the 1990s. The chapter heeds the topic of migration to the United States since the 1940s as one of the major factors that have brought prosperity but also inequality to the inhabitants. It gives an overview of the annual traditional fiestas and the participation of the faithful of the diverse religions. Migrants to Tacoma, Washington, reproduce Catholic fiestas in the new destination when they cannot travel to their hometown, and they always contribute to the community celebrations sending remittances. "By replacing the hierarchy of cargos with fiesta cost-sharing, Catholics in Tzintzuntzan have prevented Chamula-style caciques from rising to power" (39).

Chapter two focuses on the reasons for conversion in the 14 churches visited during the fieldwork. Within a place pervaded with alcoholism among males, female converts find the evangelical message very appealing. This chapter accounts for the different manner in which communities in Chiapas (Chamula) and in Tzintzuntzan deal with religious diversity. Although the author describes the history and development of all new evangelical churches as well as of the Catholic, he fails to distinguish Pentecostal from Mainline or Historic Protestant churches or the Jehovah's Witnesses. A brief description of each type would have been useful for readers who are not familiar with the topic. American scholars tend to dismiss or ignore part of the literature written in Spanish by Latin American analysts who have researched non-Catholic churches since the 1980s.

In chapter three, Cahn tackles an old battle within the field of religious studies, demonstrating in the process that successful Evangelical churches are not necessarily associated with coercive (and foreign) missionary tactics. Chapter four discusses the consequences of religious diversity on local Catholicism, which has begun to borrow traits from Evangelical churches in order to reinforce its doctrine and practice. The Catholics sympathize with the Evangelicals and criticize the excess of money spent in fiestas (104, 106).

"Responding to the Majority: Doctrinal Disobedience" is the title of chapter five. Here Cahn examines the different levels of doctrine and practice between religious leaders and the faithful. Drawing from daily life examples the author demonstrates that converts "do not separate themselves from the rest of the community" and are "more aware than their pastors of the benefits of cultivating positive relations with their neighbors" (122); therefore they occasionally disobey the church rules without disrespecting their leaders. Similarly, Catholics can disagree with the rigid positions of the priests and respond with criticism and disobedience, such as in the "throwing of Corpus Christi" (137). Both type of believers have an inclusive religious behavior; "interfaith understanding occurs in both directions" (125).

In chapter six, Cahn discusses the consequences of conversion and contextualizes his study in order to contest some of the given assumptions regarding the destruction of traditions in the communities, the political participation of evangelicals, and changes in gender roles. Although the author shows evidence from all the religious groups studied about women being excluded from leadership and playing subordinate roles, his argument is not totally convincing because religion in general but mostly marginal religions always offer free spaces for women to resist, challenge, and contest power.

In the conclusion, Cahn starts developing further his theoretical argument regarding the interfaith understanding of Tzintzuntzan. Not convinced with the model of "spiritual toolbox," a bricolage, or "religion à la carte," which explains religious mobility as if testing or choosing different products in the market according to flavors and circumstances, the author suggests a more inclusive model to explain the diverse religious options. His model should be less functionalist, and should not result in the fragmentation of the believers' identity. Believers in Tzintzuntzan do not consider the diverse creeds as products, but they think in terms of the positive attributes of all religions. "These flexible interpretations of faith do not weaken spiritual commitments, but rather strengthen them by inserting them in a larger social context" (168).

The book ends with the notes, bibliography, and index. It provides 13 photographs and two maps highly illustrative of the town life. The written style (in first person) makes the reading a real pleasure without lacking the rigor and depth of an academic work. Each section of the book has been elaborated interweaving the empirical data with a theoretical discussion, so that every relevant issue is thoroughly described and discussed. In summary, the book is an important contribution to the field of religious conversion and the study of Protestantism in Mexico and Latin America, in both as an ethnographic work and as a solid reflection on issues related to social, political, and economic consequences of religious diversity. Patricia Fortuny Loret de Mola


