

## Book Reviews

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**Constructing Cultures Then and Now: Celebrating Franz Boas and the Jesup North Pacific Expedition.** Contributions to Circumpolar Anthropology, 4. Edited by Laurel Kendall and Igor Krupnik. (Washington, DC: Arctic Studies Center, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, 2003. xviii + 364 pp., introduction, tables, illustrations, bibliography. \$22.50 paper.)

Thomas F. Thornton, *Trinity College*

In this age of commemoration, it is fashionable to celebrate and even recreate pioneering expeditions. This volume, spawned by a 1997 centenary conference, is more celebration and critical reexamination than recreation (in contrast to the more recent “Harriman Revisited” expedition). Morris K. Jesup, chief financier of the expedition, was in 1897 president of the American Museum of Natural History and seeking to promote big projects tackling important problems. His young assistant curator, Franz Boas, had one: a five-year, multidisciplinary intercontinental investigation to settle the question of Native American origins and links to Northeast Asia. So began the Jesup North Pacific Expedition (JNPE) and the rise of Boas. Although monumental in scope and ethnographically fruitful, ultimately the JNPE failed to produce a grand synthesis or even a final summary of the project’s results. Was it because Boas lost interest, became increasingly wary of grand comparative theorizing, or concluded that more studies (a Jesup 2?) were needed before a credible synthesis could be promulgated? These and other issues are taken up in this volume and its companion, *Gateways: Exploring the Legacy of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, 1897–1902* (Contributions to Circumpolar Anthropology, 1, edited by Igor Krupnik and William W. Fitzhugh).

The twenty essays are organized into four parts. Part one, the strongest, evaluates the “intellectual legacy” of Jesup from the perspective of

its original objectives (Krupnik and Nikolai Vakhtin), subsequent work in archeology and physical anthropology (Don E. Dumond), contemporaneous and postcolonial evolutionary and diffusionary paradigms (Peter P. Schweitzer; Molly Lee and Nelson H. H. Graburn), and analogous expeditions (Stanley A. Freed, Ruth S. Freed, and Laila Williamson). Important critiques that emerge here are that the JNPE, despite its breadth and rich results, was rather weak in archaeology (despite interesting hypotheses such as the “Eskimo Wedge”), neglected the Bering Strait region, and failed to recognize longstanding cross-Pacific ties relevant to prehistoric and postcontact cultural developments on both sides.

Part two, “Anthropologies and Histories: Jesup Participants Then and Now,” picks up on a variety of themes, from Boas’ endeavors to record Northwest Coast Indian music (Ira Jacknis) to selective assessments of some JNPE researchers, field assistants, and collaborators, with special emphasis on the bilingual/bicultural figures, including James Teit and his wife (Wendy Wickwire), George Hunt, Louis Shotridge, a post-JNPE Tlingit collaborator of Boas (Nora M. and Richard Dauenhauer), and others (Sergei Kan; Koichi Inoue). Unfortunately, perhaps because they are discussed elsewhere, many of the major researchers, such as Waldemar Bogoras, Waldemar Jochelson, and Lev Shternberg, are neglected in this volume.

Part three, “Peoples, Animals, and Land,” reviews the legacy of Jesup’s contributions to our knowledge of the natural history (Robert S. Hoffmann), languages (Michael E. Krauss), and prehistory (Theodore F. Schurr and Douglas C. Wallace; Sergei A. Arutinov) of the North Pacific. It underscores key themes of language, culture, and land/village loss (David Koester) in the post-Jesup era. Krauss criticizes the JNPE for not being more systematic in investigating the eighty or so languages existent at the time in the study area and calls for further research and advocacy on behalf of the remaining ones, all but a handful of which are endangered if not extinct.

Finally, Part four, “Curators, Collectors, and Consumers,” features essays on a hodgepodge of issues: cooperative research in the “Jesup-2” era (William W. Fitzhugh), contemporary archaeology in the Aleutians (Stephen Loring and Douglas W. Veltre), the “invention and perpetuation of culture” as evidenced by contemporary women totem pole carvers (Aldona Jonaitis), a memoriam for a post-Jesup scholar (Marjorie M. Balzar), cultural revitalization in Siberia (Vladimir Kh. Ivanov-Unarov and Zinaida I. Ivanov-Unarov). A final essay by Kwakwāka’wakw (Kwakiutl) elder and scholar Gloria Cranmer-Webster assesses the JNPE and Boasian-Hunt legacy among her own people.

As in the original *Jesup*, a grand synthesis is still lacking here, despite a thoughtful introductory essay (but, shamefully, no index). The problem, it seems, is that *Jesup 2* is largely a collection of established scholars attempting to squeeze their comparatively narrow research agendas into a book celebrating an expedition with a much grander vision. Too often the authors are not speaking to each other or to JNPE themes, making the book uneven and disjointed. This may point to more general problems with commemorative volumes and the nature of research and publishing in the post-expeditionary age. One can only wonder what an ambitious *Jesup 2* might accomplish under a new Boas (and *Jesup*-like backing) with an ambitious, collaborative research plan to address important anthropological questions that remain in the North Pacific.

**Northern Haida Master Carvers.** By Robin K. Wright, with a foreword by Jim Hart. (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press; Vancouver and Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 2001. xiii + 385 pp., figures, plates, photographs, bibliography, index. \$45.00 cloth.)

Marie Mauzé, *Laboratoire d'anthropologie sociale, CNRS Paris*

Combining Haida oral history, historical records (journals, records of collectors), ethnographic works, and art historians' studies, Robin K. Wright focuses on the artistic productions of northern Haida carvers and analyzes the artistic development and changes in pole carving over a period of two centuries. She addresses the subject of the antiquity of totem poles and provides new information concerning the location of the main centers of monumental sculpture. In addition, she contributes to an ethnography of the Haida society at the time of contact, highlighting trading, warfare, and migration patterns and power relations between local tribes. Following a line of research initiated by Marius Barbeau in the 1930s to be later continued by Bill Holm, Wilson Duff, and George MacDonald, Wright focuses on the identities of some of the major nineteenth-century Haida artists—some of them little known—and presents the historical context within which they practiced their trade. The author examines the first evidence of the name *ʔidansuu* (later anglicized as *Edenshaw* or *Edensaw*), a name around which, based at times on speculative guesses, she has reconstructed genealogical ties linking the most prominent creators of the nineteenth century, showing the overlap between chiefly genealogies and those of artists.

One of the book's strengths is the unparalleled use of a vast amount of data and the author's concern for detailed information in the attribution of

works of art to individual artists. Wright does this by comparing stylistic features of a series of artefacts scattered in European and North American collections. She rightly points out that their collection history does not necessarily indicate their place of origin, as objects were traded up and down the Northwest Coast. She uses the basic criteria selected by Bill Holm in characterizing an individual style (eye socket configuration, shape of lips, nostrils, eyebrows, shape of ovoids, width of form line) to attribute works to the hand of a maker. In the light of new information, she aptly points out stylistic differences in the production of the nineteenth-century Massett and Skidegate wood and argillite carvers. She also corrects previous misattributions, many pieces having been assigned to Charles Edenshaw, whose fame, built on his privileged relationships with anthropologists and collectors, overshadowed the talent of his uncle Albert Edward Edenshaw and that of his stepfather, John Robson. In particular, she reexamines George MacDonald's study of Haida monumental sculpture. Yet, at times, Wright seems to be so involved in her own research interests that the reader gets lost along the way and fails to grasp how she reaches some of her conclusions. Bill Holm has wisely written about the difficult task of attributing stylistic characteristics to a specific artist, especially in non-Western art. It will be up to future studies to evaluate Wright's contribution to the history of Haida art.

The very nature of Wright's undertaking is not without flaws. In chapter 5, the author describes a bentwood box illustrated in Boas's *Primitive Art* (1927), and states that the late artist Bill Reid "even asked to be buried in a box that replicated it" (263), but she does not cite the source of her information. While it is no secret that Reid was very fond of this particular box, he never expressed to his close family his desire to have his ashes buried in a specific container, and this did not appear in his will. However, several years before his death, he made it known that he would like to own a painted box by Richard Sumner (see also 354 n. 20). When his wife, Martine, commissioned the Kwakwak'awak artist to create a burial container for her husband's ashes, she thought the designs of Bill's favorite American Museum of Natural History Haida box would be an appropriate homage to his memory (Martine Reid, personal communication). Wright's mistake could have easily been avoided as this information is readily available.

The book is beautifully illustrated, with some of the best examples of Northern Haida art, and the iconographic analysis is of high quality. Nonetheless, one gets the impression that despite Wright's Herculean efforts, the number of pieces she succeeds in attributing is rather meager, which accounts both for the author's scrupulous research and the limitations inherent in such a difficult undertaking.

**Plateau Indians and the Quest for Spiritual Power, 1700–1850.** By Larry Cebula. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003. xiii + 195 pp. \$49.95 cloth.)

