

in order to keep life in balance. Although these rigid rules were quickly dropped in the course of christianization, contemporary Inuit still feel responsible for the wildlife in their environment. According to pre-Christian belief, animals were owned by non-human beings. The relations between these owners of the sky, the land, and the sea and the Inuit are discussed in the fifth chapter. For example, if hunting failed, this was seen as the result of some kind of transgression of the above mentioned rules; it fell into the responsibility of the shamans to ascertain the reason why the owners withheld their animals and to appease their anger in order to send back the animals. Whereas these beings were replaced by the Christian god, minor spirits, which are presented in the sixth chapter, still play a role in the recollections of the elders. Although Christians, many of them had experienced strange encounters in their life which they ascribed to contacts with these spirits. Because there are some regional and even individual opinions about the characteristics and the abilities of the spirits, the authors' categorization contains some discrepancies.

Under the heading "Encounters, Healing, and Power" Part Three examines more thematic aspects of shamanism and Christianity. Shamanic initiations, visions, and dreams are discussed in the seventh chapter. Traditional initiations varied a great deal; whereas some included physical hardships, others did not, some disciples were instructed by a shaman, others had no teacher. Although the elders officially reject shamanism for themselves, they believe in visions and dreams, whether the contents are Christian or not, and they provide various examples. The eighth chapter touches upon healing as a central aspect of shamanism. In the past, illness was seen as the result of a transgression of one or several of the many rules which ensured good relationships with all that surrounds the Inuit, the loss of the soul as well as assaults by evil shamans and evil spirits. It fell into the responsibility of the shaman to cure the patient in a public session. If the illness had been caused because of some kind of transgression, the questions by the shaman could be sometimes embarrassing to the sick person, but confession was seen as the only way to restore health. This tradition was partly taken up by healing circles at the end of the 1990s. To speak about their problems with other participants in connection with Christian prayers and drumming seems to be more appealing to Inuit than psychiatry and social services. Powerful objects and words are the topic of the ninth chapter. The powerful objects of the past, the amulets, shamanic belts, and miniature items, have been replaced by objects with Christian symbolism. As might be assumed, today powerful words are Christian prayers and hymns, but these also had predecessors in form of shamanic incantations for various purposes.

Part Four concentrates on "Connecting to Ancestors and Land." The tenth chapter is dedicated to two techniques which are meant to connect the Inuit with their ancestors. Whereas the competitive drum dances, which connect the dead with the living through songs received from the former, are well-known as they are still practiced in public today, the head lifting technique is rather

unknown. Surprisingly, elders do not only have knowledge of the procedure and some still practice it; several were even ready to demonstrate it during the workshops. Head lifting is a form of shamanic divination; a thong is fastened around, e.g., the head of a person and if it cannot be lifted, a spirit is present. Then the head lifter may question the spirit; if he can lift the head, the answer is "no" and if he cannot lift it, this means "yes." In the second half of the 20th century Pentecostal and evangelical movements gained some influence in the eastern arctic, and these developments are discussed in chapter eleven. The members these churches recruited mainly belonged to the younger generations; the elders rather reject such forms of Christianity. A minor reason is that they have more in common with shamanism than the established churches, like, e.g., speaking in tongues. But the major reason for their rejection is that they believe that being too religious might shorten one's life. The twelfth chapter comprises a chronological summary from the precontact period up to the creation of Nunavut. Here, the authors place particular emphasis on the steady integration of new elements into Inuit culture, which afterwards became a part of traditional Inuit culture. They also are of the opinion that shamanism will go on in a transformed form in Christian contexts. But the authors also state that some cases of neo-shamanism occurred, i.e., a form of shamanism which works with basic traits that are common to various societies around the world without using the cultural contexts. Hence, with all the knowledge the elders still have and will probably pass on to the younger people, it might be possible to revive at least part-traditional shamanism.

What makes this publication rather unique, impressive, and interesting are, of course, the many recollections of Inuit elders. The authors arranged their statements together with the archival and published material in an excellent way. Thus, each of the topics the book examines is comprehensively illustrated, also by photographs. Hence, the reader gets a deep insight into the reasons why the Inuit partly changed their religious concepts. In short, the publication is a highly valuable contribution to the research of Inuit shamanism as well as to religious change.

