

und erhalten auch dort die Traditionen ihres Handwerks, weil sie soziale und rituelle Eckpunkte ihrer Lebensform nicht aufgegeben haben und mit dem Einfluss der Moderne auch individuelle Interpretationen über die kosmologischen Bedeutungen ihrer textilen Zeichen entwickelten.

Die Arbeit der Autorin mit den Informantinnen und Informanten erstreckte sich zwischen 2004 und 2010 über drei jeweils mehrwöchige Feldforschungen, während derer sie verschiedene Beschreibungen und Interpretationen textiler Arbeiten aufnehmen konnte. Eine für alle Rarámuri der Region Tarahumara gültige Interpretation der in Textilien eingewobenen Zeichen konnte nicht gefunden werden, dennoch umfassen die verbreiteten handwerklichen Methoden und verwendeten Zeichen weit mehr als eine kleinethnische Region. Die zentrale Hypothese der Autorin geht über die untersuchte Gruppe hinaus und beansprucht globale Gültigkeit: Menschliche Gesellschaften würden bezüglich ihrer Textilien bestimmte Begriffe, Vorstellungen und Erzählungen gebrauchen, um sich Identität zu schaffen und diese in das rituelle Leben einzubinden. Hiermit würden sie ihren Begriff über das Heilige alltäglich erfahrbar machen und den Kosmos als eine reziproke Dynamik und Teilhabe charakterisieren (10). Mit diesem holistischen Ansatz erschließt die Autorin die Beziehungen der Weberinnen und des Webers zu ihren Produkten und ihrem sozialen und rituellen Leben, denn es handelt sich nicht allein um Kunsthandwerk im eurozentrischen Sinne, sondern um eine durch häufige Rituale und christlich-indigene Anschauungen geprägte Lebensform, vor deren Hintergrund die Zeichen der Gürtel und Decken interpretiert werden und dadurch ihren speziellen symbolischen Charakter erhalten.

Sabina Aguilera beschreibt den historischen und sozialen Hintergrund der untersuchten Gemeinschaften, geht auf die alltäglichen und festtäglichen Aktivitäten ein und unterstreicht die starke Bedeutung der Herstellung von Textilien in ihrer untersuchten Gruppe. Zwei biografische Porträts stellen einen Weber (er gehört eher zu einer Ausnahme in der untersuchten Gruppe) und eine Weberin vor, wobei letztere die Hauptinformantin der Forscherin ist. Im Kapitel "Dualität und Ambiguität zwischen weiblichen und männlichen Kategorien und ihre Beziehungen zum Weben" geht die Autorin auf die Mehrdeutigkeit der Zweigeschlechtlichkeit ein, die zusammen mit den Götterpaaren Sonne/Mond und *Onorúame* bzw. *tata diosi* / Mutter Maria erscheint und die Geschlechtlichkeit wechseln kann. In den paarigen bzw. spiegelverkehrten Darstellungen der textilen Werkstücke ("tejido con dos caras", S. 105) kehrt das mythische Grundmuster der Doppeldeutigkeit offensichtlich wieder. Es ist übrigens auch in anderen historischen und aktuellen mesoamerikanischen Ethnien bekannt, wie die Autorin an einigen Beispielen (99 ff.) ausführt, erstreckt sich jedoch tatsächlich bis nach Südamerika und fand beispielsweise bei den altperuanischen Textilien (Chancay, Tiahuanaco, Pachacamac) schon vor vielen Jahrhunderten einen handwerklichen und ikonografischen Höhepunkt (E. Ruhnau und C. Deimel, Jaguar und Schlange. Berlin 2000: 125–141). Insofern ist das für die Sierra Tarahumara wiederentdeckte Thema der Spiegelverkehrung bzw. Verdopplung ein

nicht seltenes Muster der Ikonografie in den Americas und lässt offensichtlich auch thematisch einen Raum für eine gendertypische Aktualisierung, wie hier am Beispiel der lebendigen Darstellungen der Hauptinformantin demonstriert wird, die selbst die Entstehung der Welt in Metaphern aus dem textilen Kontext beschreibt (107, 109 f.).

