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On the Spanish-Moroccan Frontier: A Study in Ritual, Power and Ethnicity. HENK DRIESSEN

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versies surrounding bullfighting and its "place" in Spain.

In his introduction, Mitchell contradicts his earlier (1988) insistence that those who knew and could tell us about the essence and meaning of bullfights were the bullfighters, aficionados, and critics. In *Blood Sport* he claims these people "have taken bullfighting out of context in judgmental or passionate or fetishistic or aesthetic ways" (p. 10). He proposes to "start all over again, from a new perspective" (p. 10), to understand bullfighting holistically, "in the context of Spanish society and history and politics" (p. 10). Although Mitchell has left out the context of culture, this is an anthropological step forward. Similarly, whereas in his earlier work Mitchell criticized those who mistook metaphor for essence, in *Blood Sport* he says he is "prepared to assert that bullfighting has been nothing less than a microcosm of the Spanish social order," replicating "almost every feature of the Spanish political system" (p. 132).

Mitchell's agenda is obviously quite ambitious. But he says he wants to "approach bullfighting in the same way a bullfighter approaches a bull" (p. 11), with nerve, tenacity, and finesse. This he does. He dares; he takes intellectual risks. At times he is unabashedly arrogant. I certainly do not agree with all he says, but I admire his style, respect his scholarship and use of the literature, and am awed by his prolificacy.

Mitchell begins his book with a hair-raising tour of festal Spain, contextualizing the bullfight and bull-baiting with the many other categories of victims of a symbolic or inanimate nature that are used in fiestas throughout the annual calendar. He then enters the "uncertain but fascinating terrain of speculation" (p. 36), suggesting that the origin of modern bullfighting, following Alvarez de Miranda, was in the medieval nuptial bull. Having "confirmed" (p. 49) bullfighting's roots in archaic superstitions, the author then traces the rise of the modern spectacle, which he sees as inexorably linked to the 18th-century urban phenomenon of Spanish *majismo*. Basically, if the young, cocky, and delinquent majos had not been fighting bulls, they would have been fighting each other (pp. 67, 81).

Mitchell then tackles the social history of the Spanish bull and bullfighter. Summarizing Spanish works, he proposes that although Spanish nobles stopped patronizing the bullfight in the 18th century, they continued controlling the spectacle by breeding the bulls on their ranches, mimicking their own marriage and breeding patterns. Mitchell then discusses the pathology of the bullfighter himself and the reasons anyone in his right mind would do such a thing, citing studies about the bullfighters' masochistic tendencies (guided by *verguenza torera*) or the envious spirit of self-affirmation elicited by rivals. This section is full of very readable, almost gossipy, descriptions of famous toreros' lives and psychologies.

The book's pivotal chapter is devoted to showing how the rise of modern bullfighting is connected to "Spain's social and political backwardness" (p. 12). For Mitchell, the bullfight mirrors the uses and abuses of power in 19th- and 20th-century Spain. He writes on corruption, fraud, and internal patron-

age in the bullfight, the matador as *padrino*, the matador as demagogue, and the distorted notions of power, authority, and democracy reinforced through public behavior at bullrings (p. 132).

Seemingly tacked on to the book's end is a chapter in which Mitchell comes to terms with the psychosexual aspects of the bullfight (again), insisting that despite many other analyses to the contrary, the bullfight is not "about sex" (p. 156). Perhaps, he suggests, it is about maleness, but not sex. What is titillating about the spectacle (he refuses to call it a ritual) is the "structural link between violence and eroticism" (p. 168) and the "intoxicating and addictive nature of voyeurism" (p. 168). The book concludes with an essay and taurine bibliography by Rosario Cambria.

Mitchell is clearly on top of the Anglo and Spanish taurine literature and often makes superb summaries and analyses of the many intellectual debates that have dealt with this topic for the last 200 years. Owing to this competence, perhaps, Mitchell has an excessive tendency to want to support all he says with citations and footnotes (90 in one chapter). His reliance on literature rather than fieldwork is another anthropological flaw, especially in some cases where the literature is mistaken (some of his descriptions of fiestas differ from my observations, that is, Baena [p. 15] and Denia [p. 19]). Furthermore, not only does he assume the existence of something "Spanish" since the Middle Ages, he also assumes that fiestas are "timeless" (p. 24) and "have remained more or less the same for centuries" (p. 18), claiming that "Spain" has not been overly contaminated by "modern" concepts of time, rationality, and decorum (p. 46). This idea should be clarified. Finally, although Mitchell criticizes intellectuals who do not have a "healthy tolerance of ambiguity" (p. 158), Mitchell's often overly aggressive attacks on taurine commentators imply that he himself is uncomfortable with the bullfight's multivocality.

***On the Spanish-Moroccan Frontier: A Study in Ritual, Power and Ethnicity.* HENK DRIESSEN. Explorations in Anthropology Series. BARBARA BENDER, JOHN GLEDHILL, and BRUCE KAPFERER, series eds. New York and Oxford: Berg (distributed in the United States and Canada by St. Martin's Press), 1992. x + 238 pp., maps, photographs, tables, glossary, notes, references, index.**

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As Driessen tells us in his preface, this book is neither a monograph nor a study with a sharply demarcated problem and argument; it is a set of reflections on life in Melilla, a Spanish enclave in Morocco with important Christian, Muslim, Jewish, and Hindu communities. He uses both written and oral sources, along with participant observation, to show the development of Melilla as a trading port, then a colonial base, and finally a multiethnic enclave rather ambiguously positioned vis-à-vis Spain and Morocco.

