

draw on their unique cultural resources such as ethnicity, religious practices, customs, and traditions, to remake themselves and their environments as tourist destinations. Cities as diverse as Kobe, Nagasaki, and Kotohira in Japan, as well as Dehong and Xi'an in China serve as case studies. Unlike many essays on tourism's cultural impacts which are often condemnatory, the essays here exude an upbeat tone.

For example, Chiyoko Nagatani's chapter on tourism's impact on religious practices and landscapes in Dehong (Yunnan, China) posits that "religious culture" and not "religion" *per se* is transformed by and for tourism. The former includes religious-themed festivals and leisure parks designed expressly for tourists, and should not be confused with "true" religious practices that remain untouched by and free from tourism's contact. It is through such strategic separations of sociocultural life that local communities remain enthusiastic about tourism. On a similarly positive tone, "re-created" cultures in the form of the enhanced Lantern Festival in Nagasaki (in a chapter by Wang Wei), as well as the "de-mystification" of Shaanxi Opera in Xi'an for foreign consumption (in a chapter by Takuya Shimizu) are interpreted as evidences of local resilience in the face of tourism. By exposing tourists to "behind the scenes" at the Shanxi Opera, for example, visitors get to appreciate the nuances of this traditional form. This in turn leads to greater tolerance and openness between locals and visitors.

The second section of the book deals with travellers' experiences and consumption of local cultures. The three chapters deal with emergent forms of tourism (such as long-stay elderly tourists from Japan; photography tourists in China) and the social backgrounds of the Japanese tourism market. While the case studies are interesting, the theme of glocalization is less apparent. If we are to understand glocalization from the definition above, the three articles here – all dealing with tourists rather than host societies strictly – do not appear at first glance to advance the concept.

Reading between the lines, however, yields some insights. For example, the chapter by Mayumi Ono on long-staying elderly Japanese tourists in Cameron Highlands (Malaysia) reveals that visitors are far from the "imperialist" traveller some believe them to be; instead many tourists regard themselves as "economic refugees" who are unable to continue staying in Japan because of their meagre economic means. Their lifestyle in Malaysia is simple and they prefer to "experience" local customs rather than "sightsee" as tourists often do. Proud of their Japanese heritage, these long staying visitors also volunteer as Japanese language teachers and cultural arbiters (teaching Japanese dance, food-making and other hobbies to the locals). Locals and tourists benefit from these cultural exchanges and their interaction may be regarded as a positive manifestation of glocalization.

The final section of the book explores the "Reconstruction and Revaluation of History, Landscape, and Heritage." Unlike the first section which also deals with a similar theme, the four articles here focus on the role of administrators and state-planners in effecting change. The

articles are also unified by their emphasis on the "neighbourhood scale." Be it government designation of an "ethnic cultural and eco-village" in Yunnan, China (in a chapter by Han Min) or the creation of "Important Preservation Districts" such as Kita Village, Japan (by Megumi Doshita), it is clear that state support and financial incentives are necessary in enhancing tourism at the neighbourhood level. Doshita, for example, shows that both foreign and domestic tourists enjoy visiting the "model town" of Kita Village because of its homestays and farming/thatching activities. Although the visitors have very different interpretations of the rural idyll, there is consensus that such landscapes are an important part of Japanese heritage and are worth conserving.

It is fitting for the book to close on the neighbourhood level because for cultural tourism to succeed ultimately, the most effective way is to start locally. Government financial support and designation of cultural districts, conducive rules that sustain local craftspeople and the proactive will of local communities in representing their own cultures (as in the case of the minority Muslim Hui in Xi'an, China, in a chapter by Takafumi Imanaka), reveal that when people and neighbourhoods are empowered by tourism, cultural sustainability follows.

Overall, this collection has many interesting case studies to share even through thematically and geographically, there are some limitations. As mentioned earlier, the globalization theme is not apparent in some chapters, even though glimmers of possibility exist throughout. Despite "East Asia" in its title, only two countries are featured in the book – China and Japan. There is nothing on Taiwan, South Korea as well as the administrative areas of Hong Kong and Macau. Of course it makes sense to study these two countries since China is an emergent superpower in tourism (both as a destination and generator) while Japan is a traditional tourism powerhouse with enduring strength in Southeast Asia.

