dividuellem Eigentum und Ware. Deutlich wird aber auch, dass Land in Melanesien existenziell bleibt für den Erhalt von *kastom* und damit auch der (Gruppen-)Identität, der Verwandtschaftsstrukturen und der Sprachen. Mehr noch ist der Zugang zu Land auch künftig ein Schlüsselfaktor für eine alle Bewohner einbindende nachhaltige Entwicklung der Pazifikstaaten, die die Nahrungssicherheit gewährleistet und den Weg in Marginalisierung und Armut verhindert. Insofern sollte jede anvisierte Reform der Bodenbesitzverhältnisse auf existierenden traditionellen Landbesitzrechten aufbauen und diese erhalten, statt diese aufzulösen. Das Ziel sollten kleinflächige Entwicklungsmodelle sein, die die Effizienz des traditionellen Besitzes erhöhen. Die Publikation, der eine breite Wahrnehmung und Diskussion in Melanesien zu wünschen ist, ist auch zugänglich unter <https://press.anu.edu.au/node/2414/download>.

Roland Seib

Mannik, Lynda, and **Karen McGarry** (eds.): Practicing Ethnography. A Student Guide to Method and Methodology. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017. 264 pp. ISBN 978-1-4875-9312-4. Price: $ 36.95

"Practicing Ethnography" is a useful guide that covers the fundamentals of ethnographic practice and lays out its approach in a sensible way that can make for a learning path for students (I would think upper-level undergraduates and postgraduates would benefit most from this text).

The chapters of the book are presented in the following manner: "Part I: Origins and Basics (The Origins and Development of Sociocultural Anthropological Fieldwork in North America; Participant Observation; Ethics and the Politics of Fieldwork; Connecting with Others: Interviewing, Conversations, and Life Histories); Part II: Notes, Data, and Representation (How to Create Field Notes; After Fieldwork – Analyzing Data; Writing Up and the Politics of Representation); Part III: Shifting Field Sites (Applied Anthropology; Autoethnography: The Self and Other Revisited); Part IV: Visual Aids (Photo-Elicitation: Collaboration, Memory, and Emotion; Ethnographic Film as Ethnographic Method; Doing Research with and in Virtual Communities: Culture, Community, and the Internet); Glossary of Key Terms; References; Index."

"Practicing Ethnography" includes 35 illustrations that are very useful in supporting and expanding upon the ideas presented in the text. This images show the reader that the visual is not a mere sideline prop in ethnographic practice, but an important element of how ethnographers are to convey something of the human conditions they work amongst. In addition to a noteworthy highlighting of the visual influence in ethnography "Practicing Ethnography" has a section dedicated to applied anthropology (chap. 8), and this is also a sensible inclusion, as this area of ethnographic practice has its own constraints and demands outside of that typically encountered in academic ethnography. Furthermore, a critically methodological appreciation of the self in the work of an ethnographer is presented in chap. 9 (Autoethnography) and this is a critically insightful consideration. The final chapter looks at ethnography and the internet, and this too is a most appropriate focus of a chapter meant to guide the budding ethnographer. The addition of a glossary of key terms, with comprehensive definitions, is also a useful aspect of this text, one that students will refer to often. One can readily see that this text can form the spine of a university subject on ethnography, as the progress through the relevant themes is both logical and appropriately arranged as a process of learning. I also appreciated, from the outset, a critical discussion of what anthropology is and how ethnography is central to anthropological practice, because as an anthropologist and ethnographer, this is an issue that I have encountered time and time again. Furthermore, my encounters have usually been of a corrective nature, trying, sometime vainly, to demonstrate that anthropology is not archaeology (if I had a dollar for every time I have been referred to as an archaeologist, I would be a wealthy person). If I have one reservation (and it is only minor), it is that more could have been said of the potential for ethnography to expand its application beyond the usual areas of application into newer and/or growing areas of interest, like, for example, industrial- and marketing-based ethnography, journalistic ethnography, or perhaps even non-human elements in ethnographic practice. Nevertheless, overall I was impressed and pleased with "Practicing Ethnography."

Raymond Madden

Nahum-Claudel, Chloe: Vital Diplomacy. The Ritual Everyday on a Dammed River in Amazonia. New York: Berghahn Books, 2018. 287 pp. ISBN 978-1-78533-406-1. (Ethnography, Theory, Experiment, 5) Price: $ 140.00

Chloe Nahum-Claudel's excellent book is the first full-length ethnography in English of the Enawenê-nawê, an Arawakan-speaking group of the Brazilian state of Mato Grosso. As she acknowledges, she is indebted to Brazilian scholars, especially Marcio Silva and Gilton Mendes dos Santos, for their accounts of the Enawenê language, ceremonial organisation, and its relationship to ecology and economy, kinship terminology and the clan system. She distinguishes her contribution from these more formal studies as following the Yankwa ritual's "unfolding at the micro level of day-to-day activity," connecting "material and relational work to wider symbolic processes" (21). While I cannot judge to what extent "Vital Diplomacy" complements these previous studies, it is certainly a richly detailed and skilfully written piece of ethnography, which more than fulfils its promise to show the relationship between everyday processes and the invisible dynamics of the cosmos and of social organisation – and the measure of the significance of this relationship is that the Enawenê year is

almost entirely devoted to ritual life. We are treated to magnificently thorough account of the economic processes underpinning the ceremonial exchanges between clans – indeed, the descriptions of the creation and operation of dam fishing and manioc processing are among the best I have read. Nahum-Claudel wears her theoretical framework lightly, but this does not prevent her from making substantial contributions to several key areas in Amazonian indigenous ethnology – her insights into the various ways in which the Enawenê diffuse antagonisms (229) through ceremonial exchange, cooking, and pescetarianism, are especially important and will inspire other scholars of the region.

