

Culture



Paul FRIEDRICH, *The Princes of Naranja: an Essay in Anthropological Method*, Austin, University of Texas Press, 1986. 305 pages, U.S. \$12.95 (paperback)

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rival Europeans advancing up the Hudson River Valley. Jesuit missions were sent into Iroquois country, but never managed to duplicate their earlier successes in Huronia, because the French “never acquired the economic control or the military ascendancy that was necessary to achieve the Jesuits’ goal” (p. 292). The success or failure of missionary activities among peoples markedly more egalitarian and less hierarchically organized than the Europeans is thus seen to depend directly on the nature of the political economy that could back the efforts at conversion.

In the final chapter of the book (Chapter 6) Trigger returns to the key question of “Who founded New France?”. He re-iterates his view that European penetration and settlement could not have been accomplished without native assistance. The native peoples were demographically in the vast majority. They were knowledgeable about the environment in ways that the Europeans were not. They controlled the one resource, animal furs, that underwrote the entire Euro-Canadian economy. They were in a position to destroy the Europeans militarily, but entered into trade relations with them instead. “If Europeans had gained a toehold in Canada, it was because a substantial number of native peoples wished them to do so” (p. 298). On the other hand, it was the French fur traders whose contacts with the natives and whose knowledge of their ways ensured the flow of furs that would ultimately capitalize the Seigneurial system favored by the metropolis and its representatives in New France. Trigger discounts supposed differences in national character as a conceptual device for explaining the different roads to European colonization followed by the French, the Dutch, and the English in North America. Instead he locates the significant causative differences in “social and economic, rather than ethnic and cultural variations between the mother countries” (p. 342). A systematic comparison of these differences in class hierarchies, political structure and ecclesiastical organization becomes relevant here, but is clearly the subject matter for another book. It might be fascinating, for example, to comprehend the active, but denigrated role of the French fur traders in Canada in terms of the conflict within France between the trading cities of the Atlantic Fringe and the centralizing state pivoted upon Paris. That such questions come to mind after one has put down *Natives and Newcomers* is a measure of its success. Bruce Trigger has written an account that speaks not only to Canadian concerns, but to the growing and generalizing interest in relating local and regional issues in all their historical and spatial peculiarities to larger trans-continental processes. This is a very good book indeed.

Paul FRIEDRICH, *The Princes of Naranja : an Essay in Anthropological Method*, Austin, University of Texas Press, 1986. 305 pages, U.S. \$12.95 (paperback).

By Frans J. Schryer
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Paul Friedrich’s *The Princes of Naranja* is a sequel to a book that appeared nine years earlier. This earlier book, *Agrarian Revolt in a Mexican Village*, has become a classic anthropological case study of the agrarian struggle of Tarascan peasants during the Mexican Revolution. *The Princes* provides additional insights into agrarian politics and social change in this indigenous community. Friedrich’s second monograph also explains how he collected and then analyzed his data and how he wrote up the results of his research.

The Princes is divided into four parts. Part one presents seven short biographies of agrarian leaders, followed by a description of three political meetings. This part includes most of the ethnographic data which provided the basis for Friedrich’s discussion of the social psychology of political leadership, the use of oral language as well as non-verbal cues in the arena of village politics and the role that violence has played in the politics of rural Mexico. Parts two and three present a political analysis on both the micro level (the village of Naranja) and the macro level (Mexico as a whole). Here Friedrich mainly presents his own objective (etic) analysis, addressed to a more specialized academic audience, although much of the content of this analysis consists of native categories or translations of what the natives said. His methods of anthropological fieldwork and a discussion of the actual process of writing ethnography appear in part four.

As the sub-title indicates, *The Princes* is as much about anthropological method as it is about local level politics. It is also about anthropological writing. For example, part four includes a chapter on Friedrich’s own process of writing over a twenty year period, starting at the time of his doctoral dissertation and cumulating in the production of *The Princes*. This chapter includes a section in which Friedrich outlines some principles of composition in anthropological writing. Another chapter spells out how his personal background and more general reading outside of his own discipline (whether the Greek classics or Russian novels) inspired him in making sense out of what he observed in rural Mexico.

