

ager transformed the recognition process almost overnight.

The mobilization process was enabled by the existence on the mine of a Xhosa-speaking worker network, an *amabutho* (literally a regiment), who jumped onto the NUM bandwagon with the encouragement of one of the union organizers and brought the union into being. They were quite prepared to use violent methods where necessary. Indeed, Donham elides this particular Xhosa *amabutho* with the violent criminal gangs, usually ethnically based, that have always existed in the shadow of the mine compounds. I am not sure that his evidence supports this supposition, but it may indeed be so. At any rate, it is this Xhosa *amabutho* that Donham holds directly responsible for the Soweto Day killings which were certainly pre-planned and consciously carried out. It is not unusual for local union leaders and shop steward committees to have “enforcers,” tough comrades who are willing and able to initiate wildcat actions, rough up strike breakers, and keep members otherwise in line. Perhaps this was the role of the Xhosa *amabutho* at Cinderella mine?

Finally, on a macropolitical level, this book is haunted by two ghosts that continue to stalk contemporary South African society. One is the incompleteness of the South African transition. Some of Donham’s most moving writing addresses this point. Let me quote at length, for instance, from pages 123–124:

“In late April 1994, black South Africans were freed. They became equal citizens before the law. But the underside of this triumph was that it became virtually impossible to recall the process that created this state of ‘freedom’ – how enormous wealth had been produced for a few while the multitude had been reduced to the status of workers (if they were fortunate) or to the ranks of the reserve army of the unemployed (if they were not) ... [A]s time collapsed to a moment, social classes dissolved into autonomous individuals. Now, poor black South Africans – whose material lives were hardly to be affected by the transition – were just like everyone else. They had things to buy and sell. Never mind that the only thing that most of them had to sell – if they were lucky – was their capacity to toil in places like Cinderella. This denouement was all but covered up by the celebration of black liberation.”

The second ghost haunting Donham’s narrative operates on the level of inclusion in the new South Africa. Black liberation comes to South African citizens only – indeed especially to those who fought on the right side in the struggle, members of the ANC and of the COSATU unions. Zulu may have now been redeemed by Jacob Zuma, but in mid-1994 they were seen as alien, not fully citizens. Insurgent citizenship is always ambiguous, both liberating and excluding at the same time. Donham (184) quotes a participant in xenophobic violence in a squatter settlement near Cinderella in 2008. The foreigners, the young man said were “enjoying *our* freedom.” The very notion of “freedom,” then, is redolent with irony. This is the most disturbing conclusion to be drawn from this fascinating book.

T. Dunbar Moodie

**Fash, William L., and Leonardo López Luján** (eds.): *The Art of Urbanism. How Mesoamerican Kingdoms Represented Themselves in Architecture and Imagery*. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2009. 480 pp., Fotos. ISBN 978-0-88402-344-9. Price: \$ 49.95

This volume from Dumbarton Oak’s 2005 Pre-Columbian Symposium brings together articles that examine how pre-Hispanic Mesoamerican cities defined and represented themselves in urban art and architecture – the art of the city and the city as art. Although variable in size and layout, all pre-Hispanic cities contained planned civic-ceremonial precincts where expressions of power, history, and cosmology intersected. This volume is part of a growing body of work by archaeologists using concepts of landscape and the built environment to explore symbolic dimensions of urbanism and how their production shaped social relations.

The editors approach pre-Hispanic urbanism through the concepts of cosmovision – the notion of ancient cities as earthly representations of cosmological and astrological order – and landscape, and the built environment. Following the editors’ introduction, the subsequent dozen chapters, organized according to Mesoamerican culture history, examine individual centers beginning with a discussion by Ann Cyphers and Anna Di Castro of early Olmec centers and the development of core Mesoamerican cosmological concepts – vertically layered cosmos, caves as underworld portals, sanctified inanimate objects, duality, and sacred mountains. Cyphers and Di Castro see an early expression of urban place-making at Early Preclassic San Lorenzo as a hill emerging from a watery surface, akin to the Late Postclassic concept of *altepetl*.

Gillespie and Grove in their chapter on Chalcatzingo, an early gateway center in Central Mexico with ties to the Gulf Coast, emphasize the distinction between the visible and invisible worlds. As expansion of agricultural and nonagricultural landscape modifications circumscribed the invisible world to special places, marking such places afforded certain people access to the unseen. The San Bartolo murals of the Late Preclassic Maya lowlands, discussed by William A. Saturno, depict rulership as “god given” with a Maya Ahaw’s coronation taking place in the Sky Band.

Early Mesoamerican cities expressed on a monumental scale the intertwining of political and cosmological orders. Joyce Marcus writing about Monte Albán links early urbanism, formal layouts, monumental architecture, and mountains with this new political order – the city of Monte Albán atop a mountain, “living sacred beings.” Uruñuela and colleagues explore how volcanic eruptions literally and symbolically shaped central Mexican urbanism. Pre-classic village volcano shrines in Puebla grew to gigantic proportions at the Great Pyramid at Cholula where as elsewhere resettlement played a key role in political centralization and urbanism.