Mary C. Wright, *University of Washington*

The search for spiritual power underpins traditional Pacific Northwest Plateau culture and the Native peoples' reactions to changes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Cebula asserts in his core argument. The horse, epidemic diseases, and both rumors and information of the white man and his goods "triggered" indigenous prophecies of calamities and perhaps the end of the world (132). In "a last attempt to revive traditional beliefs in their pristine form" (132), these new prophets initiated rituals to appease spiritual forces, phenomena later labeled by scholars as the Prophet Dance.

Ideas of Christianity came with fur trade contact, and Plateau people sought access to this power as they felt "beleaguered" and saw their "status slipping" (53) due to the frequency of epidemics and the impact of disease in those years. To stanch these losses, believed to be of a spiritual nature, and to learn the white man's religion and ways, leading Plateau families sent sons to Red River (Winnipeg) Canada, under Hudson's Bay Company sponsorship. The boys' return, especially Spokane Garry's, in the late 1820s sparked a religious revival. This "Columbia Religion," so named by trader John McLean, syncretized Christian and Native spiritual practices and became widespread in the disease-filled 1830s. Still, Cebula argues, it offered only a partial answer to the confounding issues facing the Plateau people.

Indian interest in Christianity as the spiritual base of Euro-American power inspired a Flathead and Nez Perce group to journey to St. Louis in 1831 requesting instruction. Enthusiastic Native responses met the four groups of missionaries who arrived in the Northwest with hopes of teaching and converting them to Christianity. After a mere fifteen years, the missionaries had so alienated the people that they and their mission stations were attacked. "A religious journey . . . ended" (127) for the Plateau people, Cebula says, with the 1847 Whitman Massacre. His narrative closes with the conviction of the massacre's supposed perpetrators in an 1850 trial under U.S. law.

The study's time frame unfortunately ends in 1850, leaving the important revitalization movements of Smohalla and other nineteenth-century Plateau prophets out of the analysis. They would seem to extend Cebula's thesis that the pursuit of spiritual power is central to the culture no matter the era. Cebula sides in the scholarly debate with those who interpret the Prophet Dance as strongly based in indigenous traditions but responding to contact and precontact stresses, such as epidemics.

Cebula admirably keeps the focus on Indian perspectives and reads “against the grain” in the Lewis and Clark expedition and the fur trade sources. He misses many relevant missionaries’ records and ignores mission episodes that could have deepened his thesis, while he summarily deals with other events that could have offered further insights into native outlooks. He sidesteps analyzing the missions or the fur trade as colonial agents, an interpretation out of touch with a perspective that has added so much to ethnohistorical understanding in recent decades.

Those unfamiliar with the Prophet Dance discussion, fur trade and missionary studies, Pacific Northwest regional history, or the basic ethnography of the Plateau cultural area may find Cebula’s slim volume useful. It might serve for classroom use if released in paperback.

**Yuchi Ceremonial Life: Performance, Meaning, and Tradition in a Contemporary American Indian Community.** By Jason Baird Jackson. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003. xx, 345 pp., illustrations, bibliography, index. \$75.00 cloth.)

Pamela Innes, *University of Wyoming*

The Yuchi were one of several groups with practices, beliefs, and linguistic forms that distinguished them from the other members of the Creek Confederacy with whom they were affiliated before removal to Indian Territory in the 1820s and 1830s. Despite the social upheaval resulting from the removal process, the Yuchi have retained several characteristics that distinguish them from the Muskogee/Creek and have sought to work closely with ethnographers to document their history and uniqueness. While some of this work has been pursued with the intention of receiving federal recognition as a sovereign tribe, much of what is presented in this book is the result of the Yuchis’ interest in documenting their history and traditions for use by their own members. Thanks to the Yuchis’ interest in such documentation and Jason Jackson’s work on documentary projects, we are provided with rich descriptions of the ceremonies and traditions of the Yuchi, and we get one step further toward demonstrating that the members of Creek Nation do not form a homogeneous, uniform mass.

At one level, the book provides a description of Yuchi ceremonial life focused around the traditional stomp grounds. Stomp grounds among the Cherokee, Creek, Seminole, and Yuchi are arenas for religious worship, social interaction, and, occasionally, political maneuvering. Stomp grounds and the religion practiced there are remnants of prerule forms of social and religious organization reestablished in modified form upon settlement

in Oklahoma. The Yuchi stomp grounds appear, at first glance, to be very similar to the Creek and Seminole stomp grounds. Indeed, many of the rituals and much of the religious ideology and social interaction evident at the Creek, Seminole, and Yuchi grounds are somewhat similar. However, as Jackson demonstrates with great thoroughness, the Yuchi have a number of practices, beliefs, and expectations surrounding participation in the ground activities that clearly differentiate them from the Creek and Seminole.

Jackson is not satisfied to simply show that the Yuchi are distinctive from their Creek and Seminole neighbors, however. As he demonstrates how the Yuchi differ from the Creek and Seminole, Jackson also makes a strong case that these distinctive behaviors are evidence of the Yuchis' participation in the broader Woodland stomp dance and social network. This is a reasonable assertion, as the Yuchi were one of the more northerly peoples incorporated into the Creeks and were in a geographic position to have connections to the Shawnee, Ottawa, Miami, and Cherokee, as well as the more southerly Creek and Cherokee peoples. The locations of Yuchi towns in prerule times and continued interaction with northern Woodland peoples into the present, combined with the demonstrated connections in religious ritual (soup dances, ball games, dance styles) and religious ideology strengthen Jackson's argument that Yuchi ceremonial life retains features of both northern and southern versions of the stomp dance religion.

Jackson goes one step further. Throughout the work, he presents examples of Yuchi oratory that serve to provide us with the Yuchis' own explanations and performances of their traditions. The elders whose words are used to demonstrate the multiple ways in which ritual life is described and explained are well-respected, highly knowledgeable men, each of whom has been active in Yuchi ceremonial life for many years. While it is understandable that Jackson draws from orations by these men in order to explain Yuchi ritual and explore the many ways in which it is performed by members of the community, the lack of communication on these issues from other members of the community is unsatisfying. Jackson notes that transformation of Yuchi ceremony and tradition is taking place at several points in the work, yet we are rarely given indications about how such transformations are taking place beyond the utilization of focus groups to document and record information about ceremonial belief and practice. One is left to wonder about what younger members and the women of the Yuchi community think about their own participation in and the ideology behind the religious and social rituals. Despite this shortcoming, this work deserves praise as a thorough, thoughtful exploration and description of Yuchi ceremonial life.

**Before the Volcano Erupted: The Ancient Cerén Village in Central America.** Edited by Payson Sheets. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002. xii + 226 pp., preface, introduction, maps, drawings, photos, glossary, bibliography, index. \$60.00 cloth.)

T. Kam Manahan, *Vanderbilt University*

Although few archaeologists would likely admit to it, most have harbored fantasies of time travel in order to gain a glimpse of what life really was like centuries before. At the classic village of Cerén, El Salvador, Payson Sheets and his crew have discovered their time machine, or something as close as one can expect to find. One August evening around AD 600, the villagers were jolted away from their evening meal by the sounds of an impending volcanic eruption. When the blast subsided, the village was sealed beneath five meters of ash, where it remained untouched in a uniquely excellent state of preservation until its coincidental rediscovery in 1976. *Before the Volcano Erupted* summarizes the results of nine field seasons and numerous laboratory analyses conducted between 1978 and 1996 on this World Heritage Site, and as such represents an invaluable contribution to the literature of ancient Mesoamerica.

The Cerén project led the vanguard in terms of advancing issues of site preservation from the very outset. Sheets and his crew deserve kudos for their close collaboration with Salvadoran government institutions and non-governmental organizations and their proactive integration with the field of artifact and architectural conservation (detailed in a chapter by Harriet F. Beaubien) to ensure that this unique treasure lasts in perpetuity.

The benefits of new technologies are reflected in the project's Web site (launched when the Internet was still in its infancy: [ceren.colorado.edu](http://ceren.colorado.edu)), digitally modeled reconstruction drawings in some chapters, and the separate publication of a companion CD-ROM to the volume, unavailable to this reviewer. We are told that publishing the detailed site report that Sheets envisioned would have been cost-prohibitive. The solution was to publish a volume that represents "the cream of the research results" (5) and to keep the bulk of the data on the digital companions. Although the lay reader may appreciate this solution, specialists are unlikely to be satiated by the abbreviated summaries presented in the print version. The resulting volume feels less like a happy marriage of mixed media than a concession to escalating publishing costs.

