a category of deities that includes such seemingly incompatible supernatural beings as Mayan ancestors, on the one hand, and spirits of Mestizos and Germans, on the other. They are conceptualized as guardians but also as invisible overseers of indigenous communities who manifest themselves whenever moral codes are broken. In general, this ability "to see and be seen" is the foundation of Q'eqchi' symbolic universe, ritual, and everyday practice. Given their ambigous status, on the symbolic level the *Tzuultaq'a* are given the same respect as foreign landowners, which obviously reflects the Q'eqchi' historical experience. This symbolic ambivalence is further addressed and explained in the following chapter, "Private Consumption, Communities, and Kin," in which Kahn demonstrates, taking as the context Q'eqchi' private wedding rituals, that the boundary between "them" and "us" is very porous, flexible, in fact, nonexistent, as long as "they" are treated respectfuly in ritual practice. If neglected, they manifest their unfriendly side, like for instance the trickster *Q'eq*, whose mischievous actions reverse the existing, or maybe better – the practiced moral order. *Q'eq* returns again in the next chapter that is devoted to two public rituals, the Deer Dance and the Devil Bull Dance, that dramatically convey the tension between the outsiders and insiders – namely, between the foreign landowners and the indigenous leadership. Kahn's analysis of those performances, conducted in structural terms, again shows the ambiguous nature and flexibility of Q'eqchi' semantic fields.

Chapter 7 shifts readers' attention from the social to individual body – that is, from the ritual realizations of Q'eqchi' social networks to the bodily, hence individual but not unique, sensorial perception of the invisible, or the ancestral world. As bodies constitute the link between the past experience of socialization and the current social praxis, Kahn returns to the ritual context, specifically the celebration of the All Saints' Day, to demonstrate how the Q'eqchi' ancestors become "palpable" on that occasion, in particular through objects that they once used. We remain in the context of Q'eqchi' public festivities also in chapter 8, in which Kahn describes the festival of *Día de Guadalupe* whose important component is the renting of indigenous dresses to Garifuna dancers. This, again, points to the fact that in the practical milieu of a ritual, the Q'eqchi' are bearers of both internal selves and external identities. Against this background, Kahn argues that the subjectively construed and objecitively represented Q'eqchi identities are "composites" formed through and reinforced by relationships in different fields of practice. The apparent interethnic harmony displayed in the context of *Día de Guadalupe* is questioned, however, in the next chapter, concerning the ways in which the Q'eqchi view their Garifuna neighbors – namely, as nonreciprocating, wasteful, and immoral criminals. This stereotype results from distinct manners in which both groups categorize their social practice and networks.

Chapter 10 contains three fieldwork scenes that demonstrate how Kahn's collaborative video project was "appropriated" by the Q'eqchi' participants and drawn into their imagery, which, simultaneously, revealed its multiple contents and shifting boundaries and structure. Consequently – as the author makes clear in the conclusive chapter – it is the Q'eqchi' who are the true authors of her ethnographic narration and the actual carriers of her project.

Kahn's book may be certainly read as a conventional ethnography containing such "traditional" components as the geographical and ethnohistorical introduction, the discussion of economic activities, descriptions of private and public rituals, an analysis of Q'eqchi' social networks, values, and symbolism. What makes it unconventional, however, is the author's challenge to the positivist gaze and the simplistic categorization blind to its own cultural and political facets. The book is also illustrated in an original way: the photographs are not still pictures but sequences from video recordings that capture and convey actions rather than moments.

Still, in spite of the claim that the "observed" and the "described" are the "true authors" and carriers of the project (13), I view the book, primarily, as Kahn's interpretation of the events observed and filmed, and of the words recorded and cited; it is a rendition of facts made on the grounds of a social theory – the one that challenges the established academic traditions, to be sure, but still a theory currently recognized as valid in the field of anthropology. Paradoxically, however, this theoretical approach, unconventional as it is, also gives *Seeing and Being Seen* the status of an academic achievement.

Darius J. Piwowarczyk

Kan, Sergei A., and **Pauline Turner Strong** (eds.): New Perspectives on Native North America. Cultures, Histories, and Representations. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006. 514 pp. ISBN 978-0-8032-7830-1. Price: $ 35.00

This volume is dedicated to Raymond D. Fogelson, who taught anthropology for more than three decades at the University of Chicago. Thus, the editors and authors are mainly former students and colleagues of Fogelson. The introduction shortly presents the contributions, which are arranged into four parts according to their subjects, as well as a biography of Fogelson.

