

disagreement with some aspects of their worldview should be commended, both from methodological and from ethical points of view.

The book has updated debates about spirit possession too, especially in relation to Kimbanguism. Because Kimbanguists today reject spirit possession, some scholars have argued that the recent phenomena of spiritual seizure found among Kimbanguists in Kinshasa and other urban centres must be due to influence from Pentecostal churches. But if we carefully read Covington-Ward, we may find clues to develop a different hypothesis. Spiritual seizure is as old as (and probably much older than) Kimbanguism. Kimbangu and his early followers were described as *trembleurs* ('shakers') as early as 1921 (when Kimbangu was taken to prison by Belgian authorities), as shaking was for them (as for so many spiritually oriented people in the world) a powerful manifestation of the spirit. It has been only recently that Kimbanguism has become a non-possessive religion, one in which only severely disciplined and acutely ordered body gestures are to be accepted. Only by understanding their theology and combining it with a post-Foucauldian anthropology of body and power is it possible to judge the full implications of a history in which the body has been the main protagonist, as well as to understand today's ambivalence towards possessed bodies in that church (but not in other ones, where possession is sought after). I focus on that aspect in particular because of my own interest in Kimbanguism, but in this book the church of Simon Kimbangu is only one of several institutions under study.

By digging in missionary archives, conducting oral history, analysing images of dances and performances in Mobutu's Zaire, and, very importantly, by inscribing her own body and persona into the picture (moving her African-descended body 'from the Bronx to the Congo'), the author has been able to masterfully reconstruct an entangled history in which the body and its gestures have had a central agency, as loci either of power or resistance. It is not good enough to repeat the mantra that societies remember and that the body is central to technologies of postcolonial remembrance. This is a good hypothesis, but we need specific ethnographic studies to prove that this is the case, and this is what this book offers. With her very original angle on the burgeoning field of the anthropology of the body, and in an up-to-date ethnographic account of the prophetic churches of the Bakongo, Covington-Ward has produced a very detailed account of colonial and postcolonial trajectories and bodily memories in contemporary Central Africa.

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Paolo Israel, *In Step with the Times: mapiko masquerades of Mozambique*. Athens OH: Ohio University Press (pb US\$32.95 – 978 0 8214 2088 1). 2014, 296 + xvi pp.

Paolo Israel's exciting work, constructing the oral history of a masquerade genre against a backdrop of radical social change, is a virtuoso performance that brings together the insights drawn from intensive oral history research and a critical eye for the use and misuse of anthropological theory. He introduces this book as a microhistory of the *mapiko* masquerade of the northern Mozambican Makonde from 1920 to 2010 and contends that the study of *mapiko* reveals the 'forms of political subjectivity, affiliation and affect' that emerged on the Makonde Plateau throughout the twentieth century (p. 10).

The downside of attempting to create a broad historical narrative of *mapiko*'s development is the lack of visual documentation of actual performances prior to the 1960s. The author focuses instead on extensive field interviews with past performers and spectators, from which he attempts to fashion a masquerade's life over a century, from the aftermath of slavery and the effects of Portuguese colonialism in northern Mozambique (1917–62), to the years of revolutionary change (1962–92), and finally post-socialism (1992–2009).

The other challenge raised in the study is about what counts as tradition. Asserting that *mapiko* masquerading is both 'traditional' and 'popular' at the same time, the author builds on the work of Gregory Bateson, which focuses on competitive ritual performance and the generation of social difference (p. 7). Further, Israel argues that the scholarly debate about tradition has been especially polarized in Mozambican historiography because FRELIMO's revolutionary nationalism reproduced many colonial stereotypes of existing practices. Thus, when the counter-revolutionary movement RENAMO gained ground, its supporters favoured the cultural institutions, especially chiefship, that had regulated their lives for so long (p. 7). On both sides, debates about politics left out expressive culture such as dance and masking performances.

Part One, 'Directions', sets out the theoretical and temporal framework of the book. Israel challenges the argument by Jorge and Margot Dias that *mapiko* is a 'magical weapon' through which men control women (p. 23) by suggesting that this type of analysis forms part of 'the colonial library' of dualisms and dichotomies (p. 19). *Mapiko*, the author argues, has always been about competition and rivalry, some of which is certainly male–female, but other aspects pit male against male performance so gender supremacy cannot be read as a full explanation.

