

I strongly urge all East Africanists and anyone interested in food consumption to read this excellent book. That should be a large audience.

T. O. Beidelman

Hornborg, Anne-Christine: *Mi'kmaq Landscapes. From Animism to Sacred Ecology.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008. 202 pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-6371-3. Price: £ 50.00

In "Mi'kmaq Landscapes. From Animism to Sacred Ecology," Anne-Christine Hornborg explores social, cultural changes in the lifeworld of the Mi'kmaq, an aboriginal people who primarily reside in eastern Canada's Atlantic region. This historical overview centres on the role of Kluscap, a Mi'kmaq cultural hero, in reference to Mi'kmaq cosmologies and changing human-environmental relationships within the context of two particular historical periods: the first being between 1850 and 1930, and the second focusing on the 1990s when Kluscap was evoked to protect Mi'kmaq lands. Generally, "Mi'kmaq Landscapes" offers a significant and valuable contribution to understanding the lifeworld and lifeways of the Mi'kmaq. However, the unique interpretive challenges that accompany the study of Mi'kmaq history and culture, especially the difficulty in transposing precontact cosmology into present-day contexts, are not adequately addressed in this work. By applying standard interpretive strategies Hornborg has missed the mark; although the theoretical approaches and interpretive strategies she employs render non-Western, culturally-specific concepts accessible to the general readership, they often impede accurate understandings of Mi'kmaq lived realities, past and present. It is also important to note that Hornborg's use of Mi'kmaq (sing.) and Mi'kmaqs (plural) is inconsistent with referents currently in use: the more commonly accepted forms are Mi'kmaq (sing./adverbial/adjectival) and Mi'kmaq (plural) in accordance with the Smith-Francis orthography.

Admittedly, any attempt to construct an accurate diachronic portrait of Mi'kmaq cosmology, beliefs, and practices involves significant challenges. In reference to which, Hornborg is quite convincing in her arguments and offers the reader an impressive reconstruction of Mi'kmaq lifeworlds and lifeways, past and present. However, such reconstructions must be considered cautiously as readers need to be aware that this is *a* perspective and not a definitive characterization of the Mi'kmaq. While such cautions are unnecessary for the seasoned reader/scholar of Mi'kmaq society and culture, newcomers to the field need to be aware that there are several areas within the text that require attention, particularly chap. 2 (13–65) wherein lengthy descriptions of precontact lifeworlds and lifeways are provided. Here, Hornborg's attempt at academic rigor falls short in several areas: First, my most serious concern is with the archetypes and interpretive strategies employed by Hornborg. Here, the author follows the Durkheimian categories of sacred and profane, as explained and expanded on by Ruth Holmes-Whitehead in her conceptualization of "The Six Worlds". Such categorization, as derived from Western-based formalities, serve to dissect and classify Mi'kmaq precon-

tact lifeways into typologies discernable to non-Mi'kmaq speakers/readers. In which case, Hornborg does not draw on the strength of ethnographic data, but provides arguments otherwise derived as indicated by her reliance on scholars such as Leland (1884), Martin (1999), Parkhill (1997), and Rand (1894) among others, and the absence of Mi'kmaq voices in "The Six Worlds" description. Second, an argument for "The Six Worlds" is no more or less relevant than arguments for seven, eight, nine, or more worlds as it is merely a typology that allows fleeting (and insufficient) access to Mi'kmaq "traditional" ways of thinking and experiencing the world. There is no absolute certainty that the Mi'kmaq would have perceived their lifeworld in this manner. In fact, language limitations restrict our ability to conceive of, and appreciate the ways in which Mi'kmaq speakers understood matters of existence. While the formulation provided by Hornborg works quite well for the project at hand, it is not a comprehensive representation of Mi'kmaq "being-in-the-world," and should be understood as such. However, the detailed reconstruction does draw attention to the breadth and complexity of Mi'kmaq precontact cosmological understandings. Third, Hornborg's assertion that the Mi'kmaq lifeworld is a product of biocentric (i.e., extending spiritual elements to all biological life) and not ecocentric thinking, is less convincing than an argument for an "ecocentric ethic" among the Mi'kmaq. Ecocentrism is more representative of the inclusivity that marks Mi'kmaq thinking and philosophy, past and present, in that it allows for biocentrism, and more accurately describes the way in which the Mi'kmaq perceived their world as it is conceived in the language. For instance, the Mi'kmaq philosophy of interdependency extends to all aspects of existence, including geological and astrological phenomena – a point which Hornborg acknowledges (xx) but fails to incorporate effectively. This may be a simple matter of applying the appropriate terminology since her extended argument is more in keeping with an ecocentric frame of reference noted above.