The volume packs into 205 pages of text five parts and a whopping twenty-two chapters. The archaeological data are divided between household archaeology (part 2) and those buildings that did not fit the household patterning (part 3). Marilyn Beaudry-Corbett, Scott E. Simmons, and



David B. Tucker describe some of the architecture and artifacts of Household 1, the most extensively excavated group. Given the exceptional preservation, the authors convincingly identify each structure as a domicile, storeroom, ramada, or kitchen. The incredibly rich artifactual assemblage present (including thirty whole or partial ceramic vessels in the kitchen and twenty-seven more in the storeroom) should put to rest any lingering notions of impoverished commoner populations. Brian R. McKee's very readable summary of Household 2 describes a similarly diverse (although less wealthy) array of architecture and artifacts.

Part 3 includes Andrea I. Gerstle's chapter focusing on Structure 3, interpreted as a possible locale for the communal adjudication of disputes. McKee uses archaeological and ethnographic data to argue that Structure 9 in Household 2 functioned as a sweat bath. Ritual buildings are identified by differences in both architecture and artifacts. Particularly compelling is Linda A. Brown and Gerstle's use of ethnography, ethnohistory, art history, and epigraphy to associate Structure 10 with the "production of community festivals and the storage of festival paraphernalia" (97), including a well-preserved deer-skull headdress. Simmons and Sheets reconstruct nearby Structure 12 as the locus of divination on the basis of architectural style and the array of seemingly unrelated small artifacts interpreted to be *cuenteцитos*, token objects imbued with divinatory power.

Rounding out the volume, part 1 highlights multidisciplinary research including volcanology (C. Dan Miller), geophysical analysis (Lawrence B. Conyers and Hartmut Spetzler), and David L. Lentz and Carlos R. Ramírez-Sosa's paleoethnobotanical studies. Artifacts are presented in part 4, including typological analysis of ceramics (Beaudry-Corbett), Sheets's summary of chipped stone and ground stone, and Brown's faunal bone study. Part 5 includes such diverse topics of Cerén research as conservation (Beaubien), agricultural methods (Sheets and Michelle Woodward), and an overview of the modern canton (Carlos Benjamin Lara M. and Sarah B. Barber) before ending with a brief concluding chapter.

Sheets and Simmons (chapter 19) demonstrate that households were largely self-sufficient, specializing in the overproduction of one good with which to barter for that not produced locally. A heavy reliance on processual theories associated with household archaeology of the 1970s and 1980s appears to leave other issues unaddressed. I am left wondering about the role of the inhabitants of the much wealthier Household 1 in their community. How do we account for these inequalities? How did they arise? Do we have in Household 1 a frozen moment of emerging social stratification?

*Before the Volcano Erupted* is a significant contribution to southeastern Mesoamerican archaeology. The volume provides important new data

and insights that find relevance not only with Mesoamerican specialists but with scholars interested in household archaeology from other regions and time periods.

**The Guaraní under Spanish Rule in the Río de la Plata.** By Barbara Ganson. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003. xii + 290 pp., introduction, maps and figures, appendices, glossary, notes, bibliography, index. \$65.00 cloth.)

Hal Langfur, *University of North Carolina at Wilmington*

Taking as her guide Charles Gibson's seminal social history *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519-1810* (1964), particularly its emphasis on the adaptive strategies of conquered Indians and their cultural tenacity, Barbara Ganson has crafted a subtle, deeply researched study of the Guaraní Indians. Concentrating on the second half of the eighteenth century, but neglecting neither the early colonial period nor the early nineteenth century, she wrests the Guaraní from the fictions they have inspired in popular as well as scholarly thought, restoring a welcomed complexity to their response to colonial incorporation. Her success is a product of archival work in eight countries on three continents, which uncovered along with neglected European sources numerous texts written by the Guaraní themselves or in their language, including grammars, catechisms, cabildo records, and a number of personal letters.

Ganson structures her study in two parts, the first examining the invasion from within. The phrase refers to the ways in which, following a long initial period of contact between the Guaraní and colonists beginning in the sixteenth century, Jesuit missionaries "built on the existing political, economic, and social structures of native society and dramatically transformed many Guaraní lifeways" even as the Indians effectively "retained their cultural autonomy" (10). Numbering perhaps 1.5 million at the time of the encounter, an agricultural people established in villages concentrated along the Paraguay, Paraná, and Uruguay rivers, the Guaraní survived the prolonged violence of Spanish attempts to remake them into a pliant colonial workforce in a region lacking natural resources conducive to the rapid accumulation of wealth. Demographic disaster followed contact. Franciscan missionaries gathered survivors in mission villages, while the Spanish crown took steps to curb the worst abuses of the *encomienda* system of coerced labor and tribute. Latecomers to the region, the Jesuits consolidated their presence beyond the limits of the Franciscan reductions; they

were encouraged to build their great missions as a bulwark against Portuguese expansion into the Río de la Plata basin. The Guaraní responded to conquest and incorporation with a full range of strategies, including flight, violent resistance, reluctant accommodation, willing collaboration, religious syncretism, and cultural borrowing. No single response precluded the others. Upon killing a Jesuit, for example, one Guaraní shaman donned the missionary's black robe, washed his followers' heads with water, and told them, "I baptize you in order to unbaptize you" (39). Over time the Guaraní gradually accepted the Jesuits' patriarchal rule, not least because the missionaries offered protection from insatiable Spanish settlers as well as Portuguese slave raiders. By the mid eighteenth century more than one hundred thousand Guaraní converts resided in the Jesuit missions, forging a New World hybrid culture from the "blending of European and native traditions, diets, medicines, material culture, and technologies" (84).

The second part of the study probes the history of the Guaraní War and its aftermath. Ganson treats this conflict as a conservative native rebellion against an invasion from without. Settling an imperial boundary dispute with the aid of the Catholic Church, Spain and Portugal agreed to relocate the mission Indians in fulfillment of the Treaty of Madrid (1750), resorting to force when the Indians refused to comply. Debunking the myth, first promulgated by Portuguese colonial officials, that renegade Jesuits sparked the resulting native uprising, Ganson demonstrates that the Guaraní themselves took the lead in the fight to preserve the mission system. Beseated by uncertainty, fearing enslavement, they reacted "to what they perceived as an immediate threat to their way of life or a violation of the reciprocal exchanges and obligations they had established with the Spanish colonial state" (94). Even after their defeat on the battlefield at Caaíbaté in 1756 and the expulsion of the Jesuits from Portuguese and then Spanish America, well over fifty thousand Christian Guaraní remained in the missions, first under military occupation and then secular administration. Although the mission population declined, long experience in the skills of accommodation and daily forms of resistance allowed the Guaraní to preserve thirty established villages, where they retained many traditional beliefs and practices through the end of the colonial period. "These native people," Ganson concludes, "had become Christian, but they remained Guaraní," even after the wars of Latin American independence signaled the final demise of the mission system (187).

While Ganson herself admits that her sources cannot ultimately match those Gibson had at his disposal, her empirical contribution is substantial. Less satisfying, her theoretical framework aspires to encompass complex and often contradictory responses to colonization under the rubric of trans-

culturation. The concept in this case tends to obscure more than it clarifies by needlessly sidelining power relations in the interest of highlighting indigenous agency, despite Ganson's stated awareness of this pitfall. An otherwise impressive monograph, Ganson's study will help move the historical Guaraní to the center of future debates about Amerindian cultural persistence.

**Resilient Cultures: America's Native Peoples Confront European Colonization, 1500–1800.** By John E. Kicza. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2003. xvi + 203 pp., preface, maps, bibliography, index. \$30.80 paper.)

Camilla Townsend, *Colgate University*

In his concise history of the native peoples of North America, South America, and Mesoamerica up to the age of independence, John Kicza has provided the field with a much-needed volume. The book provides a coherent comparative panorama that is extremely helpful to undergraduate students. (Indeed, I plan to make the book required reading in a required course in Colgate's Native American Studies program.) In addition, the book will also prove useful to many scholars, who too often have not been in the habit of placing the region of their greatest expertise in the widest possible comparative framework.

The book offers two major theses. First, as is indicated in the title, Kicza argues that despite the traditional tendency to envision Native Americans as victims, indigenous people everywhere in fact responded creatively and flexibly to European incursions. They came from cultures that had existed for centuries or even millennia before the white men arrived. “[The book's] portrait of the salient features of the vast numbers of distinct societies in the Americas before the arrival of Europeans demonstrates that it was truly an ancient land containing peoples who had a profound sense of their own history and intense pride in and identification with their particular ethnic identities” (31). The strength of people's sentiments about their cultures and their histories did not disappear under colonial rule; Indians asserted themselves in a variety of ways, as Kicza illustrates. “Time and again colonists in both Americas had to accommodate themselves to indigenous practices and priorities” (184).

