

Church of Moldova and in Vlad Naumescu's analysis of the situation in Ukraine.

The book deserves attention for several reasons. Firstly, the authors of the collected articles apply a multi-dimensional approach to their subject of study. The religious situation in each country is presented from diverse perspectives. Focusing on what we could call the macro or societal level, the authors show complex relations between religions, the state, and various political actors, as well as incorporating religion in the national identity-building process. This picture is further complemented by analysis at an organisational level – relations both between old religions and those which have emerged recently, and between various streams within one religion. Finally, the authors focus on the individual level – beliefs, rituals, practices, conversion, or encounters between followers of different religions. This multidimensional approach and analyses of interactions between various levels provide an overall and detailed picture of the religious situation in the countries in question, further contextualised by the description of postsocialist conditions.

Secondly, in the light of their findings the contributors undermine existing assumptions and question existing concepts. For example, Pelkmans challenges the analytical usefulness of the concept of the free religious market, shows the effects of market politics on the religious field and emerging asymmetries in Kyrgyzstan. Naumescu's research shows the limits or hidden dimensions of the assumed pluralism. On the other hand, Richardson and Buzalka discover various dimensions of the concept of tolerance depending on the local context.

Finally, the case studies are well illustrated with the data collected in the fieldwork. As a result all discussions and analyses are strongly embedded in the empirical material, which gives a deeper insight into the topic in question and enriches the narrative of the book.

To sum up, even if the book is not about providing sophisticated theoretical elaborations, it offers a well-documented account of transformation of religion and its role in civil society in the postsocialist context. It will, therefore, make very worthwhile reading for anyone interested in the topic.

Katarzyna Zielińska

Kahn, Hilary E.: *Seeing and Being Seen. The Q'eqchi' Maya of Livingston, Guatemala, and Beyond.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006. 242 pp. ISBN 978-0-292-71455-7. Price: £ 12.99

Hilary Kahn presents the readership with an interesting ethnography that defies the "established" methodology and assumptions about scientific objectivism by transgressing the boundaries between, and de-essentializing, such seemingly "logical" categories as object and subject, home and field of research, self and others, "us" and "them," method and theory, and representation and reality. To accomplish this "multi-sited ethnography," as Kahn terms her work in the Introduction, she used the video methodology, the ethnographer's "third eye," that brings together at the same time and at the same place the observer and the observed, the screenwriter and the actor,

the author and the reader. This collaborative methodology not only provided empirical data but itself became a field of research to study how culturally modeled imaginary shapes the perception of what is observed. In other words, this "invisible culture" limits our apparently "objective" view of reality, as it always brings the observer to the picture along with the entire context, or the set of relationships, in which he or she was socialized. Understandably, within such conceptual framework also the reader is expected to suspend the familiar comfort of the dualist worldview, "slip between categories and identities," to use Kahn's expression, and become not only a consumer of the ethnographic description but also its interpreter, an insider, and a participant in the process of discovery of the cultural world of "the other." As such, Kahn's ethnography is an example of reflexive anthropology, a relatively recent current represented by such authors as Paul Stoller, Richard Price, Ruth Behar, Nancy Scheper-Hughes, Roger Lancaster, and others.

The introductory presentation of the methodological basis of Kahn's work is followed by ten descriptive and simultaneously analytical chapters. In chapter 2, Kahn presents a historical and sociological portrait of the town of Livingston, the "primary site" of her research, founded in 1802, once a thriving port that lost its economic importance in the beginning of the 20th century. She also introduces to the reader her "secondary field" – namely, the collaborative video methodology in which – by and in the act of collaboration with indigenous participants – she was able to put the methodological practice of fieldwork before "the intellect" of social theory that – as she argues after Prosser ("The Status of Image-Based Research." In: J. Prosser [ed.], *Image-Based Research*; pp. 97–112. London 1998) – strips the fieldwork experience from its intricacies and richness.

Chapter 3, "Cycles of Debt," contains a "conventional" ethnohistory of the Q'eqchi' people. This description provides the context, extending from the pre-Columbian period to the present, in which the internalized frameworks of their symbolic reference, which still inform their perception and cultural practice today, were shaped. What a German reader may find particularly interesting here is the section concerning German immigration and colonization of the Q'eqchi' territory, which should be seen in the context of the much broader phenomenon of modernization undertaken in the mid- and in the second part of the 19th century by Latin American elites. In Paraguay, for instance, it was primarily the British who carried on this task (J. Plá, *The British in Paraguay, 1850–1870*. Richmond 1976). Still, the preferential treatment and the extension of multiple privileges given to German settlers by Guatemalan liberal governments were unparalleled throughout the region, which, however, did not translate later into a durable political influence, comparable to the one exercised by Germans in Paraguay, particularly during the prewar and the war period (A. M. Seiferheld, *Nazismo y fascismo en el Paraguay. Los años de la guerra*. Asunción 1986).

In chapter 4, Kahn focuses on the Q'eqchi' imagery, beliefs, and practices associated with the *Tzuultaq'a*,

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 ambiguous 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 respectfully 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 objectively 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