Die Vorstellung von der Welt als einem Webstück, in dem alles mit allem durch Fäden und Muster korrespondiert, zeigt aber auch die Grenzen der holistischen Konzeption, die Aguilera teils mit textilorientiertem Determinismus entwickelt. Denn wäre die Welt nicht auch von Seiten eines Töpfers oder eines Ritualisten entsprechend zu konstruieren? Die möglichen Verbindungen der Zeichen auf Textilien, Kirchenmalereien, Felszeichnungen und in Form von Steingelegten zum rituellen Leben der Sierra Tarahumara wurden bereits in einer inzwischen älteren deutschsprachigen Publikation (C. Deimel, Die rituellen Heilungen der Tarahumara. Berlin 1997: 211–232) beschrieben, finden in der Arbeit Aguileras allerdings keine Erwähnung. Die (Sierra) Tarahumara, als ein sprachlich und rituell differenziertes und inzwischen bis in angrenzende Städte ausgedehntes Land weist in ihren aufgezeichneten Erzählungen einige bisher wenig bekannte mythische Elemente auf. Ihre Informanten beschreiben (132 ff.) die Oberfläche der Welt als die Haut einer Schlange und die Schlange als Gegenspielerin der Sonne im Himmel. Zum einen gilt die Schlange als ein Dämon, zum anderen als segensbringende Wasserspenderin, wobei die Autorin Parallelen zu den Mythen der Huicholes im mexikanischen Bundesstaat Nayarit und der vorspanischen Zeit im zentralen Mexiko herausfindet (134 f.). Zur Doppeldeutigkeit der Schlange wäre noch hinzuzufügen, dass diese selbst in der Peyote-Heilung der Tarahumara in Form des Schrapers (*rasping stick*) der Heiler als zugleich dämonische und heilende Kraft wiederkehrt. Insgesamt ergibt die Untersuchung der Textilien deutliche Bezüge zum mesoamerikanischen Kontext und verweist auf die mit Felszeichnungen und Ikonografie belegten vorspanischen Beziehungen dieser Region als Teil des "Gran Chichimeca" oder "Greater Southwest" zu Zentralmexiko. Leider sind die Schilderungen der Informanten nur auf Spanisch und nicht auch auf Rarámuri dokumentiert worden. Die Arbeit ist dennoch eine sehr gute Studie zu einem bislang noch nicht genau bearbeiteten Thema über die Beziehungen der materiellen und geistigen Kultur der Sierra Tarahumara. Claus Deimel

Aïtel, Fazia: We Are Imazighen. The Development of Algerian Berber Identity in Twentieth-Century Literature and Culture. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2014. 306 pp. ISBN 978-0-8130-4939-7. Price: \$ 74.95

"We Are Imazighen," by Faiza Aïtel, associate professor of French and Francophone studies, is categorised by its publisher under an interdisciplinary rubric of Literary Criticism / Ethnic Studies, the "ethnic" focus here being on Berbers, known as "Imazighen" in Tamazight, the Amazigh language (Amazigh, sing.; Imazighen, pl.). Structured into 7 chapters, Aïtel charts a trajectory of the development of Algerian Berber identity discourses in se-

lected works of literature and cultural forms spanning the 1930s to the end of the 20th century. Aïtel locates their significance in sociopolitical contexts of their time and demands for the recognition of Berber linguistic and cultural identity in the official Algerian national imaginary.

Aïtel's principal argument is a nuanced elaboration of ways in which "identity" is emergent from a "dialectic" of "constant dialogue with the outside and the outsider" (6) premised on which Berber writers, particularly those from the Kabylie region of Algeria, have engaged with questions of cultural identity. Although the book's title mentions the Tamazight appellation, "Imazighen," Aïtel prefers to utilise the alternative term, "Berbers." Aïtel proposes, "foreignness is a constitutive experience of this people and is at the core of the Kabyle group identity and culture" (13). Aïtel's emphasis on Berber identity, even when much of her selected material for analysis refers to Kabyles, points to the wider remit of the Berber movement that was historically led by Kabyles in Algeria and the diaspora.

The book concentrates on critique of a selected corpus of texts within the Berber cultural canon. Aïtel focuses on writers of various genres of Algerian-Francophone literature with the exception of Tamazight poetry by Jean and Taos Amarouche, mention of the legendary Kabyle poet Si Muhnd u Muhnd and lyrics of one of Kabylie's greatest singers, Lounès Matoub, whose artistic production was entirely in Tamazight, although his public statements were often in French. "We Are Imazighen" (*Nekkni d Imazigen* in Tamazight) is a popular collective slogan of resistance against Arabisation in Algeria. Aïtel quotes Matoub's song, "Assagui Ligh" (Today I Am), which contains the lines, "Ma nnan-iyid s anda tlehhud ... A sen-inigh nek d amazigh" (If they tell me where you think you are going, I will claim I am Amazigh) to suggest a probable origin for the slogan and observes that "being Amazigh is not just an identity claim but a process in the making" (8).