Identifying himself as an urban anthropologist, Driessen aims to give a view of the whole city/enclave as well as a sketch of its parts; he also wants to contribute to the literature on ethnic politics by analyzing Melilla as a colonial enclave in the Mediterranean world (p. 6). The introduction gives a persuasive overview of the three concerns of the book—ethnicity, ritual, and power—and how they are treated and woven together in the nine substantive chapters. Yet as one reads through the book, one is struck by the lack of integration of the materials, interesting though they are. Part 1, "The Hispano-African Frontier in History," opens with pieces on the permeability of the frontier (with a focus on crossing religious borders) and the change from border outpost to trading post. In the first of these, Driessen emphasizes the role of Catholicism in the building of the Spanish state and empire: Christianity and Islam were poised as enemies for centuries, and, on both sides of the Mediterranean, conversion automatically meant naturalization. Thus, religious identity and political status were one (until 1863, he found: p. 31), and he argues that religion was an important ascriptive criterion, an integral part of ethnic identity and the essence of personhood (pp. 13, 29). In the second piece, he traces the shift from a military population to one dominated by civilians and traders, giving solid details of demographic and economic development in the enclave and its hinterland. The ending paragraph is somewhat of a *non sequitur*, asserting that Rifian society experienced an erosion of traditional authority and that tribal units were incorporated into a state structure; this seems at odds with later arguments and gives the impression that developments in the contiguous territory will be treated later in the book.

The third piece reviews the "taming" or construction of Rifian society by precolonial, military, and academic ethnography. This piece seems out of place, with its comments on recent debates in anthropology centered on work in Morocco, but not tied to Melilla, particularly. He gets back on track with a fine chapter on the Jewish community, drawing upon census materials to show the difference between urban and rural Jews in the 1880s. Jews played an important role in the enclave's development, constituting 16 percent of Melilla's population in 1900 and falling to 6 percent in 1928. Driessen asserts that the early contrast between urban and rural, propertied and unpropertied Jews, has been replaced by a division between devout conservatives and secular liberals (p. 98; but he does not present the same kind of demographic evidence—age at marriage, birth rates, household composition—for this modern contrast). He closes by analyzing a Jewish festival as marking past incorporation of the Jewish community into local society (Catholics and Muslims participated in it) but marking separateness in the present day (it has become more exclusively Jewish). He argues that as Jews have become more integrated economically, legally, and politically, they have become more distinct as an ethnic minority (p. 107); one wishes evidence for these assertions had been more fully presented.

Part 2, "Ritual, Power and Ethnicity," begins with chapters on a national flag ceremony and the cult of

the cemetery and then moves on to three chapters on ethnic groups and interethnic encounters. The first two pieces focus on the Spanish Catholic population of Melilla. One chapter analyzes the city's presentation of a new national flag to the Spanish Foreign Legion in 1984 as a ritual reaffirming Spanish and Catholic identity; the other shows the "rootedness" of the Spanish Catholics through their dead, buried in Melilla's earth. He points out that the Jews have a cemetery and the Hindus have a cremation ground adjacent to the Catholic cemetery, but Muslims have been denied a burial ground in the Spanish enclave and must bury their dead in the no man's land between Melilla and Morocco or in Morocco; recently, Muslim funerals have become political protests (p. 126). The next piece on interethnic encounters focuses on the *agasajar* or buffet-supper, a civic ritual of inclusion. He sees this social ritual as rooted in the economic domain, where interethnic cooperation is essential, and he introduces a local Muslim as an inept *agasajar* host who was consequently ostracized by Melilla's elite (pp. 141–143; this man plays a central role in the next chapter as a political leader challenging Spanish control in the 1980s, but Driessen leaves it to the reader to make the connection). The next chapter contrasts the small Hindu minority to the large Muslim one; in the course of this chapter we learn much about both communities and, at the end, about the sharp Muslim challenges to Spanish political control in the 1980s. The final, substantive chapter analyzes a *barrio* on the edge of Melilla, arguing that the multiethnic inhabitants form a distinct cultural community through interactions "that hinge upon the body, force and sexuality" (p. 188).

Driessen insists throughout that the communities residing in this enclave are referred to most often by religious designations and that religion is the core element in ethnicity. He also insists that ethnic loyalties and identification have always been stronger than class consciousness and organization (pp. 48, 191). To my mind, much of the material lends itself easily to class analysis, and political status is also a crucial factor in the conflicts presented in the various chapters. This book is filled with interesting material, and an attempt to make one central argument and present the materials in a more integrated fashion would have enhanced its value.

***One Hundred Towers: An Italian Odyssey of Cultural Survival.* LOLA ROMANUCCI-ROSS. New York and London: Bergin & Garvey, 1991. viii + 226 pp., map, photographs, appendixes, tables, notes, references, index.**

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It must be a novel event for an ethnographer to collect her own genealogy and to meet new relatives while doing fieldwork. This was Lola Romanucci-Ross's experience. Over the last 17 years, Romanucci-Ross, the daughter of Italian immigrants, returned time and again as an ethnographic fieldworker to the Italian province of Ascoli Piceno, the