The Trobriand Islanders of Papua New Guinea are famous for their highly ritualized kula trade. In his masterpiece "Argonauts of the Western Pacific" Bronislaw Malinowski (London 1922: 81) describes the kula as "a form of exchange . . . carried out by communities inhabiting a wide ring of islands, which form a closed circuit . . . articles of two kinds . . . are constantly travelling in opposite directions . . . long necklaces of red shell, called soulava . . . [and] bracelets of white shell called mwalli . . . " To do the kula the Trobrianders use masawa-canoes to sail to the neighbouring islands. These canoes have exquisitely carved and painted prowboards and splashboards. Between September 1976 and March 1978 Shirley Campbell carried out fieldwork on Vakuta, the southernmost island of the Trobriand group, pursuing "at length the relationship between form, representation, colour association, and meaning of the kula outrigger canoe's prow and splashboards" (129). Now, 24 years later, she has published the results of her studies. Campbell states that her analyses are "concerned with the carvings produced by artists for consumption within their own so-
ciety and for which there is practical use and associated value ... [She enlists] the carvings placed on the kula outrigger canoes as consummate visual ‘texts’ defining how men would like their renown to be perceived. ... [Her] analysis explores the feedback generated between an artist and the community for which he works, his training, the value of his work as a practical object, and its power as a vehicle for symbolic representation” (5 f.).

The introduction gives an overview on the history of the Trobriand art of carving and previous ethnographic research on this topic. Campbell explicitly defines her approach to “the art of kula” as different from that of other authors; she is “concerned with describing the relationship of the carvings to Vakutan values and the meaning evoked by the designs within a purely Vakutan context” (5); she emphasizes that her research “concentrates on the system of meaning encoded in the kula canoe prow and slashboards” (6).

The book is divided into three sections. Part one outlines the social setting. Chapter 1 describes the Trobriands and their inhabitants, their contact experiences with Europeans from 1782 to the 1970s, the settlement patterns on Vakuta, the Vakutans’ subsistence, their exchange patterns, their political organization, and the prototypical course of a day in their life.

Chapter 2 introduces the difference between carvers who carve with magic – the tokabitam (ginigini) or mastercarvers, and those that carve without it – the tokataraki. Then it provides the readers with a brief history of the artefact trade on the Trobriands.

Chapter 3 explores the process by which a master-carver’s apprentice becomes a tokabitam ginigini and the role of a mastercarver in Vakutan society. First the author differentiates three forms of knowledge that are essential for becoming such an artist: nukwali (general knowledge), kateta (specialised, personalised knowledge), and kabitam (knowledge of magic systems). Access to a master-carver’s knowledge is restricted, and only the best apprentice will get this knowledge from his master. Campbell then describes how a boy becomes a master-carver’s apprentice, what he has to do, and when he finally gets the kabitam in form of the sopi magic that enables the free flow of a master’s carving patterns. This “initiation” to knowledge encompasses three stages. Then the apprentice has to learn how to make his tools, he is taught the qualities of various types of woods, and he has to learn the designs of the boards. When the master thinks that his apprentice is ready to apply what he has learned, he makes him carve 6 (non life-size) splashboards – the lagim and prowboards – the tabuya. If the master finds the results perfect, he proclaims his apprentice a tokabitam ginigini.

Part two gives a formal analysis of the carving patterns on a lagim and on a tabuya. Chapter 4 analyses the cutting designs of the four boards. Each set of prows is distinguishable by formal markers. The author shows that the tabuya as well as the lagim carving patterns cover 5 sections of the boards. Campbell then describes the labelled forms that are carved into the various sections of the boards and explains the significance of the different categories. This chapter provides excellent ethnography!

Unfortunately, this cannot be said of chapter 5, basically because the linguistics here (and throughout the volume) is just hopeless! To mention just two basic linguistic mistakes: Campbell neither understands the Kilivila system of numeral classifiers nor grasps the way of marking possession in Kilivila. This is difficult to understand, given the fact that since 1986 there has been a grammar and a dictionary of Kilivila available (G. Senft, Kilivila – The Language of the Trobriand Islanders. Berlin 1986). In this chapter the author examines the repertoire of representations (of animals, plants, etc.) and the meanings that are associated with the forms examined in chapter 4. The author’s knowledge about these representations is impressive.

Chapter 6 discusses the role of the colours on the boards that constitute an additional important semiotic system. If one neglects the mistakes with respect to Kilivila color term semantics, this chapter thoroughly describes the colouring of the prows, how the colours are made, and their application on the boards. It remains unclear whether the section on colour symbolism presents the emic Vakutan symbolism or whether it is based on the author’s hypotheses.