Part One, "Perspectives: On the Genealogy and Legacy of an Anthropological Tradition," comprises three essays. In "Keeping the Faith: A Legacy of Native American Ethnography, Ethnohistory, and Psychology" Regna Darnell illustrates how common interests shared by succeeding teams of junior and senior anthropologists can foster a scientific network. Jennifer S. H. Brown examines the influence of Hallowell, who was one of Fogelson's professors, on natives and anthropologists in "Fields of Dreams: Revisiting A. I. Hallowell and the Berens River Ojibwe." In "Framing the Anomalous: Stoneclad, Sequoyah, and Cherokee Ethnoliteracy" Margaret Bender describes her fieldwork experience, which led her to the same area where her mentor Fogelson had done extensive research, but their interests did not overlap. Aside from some aspects on the contemporary use of

the syllabary, she presents various parallels between the life of its inventor Sequoyah and the myths surrounding the figure Stoneclad.

Part Two, "Cultures: On Persons and Power, Rituals and Creativity," consists of five contributions. Greg Urban analyzes the impact of power on cultural developments using orders in different situations as examples in "Power as the Transmission of Culture." "Ironies of Articulating Continuity at Lac du Flambeau" by Larry Nesper is dedicated to the tradition of the local Ojibwa to spear fish and hunt during the night. Although the equipment for this occupation was subject to changes and although the Lac du Flambeau people had trouble with the law despite they had been guaranteed the right to hunt and fish in the areas ceded, they followed their custom secretly and continually, and, thus, improved their cultural identity. Jeffrey D. Anderson inquires into "The Poetics of Tropes and Dreams in Arapaho Ghost Dance Songs." Taking Mooney's publication in this field as a starting point, the author provides more appropriate translations and the Arapaho outlook on life. In this way, he puts a new complexion on some other-than-human beings involved here and on religious concepts that focus especially on movements and exchange between human and other-than-human beings. In "Night Thoughts and Night Sweats, Ethnohistory and Ethnohumor" Raymond A. Bucko, S. J., examines the humor expressed in Lakota sweat lodge rituals. Besides presenting examples, the author gives room to the question why Native American humor was rather neglected or ignored, and, thus, became a nonevent, then was discovered as an event, and sometimes fell into oblivion again. Robert E. Moore discusses "Self-consciousness, Ceremonialism, and the Problem of the Present in the Anthropology of Native North America" using two examples from the Warm Springs Reservation in Oregon occupied by Wasco, Sahaptin, and Paiute. Although a birthday party seems to be a very "American" celebration and a naming ceremony very "Indian," both events cannot always be separated. He thus shows that studying the present can offer interesting insights into the past.

"Histories: On Varieties of Temporal Experience and Historical Representation" are the focus of attention of Part Three. In his contribution "Native Authorship in Northwestern California" Thomas Buckley reviews five anthropological works published between 1916 and 1994. He not only presents the changing attitudes of the authors over this long period, but also reminds the reader of the fact that examining different perspectives can lead to a better understanding among Natives and Non-Natives. In "The Sioux at the Time of European Contact" Raymond J. DeMallie scrutinizes several statements which are often repeated in the anthropological literature. All of them are untenable. The Sioux of the period from about 1660 to 1720, e.g., were not typical Woodland Natives, they were not organized in clans, they had no actual political alliance called the Seven Council Fires, and the culture and society of the Eastern and Western Sioux were not substantially different from one another. "Proto-Ethnologists in North America" are in the center of discussion in Mary Druke Becker's essay. Various examples show that some of them – although they got in contact with Native North Americans rather early – had little insight into native cultures. Others were genuinely interested, asked systematic questions, and learned aboriginal languages, and, thus, provided valuable information. In "Folklore, Personal Narratives, and Ethno-Ethnohistory" Joseph C. Jastrzembski demonstrates that personal recollections of historical events are not only important for those who experienced or witnessed them, but also have an influence on the attitudes and decision making of later generations, which is revealed by his examples of Chiricahua Apache stories of bad experiences with the Mexican people. In contrast to the former chapter, the "Events and Nonevents on the Tlingit/Russian/American Colonial Frontier, 1802–1879," which are presented by Sergei A. Kan, cannot be compared to the violent relations between Apache and Mexicans. Despite the lack of many incidents of this nature, the few events left a deep impression on the Russian side, whereas the Americans, which arrived rather recently, could not easily be frightened. In "Time and the Individual in Native North America" David W. Dinwoodie discusses whether the Hopi are "timeless" as suggested by Benjamin Lee Whorf or whether they do have "time" as Ekkehart Malotki tries to demonstrate. The truth seems to lie somewhere between the two extremes, which is shown by examples on theories about time and its historical development in European culture, by Malotki's work, and by one Hopi's ability to live in traditional as well as in modern times.

