

Mexico; thus the explanations of the political and institutional contexts of Jesuit discourse and activities are less satisfying. This applies to such topics as sources of ecclesiastic and missionary financial support, royal patronage, the seventeenth-century depression, disputes between ecclesiastical branches, and Spanish views of the Indians. Slightly more disconcerting is the lack of familiarity with the local religious, civil, and administrative history of Nueva Vizcaya, which makes it virtually impossible for the editors to supply places and dates for many events described by Pérez de Ribas. The economic interests of civilians often dictated the course of Jesuit activities in the north and conditioned such justifications of their work as this one by Pérez de Ribas. This material context is missing. Also mostly absent, except for selected references in the introduction, are references to the recent historical literature on these indigenous peoples that would be helpful in guiding the reader. The annotations in the text are most useful in explaining classical/biblical references and natural phenomena.

Yet these issues are minor when compared to the crucial achievement of the editors in having made available a superior translation of this important work to a wider number of scholars who work on the indigenous cultures of northwestern Mexico as well as on more global questions of cross-cultural contact, conversion, and colonialism.

**The Book of Chilam Balam of Na: Facsimile, Translation, and Edited Text.** Edited by Ruth Gubler and David Bolles. (Lancaster, CA: Labyrinthos, 2000. 310 pp., introduction, facsimile, glossary, bibliography. \$27.00 paper.)

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The Books of Chilam Balam (BCB) are some of the most enigmatic manuscripts ever to have been written in the Roman script, and this *Book of Chilam Balam of Na* meets these expectations. The Books of Chilam Balam, written in the Yucatec Maya language anywhere from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, are a genre unique to post-Conquest Yucatán. They have been named for the pre-Hispanic *chilam balam*, the Jaguar Prophet, who made prophesies based on historical knowledge and a cyclical view of time. The manuscripts are compilations of history, myth, prognostication, farmers' almanacs, medical diagnoses, and herbal recipes. Each manuscript appears to be a compilation of passages copied from other texts—meaning that the date, author, and location of the original drafting of specific passages cannot be fixed with any exactitude and that we cannot know which passages might have been original creations. The manuscripts are

syncretism embodied, combining ancient Maya and Spanish Christian gods and saints, Maya and Christian calendars, and indigenous and Spanish diseases and herbal concoctions.

This edition of the *Book of Chilam Balam of Na* is the first facsimile and English translation to be published. The editors note that the BCBS actually fall into two separate groups distinguishable by content and the date provided by the copyist. The first group (including the Chumayel, Tizimin, and Kaua manuscripts) generally carry an eighteenth-century date, record history and myth, and make reference to Maya gods. The second group (including the Tekax, Chan Kah, and Na) generally carry a nineteenth-century date and include prognostications and medical recipes. The compilation of the BCB of Na was completed in three stages: in 1857, in 1873, and final notes were made through about 1896.

This book's most important contribution is the extensive (200 or so items) glossary of plant and animal names, complete with scientific nomenclature, which will be of use to ethnographers, ethnohistorians, and archaeologists alike. The introduction and the footnotes are not as extensive as many might hope for. In particular, although the section on herbal remedies takes up the bulk of the manuscript, the editors do not put forth an analysis of Maya conceptions of the body, health, and healing.

The editors, like many other commentators on the Books of Chilam Balam, consider the manuscripts as cultural survivals, as bits of ancient Maya knowledge that survived the impact of colonialism. Even while they acknowledge that such elements as the calendars of saints' days, Spanish herbal remedies, and the gradual disappearance of references to history, myth, and pre-Hispanic gods all fly in the face of cultural continuity, they consider the manuscripts on the whole as evidence of the "tenacity" with which post-Conquest specialists held onto "the rich tradition of the Maya people" (12). Indeed, the very label of *Book of Chilam Balam* given to these texts perpetuates the notion that they represent the knowledge held by the jaguar priests at the time of the Spanish invasion, even while it is not clear that that title was ascribed by the copyist (and in fact the first few folios of the Na manuscript, including any title page, are missing).