Mesoamericans acknowledged the power of mountains in shaping their world and leaders and rulers presented themselves as harnessed to or controlling those powers. Once heralded as the Great Goddess of Teoti-

huacan, and patron of the Moon Pyramid, Teotihuacan's "water mountain," Zoltán Paulinyi makes that case that there was no such singular deity but rather several deities, including the Mountain God, patron of the high-ranking Coyote Lords also linked with the Rain God and his weapon the fire of lightning – the source of water and rain, thus fertility and plants. Teotihuacan is also the subject of a chapter by William Fash and colleagues who argue that the Adosada platform of the Sun Pyramid associated with Pleiades was the house of the New Fire ceremony and place of investiture of rulers and thus integral to the creation of a new regional political order following the eruption of Popocatepetl. Teotihuacan with its quadripartite layout perhaps best exemplifies David Carrasco's concept of cosmivision.

Barbara W. Fash takes up the importance of water and water symbolism in Mesoamerica focusing on the low density, tropical cities of the Classic Maya where she sees linkages between water management, ritual, and corporate groups. Symbols of the Flowering Mountain of Maguey and water appear together in the center of a ballcourt at Epiclassic El Tajín where decapitation rituals transferred political power from gods to human rulers. Although Tajín is not in a maguey producing area, Rex Koontz speculates that maguey symbolism signaled Tajín's westward expansion into the sierras of Puebla.

Urban centers through architecture, layouts, imagery, and objects manifested rulers' strategies of legitimation through archaism and the invocation of ties to earlier powerful cities and people. Mastache and colleagues discuss Tula's evocations of Teotihuacan – neo-Teotihuacanism. They suggest that the roots of Tula's urban institutions extended to a precinct of the city known as Tula Chico, built about A.D. 650 and destroyed and abandoned ca. A.D. 800–850, perhaps from political conflict. Some attribute foreign attributes at the northern Maya lowland city of Chichen Itza to the Toltecs, but Ringle and Bey begin their chapter on Chichen Itza posing an important question: who did Mesoamerican cities present themselves to? How should the foreignness incorporated into Chichen Itza be understood? They propose that it marked a change in militarism and governance from a system of paramount lords and lesser nobles to a more regulatory state influenced by Teotihuacan's legacy and the growing importance of military orders and Feathered Serpent ideology.

López Luján and López Austin take up the core ideology of Tollan-Quetzalcoatl and the development of Post-classic confederations, not merely as military alliances but as political units that exercised power over a territory and inspired the notion of the prototypical city, Tollan, as a place where all ethnic groups lived together. In the final chapter Carrasco concludes that while military and economic forces were important in nucleation of people into cities and towns, it was "art, ideology, and performance" that sustained successful civic-ceremonial centers through good and troubled times.

Pre-Hispanic urban centers were political capitals; although that was not their only function, they materialized political relations that were mediated and legitimated by the production of religious symbols and rituals and the

creation of landscapes that shaped the experiences of city-dwellers and visitors. Based on close readings of imagery and architecture, "The Art of Urbanism," produced to the Dumbarton Oaks' high standards, provides rich details of elite symbolic production, but only some authors consider how to assess the validity of such interpretations, e.g., Paulinyi's critical analysis of the "Great Goddess" imagery at Teotihuacan and Bey and Ringle's analysis of symmetry and regalia. The meanings of urbanism discerned in this volume cannot be divorced from the development of ideologies that though divine order sanctioned and reinforced the "worldly" authority of rulers and legitimized upper classes. Such urban landscapes and the act of building them helped to create and naturalize such ideologies, but how did subjects internalize them? Did cities have the same meaning for all subjects and factions? Tula suggests otherwise. Were there no ideological struggles – the destruction of Teotihuacan, abandonment of Classic Maya cities and kingship, and episodes of centralization and fragmentation also suggests otherwise. Cosmovision has been an important concept in Mesoamerica, but the volume would have been strengthened by drawing more broadly on theorizing about the production of space and landscapes of power.

Deborah L. Nichols

**Fjelstad, Karen, and Nguyễn Thị Hiền:** *Spirits without Borders. Vietnamese Spirit Mediums in a Transnational Age.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. 219 pp. ISBN 978-0-230-11493-7.

Movement, be it in real space or in cyberspace, be it by individual choice or by imposed circumstances, has become a distinguishing feature of our modern world. Movement opens opportunities to see hitherto unknown lands and meet new people, and more than that, it affects the thinking and attitudes of the one on the move. When people move from one country to another or from continent to continent, and especially, if their moving involves a prolonged or definite stay in a place away from their place of origin, they take with them not only material goods dear to them but also concepts and images that help shape the way they are accustomed to live. Religious ideas, beliefs, and their expression in ritual and customs are part of these goods that travel with their bearers. How moving from one country to another affects the manner people imagine their deities and spirits, formulate their beliefs, and express them in ritual and social activities is the challenging question the two authors address in their present work.

"Spirits without Borders" is the fruit of the two authors' personal experience and collaborative fieldwork and of about twenty years on Đạo Mẫu, the Mother Goddess religion. Đạo Mẫu is originally a local religion of the common people in North Vietnam, from where it spread to South Vietnam and further overseas. In possession rituals performed by initiated mediums the deities and spirits of the religion's pantheon become incarnated in their medium (their seat), and dance before and for their believers. Because of the religion's emphasis on possession and direct contact with its spirits, it had long been accused of