Second, Kicza makes the less common but equally important argument that the form that a particular colonial society took was determined not so much by the European power that settled there as by the nature of the indigenous civilization present in the region—sedentary, semisedentary, or

nonsedentary (nomadic). He demonstrates that the complex sedentary cultures (such as the Aztecs and Mayas) were those whose association with agriculture was most ancient. He includes the most recent contributions of science, pointing out that constellations of useful crops could not distribute themselves as widely in the New World as in the Old because ecological niches were geographically quite narrow. “The two continents in the Western Hemisphere run primarily North-South, unlike Europe and Asia, which extend far more along an East-West axis” (5). Thus, the majority of people in the Americas did not fully incorporate agriculture into their lifestyles and remained nomadic or partially nomadic. These cultures presented Europeans with the greatest challenges at the time of contact and could not be brought to accept the *encomienda*, for example. “The most profound irony of the conquest era is that the vast and powerful sedentary empires proved the easiest for the Spanish to subdue” (47). The English and French did not find people like the Aztecs and Mayas, though they looked for them. Thus they forged different colonial worlds than did the Spanish in Mexico and Peru. In a key chapter, Kicza shows that the Spanish themselves, when confronting tribal peoples, created societies that closely resembled those of their northern neighbors.

In closing, Kicza raises another fascinating “big picture” issue, underscoring the important role played by Native Americans in world history. He refers to the idea that the silver mined by the indigenous and transported from the New World to the Old stimulated a dynamic international trade there that had long-lasting and very positive results for a number of European nations (180–82).

If the book has a fault, it is that much of the material Kicza covers cries out for fuller treatment. But if the author had included more, then the volume would have lost its most valuable quality—that it offers a world of knowledge in an accessible, brief, and readable way.

**Represented Communities: Fiji and World Decolonization.** By John D. Kelly and Martha Kaplan. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001. xiv + 243 pp., preface, acknowledgments, black and white photographs, notes, bibliography, index. \$40.00 cloth, \$18.00 paper.)

Stephan P. Edwards, *Central Wyoming College*

In this provocative and complex work, two eminent Fiji scholars bring together six freestanding essays in a concerted attack against Benedict Anderson’s now classic *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. While Anderson is brought squarely within

Kelly and Kaplan's sights, some of their volleys are wide of the mark. And their project is actually more ambitious than merely creating, as the book cover proclaims, "an extensive and devastating critique" of Anderson. The authors also seek to "banish the very concept of identity from its current fetishized place in our scholarly vocabulary" (74) and to recast the disciplines of globalization and decolonization studies in a more sophisticated and complex light. For this Kelly and Kaplan are to be commended, and there is much to admire in their subtle and densely argued essays. However, the text is most valuable as a stepping stone to more nuanced studies of the phenomenon of nationalism, and as a complement to Anderson's theories, than as a stand-alone critique of *Imagined Communities*.

Kelly and Kaplan contend that nationalism scholarship has become obsessed with the concept of identity, particularly as it relates to larger "dialectical" forces of totality such as Hegelian will, Marxist modes of production, and Anderson's "print capitalism." They see the idea of imagined identities as passive and ultimately reductive, and they emphasize that simply attributing or equating nationhood to identity oversimplifies the nation-building process. The authors examine how disparate Fijian communities (especially indigenous Fijians and imported South Asian, or Indo-Fijians) actively *represented* themselves politically in the world. Historical manifestations of political will provide the historian or anthropologist with more concrete and tangible evidence for describing how nationalism emerges within a community, and allow more freedom of agency for the actors within that political struggle. To this end, Kelly and Kaplan invoke Mikhail Bakhtin and create a "dialogic" examination of community in which "even global history is a series of planned and lived responses to specific circumstances that were also irreducibly constituted by human subjects . . . a dense, complex network of individual and collective subjects continually responsive to one another" (6). This approach, the authors claim, as opposed to traditional dialectical models (including *Imagined Communities*), creates a more rich and complex understanding of the processes of nationhood. In fact, Kelly and Kaplan celebrate complexity as a way to avoid the simplifying and totalizing effects of paradigms of identity; they "want to consider complexity . . . not to seek out the simple, but to make complexity intelligible" (82–83).

While intelligibility is not always achieved—often the complexity of their arguments obscures and weakens what are quite powerful analyses—Kelly and Kaplan are right to strive for more complex understandings of what are, at heart, not simple phenomena. They are also right to challenge widely accepted conventions, and to refresh what they consider to be stagnant intellectual waters. What they do not do, however, is dismiss Anderson

completely. Kelly and Kaplan seem to imply that “represented communities” are somehow vastly different from or mutually exclusive of “imagined communities.” The political struggle of a community to achieve representation or political power is often the struggle to birth an already existing abstract or imagined concept of that community into the real, historical world. What *Represented Communities* shows is that this process can work in reverse as well—the development of political representation may forge the imagined idea of the community. The two concepts are interlinked. If the authors are as committed to complexity as they appear to be, there must be a place for imagined identities within the universe of nationalism studies. Preserving the “Andersonian” approach means that communities that *must* exist in imagination only, without representation, such as Turkish Kurds or Tibetans living in China, are not excluded from the discourse. We should consider these two conceptions of community as complementary rather than competing.

In the end, *Represented Communities* is a capable and thoroughly researched exploration into the colonial and postcolonial history of Fiji, and a useful critique of the modern state of nationalism scholarship. Though overzealous in its siege on Anderson’s *Imagined Communities*, Kelly and Kaplan’s effort to see identity politics in a new light is laudable. The struggle of newly decolonized peoples, such as the residents of the Fiji Islands, to define their identities and their role in the new global order is pressingly important to understand.

**Privilegios en lucha: La información de doña Isabel Moctezuma.** Edited by Emma Pérez-Rocha. (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1998. 289 pp. MXN\$120.00.)

**La nobleza indígena del centro de México después de la conquista.** Edited by Emma Pérez-Rocha and Rafael Tena. (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2000. 459 pp. MXN\$231.50.)

Alexander F. Christensen, *Central Identification Laboratory, Joint POW/MIA Accounting Command*

After the conquest of Mexico, while the Spanish crown took title to the kingdom of New Spain, it simultaneously recognized the claims of indigenous nobles to their hereditary lands and subjects. Over the following decades, many of these nobles filed suit for their patrimony. In these two volumes, Emma Pérez-Rocha and her colleagues in the Dirección de Ethnohistoria of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia have

transcribed and edited a large selection of the documents submitted to the Spanish crown by these nobles, now preserved in the Archivo General de las Indias (AGI), Seville, and the Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), Mexico.

The largest of these land claims was that of Tecuichpochtzin, or doña Isabel de Moctezuma, the daughter of the Mexica tlahtoani Moteuczoma Xocoyotzin (a.k.a. the Aztec emperor Montezuma). Over a long and eventful life, she married three members of the Mexica royal family, followed by three Spaniards. Her sixth husband, Juan Cano, petitioned the Royal Audiencia for the restoration of her parents' properties in 1546. In 1556 the Audiencia ruled that she had indeed inherited the properties in question, but that it could not dispossess those Spaniards to whom the subject communities had subsequently been given. As a result, in 1560, Juan Cano presented the case to the Consejo de Indias in Seville. Six years later, Juan Andrade, her son by her fifth marriage, presented another partial copy. The original proceedings before the Audiencia are no longer extant, but the two later copies survive in the AGI. *Privilegios en lucha* takes portions from both of these documents, now preserved as AGI Real Patronato, 181 R8 and 245 R3, to reconstruct the original proceedings.

The proceedings contain the testimony of twenty-nine different witnesses as to the extent of doña Isabel's, and thus her father's, landholdings. Eighteen testified in 1548 and eleven in 1553. The witnesses included members of the royal family, noblemen, and servants from Tenochtitlan, Tlatelolco, the Valley of Toluca, Ecatepec, Tzacualpan, and Popotla, all of whom were old enough to remember the pre-Conquest world. They answered a series of questions about doña Isabel's genealogy and whether specific towns belonged to the patrimony of her father, Moteuczoma, or her maternal grandfather, Ahuitzotl. Much of their testimony was redundant, but there were interesting discrepancies, which are enumerated in Pérez-Rocha's introductory study. As an example, most witnesses agreed that Tula and seven other towns in its province had belonged personally to Moteuczoma. Don Juan Achica, a son of Axayacatl who was sixty-nine when he testified in 1550, said that Tulancingo—which was actually not included in the question—belonged to the *señorio* of Tenochtitlan and that the produce of the other towns had served to maintain the entire royal family. Antón, a citizen of Mexico City whose father had been Moteuczoma's majordomo, testified that these towns were part of the dowry of doña Isabel's mother, Ahuitzotl's daughter, the Lady of Teccalco.

