HAMAYON, ROBERTE. *La chasse à l'âme. Esquisse d'une théorie du chamanisme sibérien* [Hunting the soul: Outlining a theory of Siberian shamanism]. Mémoires de la société d'ethnologie 1. Nanterre, France: Société d'ethnologie, 1990. 880 pages. Maps, illustrations, photographs, figures, bibliography, subject index, glossary of vernacular terms. Paper, n. p. ISBN 2-901161-35-9; ISSN 1151-583X. (In French)

The recent proliferation of studies on shamanism has provided us with much valuable information on the astonishing variety and wide distribution of this phenomenon. And yet one can't help feeling that most of these studies are investigating the "trees" of shamanism without really helping us understand what the "forest" might be. If shamanism is truly a global phenomenon, surely a more comprehensive understanding is possible. The question remains, nevertheless, as to what sort of underlying representation might account for the existence of shamanistic practice in both traditional and modern societies. In the present volume Hamayon proposes a new approach to this issue, one that involves the entire society and not just the shaman alone.

It is simply impossible to do justice to this work in a short review. May it be said in general that both the presentation of detail and the density of argument never failed to capture the reviewer throughout each of the more than eight hundred pages. Hamayon begins with an examination of a particular culture—the Buryat on the shores of Lake Baikal on the eve of the Russian Revolution—in order to show how shamanism pervaded and organized every aspect of its life and thought. Buryat society exhibits three forms characteristic of many of the Siberian peoples: the hunters of the forest, the part-hunters part-pastoralists of the forest edge, and the full pastoralists of the steppe. Of these, it is the hunters that the author sees as most important for the understanding of shamanism, since only in their archaic society does shamanism comprise an "all-embracing system."

In the latter part of the book Hamayon uses her analysis of Buryat society as a basis for a more general consideration of the nature of shamanism. According to Hamayon, there are two types of logic (*logique*) that determine the characteristic form that shamanism will take in a particular society: the logic of alliance and the logic of filiation. The changes that occur in the role and activities of the shaman as a society moves from an emphasis on alliance to an emphasis on filiation are clearly demonstrated in the three types of Buryat society.

The forest hunters' society, organized in moieties that exchange women, is characterized by three closely related factors: the hunt, the alliance, and shamanism. The hunt of such large animals as elk and reindeer presupposes, on the everyday level, a hunter's cooperation with his in-laws, and, on the symbolic level, a shaman's intervention with the supernatural beings that are thought to provide game for the hunt. Relationships with the supernatural are patterned after relationships in society, in that they are based on the idea of exchange between two equal groups and hence involve three kinds of partners: the original donor (*donneur*), the taker (*preneur*), and the provider of the return gift (*rendeur*). The shaman is called upon to symbolically marry the daughter of the forest spirit, thereby securing game and procuring life force for the hunters. His success or failure in winning the daughter depend upon his show of virility and his partial identification with the animals and the wild (*ensauvagement*).

Once bestowed, however, the gift demands a return in kind. Since the hunters live by the meat of the hunt, and since it is thought that spirits live on the flesh (or

rather the life force) of human beings, what must be returned is the "food of the spirits": human life force. The shaman is the one who must return this gift on behalf of his group, which he does when he falls into a motionless death-like trance after his initial display of frenzy. His true task, however, is to negotiate a delay in returning the life force and thereby avoid sickness and death for the group, the final step in the exchange. The shaman's activity is thus modeled on the hunt, his "game" being the life force that guarantees the group's existence. This exchange is seen as the basis of the group's continuation. In these dealings with a capricious spirit-provider chance controls all; the shaman's responsibility is to direct this chance (*gestion de l'aléatoire*). His resourcefulness in negotiating a good result is the source of both his authority and his ambiguity.