The editors note that while "there are indications that [the texts] were compiled from much earlier sources," "none of the Maya medical texts that have come down to us are any earlier than the eighteenth century" (10). Nonetheless, they conclude that "from the sixteenth century . . . curing did not change to any great extent in the centuries that followed" (11). We do know that there was a tradition of herbal medicine at the time of the Spanish invasion, but we do not know that it was largely unchanged over the next two centuries. In fact, a wide variety of evidence attests to creative syn-

cretism and pragmatic invention. Gubler's own research shows that contemporary herbalists do not agree on the use of specific herbs for specific treatments (12). Further, less than thirty years after the final notes were made in the Na manuscript, Redfield and others conducted research in various Yucatecan towns and villages and found numerous modes of diagnosis and curing, including the work of (male) shamans, (female) herbalists, and home remedies (Robert Redfield, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941). If one assumes that the pre-Hispanic tradition was completely systematized and shared by all practitioners, then one has to read all of these later patterns (including the incorporation of Spanish cures in the BCBS) as indications of the loss of a grand tradition of knowledge. However, we could read them differently—as indications of a long-standing tradition of flexibility, creativity, and incorporation. Like other health practitioners in other places, Maya curers in the past may have been willing to adopt new cures if they seemed to work, adding them to their expanding medical knowledge, trying out different cures at different times or using them in combination. Instead of reading the BCBS primarily as evidence of continuity from a pre-Hispanic past, we can compare and contrast them as a truly unique textual corpus, as syncretism in action. We can view them as testaments to the spirit of creativity even under the onslaught of colonialism.

**Of Things of the Indies: Essays Old and New in Early Latin American History.** By James Lockhart. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000. xxiv + 397 pp., preface, appendix, bibliography, index. \$60.00 cloth, \$22.95 paper.)

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This is a collection of essays by James Lockhart, a distinguished historian of colonial Latin America who has produced major studies of Spanish and Indian societies and cultures in both Peru and Mexico. Written over a thirty-year period, four of the twelve essays in the volume are new, and eight have been previously published, though the latter have been revised or expanded. Nine of the chapters originated as lectures, and some have a colloquial, even personal, tone. The emphasis throughout is not on primary research but rather on historiography, matters of craft, and the larger implications of the author's substantive work. The book is organized chronologically, beginning with Lockhart's well-known articles on "Encomienda and Hacienda" and "The Social History of Early Latin America," then shifting to analyses of Spanish life in sixteenth-century Peru and Indian (primarily

Nahua) cultures and languages, and concluding with an intellectual memoir in which the author looks back on his formation as a scholar and situates his work at the intersections of history and the companion disciplines of anthropology, linguistics, and art history.

The cumulative result is a varied, yet also surprisingly coherent, set of writings. Not all chapters will appeal to all readers, but just about anyone with even a passing interest in colonial Spanish America will find something to appreciate here. Lockhart's oeuvre is wide-ranging, often crossing boundaries into other fields—such as linguistics—yet retaining a central conceptual and methodological core that gives it unity and coherence. The clearest statement of this comes in chapter 12, “A Historian and the Disciplines,” where Lockhart reflects on his own work. Readers interested in intellectual biography should read this chapter first.

One characteristic of nearly all of Lockhart's research has been an abiding interest in continuity, from the time of the Spanish Conquest in the sixteenth century through the years of the late colony. Encomienda and hacienda, for example, while legally distinct, are found to share a number of social and economic dimensions that make it possible to locate the beginnings of the great estate in the Conquest period. Likewise, transatlantic Spanish business enterprises in Peru and Mexico were built on a persisting set of practices that are best understood as “a continuous social and economic history leading from the first moments of the arrival of the Spaniards among Indians unbroken into the following centuries” (147). Lockhart argues that the concept of indigenous resistance is of limited utility for areas like Mexico and Peru, and he finds ample evidence of receptivity to European culture based principally on the convergence of the societies in contact. Yet his well-known concept of Double Mistaken Identity and the language-based, three-staged model of culture contact, applied here to the Nahuas, Mayas, and Quechuas, place the accent firmly on the survival of pre-Hispanic cultural features, even if in new and sometimes culturally composite forms.