*La nobleza indígena* contains forty different documents, in Spanish, Nahuatl, and Latin (those in the latter two languages have Spanish translations provided). Most are from the AGI, with a selection from the AGN to



round them out. They include testaments, petitions to the crown, royal warrants, local judicial decisions, and anonymous descriptions of several communities, all relating to the patrimony of different indigenous nobles. Many of these individuals, including don Pedro, doña Isabel, and doña Leonor Moteuczoma; don Martín Cortés Nezahualcoyotl; and don Diego de Alvarado Huanitzin, belonged to the Mexica royal family. Others, like don Hernando de Tapia and don Pablo Tacatecle, were Tenochca nobles, while don Esteban de Guzmán represented Xochimilco, don Diego de Mendoza Austria y Moteuczoma Imauhyantzin Tlatelolco, don Francisco Verdugo Quetzalmamalitli Huetzin Teotihuacan, don Hernando Alvarado Pimental Nezahualcoyotl Tetzoco, and others Tlacopan, Coyoacan, Itzapalapan, Xaltocan, and Cuauhtitlan.

The documents in *La nobleza indigena* range from single-page letters and *cédulas* to the thirty-five-page “Probanza en favor de don Antonio Cortés Totoquihuaztli y del pueblo de Tlacopan,” dated to 1565–66 and now preserved in AGI Justicia. They are ordered chronologically, from the undated but circa 1532 “Sobre una petición de don Martin Cortés Nezahualtecólotl al emperador Carlos V” through the 1574 Nahuatl testament of don Antonio Cortés Totoquihuaztli. This is followed by a single seventeenth-century document, the “Relación del señorío de Teotihuacan” written in Nahuatl and Spanish in 1621. As a whole, the documents provide a view of indigenous political structure and history that cannot be found elsewhere, with a healthy dose of genealogy thrown in.

Ethnohistorical research depends upon access to primary sources. Secondary analyses can be superseded and replaced; accurate transcriptions of primary sources will always retain their value. As such, these volumes are an important addition to the shelves of anyone studying Late Postclassic or Early Colonial Central Mexico.

**Women Traders in Cross-Cultural Perspective: Mediating Identities, Marketing Wares.** Edited by Linda J. Seligmann. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001. 308 pp., index, bibliography, illustrations. \$49.50 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

Jeffrey H. Cohen, *Pennsylvania State University*

This collection grew from essays that were first presented as part of a session held at the American Anthropological Association and sponsored by the American Ethnological Society (AES) and the Society for the Anthropology of Work (SAW). A reader might ask why sponsorship is of any importance. The importance lies not only in the fact that the papers were

invited; it also lies in the way in which the essays that Linda Seligmann brought together transcend two poles in anthropological thought, theory, and debate. The AES is associated with the interpretive, cultural side of the field. While the AES's roots are in ethnographic research aimed at comparative understanding, it is more often thought of today as a society in which experimental approach and critical theories are welcome. The SAW (a much younger but no less important group) represents hard-nosed ethnography in which traditional methodologies are brought to bear in the analysis of labor, political economy, work, and social change. What is impressive here is the way the essays transcend the differences separating the AES and SAW, and the issues of economy and culture, and develop a multifaceted analysis of the role of women in the marketplace.

Cross-cultural collections often read like a shopping list of places—markets in Africa and Asia follow a discussion of markets in Latin America. Here, however, Seligmann has organized the essays around four areas of investigation that explore theoretical and methodological concerns. An exceptionally useful introduction by Seligmann summarizes the text and maps issues and concerns that should be of interest to gender specialists and economic anthropologists. She argues that women are caught between cultural systems that see them in specific roles and markets in which they must shed those roles in order to survive. Following the introduction are three substantive sections that explore different aspects of this trap. Part 1, “Gender Ideologies, Household Models and Market Dynamics,” includes two very different papers that ask how the market creates a gendered domain in which economic and political power are negotiated. Judith Marti’s paper on nineteenth-century women street vendors in Guadalajara, Mexico, uses ethnohistorical materials (primarily petitions to city officials) to explore how women used their identity as mothers to facilitate their place in the market. Jennifer and Paul Alexander make a similar argument using data collected in Java. The point of these two papers (perhaps the strongest in the collection) is to show how carefully women in the market must tack between their roles as mothers, wives, and workers and how changes in the market itself (particularly the shift toward a more formal system in Java) threaten the delicate balancing act that women must continually practice.

Part 2 of the collection, “Fields of Power,” explores the contradictions that characterize women’s roles and identities as they move from home to market. The two papers in this section reveal the ways in which women mediate these contradictions. Johanna Lessinger examines how women in Chennai (formerly Madras) India, use the symbols and meaning of motherhood to effectively move about and work in the marketplace. In a similar vein, Gracia Clark examines the concept of “nursing mothers” for the

Kumasi of Ghana. The symbol of motherhood becomes the basis for solidarity among women in the marketplace and allows them to earn what is necessary to sustain their households even as the government attacks them for their activities.

Part 3, “Identity, Economy, and Survival in the Marketplace,” includes four essays that examine very different areas and situations. Nevertheless, the papers share a common thread, in this case, how women in the marketplace are able to survive and, as B. Lynne Milgram shows with her example of Filipina craft producers, even succeed. Deborah Kapchan’s essay focuses on the verbal arts and gendered performances that mark women’s work in Moroccan markets. Éva V. Huseby-Darvas examines the contradictory place of women in the Hungarian market system as the country moved toward a free market system. Finally, Lynn Sikkink analyzes the ways in which women manipulate their many identities (as Indians, as women, etc.) as a means toward engaging and managing their place in the Bolivian market system.

The final section of the book includes two essays that appear under the heading “Research Agendas.” These pieces are an excellent bookend. The first essay by Florence E. Babb reviews work on women in markets over the last twenty years. In her conclusion, Seligmann suggests future directions for research. She points out the importance of understanding how women in the marketplace will continue to respond to changing economies and globalizing market systems; she asks that we focus on implicit and explicit power relations as they influence these changes. Finally, she reminds us, we have likely only seen the tip of the iceberg when it comes to market changes—we still have much to learn and study.

This is an interesting collection that should be extremely useful to economic anthropologists who want to explore the marketplace and gender in their courses. For gender studies, Seligmann’s collection will bring the economy directly into the discussion. The essays are all well written and the lack of jargon makes this an accessible collection for advanced undergraduates. The rather eclectic methodologies employed by the researchers may put off some readers, but read as different approaches to similar questions, they capture what I believe is one of anthropology’s strengths—its ability to use different methodologies to examine significant issues in a cross-cultural fashion.

**La comunidad Purhépecha es nuestra fuerza: Etnicidad, cultura, y región en un movimiento indígena en México.** By Gunther Dietz. (Quito, Ecuador: Ediciones Abya-Yala, 1999. 492 pp., maps, photographs, bibliography. \$14.00 paper.)

Edward F. Fischer, *Vanderbilt University*

The end of the twentieth century saw a dramatic rise in indigenous activism throughout the Americas. Convergent with an international valorization of all things native, Indian groups began to reconceptualize and re-present their cultural traditions to the world at large. While playing on some of the same themes, these are not the romantic revitalization movements of yesteryear. Rather, they are complex and hybrid constructions that seek inspiration from the past (as well as the moral authority bestowed by claims of cultural continuity) to build a future for themselves in a globalized world. These groups have taken advantage of technological advances and political trends to better leverage their cultural capital in making political and economic demands on the states in which they live.

In this book, Gunther Dietz does an impressive job of conveying the complexity and heterogeneity of ethnic identity politics in the historical and contemporary contexts of Mexico. Purhépechas, members of the ethnolinguistic group formerly known as Tarascans, live in a number of communities spread over the eastern part of the state of Michoacan. In tracing the foundations of an emergent pan-Purhépechan identity, Dietz takes the risky but ultimately rewarding approach of writing a regional (rather than a community-specific) ethnography. Thus, while Dietz conveys a feel for daily life in Nurío, Paracho, and other communities, he takes his lead from the indigenous activists he studies by presenting a composite portrayal of the area (and Purhépechan identity). Some may protest the departure from the long tradition of Mesoamerican community studies, but what is missed in terms of microcommunity analysis is more than made up for in teasing out regional patterns and intercommunity contradictions.

Dietz's work synthesizes anthropological approaches to agency, hegemony, and resistance. He emphasizes the role of Indian activists as intentional actors playing out their individual and collective self-interests in contested fields of identity politics. He focuses on practices and resources (à la Pierre Bourdieu and Anthony Giddens), showing how identity politics may be used to pursue both hegemonic and subaltern ends. The particular history of Mexico makes this an especially fascinating case. Dietz ably reviews the complex history of postrevolutionary integrative and co-optive state forces, felt acutely in Michoacan—located so close to the capital, so far from God. The Mexican state has long laid claim to the grandeurs of

the Indian past and prided itself on a sensitive integration of cultural traditions into a unifying national identity. Partly as a result of this history, there is quite bit of latent cultural capital associated with being Indian in Mexico. Purhépechan activists are working out novel ways to convert these cultural resources into political and economic capital in a field of asymmetrical relations between the state and civil society.