The writing style across the chapters is also inconsistent and at times, unclear and ungrammatical. This is to be expected since all the writers are nonnative English speakers and at least three are graduate students. However, more careful editing would have finessed the overall style immeasurably. Despite these limitations, academics and students will find the book insightful and informative not so much for its conceptual debates but for its revelation and analysis of pertinent tourism trends and challenges in China and Japan.

T. C. Chang

**Hanks, William F.:** *Converting Words. Maya in the Age of the Cross.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010. 441 pp. ISBN 978-0-520-25771-9. (The Anthropology of Christianity, 6) Price: £ 20.95

The theme of this truly excellent book is the role of language in the cultural conversion of the Yucatec Maya. Hanks' central thesis is that the conversion of the people also entailed a conversion of their language, which became forever changed. The author shows in incredible detail how colonial Maya emerged as a new "translanguage" from the social and religious interaction between

the Spanish missionaries and the indigenous population. Evidence is presented from the whole range of available colonial language documentation written in and about Yucatec Maya, including bilingual dictionaries, grammars, catechisms, land documents, native chronicles, petitions, and the forbidden indigenous genre of the Chilam Balam books.

Hanks places the religious conversion within the objective of the “peaceful conquest,” the method of which was *reducción*. Although literally translated as “reduction,” the term implies the “persuasion” and establishing of “order” in a life guided by the principles of *policía cristiana* “Christian civility.” The author explains that the process of *reducción* was concerned with three different objects: (1) the ordering of space, by “reducing” the indigenous population and gathering them in new settlements, so-called *congregaciones*; (2) the ordering of social practice with the intention to convert people to a new belief system by changing their social conduct; and (3) the ordering of the language as a means of conversion. The concept of *reducción* serves as the basic framework of analysis in Hanks’ work.

The book is organised into three parts: Part I defines the historical context and the actors that were involved in the process of converting the Yucatec Maya language, marking out the principles of *reducción*. Part II constitutes the main part of the book that is concerned with the process of creating a colonial Maya “translanguage,” labeled *maya reducido*, “reduced Maya,” which Hanks identifies as the product of the combined efforts of *reducción*. Part III shows how the new *maya reducido* was implemented in the indigenous society and found its way into the indigenous literary genres.

An introduction explains the basic concepts of conversion, *policía Cristiana*, and *reducción*, and outlines the role language played in this process and the way new discourse markers transformed Maya into a “translanguage.” Hanks rejects the idea of syncretism and argues for the opposite scenario, that conversion was not superficial but created a new habitus (in the Bourdieuan sense) of the indigenous convert with changed social practice, living conditions, and language. Central to this programme was that the conversion was undertaken in Maya, not in Spanish, by missionaries who at first had to acquire the relevant skills, which resulted in the “reduction” of the language and the innovation of new terminology.

The first part of the book informs the reader about the sociohistorical settings in which the conversion took place, i.e., the social actors of the autochthonous political geography on the one hand and the missionary endeavour on the other, as well as the establishment of *congregaciones* and the social landscape that resulted from this. The mission was primarily an undertaking of the Franciscan order. The second chapter describes the situation of the conversion within the colonial towns and how the different colonial institutions of the *cabildo* (town council), *guardanía* (mission unit), and *cofradías* (confraternity), and the positions therein, interacted in the creation of the new collective social conduct that corresponded with the principles of *policía cristiana*.

In the main part of the book, Hanks analyses colonial language material, identifying the processes that created the “translanguage,” or *maya reducido*. Based on his previous work regarding the theoretical concepts of “field,” “habitus,” and “genre” (e.g., Text and Textuality. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 1989.18: 95–127; Referential Practice, Language, and Lived Space among the Maya. Chicago 1990), Hanks develops a unique approach to the analysis of colonial Yucatec. He defines *reducción* as a “field” of social practice and determines the colonial actors and their respective positions and interactions therein. The author links the different actor positions to different discourse genres of colonial Yucatec, which he distinguishes based on metalinguistic classification, production and reception format, deictic centering, stylistic variation, multimodality, and iteration (97). That is, what kind of information do the texts provide about their genre, the participants who produced them, the location of their production, their rhetorical form, their various forms of usage, and their recurring reproduction or recopying? Throughout the book, the author frequently refers to these parameters, which are pertinent to understanding the actual discourse practice encoded in the texts.