Friedrich’s work represents a novel way of writing ethnography in terms of style as well as organization. A novel feature is the incorporation of his ethnographic fieldnotes. Within anthropology, fieldnotes (usually meant to be read only by the researcher himself) may be

occasionally selected for a separate article or book focussing on field methods. More frequently, short excerpts will be included within the body of a monograph to illustrate specific points or to provide additional evidence for the author's arguments. In contrast, in *The Princes*, a set of notes originally written in the field in 1956, constitutes an entire chapter by itself (chapter two, called "Fieldnote Interlude"). This is the chapter where Friedrich describes and analyzes a village meeting. Apart from publishing many other segments from the notes which contain his first impressions and observations, Friedrich also gives a voice to the people he studied. He does this through numerous direct quotations (translated into English) of statements made by the people he interviewed in Naranja. These quotations are used not only to illustrate the viewpoint of the local actors (as part of the raw data analyzed by the anthropologist), but to represent and give full credit to the intellectual insights of the people among whom he carried out research. Through some of these quotations, the "princes" of Naranja express their own philosophy of life and their own analysis of politics. In this way Friedrich shows the reader how part of his academic insights and scholarly conclusions is directly derived from the self-reflection and critical analysis of people usually treated only as natives or informants and portrayed as pure objects instead of active agents or human subjects.

Friedrich's manner of presentation and his sensitivity to the viewpoint of political actors in rural Mexico partly reflect his training as a linguist (as well as social anthropologist) and the fact that Friedrich is a poet in addition to being an academic. His concern with the writing process is also indicative of a more general trend found in American anthropology today, a trend represented by such authors as James Clifford (a cultural historian), George Marcus and Michael Fischer (both anthropologists). These writers, all of whom have collaborated or co-authored books with scholars specializing in literary criticism, frequently use such key words as 'dialogic writing', 'plurality of voices' and 'tropes', to reveal the way in which the conventions of anthropological writing have for the most part marked the inequality of power between anthropological researcher and informants as objects of study. Writers from this school of thought argue for the need to develop new ways of writing anthropology and recognize that ethnography should become much more of a dialogue between the anthropologist and the people among whom she goes to do fieldwork. As far as I know, none of these writers quotes or refers to Friedrich nor does Friedrich mention any of these authors in *The Princes*. However, I would argue that Friedrich's new book comes close to the genre of anthropological writing that they advocate. *The Princes of Naranja* also represents a unique

blending of emic and etic perspectives, of political economy and political ethnography.

Collectif, *André Leroi-Gourhan ou les voies de l'homme* (Actes du Colloque du CNRS - mars 1987), Paris, Albin Michel, 1988. 257 pages, 125 FF.

Par Jean-Claude Muller
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Ce recueil de témoignages et d'hommages pour commémorer, un an plus tard, la mort d'André Leroi-Gourhan, survenue en février 1986, n'obéit pas aux règles du genre. C'est une belle surprise car les auteurs n'ont ni statufié ni momifié leur maître mais se sont tous situés, chacun dans sa spécialité, dans ce qu'ils voient comme le prolongement de son enseignement et chacun, reconnaissant dûment sa dette envers lui, explique sa démarche actuelle à partir de cet enseignement. Le résultat de cette expérience est tout aussi révélateur de la pensée de Leroi-Gourhan que de son influence posthume. On sait que Leroi-Gourhan s'est intéressé à tout ce qui concerne l'homme—le sous-titre du volume le souligne fort bien—et il a été novateur dans toute une série de domaines qui, à première vue, n'ont pas tellement de points en commun. Mais qu'on en juge en lisant ce livre!

Quatre courtes introductions ouvrent le volume : un avant-propos de Lucien Bernet justifiant ce colloque de témoignages, une note d'Hélène Balfet sur l'exposition qui accompagna ledit colloque, un court exposé de Jacques Lautman sur l'interdisciplinarité qui a toujours caractérisé la pratique de Leroi-Gourhan et une revue de ce qu'on pourrait appeler sa méthode pédagogique signé Robert Cresswell, un disciple de première heure.

Ces textes nous aident à mieux comprendre la suite ; les sujets particuliers dans lesquels s'est illustré Leroi-Gourhan et l'orientation qu'en ont déjà donné ses disciples ainsi que leur problématique future sont tour à tour abordés : 1) l'ethnologie préhistorique ; Dominique Baffier, Francine David, Gilles Gaucher et Michel Orliac examinent ce qu'entendait Leroi-Gourhan par ce terme et ses répercussions sur son style de fouille ; 2) les rapports de Leroi-Gourhan à la paléontologie par François Popelin qui, dans un texte hautement poétique, explique la vision qu'avait Leroi-Gourhan du monde animal, de l'anatomie et des restes osseux et de leurs relations avec son travail de préhistorien ; 3) l'apport de Leroi-Gourhan aux études technologiques où Bruno Martinelli fait le point des acquis, des piétinements, des nouvelles pistes actuelles et des