Dietz shows that Purhépechan identity is multivalenced—called upon and represented in very different ways depending on the context. Salient social ties simultaneously bind individuals together into households, neighborhoods, communities, and the region (and country) as a whole. This is clearly seen in the economic sphere, where households are the primary units of subsistence and trade production but are intimately linked to local specializations and community and regional trade. Thus, there has been a long history of regional interdependence in the Purhépechan area.

Operating simultaneously within this regional pattern, the Mexican state has insinuated its *indigenista* policies and institutions into Purhépechan communities. But the results have not always been those envisioned by state leaders. From the *ejido* system of communal land ownership to bilingual education programs, state impositions have been adapted by and co-opted into local cultural patterns in ways that often subvert assimilationist intentions. Public university programs in ethnolinguistics, the state-sponsored Consejo Supremo Purhépecha, and even production cooperatives have all acted to stimulate a pan-Purhépechan ethnic awareness that is at odds with an officially promulgated Mexican national identity. But this is not a neat textbook case of hegemonic imposition and mechanical resistance. As Dietz shows, there are significant conflicts within and between Purhépechan communities. For example, some parents are disturbed by the new emphasis on bilingual and bicultural education in the public schools; they pragmatically argue that such efforts at cultural resurgence undermine their children's potential for upward mobility in modern Mexican society.

Despite these dissenting voices, Dietz shows that Purhépechan nationalism has become a powerful political movement. Most dramatic is the formation of the Nación Purhépecha in the early 1990s. The Nación Purhépecha is a regional organization dedicated to cultural revalorization, economic development, and political influence, expounded under the rhetoric of nationhood (complete with its own flag). The Nación Purhépecha has been able to build a broad (although by no means uncontested) grassroots legitimacy that gives it leverage in dealings with the Mexican government. It has even aligned itself with the Zapatistas, based in Chiapas, in exerting pressure on the Mexican state to expand indigenous rights.

This book carries implications that go far beyond Michoacan and

the Purhépechans. Reading it, I repeatedly thought how the same analysis would apply to other regions of Mexico in its particulars—and, at a higher level of abstraction, how similar these processes are to other movements throughout Latin America. This is an important work, presenting solid historical and ethnographic analysis to portray Purhépechans as active and intentional agents building their future under circumstances not entirely of their own making.

**An Archaeological Guide to Central and Southern Mexico.** By Joyce Kelly; photographs by Jerry Kelly and the author; drawings, maps, and site plans by the author. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001. xvii + 386 pp., preface, introduction, glossary, bibliography, index. \$24.95 paper.)

Blanca Maldonado, *Pennsylvania State University*

More than a travel guide, this work represents a real effort to bring together general and scholarly information about archaeological sites in central and southern Mexico. This volume is the third of a triad of books that update the author's original guidebook, *The Complete Visitor's Guide to Meso-american Ruins* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1982). The region covered in this book extends from Tamaulipas to Nayarit in the north through the states of Tabasco and Chiapas in the south, an area of 252,612 square miles.

The author organizes her archaeological odyssey into seven geographic sections: West Central Mexico, Central Mexico (around Querétaro), Central Mexico (around Mexico City), Oaxaca, Central Gulf Coast, Southern Gulf Coast, and Chiapas. Thorough information is presented about the archaeological sites and museums in each of these regions, as well as useful hints on the geography and climate of the area, the best stopovers, the general condition of the roads, and the location of the major airports. Points of reference, distances, and driving times are tabulated, along with listings for travel agencies and places where a vehicle can be rented.

Each of the seventy archaeological sites and sixty museums described by the author is rated on a scale of zero to four stars. This information, although somewhat arbitrary, gives a good idea of the importance of each site in terms of both monumentality and accessibility. Kelly provides a pronunciation guide for English speakers, a derivation of the name of the site, a general description of the local culture, and a map to the sites. An artist and writer, she supplies striking photographs that provide an impression about the art and architecture of the sites. The coverage of archaeologi-

cal sites and museums is outstanding. A wide range of places is described, from the largest and most well-known sites to the minor and often not so well-known ones. However, a few sites of considerable interest are not included in this guide, such as the Postclassic site of El Chanal, in Colima; El Xtepete, in Jalisco, known for its Classic Teotihuacan-style architecture; the Aztec site of Acatitlan or Santa Cecilia; and the Classic-Postclassic site of Chalchihuites, in the state of Zacatecas.

The most valuable part of this work is the brief but accurate archaeological review provided for each site. The author is obviously knowledgeable about archaeological literature on Mesoamerica. Kelly has personally visited the sites and offers up-to-date discussions of their archaeology and individual histories. The description of each site includes information on the archaeological research that has been carried out there, as well as the names of the scholars who have directed it.

A bibliography is included, although no citations are found in the sections where information has clearly been obtained from secondary sources. This is particularly true for the introduction on Mesoamerica as a cultural area. Regardless, this work without question represents the most complete guide to archaeological sites in central and southern Mexico. In Mexico, archaeology is as much a part of the present as it is of the past. There is a strong link between pre-Hispanic material remains and modern Mexican societies. Kelly's book captures this notion in a harmonious way.

As a native Mexican, I find this guide to be a complete and precise description of the places that I know by heart. As an archaeologist, I feel its usefulness goes beyond that of a simple travel guide, and it functions well as a short reference book for the traveling enthusiast and the dedicated scholar who want to experience the archaeology of Mexico in a firsthand manner.

**Mexico's Indigenous Past.** By Alfredo López Austin and Leonardo López Luján. Translated by Bernard R. Ortiz de Montellano. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001. xi + 349 pp., bibliography, index. \$39.95 hardcover.)

Zachary Nelson, *Pennsylvania State University*

This valuable textbook is a wellspring of information about ancient Mexicans. The authors have succeeded in combining the perspectives of the archaeologist and the historian to provide broad coverage about the cultures that once resided in ancient Mexico. Those who think that pre-Hispanic Mexico consists only of Olmecs, Teotihuacanos, Aztecs, Oaxa-

cans, and Maya will be surprised at the cultural diversity in Mexico's past. This book is a good introductory text regarding the prehistory of Mexico and its disparate cultures and varying levels of social complexity.

As an introductory text, this book does an excellent job of presenting complex topics in a coherent, simple way. The prose is easy to read, without the awkwardness that often accompanies a translated work. This is a useful textbook for the novice or an introductory class. Perhaps its only shortcoming, shared by all overview books, is that the coverage of many areas is quite brief, leaving the reader desiring more—a void that can be filled with class lectures.

The authors guide the reader through Mexico's past, beginning around 33,000 BC and ending with the Conquest. The book is organized around three broad geographic zones: Aridamerica, which comprises the north-eastern parts of Mexico; Oasisamerica, representing the irrigated area of the U.S. Southwest, the Great Basin, and northwestern Mexico; and Mesoamerica, which covers most of Mexico and some areas farther south. The discussion within each geographic zone is presented chronologically to provide a coherent developmental story. Chapters in the book are arranged temporally using common Mesoamerican archaeological periods: Preclassic, Classic, Epiclassic, and Postclassic. Although the bulk of the book revolves around Mesoamerica and discusses the major civilizations of the Olmec, Teotihuacan, the Valley of Oaxaca, Maya, and the Aztec, a host of smaller cultures and centers are discussed that are not often found in introductory texts.

The Postclassic chapter is the longest in the book, largely because the Mexica (Aztec) are the focus of the authors' individual research. Spanish records and native codices are used to flesh out the details for this time period, resulting in an in-depth look at a major Mesoamerican civilization. This chapter examines the Mexica empire from a historical framework including aspects of its social structure, land tenure, political organization, education practices, warfare, and religion. Additionally the Toltecs, Chichimecs, Oaxacans, Tarascans, Huastecs, and Totonacs are all covered, along with the Maya.

Instructors looking for a textbook for their Mesoamerican introductory courses will be well served to consider this one. Two caveats: for the true novice a glossary of terms would have been useful, and the illustrations used are both fewer and less interesting than those found in other introductory texts. These minor points are counterbalanced by broader cultural coverage than one normally finds. The real strength of this book is that the authors discuss both primary and secondary centers during each



time period, and they do a great job of including lesser-known, but still important cultures in their discussion.

**Indians, Merchants, and Markets. A Reinterpretation of the Repartimiento and Spanish-Indian Economic Relations in Colonial Oaxaca 1750–1821.** By Jeremy Baskes. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000. 306 pp., tables, figures, maps, appendices, bibliography, index. \$60.00 cloth.)

Robert W. Patch, *University of California, Riverside*

This book reinterprets the nature of the *repartimiento* system (commercial exchange between Indians and Spanish officials) in Oaxaca in the late colonial period. The topic is controversial—as it was during the era of the Bourbon reforms—for the *repartimiento* has long been considered to be one of the best examples of the gross exploitation of the indigenous population by colonialism.