To demonstrate how *reducción* changed the language, Hanks analyses the different missionary linguistic genres of dictionaries, grammars, and doctrinal texts, which he describes in great detail. While dictionaries and grammars were bilingual and used for teaching missionaries the native language, doctrinal (or canonical) texts were written in Yucatec Maya, with Maya people being the addressees. The language of the missionary sources was the means of conversion that was introduced into Maya communities as a new discourse genre.

Instead of taking a synoptic approach to the dictionaries, which would include the discussion of European and colonial lexical compilations serving as original templates, Hanks focuses on the thematic scope of the works, the process of lexical translation, and how dictionary compilation contributed to the emergence of *maya reducido*. He shows that colonial dictionary compilation was a collective effort of the Franciscan community, which involved frequent recopying of lexical materials and, by this means, standardisation of internal organisation and orthographic conventions. Hanks examines how the lexical material became standardised and how Christian concepts, relevant to the objective of conversion, were rendered into Maya. For this purpose he distinguishes dictionaries based on whether they use Spanish or Maya as a matrix language.

Comparing the different colonial dictionaries that are organised by Spanish head entries, Hanks takes entries from a few selective semantic fields pertinent to *reducción*; i.e., the first principles (*bautizar*: baptise; *Dios*: God, etc.), sacraments (*missa*: mass; *communio*: communion, etc.), pedagogy (*doctrinado*: indoctrinated, etc.), language and signs (*arte*: practical grammar; *escribir*: to write, etc.), governance (*regidor*: municipal office; *visita*: inspection), and marginal practices (*idolatrar*: idolator, idolize, etc.). Providing examples for all these semantic fields and discussing them, the author shows that Chris-

tian concepts were introduced into the Maya language either by means of borrowing a Spanish term or by creating a new descriptive expression in Maya. For example, the term *oc haa* that combines the Maya verb *oc* “to enter” and the noun *haa* “water,” that is “to enter water (on the head)” was used to express the concept of baptism by describing the Christian practice it is associated with. (All of the following Yucatec examples are given in the colonial spelling used by the author.) Alternative translations render “baptism” as *ca-put zihil* (two-times born) “rebirth,” which refers to the resurrection of Christ and metaphorically also to the baptism of a new Christian (130).

Hanks shows that descriptive renderings of Christian terms into Maya, such as *oc haa* (enter + water) “baptism” or *pul keban* (cast off + sin) “confession” often make explicit what is only implicit in the Spanish term, i.e., they encode “an alternative analysis of the concept for which the Spanish stands.” He, thus, concludes: “[i]n understanding the Maya expression, a speaker would simultaneously internalize the theological backing of the Spanish to which they correspond” (158).

Focusing on the dictionaries that are organised by Maya head entries, Hanks looks at a number of Maya key terms that were relevant for the process of *reducción*, including among others: *than*: “speak, language, governance”; *tzeec*: “preach, punish, correct”; *tzic*: “obey, respect, attend to, converse”; *oc*: “enter, believe, convert, transform, signify, translate”; *ok*: “cry, repent, be contrite, be clement, supplicate”; *keban*: “sin, sadness, betrayal, repent, confess.” He shows that of the glosses associated with the Maya verbs, only the first is metalinguistic while the others are semantic extensions based on the creation of descriptive terms guided by an economic principle of *reducción* to create a maximum number of Spanish concepts from a minimum number of Maya terms. For example, “crying and weeping are bundled together with contrition, penance, and supplication, just as sin is associated with heaviness of heart, remorse, compunction, and repentance” (168). With these key terms Hanks shows how *reducción* and translanguistic forms were directed at the creation of a new habitus corresponding with *policía cristiana*.

Hanks points out that dictionaries and grammars complemented each other, inasmuch as neologisms in the form of descriptive renderings required a good command of the principles of derivation and word compounding by the missionary linguist. He makes clear that the act of describing Maya by means of grammars, or *artes*, however, entailed another way of reducing the language. Focusing on the representation of the pronoun and the verb system as well as example sentences, Hanks compares the three preserved Maya grammars from the colonial times, the “Arte en lengua de maya” by Juan Coronel (1620), the “Arte de la lengua maya” by Gabriel de San Buenaventura (1684), and the “Arte de el idioma maya reducido a succintas reglas, y semilexición yucateco” by Pedro Beltrán de Santa Rosa María (1746). He concludes that the friars did not exclusively follow the framework of the Latin model of grammar in their descriptions of Maya, but modified and extended the descriptive categories to ac-

commodate idiosyncratic Maya forms. However, as these *artes* were used as normative teaching devices for missionaries, a reduced form of the structure of the language perpetuated itself in the missionary works of these friars.