In her "Introduction," Aïtel draws attention to historical events such as the 1871 Kabyle insurrection against the French and the Berber crisis of 1948–49 (52). The latter saw the marginalisation of specifically Berber demands within the ranks of the nationalist movement in favour of a homogenous notion of an Algerian people poised against the French coloniser. Such contextualisation provides the uninitiated reader with a background with which to approach the literary texts of different historical periods that Aïtel introduces. Aïtel's discussion of a letter from Feraoun to Camus, which points out the irony of the description of "the Arab revolt of the Kabyles!" (10), is a poignant reminder of the compromises Berbers have had to endure in the face of successive Others who have progressively eroded Berber self-ascription.

The francophone literary oeuvres selected testify to a history of French-language schooling in the Kabylie region which enabled its writers to articulate individual creativity through their literary narratives whilst, nevertheless, giving voice to a historically specific Berber cultural universe. In the 2nd chapter, Aïtel refers to the "dialectics of identity" (58) one encounters in the work of the first Berber francophone writers who drew, in various ways,

on a rich Berber oral tradition. Aïtel provides condensed portraits summarising the work of the Amrouche siblings, and discusses Feraoun, Mammeri, Ouary, Boulifa, and Si Mohand ou-Mhand, all great luminaries in the Kabylie literary canon who expressed a new literary Berber consciousness, a legacy still emblematic for the Berber movement as its high culture (60).

The 3rd chapter focuses on the struggle for "rights" which spans the 1970s up to the end of the 1990s, including the effects of the policy of Arabisation, the Berber Spring and the Beur Movement in France, thus, pointing to the significance of the diaspora. Crucially, Aïtel locates the cultural production of Kabyle song, Tamazight journals, radio, and other literature in relation to broader demands for democracy in Algeria. Despite being principally focused on linguistic demands for recognition of Tamazight as an official language, the Berber movement also aspires to a wider secular democratic struggle. Two exemplary figures in this regard are Matoub and Tahar Djaout who are the focus of the 4th chapter. Djaout's "L'invention du desert" and "Les chercheurs d'os" are presented as engagements with the complexities of Berber identifications in their relationship with Algerian history. Several of Matoub's songs, the main Tamazight language textual material in the book, are analysed in relation to their engagement with the Berber movement and the singer's own biography. Matoub's oeuvre is shown to deal with the phenomenon of assassinations that plagues post-independence Algerian/Berber history. Aïtel aptly presents Djaout and Matoub as veritable "symbols of democracy" in Algerian Berber consciousness (201).

The 5th chapter focuses on a single writer, Assia Djebar, of Berber-Chenoua origin but ambivalent about her Berber identification, earlier in her career, to the extent that Aïtel, controversially, states she was "a self-declared Arab woman" (203). Aïtel's account of Djebar's acceptance (in an interview in 1981) of state Arabisation as a phenomenon of urbanisation and her disavowal of distinctly "Berberist" demands provides an example of a tendency amongst "assimilated" Berber Algerians to relinquish politicised claims for Berber sociolinguistic rights, which is perceived as anti-national or communal and divisive (205). Aïtel observes that, in "Vaste est la prison," Djebar does engage with her Berber ancestry and there is mention of Djebar's nostalgic engagement with the discovery of the "Berber alphabet," Tifinagh (234). However, Djebar's film, "La nouba des femmes du Mont Chenoua," is critiqued for its treatment of the mountain-dwelling Berber women, denied agency by the erasure of Tamazight in favour of an Arabic narrative voice.

Aïtel's astute analysis does not, however, emphasise reasons for which Djebar remains a valued literary figure for Francophone Berbers/Algerians, namely, her feminism and her esteemed election to the "Académie française," both representative of aspirational values aligned to the Berber movement. In previous chapters, literary individuality is articulated within the orbit of communal identifications. The emphasis, in this chapter, is on alienation from Berber communal life, linguistically and socioculturally, focusing instead on individual subjectivi-

ty attendant to that alienation as well as literary-stylistic concerns.

The “Conclusion” is a brief chapter in which Aïtel states that her objectives were to offer a trajectory of Kabyle-Berber “communal imagining” and “self-consciousness” hinging on literary texts and to demonstrate the dialogic nature of such imaginings (241). The Algerian nationalist imperative to unify the nation and purge foreign influence impacted on both French and Berber identifications. Aïtel, herself of Kabyle origin, considers there to be a gradual public acknowledgement of the Berber/Amazigh dimension of Algeria’s heritage, which she deems encouraging. Aïtel’s book includes a diverse interdisciplinary range of sources in its bibliography and provides a good introduction to the work of key Berber cultural figures. It is a welcome addition to the body of published literature on Algerian Berbers in English, the majority being in French.