For the most part, Jeremy Baskes focuses on the *repartimiento*'s involvement in Oaxaca's famous cochineal trade, an exchange in which the indigenous producers received monetary advances in return for future payment in cochineal. The author argues that Spanish magistrates faced a seller's market in trying to acquire the goods and that the Indians were thus able to demand favorable terms of trade. Although the officials may have occasionally employed coercion, for the most part the indigenous producers participated in the *repartimiento* because it was in their interest to do so, since it gave them access to credit. Political reformers, however, came to see the system as monopolistic and grossly exploitative, and thus they tried to abolish it. Baskes points out that much of what was said critically about the *repartimiento* must therefore be understood in the context of bureaucratic infighting and cannot be accepted at face value. Moreover, research from other areas has shown that Indians were not passive victims of exploitation, for they resisted it and found ways to get around it, and surely the native people of Oaxaca were no different. If they participated, then, it was probably more by choice. The system functioned as a result of market forces.

Baskes makes important contributions to our understanding of the late colonial economy. He points out that the *repartimiento* consisted essentially of credit extended to Indian producers who otherwise would have had no source of credit at all. He also notes that as far as is known the goods sold to the indigenous people—such as mules—through the *reparti-*

miento were in fact useful, rather than superfluous as many previous scholars have assumed. He demonstrates that the system functioned so as to tie the indigenous producers into a regional market that in turn was integrated into the economy of New Spain, Spain, England, and the Netherlands. Baskes's interpretation includes an innovative, and as far as I know unique, analysis of merchants and middlemen, insurance, the rental of shipping space, the movement of cochineal from Cadiz to London and Amsterdam, and the eventual sale to textile manufacturers. He also presents evidence that the decline of Oaxaca's cochineal economy was caused not by the Bourbon reformers' abolition of the repartimiento, as previously assumed, but rather by world market forces. All in all, the book succeeds in directing the historiography to important topics in addition to that of the exploitation of the Indians.

I do have some reservations about the way in which Baskes seeks to apply conclusions regarding the cochineal repartimiento to *all* forms of the repartimiento in the Spanish empire. He has proved rather convincingly that the cochineal exchange was not really coercive in nature, but it does not follow that all the other forms of exchange—sales of mules, cattle, or agricultural equipment; monetary advances or credit in return for the future delivery of cacao, cotton, or cotton textiles—were equally free of coercion. Some of them may have been, but to assert, as Baskes does, that none of the contemporary criticism of the system was valid because of its partisan nature is simply to accept the other side of the argument (favoring the system's continuation) at face value. There is a great deal of evidence for coercion being used to force the Indians to participate in other forms of the repartimiento. For example, at the request of a Spanish magistrate facing Indian resistance, the Audiencia of Guatemala examined the issue of whether the *alcaldes mayores* and *corregidores* could compel the Indians to accept commercial exchange against their will. It decided that they could. Moreover, even if the indigenous people willingly accepted the deals with their magistrates, the latter often had to use force to compel the Indians to pay their debts. To be sure, debt-collecting was frequently abusive even when Europeans were the debtors. Yet colonial magistrates could use their official power to effect collection from Indian debtors in ways that they could not use against non-Indians. In short, colonialism, and not just market forces, helps explain why the system functioned the way that it did.

These reservations aside, this book is an insightful and innovative study that will force everyone to reexamine the nature of Indian participation in the colonial economy. It is required reading for all who study the colonial economy and indigenous people in the colonial era.

**Time, History, and Belief in Aztec and Colonial Mexico.** By Ross Hassig. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001. xv + 220 pp., preface, acknowledgments, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$40.00 cloth, \$18.95 paper.)

David Tavárez, *Vassar College*

In this analytical tour de force, Ross Hassig confronts a Manichean characterization of Mexica civilization: that the conception of time among the Mexica was essentially cyclical, contrasting not only with the linear logic of the Julian and Gregorian calendars, but also with another Mesoamerican calendrical system featuring a unique starting point—that of the Maya. To this end, Hassig constructs a debate against a position that assumes an opposition between cyclical and linear systems, which leads to a general phrasing of his thesis: “My basic argument is that the Aztecs did not have a primarily cyclical notion of time and history; rather, they manipulated time by way of their calendar, for political purposes” (xiii).

This statement is the corollary to a complex series of arguments through which Hassig questions received notions about the rapport between Mexica political decisions, collective ritual ceremonies, and calendrical interpretation. First of all, Hassig provides an extensive description of the 260-day Mexica ritual calendar (*tonalpohualli*) and its four Year Bearers (House, Rabbit, Reed, and Flint), the 365-day solar cycle (*xihuitl*), and the 52-year cycle (*xiuhmolpilli*), complemented by a discussion of three poorly understood associated cycles—those of the thirteen Lords of the Day, the nine Lords of the Night, and the thirteen Voladores. This summation incorporates Hassig’s interpretation of essential primary sources, which include Late Postclassic iconographic records, pictorial sources—such as the Borbonicus, the Ixtlilxochitl, the Tonalamatl Aubin, the Vaticanus, and the Boturini—and narrative accounts composed between the early sixteenth and the mid-seventeenth centuries by Toribio Motolinia, Diego Durán, Bernardino de Sahagún, Cristóbal del Castillo, Jacinto de la Serna, and other authors. After this summation, Hassig turns to Alfonso Caso’s influential thesis that a general correlation of Mesoamerican calendrical systems may be achieved by linking time units in the Mexica calendar with the corresponding units in other systems—Mixtec, Zapotec, Mixe-Zoque, Maya, or Purépecha. Although Hassig discusses a potential discrepancy in one of Caso’s correlations, he concludes that, due to the scant independent evidence on pre-Columbian calendrical correlations, it is impossible to refute or prove Caso’s thesis. Hassig then positions the rest of his analysis by turning the tables on Caso: instead of assuming the cross-cultural

uniformity of Mesoamerican calendars, he posits that one should expect divergence and seek to explain convergence.

Hassig then turns to three major cosmological modifications introduced by the Mexica: the change from a cosmological history of four Suns to a five-Sun history, the change from a nine-level to a thirteen-level celestial realm (*Topan*), and the shifting of the New Fire Ceremony—which signaled the passage into a new fifty-two-year cycle—from 1 Rabbit, its canonical year in the cycle, to the following year (2 Reed). How did these changes play out in terms of their impact on the various local calendrical systems encountered by the Mexica during their military expansion, which began in 1428? Hassig suggests that the local divergences in the insertion of intercalary days—the equivalent of leap year corrections—coupled with the necessity of collecting tribute for Tenochtitlan during four specific months may have led to the coexistence of two calendrical systems: one sponsored and controlled by Mexica specialists—which may support Caso’s thesis about cross-cultural correlations—and an independent local system.

The pièce de résistance in Hassig’s analysis is his interpretation of the shift of the Mexica New Fire ceremony. First of all, his analysis reviews the various contradictory statements in the sources regarding this ceremony’s placement within the solar year. Although Sahagún and other sources state that it took place at the point marking the end of a fifty-two-year cycle and the beginning of a new cycle (February or March in our calendar), Sahagún also indicates that the ceremony took place as the Pleiades reached their zenith at midnight (early November in our calendar). A third contender is the depiction of an apparent New Fire ceremony occurring in the month of Panquetzalitzli in the Codex Borbonicus, which Hassig disputes. Hassig then turns to the received interpretation of this shift—based on the Telleriano-Remensis—which holds that the New Fire ceremony was moved from 1454 (1 Rabbit) to 1455 (2 Reed) because of a devastating famine in 1454, and also in order to shift the ceremony to Huitzilopochtli’s birth date. He also observes that Chimalpahin states that this ceremony was held in 1455 atop Huixachtecatl Hill, south of Tenochtitlan. Hassig then incorporates these lines of evidence into an interpretation that characterizes the shift as a decision motivated by political expediency rather than by mere calendrical logic: (1) there probably was a formal New Fire ceremony held in 1454 at the end of the fifty-two-year cycle in the Templo Mayor of Tenochtitlan; (2) this ritual was followed by a New Fire “recapitulation” ceremony in 1455 at the recently conquered site of Huixachtecatl, perhaps during Panquetzalitzli; and (3) this shift was formalized by 1507 (2 Reed), as recorded in the Teocalli de la Guerra Sagrada and as suggested by the building of a new temple at Huixachtecatl.