In the concluding chapter, "The Return of Kluscap (1970–2000)," Hornborg successfully outlines and addresses recent debates concerning the concept of the "ecological Indian," first popularized throughout North America (and beyond) during the 1970s. The author effectively explains several convoluted arguments for and against Indian ecology, and settles on a less romanticized notion of Mi'kmaq ecology that derives from culturally-specific beliefs and practices believed to have their origins in a precontact past. Historical documentation supports this position and provides a portrait of a people who employed conservation as a strategy for survival, which, one might argue, bears some similarity to economic/subsistence strategies employed at present. However, while the Mi'kmaq have availed of, and contributed to, notions of a "sacred ecology," more recent developments concerning land claims and rights to access resources have not been premised on such, but are determined by litigation processes. If sacred ecology marked the 1970s through to the 1990s, it is the Sparrow (1990) and Delgamuukw (1997) Supreme Court of Canada decisions in general,

and the subsequent Marshall (1999) and the Bernard decisions (2005) in particular, that define twenty-first-century Mi'kmaq rights and claims to resources focusing on extraction (not conservation) processes. While Hornborg does deal with a very specific set of concerns by directing the reader to an important stage in struggle to have Mi'kmaq rights to lands and resources recognized, both the Supreme Court of Canada and the Mi'kmaq themselves have usurped Kluscap. Ultimately, litigation marks a new set of strategies for present-day land claims and rights to resources among the Mi'kmaq. In addition, arguments for conservation against development, and the interplay between different stakeholders' perspectives are more complex than described here. In more recent years, federal, provincial, and reserve-based economic policies and initiatives have had a profound impact on Mi'kmaq lifeways. Within the larger Mi'kmaq community, the majority of Mi'kmaq are not in favour of conservation per se, but support modernist/development frameworks, providing that the Mi'kmaq control rights to resources and have some say in extraction processes. Significantly, the twenty-first century has ushered in an entirely different era of Mi'kmaq interaction with the environment than the one described in "Mi'kmaq Landscapes." In this author's view, Hornborg offers a description of Mi'kmaq ecology and conservation that does not address more recent innovation and transformation. In light of which, there remains a requisite sixth chapter that Hornborg fails to supply; a lack thereof, pulls this text perilously close to containment within a romanticized past: a pitfall that Hornborg herself vehemently warns against.

In final assessment, "Mi'kmaq Landscapes. From Animism to Sacred Ecology" is required reading for scholars and students specializing in Algonquian studies, particularly in reference to the extensive historical research it contains. While this work holds some promise, it should not be taken as a definitive portrait of Mi'kmaq environmental and ecological lifeways and the philosophies that inform the same. As noted, many new directions have been taken and significant changes have occurred in the decade since Hornborg completed the research for this book.

Angela Robinson

Hüwelmeier, Gertrud, and Kristine Krause (eds.): *Traveling Spirits. Migrants, Markets, and Mobilities*. New York: Routledge, 2010. 218 pp. ISBN 978-0-415-99878-9. (Routledge Studies in Anthropology, 4) Price: \$ 97.20

Der vorliegende Sammelband geht aus einer Konferenz hervor, die 2007 an der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin stattfand und eine Veranstaltung im Rahmen eines mehrjährigen Forschungsvorhabens zu transnationalen Netzwerken, Religion und neuen Migrationsformen ist.

