

us that the people at the center of this book can teach us much, not about pain or suffering necessarily, but rather about resilience, courage, and laughter. These are lessons that we, unfortunately, sorely need.

Maria Elena Garcia

**Tomášková, Silvia:** *Wayward Shamans. The Prehistory of an Idea.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013. 271 pp. ISBN 978-0-520-27532-4. Price: £ 24.95

“Wayward Shamans” examines the historical construction of “shamans” and “shamanism” in Western imagination, from the earliest encounters between Europeans and Siberian shamans, and the constitution of shamans as “other,” to the impact of this thinking on European intellectuals and the ongoing reframing of what shamanism is today. Much of the book deals with the wider social and historical context for how and why shamanism was constructed. The first four chapters treat Siberia as an enduring terra incognita in the minds of Europeans and a construct against which we have defined ourselves, the inclusion of shamanism within this narrative as a constantly shifting, unstable construct, and the role of Siberian ethnography in the process. This engaging discussion builds on and adds substantially to Gloria Flaherty’s “Shamanism and the Eighteenth Century” (1992), Ronald Hutton’s “Shamans. Siberian Spirituality and the Western Imagination” (2002), and Andrei Znamenski’s “The Beauty of the Primitive. Shamanism and the Western Imagination” (2007). Tomášková argues that the term “shaman” is not derived straightforwardly from the Tungus language but is a “mongrelized word” (105) probably of “Slavic origin via German transcription with negative connotations” (78), and proposes that “[o]ur search for indigenous spirituality and practice should thus not be guided by such a colonial heritage” (78). This point must, however, be weighed against a diverse postcolonial scholarship on Siberian shamanism (e.g., work by Marjorie Balzer, Caroline Humphrey, Morten A. Pedersen, and Rane Willerslev) and shamanisms elsewhere (e.g., work by Carlos Fausto, Michael Taussig, Piers Vitebsky, and Eduardo Viveiros de Castro) which has had important interpretative and recursive outcomes; it would be too hasty to throw shamanism out with the proverbial bathwater.

Chapters five and six focus on shamanism, gender, and sexuality: Europeans increasingly subsumed the fluidity of indigenous gender concepts into fixed binary categories and censored the significant role of sexuality in Siberian shamanic practice. The apparent ambiguity of Siberian people (women dressed similar to men, men without beards) perplexed the expectations of Europeans and men who transformed their sex/gender to become shamans were a source of abject fascination. There is a significant scholarship on sex, gender, and shamanism in Siberia (e.g., work by Marjorie Balzer, Roberte Hamayon, and Caroline Humphrey) and elsewhere (e.g. work by Jenny Blain, Will Roscoe and Bernard Saladin d’Anglure); Tomášková’s distinctive contribution here is to analyse the role of Siberian ethnography in moulding “the shaman” into a monolithic and simplistic “public, male reli-

gious leader” (197), with implications for how studies on shamanism have tended to homogenise shamans since. This is an issue she returns to in the last chapter and conclusion to the book, addressing the shamanistic interpretation of prehistoric rock art.

