line in the journal *Public Anthropology* and which now forms the second part of the book. Borofsky’s point is that the controversy is much more than a scenario composed by an accuser, two defendants, and some thousand Amazonian Indians. Rather, it offers an opportunity to scrutinize anthropology by itself and that it renders possible insights of how the discipline reproduces itself. The aim is not mere reflection on ethical dilemmas without consequences, but to enlarge the spheres of discussion and to shed a light on research realities behind stage lights seeking to empower readers to develop standpoints of their own for the discipline.

The starting point is not only the controversy by itself, but a remarkable paradox or, more specifically, a conundrum: How was it possible that one of the books with the highest number of copies and readers in anthropology, especially among students in introductory classes (“Yanomami. The Fierce People”), had such an overwhelming success among students and teachers that it provoked, for a long time, little discomfort and doubts regarding ethical standards of research and writing. I have to admit that my experience was the same when I studied anthropology at Cologne University in the 1980s. So it does not surprise that Chagnon’s work is the main point at issue.

The book is divided in two parts, the first presenting introductory explanations around the Yanomami and their role in anthropological literature, the contours and history of the controversy (the main characters, the accusations, and American anthropology’s reactions), the broader issues at stake, and Yanomami perspectives on the same issues and the controversy. This represents a very commendable approach for showing that anthropological and indigenous concerns can vary considerably in different matters. In the second part readers find the jury trial in three rounds plus three complementary assessments. As could be expected, the roundtable participants did not get to a common appraisal of the accusations discussed, for they did not have a mandate to pronounce verdicts. On the contrary, they disagreed on several issues, for example, Chagnon’s reluctance to pronounce himself in the Brazilian media against misuses of his work or proposals to reduce or split up Yanomami territory. The main purpose of the jury trial approach, however, was not to sentence, but to shed a light at the different issues at stake in the controversy so that readers can form their opinions by themselves. This possibility is facilitated by the didactic features of the book, which can be called an editorial masterpiece, for the principal points and considerations of each participant are summarized at the end of their individual set of arguments and in an appendix, which provides a summary of views on key topics covered in the three rounds. Moreover, readers are stimulated to find their own positions in two “You Decide” passages at the end of the two parts of the book.

Besides editorial excellence and outstanding didactic strategies (and an instructive photographic interlude