Chapter 7 examines the themes in each section of the boards. The author claims that “the tabuya features several representations that are concerned with success ..., flight ..., effective magic ..., the power of attraction ..., and wisdom” (138) and that the lagim features themes like “beauty,” “power,” “desire,” “emotion,” “consciousness,” “density of magic,” “flight,” “speed,” “knowledge,” and “creative thought.” The chapter ends with a discussion of the design units that encode multiple layers of meaning. Basically, these designs should contribute to the success of a kula expedition.

Part three of the book focuses on the rituals of the kula. Chapter 8 describes the processes involved in making a kula canoe, the departure and the return journey of a kula expedition, the actual kula transactions, and the overall meaning of the kula. The author concludes that the kula offers each man “the opportunity to achieve immortality through the renown of his name” (175).

Chapter 9 discusses “men’s ideological characterisation of their relationship to women” (184) and defines the kula canoe as representing the mediation between land – the domain of women – and sea – the domain of men.

In the conclusion, Campbell summarises the analyses presented. She emphasizes that the “art of kula is a dynamic medium of communication in which the associated systems of meaning are integrated with others to reflect Vakutan spheres of social experience” (193). It encodes the specific Vakutan worldview.

The book ends with the notes, a glossary of Kilivila terms, a bibliography, and an index. The illustrations and the 18 photographs provided are highly informative. The book is well edited, there are hardly any typos.

In summary, some chapters of this book offer excellent ethnography. Despite its severe linguistic shorthand.
ings and despite the fact that it often remains unclear
whether the author presents an emic or rather an etic
analysis of the art of kula, the monograph is an inter-
esting contribution to the ethnography of the Trobriand
Islanders and the fascinating aspects of their indigenous
culture.

Gunter Senft

Caplan, Pat (ed.): The Ethics of Anthropology. De-

Pat Caplans Sammelband “The Ethics of Anthropol-
ogy. Debates and Dilemmas” verstieht sich als Auseinander-
dersetzung mit den fachspezifischen Ethik-Codes ameri-
kanischer und englischer Anthropologie. Dabei geht es
Caplan um keine neue, interkulturell gültige Bestimm-
ung von Ethik. Ihr Band erörtert weder die Konflikte
der Globalisierung noch ethische Grundlagenprobleme,
sondern die Verflechtung von Politik, Macht und Ethik,
sowohl im hochsubpolitischen Umgang mit Ethik-
Codes wie auch in der ethnologischen Feldforschung.
Die Gültigkeit jener Normen, die das Selbstverständ-
nis der abendländischen Aufklärung prägen und den
Kern der Menschenrechtsidee ausmachen, wird hinge-
gen weder interkulturell problematisiert noch sachlich
begründet, sondern schlicht vorausgesetzt. Dies gilt auch
für den einführenden Beitrag von David Mills, “Like
a Horse in Blinkers? A Political History of Anthro-
pology’s Research Ethics”, der an diversen Beispielen
illustriert, dass die Ausbildung eines fachspezifischen
anthropologischen Ethik-Codes vor allem in den USA
als unmittelbare Reaktion auf politische Instrumenta-
isierungsversuche von ethnographischem Wissen ver-
standen werden kann. Zur Debatte steht also keine re-
exive Begründung anthropologischer Ethik, sondern
erhie die Frage, wie der anthropologische Ethik-Diskurs
seinerseits Ausdruck und Element politischer Macht-
verhältnisse ist.

Diese kulturgeschichtliche Perspektive auf das Ver-
hältnis von Anthropologie und Ethik bildet den Fluch-
punkt einleitender “Debates”, die nicht zuletzt eine
taktuelle Bedeutungsverschiebung im anthropologischen
Ethik-Diskurs thematisieren. Caplans und Mills’ Inter-
esse gilt der – noch kaum beachteten – Instrumenta-
isierung von Ethik im Rahmen der zeitgenössischen
“audit culture”, die auf die gegenwärtige Anthropologi-
gum mehr Einfluss gewinnt, als diese sich der politi-
schen Forderung nach wirtschaftlich verwertbarem
Wissen ausgesetzt sieht. Welch unsachgemäße Formen
der Zwang zur ethischen Absicherung für die ethnologi-
sche Forschung mitunter annehmen, beschreibt Marilyn
Silverman in ihrer Auseinandersetzung mit den Ethik-
Fragebögen kanadischer Hochschulen, während Stephen
 Nugent Patrick Tierneys moralische Radikalkritik an
den Yanomami-Forschungen von Napoleon Chagnon als
ethisch verbränten Diffamierungsversuch von dessen
evolutionistischem Theorienansatz deutet. Mit der poli-
tisch gebotenen ethischen Rechtfertigung ändert sich,
so Caplans bedenkenswerte These, die Bedeutung von
Ethik für die Anthropologie insgesamt: Hatten ethische