Parts Two, Three and Four of the study deal with *mapiko* in each of its twentieth-century embodiments. Given the sheer density of the descriptions, it would not be possible to rehearse them all even briefly in a short review. Instead, I will try to demonstrate the richness of the analysis using just one of these socio-temporal interludes: Chapter 3 of the book describes the period of Portuguese colonial penetration of the Makonde Plateau. Makonde narrators used the phrase 'meat is meat' – a popular saying meaning approximately 'don't be particular – just eat (accept) it!' – to explain a change in *mapiko* dance practice that occurred at this time. In the past (not specifically dated but before the solid infiltration of colonial presence on the Makonde Plateau), *mapiko* dance groups were exclusively formed by separate lineages in various settlements and came together for competitive performances. In the colonial period, the groups gradually came to be open to anyone, with talent rather than bloodline the test of fitness for membership: the 'meat' of one lineage could be mixed with the 'meat' of another. Such a change, similar to the difference in performance levels between amateur and professional sports teams, greatly increased competition among dance groups and raised the bar on dance skills.

What, if anything, did this change have to do with colonialism? Importantly, the *paz portuguesa* put an end to internecine warfare, such as raids and lineage wars. People could move more freely between hamlets without the fear of being snatched and sold to a slaving caravan (p. 66). Their public sphere therefore enlarged and it became possible to consider supra-lineage forms of social life, which led to the 'meat is meat' *mapiko* performances.

Also, whereas in precolonial Makonde society youths were expected to carry out raids against rival lineages for wives and valuables, under colonial rule, pacification enabled new forms of movement and agency. As *mapiko* performance competitions also replaced older rivalries (p. 66), young men learned the competitive

skills of drumming, dancing, singing and dressing in the mask costume during the long initiation schools they attended. Underlying the training was a strong conviction about talent (*ulanda*): either you were born with it or you were not (*udagwa*) (pp. 66–8). The resulting hubris sometimes pushed performances over the edge into actual brawls.

Another force for change in *mapiko* dancing was labour migration northwards into Tanganyika, which brought Makonde into closer contact with Swahili coast post-slavery *ngoma* styles, which were also extremely competitive. Israel argues that, in this case, changes in the *mapiko* dance were not the result of urban life transforming a ‘traditional society’ but ‘the voluntary choice of a hinterland group restyling itself as cosmopolitan’ (p. 77).

This book is a trove of material to be explored by students of masking or other forms of popular performance. Whether we call the dynamics of *mapiko* dance schismogenesis, ‘warrior theatre’ (as I did elsewhere in 2007), or just an intransigent modernism bursting at the seams, it is a cultural force to be reckoned with.

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Sarah Van Beurden, *Authentically African: arts and the transnational politics of Congolese culture*. Athens OH: Ohio University Press (hb US\$80 – 978 0 8214 2190 1; pb US\$34.95 – 978 0 8214 2191 8). 2015, 392 pp.

The cover image of *Authentically African* is a 2002 painting by Congolese artist Chéri Samba from the collection of the Royal Museum of Central Africa, Tervuren, depicting a struggle between the Belgian staff of the Tervuren Museum and a group of Congolese officials from the Institut des Musées Nationaux du Zaïre (IMNZ). The grand edifice of the Tervuren Museum is on the left; an imperious Belgian director oversees a corpulent museum worker tugging on the straps of a dolly holding a towering bronze statue of a Leopard Man – a reference to the secret societies that, at least in the eyes of the Belgians, terrorized the Congo. At the base of the steps stand Congolese museum officials who are pulling the Leopard Man away from the museum, surrounded by forest foliage and elephants. One has to wonder whether Chéri Samba painted this picture for the book, since it so perfectly illustrates the themes that run through Van Beurden’s trenchant history of the cultural politics of the Congo in the colonial and postcolonial periods.

Using extensive archival documentation from Belgium and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), as well as interviews with many of the key players, Sarah Van Beurden explores how cultural objects, collected as ethnology or art, have been used for over a century to define and justify the Belgian colonial project, as well as in Mobutu’s promotion of Zaïre and himself, and in the construction of the image of the Congo in the international arena. Ongoing arguments over claims of restitution and changing strategies of acquisition and exhibition in Belgium, in the Congo, and in the United States from the 1960s to the 1980s are explored in depth. Van Beurden shows how the collections in Tervuren and the IMNZ were used politically and economically in these different contexts.

The history of the Tervuren Museum, originally constructed by King Leopold II to promote his ‘accomplishments’ in the Congo Free State, is placed in the