Dagmar Siebelt

Leibsohn, Dana: *Script and Glyph. Pre-Hispanic History, Colonial Bookmaking, and the Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca.* Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2009. 199 pp. ISBN 978-0-88402-342-5. (Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology, 36) Price: \$ 29.95

Housed today in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, the "Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca," or the "Anales de Cuauhtinchan," was produced around the middle of the sixteenth century in Cuauhtinchan, a still traditional *pueblo* in the modern state of Puebla, Mexico. Written over fifty-one sheets of European paper (the last, fifty-second sheet, is now missing) in both alphabetized Nahuatl and pictorial text, it narrates the dramatic, rags-to-riches and riches-to-rags history of Cuauhtinchan from its early Chichimec founding in the twelfth century through to ca. 1546/47,

the date of its last, truncated, entry. Blank pages together with spaces or sketched outlines between passages of alphabetical text also indicate that the work remained unfinished, at least in its pictorial version. The *Historia* (to use Dana Leibsohn's abbreviation) is one of a small surviving corpus of native codices from the early colonial period which employ mixed writing conventions, although given its relatively early date stands apart from other examples by grounding its intrinsically native historical annals on an iconographic and structural framework that is very strongly European in influence. As a result, Leibsohn argues, the *Historia* is not a harmonious composition of two writing systems but a type of "duelling" between two different modes of representation.

According to Leibsohn, the *Historia* was commissioned by Don Alonso de Castañeda, a sixteenth-century indigenous noble and direct descendant of the founding Cuauhtinchantlaca-Chichimecs who came to make up the Nahuatl ruling faction at Cuauhtinchan. This is one of the main themes of Don Alonso's "book," which, she also asserts, became a family heirloom – that is, the heirloom of a family that was removed from power in the fourteenth century by a second group of Pinome (Mixtec) descent. A century later, Cuauhtinchan was conquered by the Mexica out of Tenochtitlan who redistributed most of its remaining territory. These political changes together with the continuing presence of both rival factions at Cuauhtinchan endured through to and well beyond the time the *Historia* was written.

In "Script and Glyph," however, Leibsohn's project is not to labour a rather subjective Nahuatl story of greatness unjustly lost to internal and external treacheries but to take the *Historia* further by looking at the ways both modes of representation materially and symbolically manage pre-Hispanic history as it was viewed from the early colonial period by a politically subordinate yet still influential man at Cuauhtinchan. In this sense, she argues, the *Historia* is not only a book about Don Alonso's ancestral past but also his colonial present and how the two could be made to engage in a converging and meaningful whole.

Over four chapters, Leibsohn explores the types of information the *Historia* conveys; the relationship of its parts to the whole; how it relates the (predominantly figured) pre-Hispanic past to the (sparsely recounted) colonial present; and, in this vein, how that past could be simultaneously preserved and updated in accordance with Don Alonso's aspirations. Chapter 1 offers a summary of the *Historia*'s narrative content, to include a breakdown of its four sections each of which finishes on the same note: a description of land boundaries at each particular stage of Cuauhtinchan's history. As Leibsohn understands later, land and territorial boundaries are central to the *Historia*'s structure and internal focus. Chapter 2 concerns the *Historia*'s main actors: the gods (although perhaps for colonially-induced reasons their presence is minimised and restricted to very early events), and Cuauhtinchan's historical alliances and enmities. But, as she reveals, it is Don Alonso's direct ancestors – with two notable exceptions, always *male* ancestors – and through them the Nahuas, who take the limelight. From Chico-

mozotoc, or the Seven Caves of Chichimec emergence, to *altepetl* Cuauhtinchan and its microcosmically centred mountain range where the early urban settlement was established, topography, as an equally incisive actor, also receives thoughtful analysis. In chapter 3, the author returns to the issue of land and territory, specifically the organisation of boundaries as recorded in both modes of representation. This analysis is exceptionally good, opening up as it does some original and noteworthy relations between the alphabetical and pictorial registers and their management of the same theme. Before Leibsohn's concluding remarks, chapter 4 deals principally with the qualities of the pre-Hispanic past that the *Historia* creates and the enigmas that it calls up: the selectivity in recalling the past, the inclusion of historical data seemingly irrelevant to Cuauhtinchan's story; the disparateness of detail; the focus on a "community of peers" rather than any one, great, historical figure; and, again, the always present understanding that land and those that act upon it cannot be separated.

