Introduction

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The conference on "Religious Regimes and State-Formation" was held in 1987 to address the themes sounded in Mart Bax's important paper by that title. In that statement, Bax argued for a research perspective that could overcome the received practice of treating religion and politics as wholly separate and independent domains. Rather than treating religion purely as a realm of meaning, without reference to issues of power, or dealing with politics as the province of power, without raising questions of meaning, Bax suggested that research study power and meaning in their "antagonistic interdependencies." Not only did this mean that religious and political regimes had to be seen in relation to one another, but that close attention should also focus on the internal and external contests among rival groups of claimants over how political and religious regimes should be constituted. The papers in the present collection represent responses to this call for such a significant shift in attention on the part of ethnologists and sociologists engaged in the study of Europe.

Mart Bax's own contribution to the conference dealt with "Marian Apparitions in Medjugorje: Rivalling Religious Regimes and State-Formation in Yugoslavia." The reported appearances of the Virgin Mary set the ecclesiastical hierarchy—opposing the developing cult—against the Franciscan Friars who supported it. This conflict illustrates an internal conflict of religious regimes within a changing field of power. The Franciscans, who for many centuries were the main agents of pastoral care in the diocese of Mostar, were displaced in the last quarter of the nineteenth century through the establishment of a diocesan hierarchy, served by secular clergy. At the same time, the religious hierarchy became involved in conflicts with the state, con-

flicts that intensified with the establishment of a Socialist state in
Yugoslavia after World War II. Yet, after Vatican II, hierarchy and state
also worked out patterns of mutual accommodation. Pressured by
both hierarchy and state, however, the Franciscans turned to the new
Roman Catholic charismatic movement, and opened up the Francis-
can regimen to participation by the laity. This shift in religious intensi-
fication provided the context for understanding the developing cult
at Medjugorje, as a challenge to both diocesianization and state control.

Tom Inglis, in his contribution on "The Struggle for Control of the
Irish Body: State, Church, and Society in Nineteenth Century Ireland,"
then deals directly and in some detail with the question of how and
why Catholicism developed such a strong appeal to the Irish people in
the nineteenth century. The conquering English state and the Catholic
church, at first bitter enemies, developed patterns of mutual accom-
modation in this period. The state delegated to the Church the task of
socializing the rebellious Irish into acceptance of patterns of social
orderliness, while the Church, in turn, became a vehicle for the social
aspirations of Catholic believers. To become socially respectable and
mobile, the Irish people accepted religiously phrased social controls
on their behavior, notably over the comportment of the physical
"body" and its appetites. Thus, the Catholic church "civilized" the Irish
through religious moralization rather than through the inculcation of
secularized civility.

Alex Weingrod, in "Saints, Shrines, and Politics in Contemporary
Israel," shifts the scene to the developing cult of a Jewish saint, buried
in Beersheba, in Israel's southern or Negev region. The tomb of the
saint, which was moved from Tunisia to Israel, has become a center
for pilgrimages and devotions along patterns that suggest a kinship
with Moroccan Islamic maraboutism. The pilgrimages have proved
most attractive to North African Jews, notably Moroccans. Weingrod
relates the popularity of the cult both to the experience of discrimina-
tion by North African Jews in Israel at the hand of European-born or
Israel-bred Ashkenazi Jews, and to political conflicts in the secular-
ized state, which these Jews have tended to dominate. Participation in
the cult is related to the new ethnic and nationalist politics through
which North African Jews are attempting to widen the scope of their
political influence.

David I. Kertzer takes up the larger issues of ritual and its im-
portance in his discussion of "The Role of Ritual in State-Formation."
In that contribution, Kertzer achieves two goals: a discussion of the
role of ritual in both religion and politics, and an account of the antag-
onistic interplay between the Vatican and the Italian state. Kertzer's
general discussion, based on wide-ranging cross-cultural compari-

sons, opens up interesting perspectives on our theoretical comprehension of ritual in both its religious and political contexts. His treatment of Church-State relations through the successive phases of Italian state-formation, the reduction of papal control over its own state, the advent of the monarchy, the development of Fascism, and the difficult interactions governing the contests between the political and religious domains during the postwar republican regime, offers a valuable synopsis of "antagonistic interdependency" in one European state.

Adrianus Koster's paper on "Clericals versus Socialists" in Malta, in turn, is a fine demonstration of the utility of Bax's approach in tracing: first, the relationship of the Roman Catholic church and the British imperial state, and, second, the conflicts and accommodations experienced by the Catholic church in dealing with the demands of the secularizing independent Republic. As in Ireland, the British state used the Church to stabilize Maltese society, an arrangement that then came under severe challenge when Malta gained its own political independence. Koster's account is doubly interesting in showing how the contest between church and state came to center specifically on the issue of who was to control education. The rivalries between church and state are shown not only to involve "Christians" and "Socialists," but internal conflicts within the Roman Catholic church, as the Vatican began to curtail the powers of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in favor of accommodation with the new claimants to power after Vatican II.

