

with residents and wrote up their findings; among other things, this complicated authorship. For example, Schapera's pathbreaking anthropological study of marriage and sexuality was made possible by these educated, young male researchers negotiating and to some extent crossing the local boundaries. Schapera, by contrast, seems to have maintained certain hierarchical borders. Perhaps this was reassuring, along with his routine morning walks around the village. Perhaps that is why he could get close with his camera, which the fixed lens required. With some exceptions (e.g., 199), people seemed to be comfortable with the dimensions of his presence. It is notable, however, that there are no photographs of interiors. Also, the sense of "palpable proximity" is heightened by Schapera's clever technique of lowering the lens to the same level as the subjects (not just children, as suggested on page 7), whether they were standing, sitting, or squatting. This automatically brings them into more egalitarian perspective in print.

In their elegant and finely tuned essay the Comaroffs point to the usefulness of considering photographs alongside Schapera's ethnographic texts. The two are not simply "isomorphic" but reveal unspoken dimensions to his relationships, which means that new questions should be asked about the sense of control and finality in the text, and about academic repression (my phrase) concerning the *process* of anthropological writing at the time. Despite their silence the photographs, it is inferred, raise a possible echo in the official ethnography.

This is an extremely productive volume that puts forward an important photographic archive to be used in open-ended ways, besides the lessons it provides in historicizing anthropology. I would, however, question two conclusions made by the Comaroffs. First, that Schapera is in the mold of Bourdieu's "middle-brow art," when technically he is proficient enough to slightly overexpose people's faces in harsh light conditions so that the tone is consistently wonderful in the images selected here. Second, that the photographs are "co-productions" between photographer and photographed (10). In an ideal world we should be able, each time, to give much deeper qualification to every gradation of the dance.

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Tracy Luedke and Harry West, eds. *Borders and Healers: Brokering Therapeutic Resources in Southeast Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006. vi + 223 pp. Photographs. Bibliography. Index. \$65.00. Cloth. \$24.95. Paper.

This edited compilation includes seven essays that focus largely on contemporary issues of healers and healing in southeast Africa. While the book is well written, it is highly theoretical and thus most likely to appeal to fellow anthropologists or those interested in the impact of evangelical and

independent Christian churches on contemporary healing (the topic of three essays). Medical historians or public health advocates, however, may be disappointed.

The authors' main focus is on the ways in which "borders," be they national, cultural, linguistic, scientific, religious, or spiritual, are easily and frequently traversed by healers. They argue that healers, clients, and the larger community all attribute healers' powers to their ability to cross borders, but in so doing they ensure the persistence of borders as healers shift them and (re)produce them. In this text, "healers" include "traditional" practitioners who heal through African medicine and ancestral intervention, those who heal through divine intercession—both Christian and Muslim—and biomedically trained doctors and psychotherapists. While all the chapters reemphasize the book's central thesis, readers may find it beneficial to consult Feierman's afterword before engaging the seven case studies: his text helps ground the reader in a wider theoretical, regional, and historical context. A map indicating the areas under study would have been useful.

The contributors do an excellent job of situating their own work within the existing literature. As noted in the introduction and expanded upon by Feierman, many anthropologists have previously examined the connections between power and liminality; what is new about this work is the application of that theoretical framework to healing—and the demonstrations of healers' active participation in (re)constructing such boundaries. But excepting Pfeiffer, Langwick, and Colvin, the authors do not explain their methodologies, leaving us to wonder how representative their case studies are. Nor do they explore the perceptions of the larger communities in which such churches and healers reside, sometimes making it difficult to sort out the significance of the authors' various findings (particularly when they seem to contradict one another, as in the Mozambican chapters). Pfeiffer's focus on the rise of Independent African Churches and spiritual healing challenges the basis on which the healers in West and Luedke's chapters gain their legitimacy. Pfeiffer argues that healers—"traditional" and "prophets"—are seen by the public as morally bankrupt. In a postwar, post-structural adjustment period characterized by increased disparities of wealth, would-be patients complain that healers just want their money, that they cause family strife, and that the ability of healers to straddle the boundary between healing and harming makes them both powerful and suspect. How did West's and Luedke's healers, most of whom are associated with the national organization of healers, contend with charges of moral bankruptcy—or with the spread of Pentecostal churches throughout Mozambique?

To understand the (re)construction of borders, West, Luedke, and particularly Simmons could have gone further in exploring the role played by national associations of healers. Such organizations attempt not only to draw borders around diverse healing practices, but also to systematize practices and medicines through regulation and commercialization. But how

do such bodies determine who is a legitimate or illegitimate healer, or (in Mozambique) set a schedule of fees for cures so radically individualized? How does the Zimbabwe association determine if herbal remedies are efficacious and thus eligible for processing and selling by the association? Such inquiries would get to the very heart of authority and power—of where borders are drawn and who has the power to establish them. On this note, Simmons seems to draw his own boundaries by using the term “Shona Medicines.” Given that Zimbabwe is a multiethnic state, one is left wondering if and why “Ndebele medicines” are ignored or deemed ineffective, and why Ndebele healers may be excluded from the bounds of professionalism.

Finally, I found it troublesome that a book focused on contemporary healing practices in southeastern Africa—a region wracked by HIV/AIDS, TB, and malaria—offers so little practical application. According to many of their academic Web sites, these authors seem very engaged in activist projects; given that, I wondered why they failed to explain the implications of their work. West’s essay also indicates a problematic degree of anthropological distance: since West tells the reader he was trained as an emergency medical technician, one wonders why he did not vocally intervene when he learns his interviewees were engaging in unsafe practices—improper condom use and reusing unsterilized razor blades—and potentially spreading HIV/AIDS.

However, despite these concerns, Luedke and West’s book does indeed raise important issues; that in itself is what animates these concerns, and makes the book very interesting reading.

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Sabine Jell-Bahlsen. *The Water Goddess in Igbo Cosmology: Ogbuide of Oguta Lake*. Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 2008. xiv + 433 pp. Photographs. Illustrations. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. \$34.95. Paper.

While the title might suggest a specific focus on a rather esoteric topic, Jell-Bahlsen’s book is, like the Igbo water deity it describes throughout its pages, much more complex than it may initially seem. Based on the author’s twenty-five years of research in southeastern Nigeria, this work is actually an ethnographic study of indigenous Igbo religion, epistemology, and social practice. It is by far the most comprehensive and carefully researched work to date on the female water deity known as Ogbuide in the town of Oguta, Nigeria—more popularly known throughout sub-Saharan Africa as Mami Wata. Jell-Bahlsen’s work is also a major contribution to religious studies, to African studies, and especially to Igbo studies.

As an Igboist and a researcher of Mami Wata, I found one of the book’s greatest strengths to be its descriptions of indigenous religion as a historical,