Although in hunter society the two groups participating in the exchange are both formed through filiation, it is alliance that is given precedence as a means for their continuance. However, when a society comes to rely in total or in part upon a controlled—and thus owned—food supply the emphasis shifts from alliance to filiation. In a part-hunter part-pastoralist situation the world of the forest still has an important role, but it is now symbolically represented as the mythical founder of the society, with each clan claiming its own ancestral spirit(s). The founder has thus been humanized, and is seen as the apex of a group of human beings that now relies on filiation for its continued existence. The shaman in such a society still fulfills an important function in procuring life force for the clan, but what he returns is not the same: it is now human property, namely the meat of sacrificial animals. The shaman's role, though still important, is clearly dependent upon the clan elders' ritual activity. Filiation even plays a part in his own career, since he must be able to claim shaman forebears in order to be chosen as shaman. His main occupations are war and healing, both aimed at defending the clan but also offering the possibility of challenging political authority.

Among the full pastoralists, where filiation and ancestry are central, the shaman is definitely marginalized. Excluded from a proliferation of rituals that rest upon a clear distinction between good and evil (a distinction that the shaman flexibly negotiates according to the needs of a particular situation), the shaman becomes an independent professional for curing and divination, a calling that even women may choose.

Filiation represents, in a sense, rigid structure and ritualization, while alliance and exchange require adaptability, flexibility, and a nondogmatic approach to all situations. Alliance remains the basic attitude of shamanism in spite of all the changes it has undergone. Hamayon thus concludes that the shaman can handle the unpredictable because he negotiates and adapts himself to the demands of the moment.

Hamayon does not see her study as the final word on shamanism (not even that of Siberia), but simply as a hypothesis. It is a hypothesis, however, that lends coherence to many facts that heretofore have been discussed mainly in isolation, and that casts many phenomena—trance, dance, games, storytelling, hunting, and the role of the community to name just a few—in a new and often surprising light. As far as this reviewer can judge, it presents a convincing schema for much of Siberian shamanism and should provide a healthy impetus for shamanist studies in general. Actually, I find it quite surprising that Hamayon's ideas have not attracted more notice since their first presentation several years ago at an international meeting in Nice (HAMAYON 1986).

I fear that the formidable size of this book may discourage many readers from taking it up. The reader may wish to refer to some of her shorter publications in English where her leading ideas are summarized (HAMAYON 1992, forthcoming), but these alone cannot match the richness in thought and material offered by the present volume.

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Peter KNECHT

INDONESIA

ATKINSON, JANE MONNIG. *The Art and Politics of Wana Shamanship.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989. xviii+365 pages. Texts, illustrations, maps, bibliography, glossary, subject index. Cloth US$39.95; ISBN 0-520-06377-5.

In her influential article "Theory in Anthropology since the Sixties," ORTNER (1984) sketched the theoretical lineaments of an emergent synthesis of symbolic anthropology and systematic sociology as an integrating trend in anthropology. The orientation Ortner outlined, sometimes accorded such labels as practice theory, has remained a central focus of anthropologists seeking to articulate both collective structure and individual agency in accounts of how social asymmetry is created, reproduced, and transformed. In many respects Jane Atkinson's monograph *The Art and Politics of Wana Shamanship* provides an ethnographic realization of the vision delineated by Ortner.

Atkinson's monograph centers upon the *mabolong*, a shamanic performance genre practiced among the Wana, a population of some five thousand swidden cultivators inhabiting the upland jungles of eastern Central Sulawesi in Indonesia. Her account demonstrates how the *mabolong* is at once a religious ritual enacting cosmology and a political event constituting authority and community. Atkinson's analysis accounts for the contemporary centrality of *mabolong* in terms not only of its place in the current constitution of Wana communities but also in the ever-changing historical contexts that have conditioned its relation to other types of rituals and forms of political authority.

Atkinson's introduction situates her study within the frame of her own fieldwork and places the study of the Wana *mabolong* (as both symbolic form and political process) in the context of the wider theoretical issues involved in the analysis of Southeast Asian polities. These are further developed in the five parts into which the rest of the book is divided. Chapter 1 sets forth the occasions of *mabolong*, showing through evocative texts how shamans summon spirit familiars. The Wana geography of power outlined in chapter 2 contrasts the ordinary and the extraordinary (hidden) dimensions of reality, and introduces the cultural scenarios by which these realms were separated in the mythical era and by which they can be reunited again through shamanic performances and millenarian movements. Chapter 3 establishes the contours of Wana notions