In Part Four six essays are summarized under the heading "Representations: On Selves and Others, Hybridities and Appropriations." Robert Brightman's contribution "Culture and Culture Theory in Native North America" uses examples from myths, cosmologies, parodies, and historical developments in order to illustrate how native communities construct and deal with identity, difference, transmission, change, hierarchy, and purity. This rather general chapter is followed by essays focusing on special cases. Dangerous creatures inhabiting the wilderness are the subject of "Cannibals in the Mountains: Washoe Teratology and the Donner Party" by Barrik Van Winkle. Although evidence is meager that the Washoe had any contact with the "Donner Party," an ill-fated wagon treck crossing the Washoe territory on the Nevada/California border on its way to California in 1846 which got snowbound, so that cases of cannibalism occurred, the incident left a strong impression on the Washoe. In "'Vanishing' Indians in Nineteenth-Century New England" Jean M. O'Brian examines why New England's historians ignored their contemporary Native North American neighbors. By dismissing people who were not considered authentic (reasons were mixed ancestry or loss of native language), "last Indians" shot up like mushrooms in many towns. They were important for creating an American identity through a unique past and to justify colonialism. "Pocahontas: An Exercise in Mythmaking and Marketing" by Frederic W. Gleach documents the creation of myths and their meaning and uses for various groups in the course of time through

written sources and material objects. In "'I'm an Old Cowhand on the Banks of the Seine'" Michael E. Harkin deals with the somehow surprising but yet understandable interest in the American West of the quarter Saint Germain des Prés in Paris. It is expressed by many shops selling cowboy style clothes as well as cowboy bars and Tex-Mex restaurants. Among the ideas inspiring the Parisians' fascination for the Far West is the imagination of an egalitarian, decentralized society, which forms a sharp contrast to their own society. "'To Light the Fire of Our Desire'" by Pauline Turner Strong is dedicated to the history and development of the Camp Fire Girls, a leisure time organization for girls founded in 1910 in order to promote women's rights and to strengthen them against possible problems connected with increasing employment rates among women. The organization's use of names, symbols, and ceremonies modeled after Native North American examples, which were employed from the early beginnings until at least to the 1960s, is of special interest to anthropologists.

The afterword by Peter Nabokov completes the picture of Fogelson's personality, parts of which can already be traced from some incidents described by several contributors. Aside from personal memories, the authors sometimes obviously walk in the scientific footsteps of Fogelson. Two topics Fogelson discussed in his publications are of special interest and importance to his colleagues, as they occur in various essays. The first one deals with man's view of history – how as well as why events gain and lose importance. The second one focuses on aspects of identity, self-consciousness, and reflexivity. Although some essays tend to be rather theoretical, interesting examples make all of them well worth reading and add new perspectives to the reader's mind. Thus, the scientific community will welcome this publication for its inspiring inquiries. Dagmar Siebelt

Knörr, Jacqueline: Kreolität und postkoloniale Gesellschaft. Integration und Differenzierung in Jakarta. Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2007. 373 pp. ISBN 978-3-593-38344-6. Preis: € 39.90