Debatten ursprünglich das Ziel, eine selbstdkritische Ein-
stellung zur eigenen Wissenschaft auszubilden, die in-
digene Informanten vor der Vereinnahmung durch euro-
zentrische Interessen schützen sollte, so werden sie nun
t zu formalen Mechanismen des Selbstschutzes und damit
ihresseits zum Instrument politischer Machtausübung
und inhaltslicher Steuerung von Wissenschaft.

Caplans Interesse an diesen machtpolitischen Ver-
flchtungen des anthropologischen Ethik-Diskurses so-
wie an der Identitätskrise gegenwärtiger Anthropologi-
ge überhaupt knüpft unverkennbar an postmoderne
Dekonstruktionsbemühungen an, deren erkenntniskriti-
sches Problembeuwusstsein sämtliche Beiträge des Ban-
des prägt. Anders als in der “Writing Culture” Debatte
gibt es Caplan allerdings nicht um die literarische Re-
duktion von Anthropologie, sondern um die Aufdeckung
jener praktischen Implikationen, die mit der ethnogra-
phischen Repräsentationskrise einhergehen: Neben die
Auseinandersetzung mit den politischen Aspekten von
Ethik sowie mit der ethnischen Dimension ethnologischer
Beschreibung und Deutung (s. dazu die Beiträge von
Nigel Eltringham, Veronica Strang und Andrew Spiegel)
tritt darum die Analyse jener Konflikte, in die der Eth-
nologe durch seine eigene Vorstellung von Wirklichkeit
und Ethik während der Feldforschung gerät (s. dazu
Lissete Josephides, Susan Greenwood, Gill Barber, Vasi-
lki Kravva). Die Verknüpfung von epistemologischer
und ethischer Problematisierung – Caplan beruft sich dabei va-
ge auf Martin Heidegger – orientiert sich an der Einsicht,
dass die jeweilige Ideen rechten Handels auf einem be-
stimmten Begriff von Wirklichkeit beruht. Theorie und
Praxis, Erkenntnis und Ethik lassen sich demnach nicht
voneinander trennen, sie gehören, so Caplans Grundthe-
se, gerade in der Anthropologie konstitutiv zusammen.

Folgerichtig beschreiben die praktischen “Dilem-
mas” konkrete ethische Widersprüche, die beim Aufein-
andertreffen konkurrierender handlungsleitender Welt-
anschauungen in der Praxis der Feldforschung entstehen:
Gill Barber erläutert ihr Dilemma anhand eines Kon-
flikts, in den sie einerseits als Anthropologin und ande-
erseits als westlich ausgebildete Hebamme gegenüber
einer indigenen Informantin und Hebamme aus Malawi
gerät, als diese – aus Barbers Sicht – unverantwortli-
che therapeutische Maßnahmen angibt. Ihr ethnologi-
sches Interesse an fremden Formen der Weltdeutung
und die vom anthropologischen Ethik-Code gebotene
Verantwortung für das ihr anvertraute geheime Wissen
der indigenen Hebamme kollidieren mit der Überzeu-
gung, über das bessere medizinische Wissen zu verfügen
und die Forderungen des Ethik-Codes britischer Hebam-
men erfüllen zu müssen, die sich primär am Wohl der
Gebärenden und ihres Kindes, nicht an der Verantwor-
tung für die Informantin orientieren. Ein anderes Dilem-
ma skizziert Nigel Eltringham anhand der Unmöglich-
heit, eine Darstellung des Völkermordes in Rwanda zu
leisten, die von allen Beteiligten gebilligt würde. Hier
wird nicht nur die Wirklichkeitsdeutung des Ethnologen
zum Problem, sondern ebenso die Tatsache, dass sich die
traumatisierten Kontrahenten des indigenen Konflikts
genau jener polyvokalen Repräsentation unterschiedli-

Anthropos 100.2005