

public space. Harms documents the symbolic meanings attached to roads; the new possibilities and new forms of invisibility they created. The second chapter compares the discourses and practices of urban civilization in French colonial Saigon and contemporary Ho Chi Minh City. Here, ideas of "civilized" urban spaces serve to reinforce stereotypes about Hoc Mon's lingering rural character, considered not yet urbane or fully modern.

In *Saigon's Edge* one gets a clear sense of the chaos and growing pains that have accompanied frenetic urban change in Vietnam. Readers who have studied urbanization elsewhere will find much in common with Harms's compelling arguments and with the laments of his respondents. Harms positions his work largely in dialogue with scholars of Southeast Asian cities. It is not until the conclusion, however, that the political economic and cultural forces of urbanization in

a "late" socialist context are addressed. A deeper discussion of the particularities that distinguishes Ho Chi Minh City from other regional cities would have been a welcome addition here. I would have also enjoyed more engagement with ethnographic research on Ho Chi Minh City itself, for example, work on markets, traffic, public space, and commodities that intersect with Harms's interests. *Saigon's Edge* makes an innovative contribution to urban anthropology and to the study of Vietnam. It is a must read for scholars interested in rural-urban social change and capitalism's remaking of urban industrial landscapes.

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Holy Harlots: Femininity, Sexuality, and Black Magic in Brazil

Kelly Hayes. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011. 293 pp.

Gina Hunter
Illinois State University

Anyone who has spent much time in Brazil's cities undoubtedly has noticed religious objects shops lined with statues of Catholic saints and African *orixá* and the ubiquitous advertisements for divination by tarot or *bóris*. Alert passersby may have noted also the occasional ritual offering left at the beach or crossroads. Such is the significance of Afro-Brazilian spirit possession religions despite historical efforts to suppress their practice.

Beyond the major traditions of Candomblé and Umbanda, there exist a wide range of Afro-Brazilian religious modalities and regional variations. Adepts creatively take from a rich complex of shared religious symbolism and practice including humans' ability to incorporate and to cultivate relationships with a variety of hierarchically ordered spirit entities. Also shared is the potential for humans to manipulate the spirit forces to further their own sometimes nefarious intentions in the morally ambiguous practice of Black Magic.

Kelly Hayes's book, *Holy Harlots: Femininity, Sexuality, and Black Magic in Brazil*, explores a class of lowly female spirits known as Pomba Gira. Although pomba giras manifest themselves as specific personages by those who incorporate them, all are seductresses, courtesans, or "women of ill repute." Much like a trickster-devil, Pomba Gira is a polyvalent figure with wide recognition in Brazil's cultural imaginary; she is the embodiment of the dangerous potential of feminine sexuality outside patriarchal control.

For Hayes, "religion is best approached . . . as a set of discursive and practical claims about the superhuman that

are deeply embedded within the circumstances of human lives" (p. 36). As such, Hayes explores how Pomba Gira operates in the particular life of Nazaré, a working-class housewife who lives on the outskirts of Rio de Janeiro. Thus, although the book is ostensibly about Pomba Gira, "the book's real subject is the myriad way that individuals endeavor to transform both themselves and the world around them through the stories and ritual practices invoking this spirit entity and how they are transformed in the process" (p. 8). Indeed, Hayes examines the complex and strategic ways Pomba Gira allows Nazaré, and disfranchised women like her, to negotiate and critique unrealistic social norms and expectations and a whole constellation of social inequities.

In part 1, Hayes introduces the folklore of Pomba Gira and her place within the larger religious and social context of urban Brazil. Part 2 depicts of low-income neighborhoods of the periphery of Rio de Janeiro and the sexual and moral schemas by which the behaviors of working class men and women are judged. Of particular importance to this book is the sexual double standard that restricts female sexuality while allowing men ample license.

Hayes highlights Nazaré's struggle under these gender strictures in part 3 in which relays Nazaré's life story and life long bouts of rebellious outbursts. As a young wife and mother, Nazaré aspires to (and for a time achieves) the working-class ideal of *dona-de-casa*, wife and stay-at-home mother, but she finds her status diminished by her husband's philandering. Plagued by her increasingly startling behaviors, her husband takes her to consult a ritual specialist who helps her domesticate and cultivate her spirits. Nazaré eventually becomes a *ziadeira* (devotee) with her own ritual center.

Holy Harlots Femininity Sexuality And Black Magic In Brazil

Lauren Gardner



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