von Benda-Beckmann, Keebet and Fernanda Pirie (eds.). 2007. *Order and Disorder: Anthropological Perspectives.* Oxford and New York: Berghahn Publishers. 184 pp. Hb: $75.00 / £35.00. ISBN: 9781845451981.

Order and Disorder: Anthropological Perspectives is the outcome of a conference of that name held at the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology in 2004. The volume consists of an editors' introduction and eight ethnographic chapters, with contributors including both established and younger scholars. These empirical cases range widely in scope and regional focus, from a study of the way 'heritage' is evoked to establish legitimacy in the French biscuit trade (Simon Roberts) to the intersection of multiple, and sometimes competing normative orders in rural Morocco (Bertram Turner), to the emergence of complex and potentially violent forms of social control in post-Soviet Siberia (Aimar Ventsel). The individual ethnographic chapters are rich and illuminating. However, like many conference collections, the volume as a whole feels rather disparate. 'Order' and 'disorder' are mobilised to do very different kinds of descriptive and analytical work in the respective ethnographies; the chapters, by and large, do not reference each other or the introduction; and it is not clear that they are really engaged in a single conversation. Whilst some of the chapters are clearly advancing the editors' concern to rethink the analytical utility of 'order' and to reflect critically on how it is known and rendered visible ethnographically, others are posing rather more traditional anthropological questions concerning what the sources of order are, and how it is maintained.

In the introduction, editors Keebet von Benda-Beckmann and Fernanda Pirie explain that their concern to reinvestigate these categories emerged in response to a particular historical silence. The question of 'order', they argue, was the object of considerable theoretical attention in an earlier era of anthropology but has been displaced by more recent attention to 'the violent, the illegitimate and the immoral' (p.1). This eclipse, they suggest, demands that we reconsider the conceptual relevance of both 'order' and 'disorder'. Is order still meaningful as an object of anthropological enquiry, and as a category of analysis? And how useful are earlier theoretical models, with their more explicit concern with the maintenance of order 'outside' the state for understanding contemporary social processes in which the state is unquestionably present (if only by its absence or decay)?

These conceptual questions are addressed most directly in the volume's dazzling final chapter, by Jonathan Spencer. This chapter begins by echoing the concern that frames the introduction – the striking displacement of 'order' as a focus of anthropological enquiry; the shift since the 1960s from a 'concern with social order to the celebration of the unruly capacities of disorder' (p. 150), particularly within the subfield of political anthropology. Spencer contests the claim, however, that the shift is as straightforward or unidirectional as it might first appear. A celebration of 'disorder', he argues, has often gone hand in hand with a kind of ethical conservatism – a 'high moral and political tone, a striving for radical certainty' (p. 163). He illustrates this through examples from contemporary (mostly North American) political anthropology, with Michael Taussig and Nancy Scheper-Hughes as his exemplars and primary targets. What has occurred, he

argues, is less a complete rejection of 'order' than its displacement from the realm of sociological observation to ethical sentiment. This move, he contends, reflects a particular political moment and associated 'structure of feeling', just as the empiricism of an earlier generation of political anthropology reflected its own historical moment.

Here, I believe, lie the volume's real innovation and potential theoretical contribution – pointing to the ways in which 'order' has been displaced from the political realm to the ethical; locating this within broader shifts in anthropological theorising and the political contexts of its production, and reassessing the potential for 'order' in the sociological sense to regain some ethnographic utility (albeit nuanced, as the editors stress in their introduction, by a recognition that the term can reference a variety of domains and be enacted in a variety of ways – including through the sanctioning of violence). The potential of this theoretical contribution is constrained, however, by the fact that most of the contributions do not treat 'order' with this degree of conceptual inquisitiveness, but rather take it as the largely unproblematic starting point for ethnographic exploration. The questions posed, accordingly, are of a different register: how is order maintained through the interaction of different legal and normative spheres (Bertram Turner)? How is order maintained in contexts of harsh climactic conditions, economic free-fall and dramatic state retreat (Aimar Ventsel)? What is the relationship between 'state order' and 'social order' and how are they inter-twined (Michael Meeker)? How do ritual and law overlap in their respective 'fetishizations' of order (Peter Just)? How do different vigilante groups in West Africa either create instability or help to create social order in the face of a weak state (Tilo Grätz)? And how to account for the diversity of ways in which order is valorised and enforced among settled and nomadic populations on the Tibetan plateau (Fernanda Pirie)?