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Albiez-Wieck, Sarah: *Contactos exteriores del Estado tarasco. Influencias desde dentro y fuera de Mesoamérica.* 2 vols. Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2013. 720 pp. ISBN 978-607-8257-42-3. Precio: US \$ 29.00

“Contactos exteriores del Estado tarasco” by Sarah Albiez-Wieck is a valuable contribution to the archaeological and ethnohistoric study of the late pre-Hispanic Tarascan state of West-Central Mexico. The central tenet of the book is that the Tarascan State should not and cannot be understood as an ethnically homogenous political entity, not even in its core in north-central Michoacán. Furthermore, relations with diverse peoples both within and outside of its borders as well as diverse economic, political, and ideological contacts with the rest of Mesoamerica and even other culture areas shaped its history.

The breadth and detail of the book and the sources it consults is the most impressive strength of the book. Very few other works concerning the Tarascan state incorporate the quantity of data that this book does; an admirable array of early colonial Spanish and indigenous documents as well as archaeological reports, both published and only existing in the archives of the National Institute of Anthropology and History, form the basis of the inquiry. Using these sources, the author attempts to trace out the nature and extent of contacts that the Tarascan state both initiated and was more passively involved in. World Systems Theory forms the framework in which these contacts are understood and made theoretically relevant, a logical and appropriate choice. The inclusion of forms of interaction such as artistic styles and ideological or symbolic constructs is a welcome addition to the sometimes overly narrow economic focus in some applications of World Systems Theory.

However, the amount of data and the attempt to incorporate both archaeological evidence from the pre-Hispanic era and early colonial-era written sources becomes unwieldy at times. This is particularly evident as the book often gets slightly bogged down in detailed discussions that detract from the stated goal of interpreting the data

within World Systems Theory. Furthermore, while the inclusion of both archaeological and ethnohistoric data is laudable, this work both explicitly and implicitly highlights the manner in which the datasets and the interpretive frameworks many scholars use to investigate such datasets often work at cross-purposes. Many of the data and debates that this book examines in order to investigate economic and other influences revolve around largely cultural historical issues of the possibility of identifying “cultures” or “ethnicities” in the archaeological record. While archaeologists in certain programs remain committed to this theoretical orientation, Albiez-Wieck’s ethnohistoric data strongly indicates that the possibility of material correlates of ethno-linguistic affiliation might be at best quite limited. Such issues are crucially important in attempting to identify trading enclaves as well as the suggestion of migrations throughout prehistory that could have proven beneficial in the era just prior to Spanish contact as they could have been used to establish trading connections. It is in this regard specifically that different agendas and viewpoints on the question of how ethnohistoric data, and in particular indigenous representations of the past, should be interpreted in light of and integrated with archaeological data. Research in Mesoamerica has a long and at times troubled history in attempting to resolve such issues, and all too often literalist interpretations of the ethnohistoric record have driven archaeological interpretation rather than the two data sets being kept separate. In such regards, the author takes an appropriately skeptical approach to archaeological interpretations that posit movements of people based solely on, for example, transitions in ceramics styles. This appropriate level of skepticism prevents the author from making definitive conclusions regarding movements and the possibility of trade ties of the Tarascan state that were rooted in preexisting social relationships.

Her expertise in analyzing the conceptualization and practice of “ethnicity” in the colonial-era written documents must also call into question the appropriateness of the role of “ethnicity” in political-economic models that form the basis of many theorizations of empire-building, expansion, and maintenance. In many such theories, themselves influenced to some degree by World Systems Theory but also debates concerning “hegemonic” versus “territorial” empires, transforming ethnic ties and self-ascription or alternately segregating ethnic groups are often thought of in terms of resource expenditures that are economic in the long run as they prevent costly rebellion. The author argues that in many contexts, however, ethnohistoric data indicate that ethno-linguistic affiliation was rarely the main basis of forming and maintaining political relationships between superiors and subordinates, a view which I also believe is promising and deserves more attention, possibly indicating a wider shift in how Mesoamerican scholars rework, how they theorize political paradigms of two sides of the same coin: rulership on the one hand and “citizenship” or “belonging,” as the book prefers, on the other hand.

In the end, the book transitions from being explicitly about interactions, particularly economic interactions