The historical part of the introduction describes the disintegration and "tribalisation" of the peoples of the area, and the characteristic Arawakan openness through rituals that "bring together separate but allied settlements." Here as elsewhere, Nahum-Claudel refrains from anything more than minimal comparative analysis, notably leaving out Guiana (where a comparable Carib "openness" has emerged) and Western Amazonia. This approach enhances the ethnographic focus, although occasionally the selected comparative references seem somewhat arbitrary.

Chapter 1 presents dam fishing as technical mastery – the "mastery" of an art. This is not to be confused with the way in which mastery has become established as a concept in Amazonian ethnology, where it is associated with ownership and control as well as leadership. Even the cosmological dimension of this technological mastery is distinct from typical forms of Amazonian mastery, and indeed the "owners" are the hosts in the village, not the fishers. Nahum-Claudel frequently compares these fishers to hunters, but surprisingly without exploring the commonly found distinctions between hunting, fishing, and/or trapping ontologies – although the Enawenê both trap and shoot or spear fish, and emphatically eat fish but not meat.

Chapter 2 describes the dizzying array of mutual exchanges and transformations that follow the fishers' return, and through which clan identity is repeatedly dissolved. The descriptive prose situates the reader in the midst of the action, but the complex sets of exchanges would have been easier to follow with the additional use of diagrams, and their analysis could have been reinforced through a comparative discussion of "communalisation" and of the centripetal/centrifugal tendencies of other central Amazonian peoples.

The discussion of work as ritual in chap. 3 introduces the notion of the "ritual everyday," illustrating how work is driven by its embeddedness in ceremonial exchange. On this basis an argument is advanced for the rhythmic, even sexual pleasure that Enawenê women take in work. The ritual calendar remained somewhat unclear to me, but I gleaned that November, at least, is free of ritual; this left me wondering what Enawenê everyday life is like outside ritual time. The book is mostly devoted to Yankwa which generally takes place from December to June. The later brief description of Saluma, which occurs in September and October, suggests it is a disruptive, war-like festival, and it is not clear whether it is constitutive of, or opposed to, an everyday ethos.

Chapter 4 approaches Enawenê economic and ceremonial life as an egalitarian system for ensuring economic equality, powerfully conveyed through insights such as how manioc garden ownership and cultivation function "like contracts." But it is not so clear that Enawenê people succeed in achieving equality of status. Hierarchical differentiation continues to play a sociological role outside the flute house to which it is supposedly confined, for instance, through the "pairing of leading and subordinate clans" during Yankwa, and some women "receive special clan names at birth" (166). The ritual cycle also illustrates the peculiar relationship of native Amazonian hierarchical organisation to time, and it is over time that differentiation continues to play a role among the Enawenê, where "the clans must continue to exist in their separateness" (179). If the Enawenê system of suppression or diffusion of hierarchy constitutes a distinctive mode of egalitarianism, it requires some differentiation from accounts of egalitarianism among hunter-gatherer societies. The discussion of kinship portrays clan membership as the driver of the dynamics of Enawenê kinship and marriage, but the equivalence of metaphors such as "lines" to native concepts is unclear, and there is no supporting account of Enawenê relationship terminology.

Chapter 5 further emphasises that the "'economic' matters of growing, harvesting, cooking, distributing and consuming food are encompassed by cosmology because they mediate relations between the living and the dead, between embodied … and disembodied agents" (219). This chapter on "cosmic diplomacy" draws on Lévi-Strauss's "culinary triangle," through rich and detailed discussion of food and feeding, with a notable emphasis on techniques and social effects of food storage – a subject that has not received the attention it deserves. Taste, and especially smell – "fragrance" of manioc flour in particular – is vividly evoked, as are the texture of different drinks, etc. The Enewanê's insistence on the need to neutralise manioc's dangerous potency is presented as more exceptional than it really is; for instance, one immediately thinks of the Achuar's attribution of vampiric qualities to it.

The final chapter discusses "foreign diplomacy" in relation to the disastrous attack on their most important resources in the name of "development" in the context of a dam project on their river system. The Enawenê were led to seize by force a "position of rival sovereignty in relation to the state, so that compensation negotiations became diplomatic in nature" (228), demonstrating how the Enawenê "see themselves as the government's necessary interlocutors rather than as disempowered subjects" (243). By leaving this subject to the end of the book, Nahum-Claudel risks appearing romantic or old-fashioned, but her aim is to substantiate the "troublesome" contrast between the "internal polit-

ical life [that] stresses collaborative and consensual deliberation and thoughtful, measured speech" and the dam consortium and government agents' image of them as "the ignorant party responsible for persistently derailing negotiations" (247).