Methodologically, a hallmark of Lockhart's historiography is close attention to the lives, careers, and concerns of particular individuals through documents they themselves produced—either directly, as in the case of private letters, or indirectly, as in the wills, bills of sale, and other notarial documents recorded by local community scribes. Such common source material provides the link between Lockhart's first major study, *Spanish Peru* (1968), and his more recent *The Nahuas After the Conquest* (1992). Lockhart's approach to history is empirical, textually oriented, and sensitive to cultural meaning. He excels at cultural interpretation of the lives of ordinary people and the contexts of daily life, and much of his work is informed

by a strong ethnographic sensibility. However, as he is the first to admit, he has never been much interested in the social sciences, matters of theory, or concepts from other disciplines, preferring to develop his own from his own research materials. Even in his “nondisciplinary” collaborations with linguists and anthropologists, Lockhart has sought not to borrow their concepts and theories but rather to adapt aspects of their methodologies to his own interpretive enterprise.

This readable, accessible book will appeal to a broad audience. Specialists will already be familiar with some of the essays, though they may profit further from the revisions incorporated here. Students will find one or two of the pieces tough going—especially the chapter on the Nahuatl language—but should appreciate and learn much from the essays on “Double Mistaken Identity” and “Receptivity and Resistance,” my personal favorites. Scholars and lay readers alike, even those who favor a more hypothesis-oriented social science approach to history, will find enlightenment and pleasure in this retrospective look at the work of one of Latin American history’s most original practitioners.

**Interculturalidad e Identidad Indígena: Preguntas Abiertas a la Globalización en México.** Edited by Andreas Koechert and Barbara Pfeiler. *Collección Americana* 4, Universität Bremen (Hannover, Germany: Verlag für Ethnologie, 1999. 340 pp., introduction, bibliography.)

Paul Sullivan, *Independent Scholar*

The sixteen articles in this book explore a set of related themes: the endangerment of indigenous languages and cultures and steps that could be taken to promote their preservation; the antiquity or recent emergence of ethnic consciousness among Mexican Indians; indigenous resistance to or integration into the political structures of colonial and independent Mexico; and the formulation of a critique of neoliberal globalization that would not only consider its effects upon indigenous peoples but would emerge from their perspectives upon themselves and others. The articles, more than half by German and Swiss scholars, were originally presented at sessions of the Second European Congress of Latinamericanists in Germany in 1998.

Almost half the authors write about the Yucatan Peninsula. Two authors, Barbara Pfeiler and Harald Mossbrucker, emphasize the centrality of the use of Maya language to the survival of Maya culture and identity, and they highlight the decline of that language as it is increasingly depreciated by the growing number of bilingual speakers and as the children of migrants to the peninsula’s cities or tourist centers fail to learn the language

of their parents. Pedro Bracamonte y Sosa refutes the notion of a Pax Colonial on the Yucatan Peninsula. He finds the colonial Maya in permanent, often conflictive negotiation with colonial power, deploying when necessary a wide array of means to ensure their cultural and historical survival. In almost contrary fashion, Franco Savarino asks why Yucatan has been so tranquil, in recent times at least, when compared to the upheavals in which Mayas have been involved in Guatemala and Chiapas. The answer, he suggests, lies in the skillful fashion in which the dominant social class of Yucatan has, since the Caste War, integrated Mayas in a division of economic and political activity not nearly so onerous or marginalizing as that in other parts of Mexico and Central America.