The study is rounded off with two appendices, the first of which offers commentary on the iconography and composition, style, and narrative implications of the eighteen major (that is, full- and double-page) pictorial panels of the *Historia*. This appendix not only complements Leibsohn's earlier analyses and observations, but also expands the already excellent illustrations, all of them in full colour, that the publication boasts throughout. Appendix 2 gives brief but useful descriptions, histories, and bibliographies of the "Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca" itself, together with the five cartographical histories (the *mapas*) also to have come out of Cuauhtinchan's village archive.

While in no way definitive, "Script and Glyph" is certainly a long overdue and highly original approach to the internal workings of a challenging manuscript and the ambitions of its patron. Leibsohn's scholarly acumen especially does it justice by bringing to the fore the idiosyncrasies inherent in this type of native discourse thereby asking us to reflect upon and question more deeply the real nature – not to mention the realness – of pre-Hispanic history as authored by colonial Nahuatl groups.

If the analysis is superb, I nevertheless remain unconvinced of the exclusiveness of Leibsohn's argument, which also seems to have come first: this was Don Alonso's project, spawned by his personal ambitions within early sixteenth-century Cuauhtinchan; this is what the analysis will show. Yet there is no firm evidence (at least, none is offered) that Don Alonso de Castañeda was the *Historia*'s creator or patron. The papers of her *cacicazgo* together with the history of the conquest of Cuauhtinchan's lands mentioned by his grand-daughter in her 1652 Will, to which Leibsohn refers, is not testimony of Castañeda's authorship. Nor were those papers necessarily the one and same *Historia*. In addition, her also unsubstantiated, observation that the work was not intended for purposes other than internal to Indian Cuauhtinchan is puzzling. Why, then, and at that early date, the endeavour to give the manuscript the form of a European illustrated book? Was this part of a strategy to relate Cuauhtinchan's pre-Hispanic Nahuatl history to the present

in an even more tangible way? The answer here is, possibly, yes, but perhaps not entirely for the benefit or enlightenment of *Indian* Cuahtinchan. In this context we are reminded that, some three decades later, and in the form of today's "Codex Tlaxcala," Diego Muñoz Camargo was also to commission a "visually updated" version of Tlaxcala's traditionally-executed pictographic *lienzo*, produced and bound in book form together with a full Spanish alphabetical text. While his quest (and the subject matter of the volume) may have been different, his target was very specifically the cultural eye of the Spanish king.

Also disconcerting is Leibsohn's frequent labelling of the components of the pictorial version of the *Historia* as "paintings," "vignettes," "sketches," "scenes," etc., especially when counterpoised against the "writing" or "script" that constitutes the *Historia*'s alphabetical text. At the level of their cross-cultural visual sparring within the *Historia*, her initial point regarding two "modes of representation" is perfectly valid, if not utterly insightful on some occasions. But as cultural modes of communication, this type of terminology tends to alert the reader to another type of struggle: the author never hesitates to recognise the alphabetical text as "writing" but is unwilling, or unable, to place a category on the pictorials other than to assure us that their role in the *Historia* was significant and substantial and (therefore) they were never mere illustrations. Where readable (at least, phonetically), their glyphic content is also acknowledged but the rest, it seems, are ambiguous details whose meaning today eludes us. The reader who is less sceptical or reticent about the lexical value of what is colonial iconic text in the making might therefore be left to ponder on how such details – if ever deciphered – might actually make or break Leibsohn's thesis.

Eleanor Wake

Lenz, Ramona: Mobilitäten in Europa. Migration und Tourismus auf Kreta und Zypern im Kontext des europäischen Grenzregimes. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2010. 319 pp. ISBN 978-3-531-16967-5. Preis: € 34.95

"Sie nutzen kleine Waldwege ebenso wie internationale Flughäfen, sind heute als VagabundInnen unterwegs und morgen als TouristInnen." Allein dieser Satz mit Schlüssellochqualität hätte gereicht, um den Rezensenten zur Lektüre des hier besprochenen Werkes zu bewegen. Er findet sich allerdings nicht im Klappentext, sondern auf Seite 216, zu Beginn des letzten Drittels dieser dichten Auseinandersetzung mit Mobilitäten; einer Seite, die man bei linearem Durchlesen nicht ohne fruchtbare Veränderung seiner eigenen gedanklichen Positionen erreicht.