Hanks directs special attention to doctrinal texts including catechisms, confessionals, and sermons that have remained largely understudied so far. Having produced comprehensive transcriptions of these texts, he analyses the doctrinal discourse and identifies forms of *maya reducido* in the various prayers of the catechisms (such as the *persignum*, *pater noster*, *ave maria*, *credo*, *confiteor deo*, etc.), doctrinal dialogues, and a few sermons. Hanks explains how these texts were crucial in the conversion of the language, as they implement the *maya reducido* from the missionary linguistic works in daily discourse. The author states: “Were it not for such texts, we would have no grounds to think that the linguistic works had any direct impact on Maya language itself” (243). The practice of prayer was established in the towns and prayers and canonical texts were spoken several times a day. Hanks stresses that learning the doctrine and prayers was “a prerequisite to the threshold sacrament of baptism.” So, the Maya living in the so-called *pueblos reducidos* could not avoid exposure to the terms, expressions, and grammatical patterns of *maya reducido*, which became part of the collective and individual language knowledge.

In the final part of the book, the author shows how *maya reducido* became embedded in indigenous text genres, including notarial documents, petitions, and the forbidden Books of Chilam Balam. For all three categories of texts, he shows that doctrinal language was included in the indigenous genres and that in these contexts preexisting linguistic forms also acquired new meanings. Notarial documents such as *probanzas*, land titles, wills, and petitions were new forms of discourse that belonged to the colonial field of *reducción*. Hanks describes the context of production of such documents and analyses the so-called sixteenth-century Xiu and Mani chronicles as well as a few bills of land, wills, and several petitions, identifying elements of *maya reducido* in all texts. The “commingling of semiautonomous Maya with Maya *reducido*” furthermore reflects in the forbidden genres of Maya texts, i.e., the Ritual of the Bacabs and Books of Chilam Balam. Hanks shows that these texts of prophecy, which were targets for destruction by the friars for their idolatrous content, contain a significant number of elements in doctrinal language, including prayers, individual terminology and the concept of the “sadness of the Christians.” Particularly striking is the mention of “the arrival of the true God” in several of the books and a passage in the Book of Chilam Balam from Tizimín that advises the Maya to convert to Christianity. Hanks argues that the Maya writers who produced the forbidden books were exposed to doctrinal discourse in the institutions of their towns and, therefore, integrated this new form of language into the traditional genre. This statement is based on the author’s contention that the discourse of the Books of Chilam Balam was originally oral and only became “absorbed into writing in different places where books were maintained” (341).

Hanks' book will be well received by anyone with an interest in colonial languages and missionary linguistics in the Americas; and in particular by those interested in colonial Maya culture. The text is not only masterfully written and organised, it also reflects years of careful and dedicated scholarship. This work complements and extends Hanks' previous work and combines an immense expertise on past and modern Yucatec Maya language and culture with substantial theoretical comprehension of social theory.

There is hardly anything for which this book could be criticised and the only thing one might add on this point is to indicate what the author omits. For instance, Hanks does not address the question of the continuity of symbols and elements and argues in the preface that within the context of the colonial transculture "it became difficult or pointless to sort out the indigenous from the nonindigenous elements of what was becoming a single social world" (xvi). However, some may still feel troubled that he avoids addressing the question of continuity and the role that discourse markers which are identical or similar (by appearance or even as underlying concepts) in both cultures may have played in the conversion. For instance, it has been shown that the cross existed as a symbol in prehispanic Maya culture where it likely represented the world tree or *axis mundi* (e.g., D. Freidel, L. Schele, and J. Parker, *Maya Cosmos. Three Thousand Years on the Shaman's Path*. New York 1993: 53 f.).

Furthermore, diachronic analysis of individual expressions can in some cases confirm the results of the book. A prime example is the aforementioned colonial descriptive concept *oc haa* for "baptism," as phrase that is known from the prehispanic record to refer to "death." One of several expressions used in hieroglyphic texts to describe the death of Classic Maya kings is *och haa* "he enters water," which is interpreted as a reference to the soul's journey into the watery Underworld (D. Stuart, "The Fire Enters His House." *Architecture and Ritual in Classic Maya Texts*. In: S. D. Houston [ed.], *Function and Meaning in Classic Maya Architecture*. Washington 1998:388; J. L. Fitzsimmons, *Death and the Classic Maya Kings*. Austin 2009: 35). Although the span of time from the Classic Maya to the early Spanish colonial period might stretch credulity here, it is an example of a genuinely autochthonous Maya concept, which does not correspond with the missionaries' translations of baptism and is, therefore, in great support of Hanks' argument.