These are interesting questions – and the ethnographies through which they are explored are rich, nuanced and highly readable. But given that they do not, for the most part, interrogate the baseline analytic category (is 'order' a useful concept to work with? Does it explain as well as describe?) the ethnographies bypass the concerns outlined in the editors' introduction. More challengingly, it is not clear that they are really talking about comparable things – and this is where the question of the coherence of the volume *as* a volume comes in. Is the 'order' entailed by an absence of violence, for instance, really the same as the subjective feeling of security that some of the other ethnographies access? More importantly, if the term can index such diverse social formations and subjective states, does the category 'order' help to explain what is being produced? Is the fact that we habitually use one English term to index a state that is produced ('an order'), the process of its production ('to order') and a certain *idea* about how things ought to be ('right order') mean that we risk over-burdening the term, or voiding it of analytic capacity? My concern is that we do. This is not to say that we should not seek to understand how 'order' functions as an ethnographic category: how and when certain ideas of legitimate and illegitimate violence are mobilised, and to what effect. It is rather that the organising categories, 'order' and 'disorder' may be less useful to understand what is going on than other, less capacious, analytical terms. Pirie's detailed comparison of the differential valence of violence, individualism and social control amongst pastoralist and settled agricultural

communities on the Tibetan plateau is, I think, exemplary of what such an undertaking might look like. In conclusion, then, this is a rich collection of ethnographies, but the theoretical challenge laid by the opening chapter to explore the analytic value of 'order' and 'disorder' remains rather unfulfilled.

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Sather, Clifford and Timo Kaartinen (eds.). 2008. *Beyond the Horizon. Essays on Myth, History, Travel and Society*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society. 240 pp. Pb.: EUR 29.00. ISBN: 9789517469852.

This is the second volume in the Studia Finnica Anthropologica series, founded in 2007. The book honours a well-known Finnish anthropologist, Jukka Siikala, on the occasion of his 60th birthday. The *fil rouge* connecting the introduction, eleven essays and an afterword circles around the concept of horizon in every possible sense of the term. For Professor Siikala, horizon became a central idea, around which one could perceive the life-worlds of Polynesian island societies. He sees their horizon as an aspect of time (mainly of the past) as well as of space (abroad and beyond). While on the one hand horizon reveals its transcendental and transpositional potential, on the other hand, it points towards the limits of ethnographic observation. Horizon connects visible with invisible domains of human life and empirical sensual experience with the one that moves beyond it.

There are three parts in this collection of essays. Each of them reflects a different dimension of people's experiential and symbolic awareness of their life-worlds: the first part deals with people who live in the rainforest and feel the need to transcend their horizons; the second part looks at the people living on the islands with a distant horizon, towards which both navigation and cosmology are oriented; and the third part deals with myths, texts and performances reaching beyond the horizon of people's daily relationships and interactions. Individual chapters touch upon a variety of geographic areas in the Pacific and address quite diverse issues. The first part begins with an essay by Joel Robbins who analyses the impact of Christian cosmology, and millenarianism in particular, on the Urapmin of Papua New Guinea. He sees their structure-agency dialectic as aiming towards discontinuity: a radical rapture from the culturally conceived forms. According to Robbins, their lives are organized mainly around the future, which makes them – through an emphasis on moral practice – escape from their earthly preoccupations towards an undifferentiated heaven: a foreign country in a world beyond all countries. The second essay by Peter Metcalf looks at the Long Teru people who used to live in the rainforest of central Borneo. In such an environment visual horizons are practically nonexistent and directions are conceptualized according to the flow of the river: upriver, downriver, away from the river, towards the river. Metcalf deals with people's cosmological and spatial orientations from the time of his fieldwork, before the Long Teru, also called Orang Ulu or the canoe people, had to move – after the rainforests of central Borneo were devastated by logging – downriver towards the coast. There they joined other longhouse communities