As an archaeologist specialising in Palaeolithic Europe, Tomášková really gets into her subject in chapter seven, the final chapter, where she examines how, among early French prehistorians, “hunting magic” and then by implication shamanism formed the bedrock for understanding Upper Palaeolithic parietal art. Gabriel de Mortillet, a geologist and founder of the Museum of Antiquities (St. Germain-en-Laye) argued that early humans resembled animals “devoid of any spiritual capacity” (175) and this positivist materialist agenda set the tone for research on cave art until his death in 1898. Ironically, it was Salomon Reinach, a classicist and chief curator at de Mortillet’s museum who then wrote the seminal “L’art et le magic” (1903) which challenged de Mortillet’s materialism: “I believe it is quite legitimate, contrary to de Mortillet, to attribute to cavemen a developed *religiosity*” (183). Reinach proposed that “art in the Reindeer Age ... was an expression of a religion, very coarse, but very intense, made of magic practices whose single purpose was the conquest of daily food,” and so, Tomášková notes, “[t]he idea of ‘hunting magic’ was thus born” (183). The key role of the sorcerer or shaman in the religious production of cave art was crystallised in the work of the Abbé Henri Breuil who as an ordained Catholic priest looked like the antithesis to the materialists but “[g]ot around ... speaking about the question of spirituality indirectly ... [by] focussing on art, creativity and magic ... side-stepping the question of religion altogether ... [and] redefining spirituality as a domain of human creativity and imagination” (166). The finds of “Le sorcier” in Les Trois-Frères (Montesquieu-Avantès), documented by Breuil, provided the visual and archaeological evidence for these Ice Age shaman-artists (although only two of the three illustrations in Figure 7.2 [185] are actually from Les Trois-Frères, the other is the Lascaux shaft scene). The “three brothers” were the sons of Henri Bégouën who became lecturer in prehistory and director of the Museum of Natural History in Toulouse, and “tirelessly worked for the recognition of prehistoric art as a spiritual expression, a connection between a view of the world, artistic effort, and magic once performed by powerful shamans, sorcerers, and priests in the depths of the caves” (185). Tomášková concludes persuasively that the presumed and problematic link between rock art, hunting magic, and shamanism was cemented by the first decades of the 20th century.

The final chapter, the conclusion, discusses how “shamanism” has been deployed in the scholarship on rock art since Breuil, focussing on Southern Africa from the 1970s. Tomášková does not argue for or against the interpretation of some Southern African rock art as shamanistic: “[r]ather, my interest in shamans has always been in their history and geography – their invention as an idea and their global travels on the wings of imagination” (197). Critical discourse analysis is important in itself and Tomášková’s overview is revealing, but this eva-

sion is something of an anticlimax. She concludes that “the history of shamans reveals both the power and the limitations of conceptual categories in seeking to encompass cultural and temporal diversity” (197), or “history matters when considering categories” (197). Few scholars in the field would challenge this but they might take issue with Tomášková’s assertion that “the archaeological appropriation of the ... [shaman] has for the most part imagined a public, male religious leader as the standard representation of the origins of human spirituality, creativity and knowing” (197). This is broadly true of the two main authors cited, David Lewis-Williams (on Palaeolithic cave art) and David Whitley (on rock art in far Western North America), but even here the evidence does indicate male shamans were significant, and in addition to the cited exceptions of Kelley Hays-Gilpin and Alice Kehoe, Tomášková overlooks or brushes over the broader scholarship on the archaeology of shamanism, and of rock art in the last fifteen years, which recognises that shamanism is a problematic construct and that shamans are variously constituted in their ontological contexts, social roles, gender differences, and artistic production (e.g., recent work by Thomas Dowson, Sven Ouzman, Neil Price, and Robert Wallis). Embracing this diversity and difference, and situating shamans within their wider animistic ontological settings, has demonstrated the value of careful application of such etic terms as shamanism and animism in archaeology and to some rock art traditions specifically.

“Wayward Shamans” lacks sustained and warranted attention to the value shamanism has brought to archaeological understanding over the last thirty years and of prehistoric art in particular, but stand out as a useful primer for students of shamanism, particularly the history of Siberian shamanism, and in offering archaeologists a useful overview of how shamanism has been applied to the material culture of rock art – with the salient reminder that shamanism is just (yet) another construct alongside other universal terms and that the people we label “shamans,” past and present, vary hugely in their social and gender roles.

Robert J. Wallis

**Trümpler, Charlotte, und Peter Breunig** (Hrsg.): *Werte im Widerstreit. Von Bräuten, Muscheln, Geld und Kupfer.* Frankfurt: Goethe-Universität, 2012. 78 pp. Fotos.

Zuerst ist ein Ding einfach nur da. Wenn niemand sich dazu äußert oder auf sonst eine Weise darauf reagiert, bleibt es unbezeichnete Materie. Die These vieler Debatten, dass die Dinge eine Sprache per se hätten, bleibt ein Traum. Es sind die Menschen, die als Schöpfer von Dingen oder als Interpreten von materiellen Gestaltungen auftreten müssen, um jenen einen Wert zu verleihen. Solche Zuschreibungen sind aber Momentaufnahmen, die immer wieder bestätigt werden – bis ein Diskurs sich ändert und damit auch Bedeutungen und Werte von Dingen sich ändern können. Aus welcher Richtung und vor welchem Hintergrund man den Blick auf Dinge fokussiert, entscheidet jeweils über die Aussagen, die über Dinge getroffen werden.