Jacqueline Knörr hat mit diesem Buch, ihrer Habilitationsschrift, eine umfangreiche Ethnographie der "Orang Betawi" vorgelegt. Die Autorin hat zwischen 2000 und 2002 mehrere Feldforschungen in Jakarta und Umgebung, wo etwa zwei bis drei Millionen "Betawi" leben, durchgeführt. Die Orang Betawi, die sich auch als "Betawi Asli" oder einfach als Betawi bezeichnen, gelten als die "ursprünglichen Einwohner von Jakarta", deren Wurzeln bis in das 17./18. Jh. zurückreichen. In dieser Zeit sind die Betawi "über Prozesse kultureller Kreolisierung" verschiedener aus anderen süd- und südostasiatischen Regionen nach Batavia immigrierter bzw. verschleppter Gruppen entstanden. Im kolonialen Batavia wie auch noch im postkolonialen Jakarta waren die Betawi marginalisiert und galten als die unterste soziale Klasse. Ihnen wurde ein rohes Wesen, Rückständigkeit und Bildungsfeindlichkeit zugeschrieben. Heute dagegen ist das Image der Betawi überwiegend positiv, der Betawi-Dialekt ist unter den jugendlichen Jakartanern überaus populär und wird auch in vielen Werbespots benützt. Wer cool, witzig und schlagfertig sein will, tut es auf Betawi-Art. Zugleich gelten sie als besonders strenggläubige Muslime. Auch das bunte, lebendige Brauchtum der Betawi ist in der Stadt sehr präsent, Jakarta hat sich die Betawi-Kultur einverleibt, sie findet Ausdruck im urbanen Lebensgefühl und repräsentiert sozusagen den Kernbereich der Identität der Megalopolis.

Die Autorin betreibt "ethnologische Kreolistik" und betont, dass es ihr dabei nicht so sehr um die kulturellen Merkmale der Betawi gehe als vielmehr um die "kognitiv-emotionale Ebene". Sie will herausfinden, welche Bedeutung und Funktion kollektive Identitätsmechanismen in der postkolonialen indonesischen Gesellschaft haben und welche Rolle Kreolität bei den Prozessen der Integration und Differenzierung ethnischer, lokaler und nationaler Identität in Jakarta und Indonesien bzw. generell in postkolonialen Gesellschaften spielt. Sie zeichnet ein differenziertes Bild der unterschiedlichen Repräsentationen des öffentlichen und privaten Betawi-Seins und der unterschiedlichen Diskurse über die Betawi, kommentiert die kulturellen Konnotationen des demographischen Raums und die damit einhergehenden identitären Zuschreibungen, entwirft ein vielschichtiges Bild der Verschränkungen subjektiver und öffentlicher Identitätskonstrukte und diskutiert historische Zusammenhänge sowie Formen und Bedeutungen religiöser Praxen.

Aber die "ethnologische Kreolistik", wie sie von der Autorin betrieben wird, soll nicht auf die Deutung lokaler Prozesse und Kontexte beschränkt sein, sondern als Exempel für die Erklärung postkolonialer Gesellschaften generell dienen. Insbesondere geht es ihr um die Fragen, welche Rolle Kreolität als kulturelles und identitäres Referenzsystem spielt und in welcher Weise transethnische Integrationsprozesse ermöglicht bzw. begünstigt werden. Gerade die letzte Frage ist für postkoloniale Gesellschaften von existentieller Bedeutung, die, häufig genug zerrissen zwischen nationalen Ausgrenzungs- und völkischen Reethnisierungspolitiken, um bessere Positionen im globalen System kämpfen. Das Beispiel der Betawi in Jakarta soll demonstrieren, wie vorteilhaft hier kreolisierte Kulturen sind, wie sie solche Spannungen abmildern, transethnische Identitäten stärken und zugleich den Respekt gegenüber ethnischen Identitäten aufrechterhalten können. Die Autorin geht davon aus, dass "über Kreolisierungsprozesse entstandene Gruppen oft besonders integrativ (sind), wenn es darum geht, anders-ethnische Personen zu integrieren".

Wie ist zu erklären, dass sich seit den 1970er Jahren das Image der Betawi so sehr verbesserte? Zum einen hat der wissenschaftliche Zeitgeist dazu beigetragen, dass sich eine generelle Bevorzugung und Bewunderung des Gemischten, Kreolisierten, gerade auch in den postkolonialen Gesellschaften durchgesetzt hat. Zum andern – und das ist das zentrale Argument der Autorin – wurde auf verschiedenen politischen Ebenen daran gearbeitet, das Image der Betawi mit gezielten Maßnahmen aufzubessern bzw. für die regionale und nationale Integrationspolitik zu funktionalisieren. Das nationale Motto *Bhin-*