of written texts. Thus, as Hucks notes in chapter 17, "this emerging religious consciousness bestowed new agency, authenticity, and authority to North America's black citizens . . ." (339). The Òrìṣà religion, therefore, provides a religious and a sociopolitical sense of identity for African Americans and other African descended people.

The importance of the Yorùbá religion in the United States is illustrated by the creation of Ọ̀yọ́túnjí, a Yorùbá village recreated by Black nationalists in South Carolina in 1970. Clarke's valuable chapter 15 concentrates on the role and function of divination in this "transformed space." She notes that divination is an interpretive practice by which agents "interpret, consult, and hold symbolic power" which are however, embedded in "particular relations of power." She demonstrates how the priests of Ọ̀yọ́túnjí, in particular, used their powers to change ritual and map new identities. In fact, priests and leaders everywhere in the diaspora where Yorùbá-derived religions are found can use traditional forms such as divination to change, transform, and reinterpret the many realities of life.

Clark argues that the realm of exclusion or the real life that was and is lived in the new world by Africans through slavery, colonialism, poverty, and marginality becomes transformed among those who are reviving, reinterpreting, and even reinventing Yorùbá traditions. This process "overturns the social order" by recasting new forms of knowledge. By focusing on how religious rituals can be used to both remember and forget the past, she provides important insights into the processes of social change and shows how religion performs critical ideological work which reflects particular historical and political conditions.

One of the most intriguing controversies that figures prominently in this book is the contestation over the role of gender in Yorùbá Òrìṣà religion both in Africa as well as in the diaspora. The gender controversy highlights an old debate in social anthropology – the familiar distinction between insiders and outsiders who have "qualitatively and quantitatively different knowledge of that culture or tradition" and are, therefore, differently affected by the "authoritative 'truths' that the academy exports" (513). The conference featured these differences of opinion between insider Oyèrónké Oyewumi, author of "The Invention of Women: Making an African Sense of Western Gender Discourses" published in 1997 with that of Harvard professor J. Lorand Matory's "Sex and the Empire That Is No More: Gender and the Politics of Metaphor in Ọ̀yọ́ Yorùbá Religion" (1994 and 2005). Oyewumi, a Yorùbá princess, along with her large family, grew up in a palace and was immersed in Yorùbá culture and religion. Her book critically examines the existing historical and ethnographic materials of the 19th century in the light of her own intimate knowledge of her culture. She concludes that gender did not exist before colonialism and furthermore that it does not exist in present-day Yorùbá culture either. Matory, on the other hand, has spent substantial time in field and archival research in Ìgbòho, a former capital of the Ọ̀yọ́ royal empire as well as seven years with Afro-Cuban Ocha in the United States, eight months studying Candomblé in Brazil and often and repeated interactions with Òrìṣà worshippers in many areas of Nigeria. He concludes that Ọ̀yọ́-Yorùbá life "is full of gender-related vocabulary, practices, social processes, iconography, and moral expectations" (519). His intriguing chapter outlines the differences in background, methods, theories, motives, and facts that have led two Yorùbá scholars to profoundly different conclusions. Oyewumi was invited to contribute to this volume but apparently chose not to do so. This debate extends far beyond the two scholars and has led to scores of public lectures, roundtable discussions, dozens of scholarly articles, and several books. Among the many intriguing questions raised in this chapter is "what does this debate between an Ọ̀yọ́-Yorùbá princess and an African American – both scholars in the Western mold – teach us not only about Yorùbá society but also about the social dynamics of authoritative truth making in the academy"? (517).

Other chapters in this part of the book discuss various dimensions of retention including myth and memory, funeral rites, music, and even the role of the internet and digitalization in disseminating Yorùbá religious traditions. There is also a moving personal "Postscript" written by John Pemberton III to whom this volume is dedicated in recognition of his pioneering work on Yorùbá religion and art.

In sum, this book provides detailed and very comprehensive coverage of many aspects of Yorùbá religious culture both at source and in the multifaceted diaspora. It will be an invaluable resource for scholars and students alike. Its focus on one African cultural tradition, albeit an extremely complex one, and how it has transformed into a globalized worldwide spiritual movement may very well provide a model for further work in this field. I recommend it not only to specialists in Yorùbá and African studies but to anyone interested in the study of comparative and transnational religious systems.

Frances Henry

Perrin, Michel : Voir les yeux fermés. Arts, chamanismes et thérapies. Paris : Éditions du Seuil, 2007. 200 pp., photos. ISBN 978-2-02-020777-5.

In our researches on shamanism, visual documentation has always been a highly valuable component. To actually see what the shaman looks like, dressed in full regalia, swirling in an ornamented cloak, with masks and batons, presents an image of shamanism and shamanic healing that no mere words can describe. Even better if these elements are captured in movement and sound. Moreover, in terms of cultural and historical documentation, this evidence is invaluable in preserving our understanding and knowledge of shamanic manifestations, methods, and material objects employed at a particular moment in time, shamanism being in many ways a moving, even fleeting phenomenon. Fixing the moment, not only in words, gives us an innate, sensate knowledge that no mere verbal description can impart.

