

Spanish and *criollo* populations had transformed the demographic makeup of settlements, placing greater pressures on land and resources. Ethnic categories themselves were increasingly permeable. Class divisions became increasingly evident as a growing number of Indians elected to change their ethnic status, thus creating a new rural peasantry.

Central to Radding's analysis of indigenous response to Spanish and Mexican rule is the notion of ethnogenesis, or ethnic rebirth, which in the case of *serranos* consisted of both continuity and change, persistence and loss. During this process, Sonoran natives "refashioned their identity in response to concrete historical conjunctures," alternating between accommodation and resistance (p. 300).

The various topics covered in the book are carefully woven together in thematically organized chapters. Part 1 provides critical historical background (Chapter 1) and discusses the indigenous economy (Chapter 2) and the colonial economy (Chapter 3). Part 2 focuses on household and community; Chapter 4 explores sexuality, marriage, and family, and Chapter 5 documents the process of changing ethnic identity. Part 3 examines changing forms of land tenure, focusing on the Indian communities (Chapter 6) and on introduced landholding patterns and emerging distinctions among peasants, *hacendados*, and merchants (Chapter 7). Part 4 explores the process of ethnogenesis and resistance, focusing on endurance and accommodation (Chapter 8) and mobilization (Chapter 9), which includes flight as well as rebellion.

Wandering Peoples effectively integrates quantitative and qualitative data, and Radding provides insightful analysis of the dynamics of culture change and cultural conflict, particularly as these are related to ecological adaptations. The book has a great deal to offer Latin Americanists as well as anyone interested in these general issues. Finally, it is a beautifully written book that is a pleasure to read.

Janine Gasco
Institute of Archaeology
University of California-Los Angeles

Two-Spirit People: Native American Gender Identity, Sexuality, and Spirituality. Sue-Ellen Jacobs, Wesley Thomas, and Sabine Lang, eds. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997, xii + 331 pp., 9 halftones. \$44.95, cloth; \$19.95, paper.

"Two-Spirit(ed)" is the self-preferred term of urban gay and "gender-bending" natives of Canada and the U.S. to replace the unsavory technical term "ber-

(*Journal of Anthropological Research*, vol. 54, 1998)

dache" (with connotations of bum boy) previously used for variegated genders of the Americas. Two-spirit is not intended to replace tribal terms such as Siouian *winkte* and Navajo *nadleeh* nor to be translatable into native languages.

As accordingly titled, this intensely personal and impassioned volume, though tending toward the overly literal and the self-righteous, is the outcome of 1993 and 1994 Wenner-Gren-funded conferences intended to begin to clarify native experiences, past and present, with multiple and ambiguous engenderings and sexualities. Sensitivity to such range, variety, and intent leads to general criticism of the use of a term such as "amazon" for women involved with maleness and complicated descriptions to articulate combinations of anatomies, roles, and reactions.

The edited collection has five parts: "Rebuilding Anthropological Narratives" considers prior usages, misunderstood Northern Athapaskan ethnography, cross-dressing by elder sister substitutes in Zuni census data and by Northwest shamans, strongly androgenous women, and female to male (FTM) transgenering as espoused by such historical figures as Queen Christina (Count Dohna) of Sweden. "Questions of Terminology" analyzes modern urban sex roles, *nadleehi*, and M Dragonfly uncertainties. "Lived-Experience" recounts life stories by a Lakota womyn, Sisseton, Yup'ik, a Navajo warrior woman, Sisseton/Wahpeton, and a Mescalero shaman. "Reflections" treats gender variability, role incommensurality, fiery critique, situated desires, and sexual identities. The fifth part deals with homophobia through a transcript of participant discussions. The difficulty of a strict nature/nurture dichotomy is poignantly expressed by a Balkan sworn virgin FTM who insisted "nature is mistaken" (p. 121).

Several chapters call attention to the great prejudices against native gays in their own and outside communities and also warn against any sweepingly romantic idealization claiming total and honored acceptance of such variegated lives in a traditional tribal context.

Arguing against the tendency to equate two-spirits with overt homosexuality, the editors suggest that such a person be regarded as holding an occupation where the biology of sex is defined culturally in such a way that homosexuality only involves a member of the identical gender, regardless of their genitalia. Indeed, among Navajo there is compelling evidence that the *nadleeh* represents the cultural recognition of the biological continuum that includes mixed equivalent organs since, for some Navajo medical specialists, the obvious genitalia of men and of women also include smaller versions of the other (pp. 65, 188). Wesley Thomas, a Navajo native speaker, and Carolyn Epple present conflicting interpretations of the *nadleehi* that more reflect different approaches of splitting or lumping based on overanalysis or a cultural worldview where everything is inseparable and distinct.

Only slight consideration is given to universal aspects of language and culture that influence all of these lives and constructs. Gender is never a

matter of symmetry since terms and categories are always linguistically segmented as marked, unmarked, and mediated, as specific, generic, and categorical, with priorities and valuations derived from cultural imports such that man and right are usually unmarked but woman and left marked, albeit with well-known semantic reversals such as Iroquois. Complicating these axioms of language and culture are features involved in the definition of personhood in particular traditions. Minimally, these combine bodies, clothes, souls, spirits, minds, speech styles, names, roles, and careers—each facet of which can be appropriate to a man or a woman or can blend at any given moment, complicating any type of gender with or without overlays of reincarnation beliefs.

In acknowledging that flow, flux, and transformation are lively mechanisms in native traditions, several authors note that their own personal identity, gender, and sexuality have not been the same over a lifetime, so heterosexual marriage and motherhood could be a prelude to later lesbianism; nothing is permanent.

While all authors recognize the community-wide efforts long undertaken by two-spirits because of their greater freedom from heterosexual family obligations and restraints, several actively opposed statements about needed emphasis on the vital role of childbirth and children for human continuity and the consequent need for a majority of married men and women to be living in stable families. Yet it has long been in the restoration of such stability that two-spirits raised/adopted orphan and unwanted children, though ignoring their source of origin.

Greater issues such as chastity in ritual and domestic contexts and the universality of cultural genders across species and beings, as with Tewa moieties, must be considered in further work, but, for now, this volume is a provocative and heartfelt corrective to wrongs, insensitivities, prejudices, and biases engendered by all those others, as well as academics, who disregard the maxim, "We are all in this together."

Jay Miller
Simon Fraser University

The Feast of the Sorcerer: Practices of Consciousness and Power.
Bruce Kapferer. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1997, xix + 367 pp. \$71.50, cloth; \$30.25, paper.

This book examines practices of sorcery among Sinhalese Buddhists in Sri Lanka, especially in the southern region of the island. In part, its ethnographic and theoretical concerns are an extension of the author's earlier project in A

(*Journal of Anthropological Research*, vol. 54, 1998)