Auf diese Möglichkeit an Perspektiven konzentrierten sich seit Frühjahr 2010 in einem Frankfurter Graduiertenkolleg Doktoranden/innen aus der Archäologie, der Ethnologie und der Volkswirtschaft. Unter dem Forschungstitel: “Wert und Äquivalenz. Über Entstehung und Umwandlung von Werten aus archäologischer und ethnologischer Sicht” befassen jene sich mit Fallbeispielen aus Indonesien, dem Vorderen Orient, Afrika, Europa und Nordamerika. In ihren Untersuchungen weisen die Forschenden nach, dass es sich bei “Wert und Äquivalenz” um ein weltweit gültiges und Epochen übergreifendes Konzept handelt. Mit ihren Beispielen decken die Doktoranden/innen einen Zeitraum vom 4. Jahrtausend v. Chr. bis in die Gegenwart ab.

Die geplanten Dissertationen gruppieren sich um die Fragen wie Werte erzeugt werden und in einer Gesellschaft zirkulieren und um die Transformation von Werten, wenn bestimmte Objekte über trans- und interkulturelle Grenzen hinweg gehandelt werden. Die dafür untersuchten Gegenstände sind Keramikobjekte, Biberfelle, Bronzeskulpturen, Elefantenstoßzähne, Keilschrifttexte, Steinbeile, Wandteller, Muscheln und Münzen. Zusammengefasst wurden die Themen aus den drei Fachdisziplinen hinsichtlich der Gemeinsamkeit ihrer Forschungsvorhaben in vier Blöcken: Geld und Gewicht, Materialwert, Ritual sowie Momente.

Die ersten beiden Artikel zu “Geld und Gewicht” widmen sich der Entstehung eines Gewichtssystems in Mesopotamien (Vitali Bartash) und dem Geld vor den Münzen im antiken Griechenland (Emanuel Seitz) in archäologischer Perspektive. Der Ethnologe Mario Schmidt beleuchtet das Äquivalenzsystem im Handel zwischen protestantischen Siedlern mit indianischen Gruppen im Nordamerika des 17. Jh.s (Von der Muschel zur Münze). Das letzte Thema dieses Blocks greift die Theorie von Bernhard Laum über die Geldentstehung auf (Felix Brandl).

Der Block “Materialwert” behandelt sechs archäologische Themen. Es geht um eine Stadtanlage in Nordsyrien (Tell Chuera: ca. 3100–2200 v. Chr.), die seit den 1950ern ausgegraben wird. Tobias Helms beschreibt die unterschiedliche Verwendung von Steingeräten jener Zeit. Federico Buccellati widmet sich der Untersuchung von Architektur in Syrien um 2250 v. Chr. und Möglichkeiten ihrer digitalen 3-D-Rekonstruktion unter der Frage: Wie wird ein Palast gebaut? Der Wert eines Materials folgte auch schon in der Antike dem Gesetz von Angebot und Nachfrage. Alexandra Barb geht der Frage nach, inwieweit der Wert eines Dings allein vom Material abhängt: “Metall gegen Ton?”. Bronzene Rahmen, Profile und Zierleisten im römischen Italien und den nördlichen Provinzen des Imperium Romanum behandelt Stefanie Bauer. Um versunkene Ladungen von römischen Schiffen aus dem 1. Jh. v. Chr. und ihr Wert geht es im Text von Selma Abdelhamid. Christina Beck versucht Rückschlüsse von den Materialien der Objekte auf die Organisation ihrer Produktionsstätten am Beispiel der Nok-Kultur Zentralnigerias (ca. Mitte 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.).

Der Block “Ritual” beginnt mit einem Blick auf bronzezeitliche Opfergaben (ca. 2200–1600 v. Chr.) unter dem