In his brilliant new book "Voir les yeux fermés. Arts, chamanismes et therapies," Michel Perrin, author, physician, ethnographer, filmmaker, has brought forth a sumptuous offering illustrating and demonstrating the connections between art, shamanism and therapy, the healing of the wounded or absent soul. Using selected examples of material objects closely allied to shamanic healing in twelve different ethnic groups, he illuminates how these symbolically charged objects lend their strength to shamanic healing and, indeed, are germane to the process and efficacy of the cure. The value of this powerful interaction does not detract from our understanding and attention to these objects – whether masks, paper cutouts, wooden representations – as works of art in themselves, with aesthetic beauty apart from their symbolic and spiritual significance. Moreover, in this exposition of material representations of shamanically charged objects, Michel Perrin is turning his gaze on how various cultures have wrestled with that difficult translation, that of making a concrete reality represent abstract thought, the turning of the invisible into the visible.

The book, its title roughly translated as "seeing with closed eyes," is presented as twelve "tableau" or pictures, views of twelve different ethnic groups, all of whom have unique ways of representing their connections to the spiritual world. Due to the author's longtime work in South and Central America among the Guajiro (Wayuu) of Venezuela and Colombia, the Huichol of Mexico, and the Kuna in Panama, a majority of the examples offered are from these areas as well as North America. Specifically, the presentation of the chapters is as follows: Inuit masks, Tlingit masks, Tsimshian soul catchers, Navajo sandpaintings, Nahua and Otomi decoupage, the Kuna *nuchu* (small wooden figurines from the vegetal world), altar installations in the northwest area of Peru, and the drawings of the Shipibo in the Peruvian Amazon. Moving outside of the Americas, Perrin discusses the divinatory baskets of the Tshokwe in Zambia, the *korwar* (wooden sculptured statuettes representing the spirit or the soul of the deceased person) of western New Guinea, and the "magical" parchment scrolls of the Amhara and Tigre ethnic groups of Ethiopia, scrolls covered with texts to undo harmful charms or chase away the evil eye. Most remarkable are the paintings on the scrolls, beautifully illustrated here, which present human beings with a special penetrating regard – the combination of graphic art, text, and medication provides for a protective and healing therapeutic practice.

Each chapter begins with the photo of the object to be discussed on the left, a photo of the native shaman on the right, and a short quotation that sets the stage for the concept of the chapter. This is a sensitive and thoughtful setup for the following discussion, already including and bringing forth the relevant aspects and demonstrating their interconnection. Similarity of cultural concepts as well as specific diversities amongst ethnic groups is unfolded here. Each chapter is structured so that we gain an immediate understanding of the context: geographic location of the particular ethnic group, its linguistic identity, and some notation on tribal orientation and means of subsistence. The type of healer (in Africa we are speaking of divination, hence diviners rather than shamans), underlying concepts of the world and humans, divine forces, or underlying mythology are presented, followed by the causes of illness, types of illness, and the relationship of the healer to the spirits. Given this total context, we then are able to understand the meaning of the particular object or assemblage used, how it is created, and how it works together with other aspects of the séance to create an awe-inspiring, healing connection between this world and the Other World.

The use of objects of various kinds to translate the spiritual world into the material world is a worldwide aspect of shamanism, necessary to bring about the desired healing benefits when the shaman is working in an altered state of consciousness with an ill patient. Often special lighting effects, sound, and movement are a significant part of the healing process. In his final, twelfth tableau, Perrin illustrates some of these possibilities, especially with reference to and illustration of rattles, drums, and shamanic costumes, extremely important for the workings and efficacy of Siberian shamanism. As a filmmaker, Michel Perrin has an intimate understanding of the total effect of lighting, sound, color, movement, and words (often unintelligible in a shamanic séance) that create the total ambiance.

For the Siberian shaman, the headdress is an important part of the costume; with its eyes painted or sewn, it indicates the special sight the shaman has of the Other World. At the same time the fringe that hangs over the shaman's face holds him in that invisible world, visible to himself only in trance, hidden from his viewers, the fringe serving as a shield between the Other World and the material world. In the first tableau on the Inuit shaman masks, Perrin notes that, for those who wear them, masks function like real eyes fixed on the Other World. The masks used by the Inuit represent incarnations of beliefs and myths, and serve, in this marginal danger-filled environment, as protection against threats coming from the spiritual world and also as a means of invoking positive spiritual forces. Perrin points out that the "magical" artifacts themselves are protagonists in the therapeutic act, that they contribute to modification of the course of events.

The masks of the Inuit personify the spirit helpers – benevolent but dangerous – of the shaman, the spirit masters of the animals, or the powers of the natural elements. Perrin notes that the masks function for those experienced practitioners who wear them as true eyes fixed on the Other World. By making concrete his visions of this Other World, the Inuit shaman proves to his public that he can communicate effectively with this invisible world, which then lends veracity to his explanations of their illness and efficacious treatment thereof. Thus he can cure the patient or save a community from famine. In this description – illustrated with gorgeous photographs of Inuit masks – we can see how Perrin brings together the understanding of a creative

art underlaid by myth and dreams and its connection to the therapeutic practices of the shaman, who mediates between the invisible and the visible worlds.