Four authors in varying ways and depth explore the emergence of ethnic consciousness. Evidence from central Mexico (Elke Ruhnau) suggests that Nahuas had a kind of ethnic or national consciousness even before the Conquest. Other studies from central Mexico (Gunther Dietz) and the Yucatan Peninsula (Wolfgang Gabbert, Ueli Hostettler), in contrast, point to a more recent emergence of ethnic consciousness and to an only very recent ethnicization of the discourse of movements and struggles in which Indians have been involved. Both Gabbert and, in more concrete detail, Dietz highlight the importance in the second half of the twentieth century of a new indigenous "elite" whose social ascent was frustrated by economic crises in the 1980s and who found in a heightened ethnic consciousness a new role (and new jobs) in rural settings. Concerning the latter development Gabbert (Yucatan), Dietz (Michoacan), and Hostettler (Quintana Roo) interestingly highlight the role of schoolteachers and bilingual cultural promoters in the shaping of ethnically inflected struggles for meeting local needs.

With the exception of Marta Guidi's cogent, persuasive, and grim depiction of the decline of a Mixtec community in Oaxaca (one that specializes in sending people to work illegally in the United States), few of the case studies or data-based discussions in this volume really treat the subject of globalization. Rather, the polemical and programmatic contributions to the volume discuss globalization in more or less comprehensible terms. Elisabeth Steffens directly argues that there is an Indian alternative to homogenizing neoliberal globalization. Gunther Dietz appears implicitly to make a similar point when he argues that much of what has been written about the marginalization, integration, impoverishment, and political powerlessness of the Rarámuri, even what has been written by progressives trying to "help," woefully ignores the Rarámuri's own, more positive view of their circumstances and of the choices and adaptations they have made.

As is frequently the case in published volumes of conference papers, to

some extent authors write past one another, seemingly asserting opposites or ignoring each other altogether. One sometimes wishes that the authors would rewrite their pieces to respond more explicitly to their volume mates or that editors might take liberty to expound at greater length upon the issues raised in their collections. This volume would have been better had that been done. Still, the volume holds together reasonably well and can profitably be perused for a variety of recent approaches and perspectives upon Indian movements and identity in Mexico.

**Aztecs, Moors, and Christians: Festivals of Reconquest in Mexico and Spain.** By Max Harris. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000. x + 309 pp., prologue, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$55.00 cloth, \$24.95 paper.)

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This is a splendid book. In large part it is because Max Harris has meticulously recapitulated a remarkable variety of imperial Spanish and Native American spectacles of conquest and reconquest. The span of time and places also is impressive: from twelfth-century Lleida (Catalonia) to Zacatecas in 1996. His purpose, first, is to discover the provenance of the archetypal dance of conquest, *moros y cristianos*, that came to be popular everywhere but is regularly thought to have originated in Spain; and, second, to explicate the performers' agenda. But it is not one dance that had to be investigated, for festivals in Medieval Spain were complex affairs.

Most typically, they were fashioned as courtly theater to replicate mythohistorical events and to celebrate royal and ecclesiastical patronage. The pageantry of any festival might include the *mêlée*, *juego de cañas*: *entremeses*, *comedia*, *danza*, and so forth. Vast sums were expended on musicians, costumes, decorations, fireworks, equestrian displays, and the construction of temporary buildings, such as castles and gallows; and all of it could go on for days. Early American theater often was just as prodigious, for politics and religion were the common ground for conquest performances on both continents. Human sacrifice was a factor too, whether Christian or Aztec, for it served, on the one hand, to rationalize conquest as God's beneficence and, on the other, to remind every single citizen that war and conquest were processual and inherent to the maintaining of order within the Mesoamerican cosmos.

However, by far the greatest merit of this book is in what Harris refers to as "reading the mask" (18–27), literally. Many dancers wore masks that he feels served to camouflage, in a way, indigenous performance ideologies. The *moros y cristianos* dances of the Americas were not, as Richard