Gertrud Hüwelmeier und Kristina Krause legen hier einen Reader vor, der dem Titel in vielfacher Hinsicht gerecht wird. Es ist dies ein Beitrag zur Anthropologie der Religion wie auch zur Migrationsforschung im 21. Jahrhundert und zeigt auf, welche Transformationsprozesse durch globale Bevölkerungsbewegungen evoziert werden. Basierend auf den elf Beiträgen im Sammelband diskutie-

ren die Herausgeberinnen in der Einleitung vier Themencluster, die sich für die präsentierten religionsanthropologischen Untersuchungen in migratorischen Kontexten als relevant herausstellten. Neben "portablen" religiösen Praktiken und der zunehmenden Bedeutung von "Neuen Medien" für die Mediation von religiösen Inhalten sind ökonomische Themen und Fragen von Ort und Entstehung neuer spiritueller "Räume" maßgeblich.

Sozial- und KulturanthropologInnen sowie ReligionswissenschaftlerInnen geben durch ihre langjährigen Feldforschungen, die größtenteils durch einen "multi-sited approach" bestimmt waren (in Vietnam, Ghana, Kongo und Botswana, auf den Komoren, in Haiti und Reunion, in Schweden und diversen Residenzländer der Migration in Europa und Nordamerika), Einblicke in die Entwicklungen von religiösen Glaubenssystemen. Dabei werden nicht allein die Persistenz und Transformation von Glaubensinhalten in den Herkunftsländern wie auch in den Residenzländern komparativ aufgezeigt, sondern auch Transformationen sozioökonomischer Strukturen durch deterritorialisierte Religionszugehörigkeit diskutiert. Die Beiträge geben detaillierte Analysen der "symbolic geographies of the sacred" (Artikel von David Garbin) in einer globalisierten Welt und lassen den Leser staunen, staunen über die "Transportierbarkeit", die Wirkungsweise und Transformierbarkeit von Religionssystemen.

Spirituelle Medien aus Vietnam, die das *len dong*-Ritual von Geisterbesessenheit praktizieren, haben in Kalifornien (vor allem im Silicon Valley) Tempel errichtet und können im Gegensatz zum Herkunftsland, wo sie lange nur illegal tätig sein konnten, ihre Dienste und Zeremonien öffentlich bewerben und ihre Fähigkeiten an eine amerikanisch sozialisierte zweite Generation weitergeben. In manchen afrikanischen Ländern (beispielsweise Ghana) sind (Frei-)Kirchen mit enormen Medienbotschaften nicht nur im Sinne einer panafrikanischen Vision tätig. Pastoren sind religiöse Botschafter und als charismatische Führer transnational aktiv, aber auch die gewöhnlichen Gläubigen sehen in ihrem Migrationsvorhaben eine "göttliche Mission" und haben dabei nicht nur ein enormes sinnstiftendes Element, sondern eine Rechtfertigung für ihre Auswanderung. Klar ersichtlich wird das große Konkurrenzverhältnis zwischen den transnational agierenden charismatischen Bewegungen in manchen Herkunftsländern (v. a. besprochen am Beispiel Ghana) wie auch in den Residenzländern. Detailliert diskutiert wird die Bedeutung der Religionszugehörigkeit für die soziale Aufwärtsmobilität und den sozialen Status – besonders gut wird dies am Beispiel der Pfingstkirche analysiert, die ihre Mitglieder nicht alleine durch charismatische Persönlichkeiten und Glossolalie "begeistert" und spirituelle Unterstützung bietet. Religiöse Inhalte werden mit unternehmerischem "Geist", mit Förderung ökonomischer Selbständigkeit und Modernisierungsgedanken geschickt verknüpft, weshalb von einer "entrepreneurial religious ideology" und einem "social catapulting" (Rijk van Dijk) gesprochen wird.

Gottesdienste vor allem von Freikirchen haben eine eigene performative Qualität und werden fast synchron über Neue Medien an die Mitglieder weltweit übertragen.