As a final reflection on this beautiful book, we can paraphrase Perrin who writes that objects are not passive; they reflect the beliefs and even the organization of society – they are charged with a sort of life as emissaries of the invisible and hence contribute to the power of the healer.

Eva Jane Neumann Fridman

Pine, Frances, and **João de Pina-Cabral** (eds.): On the Margins of Religion. New York: Berghahn Books, 2008. 286 pp. ISBN 978-1-84545-409-8. Price: $ 90.00

This volume of thirteen chapters explores the multiple roles played by religion when individuals contest rights to places, knowledge, and properties as well as religion's role in ensuring individual access to scarce resources. Chapters share a common concern: How do issues of "marginality" and "centrality" function with respect to religion? By examining objects, bodies, narratives, and ritual spaces, contributors address the often problematic relationships between science, religion, and processes of globalization and highlight religion's embodiment in landscapes, built spaces, and religious sites. Collectively, these chapters provide ample evidence for religion's importance to individuals as a source of solace, spiritual comfort, and – at times – self-willed submission.

In their thoughtful introduction, Frances Pine (Goldsmiths College, University of London) and João de Pina-Cabral (University of Lisbon) point out that the term "religion" is itself problematic because it is difficult – if not impossible – to define a term that encompasses such an enormous range of beliefs and practices. The editors convincingly argue – contrary to Glazier's 1997 assertion – that religion is not marginal to the field of anthropology, and they cite numerous examples in which – over the past decade – the centrality of religion has dramatically re-imposed itself. Glazier concurs with Pine and Pina-Cabral. The editors also recognize that concepts of marginality and centrality are equally problematic and suggest that these terms, too, must be reexamined and (perhaps) redefined.

This volume is organized into five parts. Part one examines some of the intellectual underpinnings of anthropology of religion. João Vasconcelos's insightful "Homeless Spirits: Modern Spiritualism, Psychical Research, and the Anthropology of Religion in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries" looks at the mutual "exclusiveness" of science and religion and shows how such exclusiveness posed a significant problem for prominent nineteenth- and twentieth-century social scientists like William James (1843–1916) and Edward B. Tylor (1832–1917). Vasconcelos deftly delineates what has been described as the modern abyss between science and religion by offering a brief but informative history of Spiritualism. He centers his discussions on nineteenth-century reactions to the writings of Allan Kardec. Kardec, who is considered the father of modern Spiritualism, was noted for his attempts to establish rules of evidence for psychic research and for his application of scientific methods to the study of spirits. Vasconcelos also shows how Edward B. Tylor's ideas concerning spirits (as presented in Tylor's 1871 "Primitive Culture") were later critiqued by Émile Durkheim, Sigmund Freud, Alfred Russell Wallace, and Andrew Lang.

Simon Coleman's "The Abominations of Anthropology: Christianity, Ethnographic Taboos, and the Meanings of 'Science'" focuses on religious rhetoric and the various ways conservative Protestant discourse challenges the social sciences. Coleman looks at the anthropological treatment of Protestant Fundamentalists and Evangelicals as portrayed in the ethnographic writings of Ernest Gellner, Sue Harding, Steve Warner, and Vincent Crapanzano. He gives careful attention to the subtleties and the intersections of secular and religious language as utilized by both anthropologists and believers. While acknowledging that conservative Christians are often perceived by social scientists as "peripheral," Coleman astutely argues that conservative Christians constitute an influential religious movement representing millions of believers and exercising considerable political authority – even to the extent of influencing American elections and influencing foreign policy.

Part two addresses marginality and the construction of religious space. Thomas Kirsch's "Religious Logistics: African Christians, Spirituality, and Transportation" explores the "religious logistics" of a prophet-healing cult in southern Zambia. The spread of a religion poses difficult logistical problems like traversing space, determining points of departure, constructing social and technological networks, and securing access to means of transport (61). Kirsch charts the complex relationship between the road construction and evangelism and, in the process, provides a useful counterpoint to the ideas presented in Coleman's chapter. For Pentecostals, Kirsch correctly points out, it is not just a matter of spreading the Word (Holy Scripture) but spreading the *experience* of the Holy Spirit at the same time.

The last two chapters in part two: Ursula Rao's "Contested Spaces: Temple Building and the Re-Creation of Religious Boundaries in Contemporary Urban India," and Cornelia Sorabji's "Bosnian Neighbourhoods Revisited: Tolerance, Commitment, and *Komšiluk* in Sarajevo" examine the formulation of religious spaces in ambiguous settings. Rao cogently underscores processes of negotiation in the creation of community boundaries, while Sorabji provides insight into ethno-religious politics and everyday practice in postwar Bosnia. According to Sorabji, the neighborhoods of Sarajevo illustrate how Islamic concepts of moral duty (*komšiluk* = neighborliness) may lay the groundwork for reconciliation and tolerance.

Part three addresses power and issues of relative "centrality." Grant Evans's, "Revival of Buddhist Royal Family Commemorative Ritual in Laos," shows how formulations of centrality are politically challenged and