The author here completes her systematic establishment of "diplomacy" as a characteristic form of collective action which can be directed "cosmically" or between clans (sociologically). This strategy allows her to discuss kinship, cosmology (which here encompasses economy and, to an extent, kinship), and relations with enemies/the state/White people, in a conceptually unified way, yet without appearing to be reductive. It shows how the concept of diplomacy can be used to frame indigenous struggles over rights and resources in a way which respects indigenous cosmological perspectives.

Some readers will be disappointed that, despite the immensely rich ethnographic detail, Nahum-Claudel goes to no great lengths to introduce and develop individual characters in her story, and leaves little room for idiosyncratic divergences from the norm, petty disputes and their resolution, dissent and tension, or the unevenness and contradiction that usually pertains to cultural knowledge. But the approach she has chosen appears faithful to her subjects' own way of thinking, and reinforces the sense of the eminently collective nature of Enawenê life.

Marc Brightman

Pavanello, Mariano: La papaye empoisonnée. Essais sur la société Akan des Nzema. Saarbrücken: Éditions universitaires européennes, 2017. 217 pp. ISBN 978-3-639-62278-2. Prix: € 41,90

Mariano Pavanello published this book a few years after concluding a research effort in the field of rare intensity, conducted from 1989 to 2013 in Nzema, an area inhabited by one of the Akan groups. The Nzema region, located close to the Atlantic coast, is divided into two sections by the border between Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire or Ivory Coast. Mariano Pavanello's work, periodically joined by other scholars and supported by a team of assistants and students, had started from the imposing ethnographic and interpretive base produced by the "Italian Ethnological Mission in Ghana" (MEIG) of Rome University, directed between 1954 and 1977 by Vinigi L. Grottanelli, a leading figure in Italian anthropology and a well-known name in the international context of African studies. In this sense, "La papaye empoisonnée" offers not only an ex-post reconsideration that traces problematic issues Pavanello faced during twenty-five years of systematic research, but – implicitly and sometimes by his explicit choice – that also enables the reader to make a critical reassessment of the modes and outcomes of a study experience that went back six decades with regard to the present time of the book. An experience, we might add, that saw a good number of researchers – qualified as such by their inclusion in a scientific "mission" – to reside with peculiar regularity and continuity in the really small communities of a circumscribed area, generating dynamics of a relationship whose effects on research work are often evident and a topic in itself of anthropological analysis.

In light of these considerations, what results as more than opportune is the attention that, in his introduction to the book, Pavanello devotes to justifying his role as an observer, coping with the now classic question of the ethnologist's "positioning" – Mariano Pavanello strongly argues in favor of the term ethnology to define his own perspective of anthropological work – on the basis of a dense comparison with theoretical literature, moving from the conviction that what makes ethnology a science is the fact that it is at the same time historical and rhetorical. Historical practice in producing critical knowledge about man, as likewise the ethnological encounter is historically determined, while "ethnographic writing is the rhetorical implementation of a historically determined memory (31).

A spasmodic cure for building ethnographic authority re-emerges several times through the volume's seven successive chapters, constructed by adapting, updating, and remodeling essays that Pavanello already published from 1995 onwards in books, miscellanies, and journals, and in different languages: Italian (3 essays), French (3), and English (2).

The essays were chosen precisely to draw a picture that is certainly not exhaustive but sufficient to outline what Pavanello perceives as the Nzema "discourse" – past and present – by highlighting background categories through an analysis of some of the local notions that contribute to composing the basis on which social communication is organized and which traverse the categories of knowledge transmission. Pavanello lists these notions, which form the narrative texture of the volume's different chapters: *ayɛne* (witchcraft, sorcerer), *ayidane* (poison, witchcraft), *amonle* (vow, malediction, oath), *abusua* (clan, lineage, family), *edwɛkɛ* (word, event, case, story, narration, little quarrell), *pɛpelilɛ* (justice), *adwenle* (knowledge), *nrɛlɛbɛ* (wisdom), *nɔhalɛ* (truth), *amaamuo* (custom, tradition), *nvasoɛ* (profit), *suanu agyalɛ* (lit. "marriage within the house," to signify unions both between cross cousins and a free man and a slave or captive) (33).

The first chapter, which gives the title to the volume (The Poisoned Papaya), is built around a tortured case of "witchcraft" in which Pavanello describes himself as among the parties involved, with a marked – almost excessive – emphasis on his "internal outlook" in ethnographic observation. Through his philologically attentive and convincing analysis of the interaction between *ayɛne*, *ayidane*, *amonle* (for simplicity: witchcraft, poison, malediction) he argues how each of the three categories, although conceptually autonomous, fails to acquire meaning unless read in combination with at least one of the other two, and concludes that the position of those who consider sorcery and black magic as completely autonomous concepts is to be rejected, as is the