This reinterpretation of the New Fire shift epitomizes Hassig's major contention, which is developed using other examples in the rest of the book: that an analysis of the Mexica calendrical system demonstrates the importance of distinguishing ideology-as-idiom—the logical or symbolic operation of a group of structuring principles—from ideology-as-action—the instantiation of these principles in specific historical contexts by ruling elites. Thus, the last three chapters of the book expand what is initially structured as a debate with specialists in Mesoamerican ethnohistory to a general discussion of methodological and historiographical issues in ethnohistory—ranging from an engagement with the Sahlins-Obeyesekere debate to an appraisal of the use of sources produced by colonial authors for the study of indigenous cultural categories. In a revealing metaphor, Hassig claims, “Just as particle physics has the Heisenberg uncertainty principle . . . so too does ethnohistory have an uncertainty principle” (53). In the end, this book stands as an unflinching and multifaceted analysis that refuses to dilute the complexity of Late Postclassic and early colonial time-keeping systems. It argues for a highly developed methodological acuity that furthers the productive interdigitation of historical and anthropological research.

**The Articulated Peasant: Household Economies in the Andes.** By Enrique Mayer. (Boulder, CO: Westview, 2002. xvi + 390 pp., preface, introduction, illustrations, glossary, bibliography, index. \$31.00 paper.)

Paul Trawick, *University of Kentucky*

This remarkable book does not easily invite comparison, but it will be instantly familiar to anyone who works in the Andes: a collection of papers by a Peruvian anthropologist whose work has virtually defined peasant studies in the region. Many of the articles were originally published in Spanish and are now made available in English, revised and updated, for the first time, which will delight graduate students faced with the daunting task of covering a vast literature. The chapters are exceptional for the time depth with which they analyze and portray the Andean peasantry, making the book of special interest to ethnohistorians. In this respect and others the collection shows the influence of Enrique Mayer's mentor at Cornell, John Murra; the volume, although primarily ethnographic and ethnological in focus, is reminiscent of Murra's *Formaciones económicas y políticas del mundo Andino* and is just as indispensable, being largely dedicated to showing the continued relevance of Murra's insights to understanding the contemporary Andean world.

The ten chapters are given unity by the author's theoretical perspective, revised and sharpened during the lifetime of work that the book represents, a vision that has remained remarkably consistent throughout. This is made clear at the outset; the first chapter stands out as a primer on theories of the peasantry and on economic anthropology, one that will be widely read and used in the classroom. This overview, like the rest of the book, is remarkable for the skill with which it interweaves analysis and explanation with understanding in its portrayal of people who have always dealt with life, and with each other, in ways that, despite the pervasiveness of change, are as advantageous and meaningful today as ever. These include "verticality" and the exploitation of multiple production zones, intensive small-scale farming that is sustainable, reciprocity, redistribution, and market exchange. Among the chapters of special interest to ethnohistorians are "Redistribution and Trade in Inca Society," "Domestic Economy and the Encomienda in Colonial Peru," and "The Rules of the Game in Andean Reciprocity."

Mayer depicts a dynamic and resourceful peasant household constantly investing its labor in reproducing itself and surviving, also advancing its fortunes a bit with anything left over after those basic needs are met. This is done in such a way that we understand the forces that have acted to provide continuity as well as those that have promoted change, and change is no stranger to the analysis. Toward that end Mayer employs four analytical models, each used in its own appropriate context but all defined as necessary complements to each other: (1) the black box model, which focuses on what flows into and out of the household while ignoring its inner workings; (2) the kinship model, in which the household is shown to be a family whose economic activity is embedded in and subordinated to the norms of kinship and family life; (3) the house(holder) model, the main function of which is to reveal the dynamics and the decision-making behind small-scale, intensive agriculture, an activity that has always been geared toward maintaining a high degree of self-reliance in food production; and finally, (4) the rational choice model, used here in a nuanced manner where it is most appropriate, in the analysis of market and wage-earning activity by individual household members, a domain in which they are shown to be at a competitive disadvantage. These complementary models are combined to define the household itself, which is then placed squarely in its social context to reveal a fifth model, discussed at length throughout the book and perhaps the book's greatest strength: the household-in-community, whose communal resources and cooperative institutions have been vital to the peasantry's survival through time and through Andean space.

The author's aim is to explain how and why the small-scale agriculture

of the household has persisted as a mode of livelihood, remaining linked to and affected by capitalism while in some ways remaining “outside its main transformative thrust” (xiv). Although Mayer generally avoids controversy in steering his way around and through some contentious issues, the force and depth of his argument may have the effect of supplanting recent works that argue that the “peasant” is just another one of anthropology’s long list of illusory constructed objects, like the “tribe,” and that the concept has outlived its usefulness. Mayer shows with masterful skill and insight that the Andean peasant is alive and, if not doing particularly well due to the impact of neoliberal policies and programs of structural adjustment, is at least coping with these new forces in the ongoing challenge of making a living through means that have been tried and tested and that in many cases date back hundreds of years. Rumors of the death of the peasant concept would seem to be greatly exaggerated.

**The Language Encounter in the Americas, 1492–1800.** Edited by Edward G. Gray and Norman Fiering. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000. xx + 342 pp., preface, bibliography, index. \$69.95 cloth, \$25.00 paper.)

Elizabeth R. Wright, *University of Georgia*

The editors have gathered fourteen essays that explore how verbal, visual, and sign languages shaped the colonization of the Americas. Initially presented at a 1996 conference at the John Carter Brown Library, the contributions as printed remain fresh, are well documented, and provide a comprehensive depiction of the communication problems that shaped French, Spanish, and Anglo America. Though organized thematically, the volume has sufficient chronological balance to account for changes and trends over time, with a particularly illuminating cluster of essays about the later colonial period.

Edward Gray’s introduction describes the book’s five-part thematic organization and provides a concise, lucid explanation of the volume’s underlying theory and methodology. The only misstep is that Gray credits Tzvetan Todorov with the insight that “language has always been the companion of Empire” (10) without clarifying that the French theorist invokes the first published grammar of a modern European language, Antonio de Nebrija’s 1492 *Gramática sobre la lengua castellana*. With an emblematic publication date and an equation of linguistic dominion with imperial expansion, this seminal grammar could have provided an apt, ironic banner for the essays that follow. Indeed, what makes this book so compelling are the diverse but complementary ways in which its contributors explore

the fault lines that emerged in the Nebrijan imperialist edifice that envisioned a dominant language following in step with armies. Part 1 (“Terms of Contact”) begins with James Axtell’s vivid illustration of the on-the-ground reality of communication between Europeans and Indians. Ives Goddard gives a case study well matched to Axtell’s panorama, analyzing how pidgins developed in Algonquin-speaking areas. Part 2 (“Signs and Symbols”) begins with Pauline Moffitt Watts’s examination of how Franciscans and Nahuas in Mexico deployed forms of “mute eloquence”; she also gives useful examples of precontact modes of nonverbal eloquence in Europe. Margaret Leahey’s analysis of Jesuits in New France shows how religious and secular gadgetry conveyed modes of spirituality associated with a baroque sensibility. Dana Liebsohn turns the focus to cartography in a masterful reading of Spanish *merced* maps that scripted land management, making judicious use of recent theoretical insights about early-modern reading practices.

Part 3 (“The Literate and the Nonliterate”) begins with José Antonio Mazzotti’s exploration of how precontact modes of nonalphabetic literacy shaped chronicles in Peru and Mexico. Next, Kathleen Bragdon analyzes how John Eliot’s *Indian Grammar Begun* (1666) used linguistic terms to buttress ethnographic judgments, raising an issue that underpins several ensuing essays. Bruce Greenfield discusses how the Mi’kmaq hieroglyphic prayer book of Maritime Canada—designed to serve European confessional goals—attained a broader resonance that ensured its survival over several generations. Part 4 (“Intermediaries”) focuses on cultural brokers, beginning with Frances Karttunen’s taxonomy of the different categories of interpreters. William Hart provides a late-colonial example of one of Karttunen’s intermediaries, discussing the short-lived practice of using Mohawk schoolmasters and catechists in New York. Edward Gray explores some contradictions between eloquence and political authority that emerged as Jefferson and other Revolutionary-era intellectuals enshrined the Indian military leader Soyechtowa (Logan) in the canon of orators. Part 5 (“Theory”) begins with Isaías Lerner’s erudite bibliographic survey of early-modern Spanish sources that struggled to salvage European theories of the primordial language despite evidence of America’s linguistic diversity. For the later colonial era, Lieve Jooke examines European conceptions of three polysynthetic languages, Galibi (Caribbean region), Mapuche (Chile), and Greenlandic (Eskimo). Rüdiger Schreyer provides a fitting conclusion as he explores the coexistence of rival theories that emerged to account for American linguistic complexity. He highlights the strengths and limitations of both the eighteenth-century scientific vision of



linguistic evolution and the still-powerful Christian conception of language as divine.

Taken together, these essays trace three centuries of communication difficulties with a clarity and thoroughness that should inspire productive new conversations about American languages. For this reason, this collection will be valuable to any early modernist or Americanist who seeks insights into recent developments in related fields or disciplines. Non-specialists, advanced undergraduates, and graduate students will benefit from the many well-annotated illustrations and a general bibliography.