Obwohl der Rezensent die Angemessenheit postmodern-eklektischen Lesens als eines Überlebensschwimmens in der aktuellen Flut der Textproduktion nicht ausschließt, erscheint ihm "Mobilitäten in Europa" als ein Beispiel, in dem dieses andere Ergebnisse zeitigt als das Lesen "von vorne nach hinten". Der Autorin gelingt es, das Thema fortschreitend – der Rhetoriker würde sagen, in "Wendungen" – vom Begrifflichen zum Lebensweltli-

chen hin zu entfalten. Sie lässt das Thema gewissermaßen vor uns sich drehen, und man versteht anhand dieses Bildes vielleicht, warum der eklektische Leser hier weder diese Drehung noch die Beweglichkeit von Denken und Dingen mitbekommen wird.

Der auf den ersten Blick komplexe Titel macht all das eigentlich bereits klar. Er zeigt an, dass es um "Mobilitäten" in der Ausformung als "Migration" geht, und dass dies an konkreten Fällen von DienstleisterInnen im Tourismus auf Kreta und Zypern sowie den strukturellen europäischen Mobilitätsregimes entwickelt wird. Ideengeschichtliche und empirische Vorlagen halten einander die Waage und werden im Rahmen meisterlicher Reflexion miteinander verknüpft. Die Fazits, die die Hauptkapitel abschließen, werden ihrem Namen gerecht und sind für alle LeserInnen äußerst nützliche Landmarken.

In (1) "Mobilitäten" befasst sich die Autorin mit dem "mobility turn", den Begriffen und Metaphern, an denen dieser festgemacht werden könnte – und der Kritik desselben. Sie schließt, dass Mobilitäten, essenziell in der Mehrzahl, die Beweglichkeit und Bewegung nicht nur von Menschen, sondern auch Repräsentationen und Betrachtungsweisen bezeichnen müsse. Eine kritische Bestandsaufnahme der sichtbaren und unsichtbar gemachten Differenzen zwischen (2) "Migration und Tourismus" enthält das zweite große Kapitel. Es liefert der Autorin die Begründung für die Wahl von touristischen DienstleisterInnen als InformantInnen für migrantische und touristische Praktiken. Kapitel (3), lakonisch "Europa" überschrieben, befasst sich mit den historischen Repräsentationen Europas als Bewegungsraum und der gegenwärtigen Konstruktion der "Grenzregimes", die alte Ränder und Definitionen verwischen und neue entstehen lassen. In (4) "Kreta" und (5) "Zypern" gibt die Autorin die Ergebnisse ihrer empirischen Forschungen. Bei viel Verbindendem zwischen den beiden großen Mittelmeerinseln bezüglich der Auffassung von Gastfreundschaft und Praxis von Rassismus zeigt die Stadt Rethymnon in dem seit 1981 der EU angehörenden Griechenland andere Phänomene als das Dorf "Plagiá" in dem noch von Übergangsregimes geprägten Zypern. Im Falle des letzteren verwischt die Autorin mit dem Decknamen in Wylie'scher Manier zum Schutz ihrer InformantInnen Namen und Spuren. Eine Art von Nagelprobe ist Kapitel (6), das am Beispiel eines kretischen, aber an vielen Orten zu findenden "Hotel Royal" die Mehrfachnutzung von touristischen Infrastrukturen als Flüchtlingsunterkünfte dokumentiert, in denen alle Wirkungen von saisonaler Alternanz, Blick- und Grenzregimes zusammengeführt werden.

Die Autorin prüft die verbreiteten Dichotomien, die in der lebensweltlichen wie in der akademischen Beschäftigung mit den hier angesprochenen Themen aufscheinen: Mobilität versus Immobilität, Tourismus versus Migration, Lebensstil (Freiwilligkeit) versus Lebensunterhalt (Not). Ihr Verdienst ist es, solche Gegenüberstellungen in einer breiten Diskussion als trügerisch und letztlich unfruchtbar herauszuarbeiten. Die von ihr dokumentierte Praxis der "Mobilen" zeigt, wie viele kulturelle vermeintliche Einbahnstraßen Gegenverkehr haben und wie sehr der Gebrauch der Mehrzahl – Mobilitäten – in die