Koster's paper is then followed by the contributions of Daniel Meijers and Susan P. Pattie, each dealing with religious developments and alignments under very different political circumstances. Daniel Meijers has provided a well developed study of the rise of Hasidism in Eastern Europe, in "The Sociogenesis of the Hasidic Movement." He shows how the intensification of state building and the rise of popular rebellious movements in Eastern Europe, which were not only carried on by a scholar-elite pursuing a "rational" style of thought through teaching but also carried on in a network of religious schools, weakened the Jewish religious regime. That scholar-elite was supported both by state policies that delegated considerable rights of self-management to Jewish communities, and by the considerable prosperity gained by these communities through mercantile activities in a predominantly rural environment. As states abandoned their support of communities, and as popular upheavals attacked the basis of Jewish prosperity, the Jewish population became increasingly impoverished and threatened in their ability to survive. Hasidism is then shown as a response on the part of a population under stress, a

response that favored a general participation of believers in a religion of "the heart" over elite control through the teaching of enlightenment rationality.

Susan P. Pattie, writing on "Cultural Change and Religious Belief: The Armenians of Cyprus," provides a counterpoint drawn from another beleaguered population. While her focus is on the Armenians of Cyprus, the paper engages also, on a more general level, the ways in which the Armenian church has helped to maintain Armenian identity in the midst of conflicting and often genocidal political attacks on Armenian communities. She also raises the question of how Armenian identity is to be maintained, as the religious mode of ethnic maintenance comes under challenge by various secularizing currents that arise in the contexts created by the Armenian diaspora in the present day.

The study by William A. Christian Jr. of "Secular and Religious Responses to a Child's Potentially Fatal Illness," based on field work in the Canary Islands, takes a narrower and more immediately ethnographic turn by focusing on how a family dealt with a child's brain tumor. It sensitively traces out, through genealogical reckoning, how family members and members of the larger kinship network—belonging to different generations and involving different responses by men and women, as well as located in different locations in the islands and on the mainland—rally in the quest of a cure. This quest involves simultaneous appeals to the saints and to the procedures of modern medicine. Christian interprets the saints as kinds of "supernatural doctors"; he discusses how the afflicted enter as clients into both secular and supernaturally conceived sets of patrons and clients.

Jane Schneider's contribution on "Spirits and the Spirit of Capitalism" returns the discussion to a more theoretically oriented level in a paper that deals with the displacement or replacement of beliefs in spirits by modes of thought associated with the rise of capitalism. She suggests that beliefs in spirits stem from a religious orientation that strives for an equitable balance between humans and aspects of "nature," an orientation exhibited in popular cults in which the possible anger of supernatural forces must be bent away by various kinds of transaction. With the rise of capitalism, this equity-conscious orientation yields to a religious mode that favors the more active exploitation of both people and nature. The transactions that favor a more equitable, ecologically grounded set of relations among people and forces are abrogated in favor of a more abstract, non-ecological, universalizing religious involvement that grants stronger definition to individual self-seeking, by making the self subject to autonomous moral demands.

There are, finally, three papers which in various ways raise queries about aspects of the discussion. Peter Loizos, in "The Virgin Mary and Marina Warner's Feminism" takes issue with the Marina Warner interpretation of the causes concerning the development of the cult of the Virgin Mary. He argues, specifically, that views that see Mary primarily as a symbolic representation of female oppression fail to do justice to the fact that the intensification of Marian devotion, since 1800, occurs precisely in a period also marked by the steady emancipation of women, not only through greater legal rights in inheritance, enhanced access to education, and widening opportunities for social mobility but also by greatly broadened political emancipation.

Henk Driessen, in "The Politics of Religion on the Hispano-African Frontier," deals with the interactions between Christians and Muslims in one of the Spanish enclaves in Morocco. Here the political and military encounter between Christian and Islamic polities was accompanied by oscillations between religious confrontation and tolerance. By detailing the modes of these varied encounters in frontier outposts, Driessen argues for an ethnographically and historically detailed inquiry into the interaction between regimes, paying special attention to religious apostasy and reincorporation.

The collection concludes with the paper by Mark Tate on "License, Death, and Power: The making of an Anti-Tradition." Tate depicts the rise of a popular, nonreligious ritual that focuses on the figure of a socially marginal reprobate, who adopts many forms of ritual hallowed by religious tradition. The ritual is clearly secular, opposing the traditional regimes of the Catholic church and state in Spain, with a satirical performance. As such, it serves to raise the question of how political and religious regimes, by their very force and majesty, can provoke antireligious and antistate responses. Where simpler and less hierarchical societies, such as, for example, those of the American Indians, who often incorporate these antagonistic responses in their formal rituals through the action of clowns, here the weight of the hierarchy has driven the responses clearly outside the realm of organized and legitimized power.

These papers suggest a new departure in the study of religion. Like earlier inquiries, they raise questions about the nature of belief and ritual performance, but they understand these not merely as replicating religious traditions, but as ongoing arguments about the shifting and changing distribution of power among people. These shifts occur within religious regimes, as well as between them; they articulate in complex ways the changing power balances between political institutions. Thus, the contributions to this volume uncover a

subtle dimension of political transactions that has not been attended to in studies more closely focused on the organization of religious and political institutions as separate and autonomous entities.