For anthropologists and linguists alike, the book is important, as it demonstrates the extent to which present-day indigenous cultures and languages in the Americas are the product of colonisation. This is in particular relevant for any kind of work in the field of Maya studies that relies on diachronic comparison. The identification of Christian elements in the Books of Chilam Balam is particularly relevant as these sources are frequently consulted and drawn on for analogies with prehispanic data, especially from the iconographic and the textual record of Maya hieroglyphic writing. Hanks' analysis does not diminish this methodological approach, nor does it reject the existence of pre-Hispanic Maya concepts in the texts,

but it calls for more attention and awareness regarding the origin of individual features.

This book is a true landmark and we will certainly see this methodological approach used as a model for the analysis of other colonial languages in the Americas.

Frauke Sachse

**Herbert, Oliver:** Todeszauber und Mikroben. Krankheitskonzepte auf Karkar Island, Papua-Neuguinea. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2011. 352 pp. ISBN 978-3-496-02829-1. Preis: € 39.00

Ein Arzt und Medizinhistoriker widmet sich dem Thema Zauberei in Papua-Neuguinea. Das hat mich neugierig gemacht. Als Feldforscherin bin ich in Nordkamerun ständig mit dem dortigen Verständnis von Zauberei befasst und hätte gern Aufschluss darüber, ob es Krankheitsbilder gibt, die typischerweise den Zaubereiangriffen zugeordnet werden können, und wenn ja, welche dies sind. Mir schien der Titel "Todeszauber und Mikroben" einen solchen Ansatz zu verheißen, denn ich glaubte, dass in einer solchen Gegenüberstellung traditionelle und schulmedizinische (oder "biomedizinische", wie der Autor den westlichen Ansatz nennt) auf einander bezogen würden. Meine Erwartungen schienen auch noch durch die erklärte Zielsetzung des Buches bestätigt. "Diese Arbeit soll nicht nur andere Zugänge zum Verständnis von Gesundheit und Krankheit aufzeigen, sondern dem in Neuguinea tätigen westlichen Personal eine Vorbereitung auf die oft schwierige Arbeit in einer anderen Kultur erleichtern" (5). Erst recht neugierig wurde ich, als ich las: "Um einen möglichst umfassenden Eindruck vom Verständnis der Karkar von Gesundheit und Krankheit zu erhalten, sollen in dieser Studie Methoden der Ethnologie mit denen der Biomedizin verbunden werden" (15).

Ich sah mir den Forschungsansatz an: 573 Personen wurden befragt: 356 "Informanten" wurden "statistisch erfasst" (24) – ich erfahre aber nicht in welcher Hinsicht –, 348 Personen zwischen 9 und 67 Jahren wurden mit standardisierten Interviews befragt und mit 217 Personen zwischen 20 und 70 Jahren wurden freie Interviews geführt. Unter der "ethnologischen Arbeitsweise" versteht der Autor den "Versuch, sich an eine 'emische Sichtweise' anzunähern ... Wo auch immer möglich, sollten die Karkar in dieser Arbeit für sich selbst sprechen" (17). Als "epidemiologische Arbeitsweise", die als "zentrales Verfahren der Biomedizin" vorgestellt wird, gilt der "Versuch ..., mittels von Standardisierung und großen Fallzahlen zu allgemeingültigen Aussagen zu gelangen" (18).

Das klingt alles recht vielversprechend. Aber schon werde ich enttäuscht: Ich kann nirgends feststellen, nach welchen Kriterien die große Fallzahl von Informanten ausgewählt wurden. Ich erfahre zwar, dass "das Geschlechterverhältnis ... weitgehend ausgeglichen" ist. Aber ich finde nirgends Aufschluss darüber, in welcher Weise die Geschlechtszugehörigkeit überhaupt ins Gewicht fällt. Auch über die Dauer der freien Interviews und die Leitfragen erfahre ich nichts. Ebenso wenig ist mir klar, ob die Antworten von Neunjährigen genauso gewichtet wurden wie die der Siebenundsechzigjährigen.